

Yekti Maunati

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International Tourism, Identity, and Globalization in the Philippines

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Preface

The development of the tourist industry in the Philippines depends on several basic policies, particularly those on cultural and ethnic tourism, historical heritage, and eco tourism. Eco tourism and cultural and ethnic tourism are based on the richness of the natural beauty as well as traditional culture of many ethnic groups, like the Ifugao and the Mangyan whose cultures are quite distinctive.

This book *International Tourism, Identity, and Globalization in the Philippines* covers several issues: Glimpse of tourism in Manila and its surrounding, People of the Philippines, The tourism policy, The economic aspect of tourism, Cultural and ethnic tourism, Historical tourism, and Eco tourism. In fact, the Philippines has been promoted as a tourist destination for a long time, particularly since the Marcos government period. Now, the Philippines is positioned to compete for the tourist market not only with Southeast Asian countries in particular, but also with Asian countries in general. Regarding the progression development of this sector in the Philippines, it should be looked at as the success of the government effort to maintain stability and a peaceful situation in the region. The government has already succeeded in encouraging the role of the local people, the business sector and individual Filipinos to awaken their awareness of the importance of tourism.

By developing eco and cultural tourism, the Philippines has succeeded in promoting its tourist industry through identifying the many interesting places and cultures which can be 'sold', especially to international tourists. The rich cultural heritages of the Filipinos have been preserved in villages, churches, forts, building, museums, transportation tools, traditional markets, etc. To attract more tourists, cultural attractions in the form of festivals and exhibitions have also been strongly encouraged.

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Abstract

Tourism which has various attractions has become very important as a cure for the problem of unemployment and a spur to economic growth. The tourism industry consists of historical, environmental and natural, recreational, ethnic, and cultural tourism. Like Thailand, the Philippines emphasizes cultural uniqueness, historical heritage and ecotourism as the main sources of tourist attraction. Cultural and ethnic tourism has developed the uniqueness of traditional cultures belonging to certain ethnic groups, such as Ifugao people and the Mangyan. Historical heritage tourism is focused on the past colonial historical sites, like Manila Cathedral, Quiapo Church, Rizal Park, etc. Meanwhile, ecotourism which consists of the mixture of natural and cultural resources, is being promoted in almost all Philippines regions like Banaue Rice Terraces in Luzon Island, White Sand Beaches in the Cebu Islands, and Unique Marine Resources in the Visayas and Mindanao Islands.

Yekti Maunati, I Ketut Ardhana, and Mayasuri Presilla

I. Background

The tourist industry has long been promoted and developed in the Philippines, especially since the Marcos government. Recently becoming more important as a possible cure for the problems of unemployment and a spur to economic growth. The development of the tourist industry in the Philippines started in the 1970s and approximately, 1 million tourists visited the country in 1980. However, the process of its development has not been stable, with the number of tourists falling and it was only in 1988 that the number of tourists visiting the country reached around 1 million again with a length of stay of 12.6 days. The total of emigrant Filipinos as visitors to the Philippines has been significant since they often return to their country of origin together with their families and friends on a regular basis (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/72.htm>). It is widely believed that even today, the Philippine government expects overseas Filipino workers to return to the country to visit their families and bring friends with them.

To develop the tourist industry, infrastructure needs to be given serious attention. The mushrooming of hotels in big cities like Manila could be one of the indicators to spur the tourist industry, apart from the improvement of transportation facilities. Manila is the most important gateway for tourists entering the Philippines. Unfortunately, however, the city does not have sufficient amenities for tourists. On top of this, Manila suffers from heavy traffic jams and pollution as well as crime. Based on hotel room occupancy in 1988, an average of 73 per cent of Manila's 8,500 hotel rooms was taken. In terms of tourist revenue, the figures are not always the same. For instance, in 1988 the Central Bank predicted that 11 per cent (US\$ 405 million) of the Philippine non merchandise exports would be from tourist revenues. Meanwhile, the Department of Tourism predicted it to be around US\$ 1.45 billion using different measurements. (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/72.htm>).

Indeed, there are many challenges to developing a tourism industry in the Philippines, including restoration of historical sites, improvement of infrastructure, and so forth. For example, since the deterioration of Intramuros, at the end of the Second World War, the complete restoration of this colonial Spanish walled city has not yet been done. Another obstacle to the tourist industry was the political instability in the country during the 1980s. Facing such obstacles, a priority of promotion in the Medium Term Development Plan was not only given to international but also to domestic tourism. (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/72.htm>). Malaysia has shared a similar strategy to boost tourism by promoting domestic tourism, known as 'Cuti-Cuti Malaysia' which is promoted by the Domestic Division. Executing product promotions and implementing advertising programs are amongst its key functions, with it also responsible for the day to day running of the tourist information centres throughout Malaysia. The management of specific events like the Shopping Carnival, 'Cuti-Cuti Malaysia' and the Malaysian Tourism Awards are other important functions (Ardhana 2003). In Indonesia, especially in East Kalimantan, the relations established by tourism, also include 'modern' people or domestic tourists who too expect to gaze at 'colourful tribes' like the Dayak (Maunati 2000).

The development of the tourist industry in the Philippines depends on several basic factors, particularly those of eco tourism, natural beauty, uniqueness of traditional cultures, and historical heritage. For instance, the development of historical sites can be seen in Intramuros, Churches, and so forth. Apart from this, the Philippines is well known for its cultural attractions that could be important sources of attraction, especially for international tourists. Recently, the development of eco tourism and historical, cultural and ethnic tourism has become a trend, including in the Philippines. Eco tourism, cultural and ethnic tourism are based on the richness of the natural beauty as well as traditional cultures of many ethnic groups, including the Ifugao and the Mangyan. The 'selling' of the uniqueness of certain ethnic groups has become a trend in the so called ethnic tourism. In Thailand, both the majority of Thai and the minorities like the Hmong, whose culture is quite different from that of the Thai, have been promoted (Michaud 1997).

As in Malaysia and Thailand, in the Philippines tourist agencies have promoted tourism internationally by establishing international networks for marketing (*Regional Outlook. Southeast Asia 2002-2003*). The promotion of the historical heritage of

churches and the traditions of ethnic groups in the Philippines. both of the majority and the minority groups like the Ifugao who reside in the mountainous areas in Northern Luzon, can add to the knowledge on the Philippines. The Philippines offers various cultural attractions which can be found for example, through the website of 'Wow Philippines'. This is quite similar to Thailand which offers 'Experience Thailand' and cultural tour packages, consisting of a Bangkok tuk tuk tour and the Thai way of life with traditional massage and special Thai food, the Grand Palace, the Royal Barge Museum and the Golden Buddha. In addition, the Hill Tribes Experience with a chance to ride an elephant, ride a mountain bike and explore a hill tribe village is offered in a two day package (<http://www.hotelthailand.com/culturetour.html>). In the Philippines, the Ifugao village has been widely promoted.

The development of a tourist industry, indeed, cannot be separated from the creation of job opportunities within this sector and related sectors or from the spur to economic growth, including the gaining of foreign exchange. This notion does not only apply in the Philippines, but throughout the world. Hall (1994:1) claims that 'Tourism has been a component of economic development of the Asia-Pacific since the early 1960s and is an important source of foreign exchange for many of the countries in the region.'

He goes on to point out that by 1994 tourism in some countries was targeted to be an important foreign exchange earner (Urry 1990). Urry writes that 'worldwide tourism is growing at 5-6 per cent per annum and will probably be the largest source of employment by the year 2000' (1990:5). Indeed, in the Philippines, the employment opportunities given by this sector have been significant.

Although the Philippine government fosters the tourist industry in many places, problems arise. These can be an economic crisis, terrorism, health concerns and the like. Separatism problems in the Philippines have continuously been a threat. There are also other difficulties with a heavy reliance on tourism as a source of economic development. Economically, tourism is problematic. Jobs in the tourist industry, for example, are often casual and part time and global capitalists often dominate tourist enterprises, including international hotel chains.

Nevertheless, the tourist industry is very important for foreign exchange and em-

ployment opportunities. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the tourist industry is crucial. We are also aware that there are many different types of tourism, but due to our limitations we will focus mostly on cultural tourism, historical tourism and eco tourism which are all growing rapidly in the Philippines.

Indeed, tourism is the medium for the meeting of people of diverse cultural backgrounds, including people of the west (as tourists) and people of the Third World (domestic tourists, the local elite, local government officials, and indigenous people). In this way the tourist industry has contributed to the process of cultural globalization (Friedman 1994). The emergence of the tourist industry cannot be separated from consumption in global as well as local markets (it involves both global and local travel agents and so on). Friedman stresses that 'the existence of large-scale tourism has to do with emergent trends in consumption' (1994:202). The notion of travel as a modern experience has brought about this market expansion. Often, in this matter, the commodification of culture occurs whereby culture is transformed into a commodity and reproduced by the market to meet the demand for consumption from tourists. When culture is partly transformed into a commodity, culture as a basis of people's identity may be affected. Cultural identity, in this interaction, therefore, shaped and reshaped by the tourist enterprise, which is itself multifaceted.

In order to develop the tourist industry, the Philippine state promotes an image of certain ethnic groups as 'unique' in the form of 'cultural packaging'. The promotion of cultural tourism in the Philippines encourages people to maintain and practice their traditions. Of course, this process has often been opposed by several non government organizations which are concerned with the 'declining of tradition'^[1]. Apart from cultural tourism, historical tourism and eco tourism have been promoted widely because the Philippines has a great historical inheritance and natural beauty.

The Philippines has been able to develop the tourist industry in the throes of its political instability due to the separatism demands of the Moro. Eco tourism, cultural uniqueness and the historical heritage have become the sources of tourist attraction. Many ethnic groups who have distinctive cultures have been widely promoted for tourist purposes, including the Ifugao, Negrito, and Mangyan to mention a few.

It is important to study tourism in the Philippines by looking at its history and devel-

opment. and the social, cultural and economic impact on society, not only because this can widen our concepts and theories on culture. but also it can be useful to learn the model of tourism development in countries like the Philippines, so that Indonesia, for one, can take up the positive aspects of it and disregard the negative ones. This sector is definitely important in opening up job opportunities as well as providing foreign exchange. The experience of the Philippines in developing its tourist industry could become a meaningful lesson for Indonesia in dealing with a similar sector as well as in dealing with global trends in tourism.

II. Aims of the Study

- A. To understand the Philippine policies on tourism;
- B. To understand the development of tourism and its fluctuations;
- C. To study the impact of cultural tourism, historical, and eco tourism on socio cultural and economic aspects of the Philippine society;
- D. To understand the process of cultural commodification in the context of tourism.

III. Theoretical Framework

The attracting sources of the tourist industry are various. While some argue that tourism consists of natural, ethnic and cultural aspects, Smith identifies five types as follows:

Ethnic tourism is marketed to the public in terms of the 'quaint' customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples, exemplified by the case studies on the Eskimo, the San Blas Indians of Panama, and the Toraja in Indonesia.... *Cultural tourism* includes the 'picturesque' or 'local colour', a vestige of a vanishing life style that lies within human memory with its 'old style' houses, homespun fabrics, horse or ox drawn carts and ploughs, and hand rather than machine made crafts.... *Historical tourism* is the Museum-Cathedral circuit that stresses the glories of the Past - i.e., Rome, Egypt, and the Inca.... *Environmental tourism* is often ancillary to ethnic tourism, attracting a tourist elite to remote areas such as Antarctica to experience a truly alien scene.... *Recreational tourism* is often sand, sea, and sex - promoted by beautiful colour pictures that make you want to be 'there' - on the ski slopes, the

palm fringed beaches, the championship golf courses, or sunning in a deck chair, and attracts tourists who want to relax or commune with nature (1977:2-3).

Recently, some experts have described the development of a tourist industry type strongly related to religious activity and called: Religious Tourism (*pariwisata ziarah*). Several types of tourism have been developed and it depends upon the interests of the tourists as to what kinds of places they prefer visiting. Like Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines have all these types of tourism, although it is difficult to produce strict categorizations. If in Thailand, Chiang Mai, for instance, can be classed as a site of cultural tourism, but also a destination for environmental tourism, in the Philippines the Ifugao Province offers cultural and ethnic tourism as well as eco tourism.

The preferred destinations of tourists can be constructed according to a continual search for novelty. Urry points out:

An array of tourist professionals who attempt to reproduce ever-new objects of the tourist gaze develops. This depends on the interplay between, on the one hand, competition between interests involved in the provision of such objects and, on the other hand, changing class, gender and generational distinctions of taste, within the potential population of visitors (1990:3-4).

Urry notes, for example, that Morecambe was a well known tourist destination until a change in the concept of 'tourism as the consumption of facilities' left many hotels and restaurants empty. He also notes that in England travel or holidays used to be limited to the upper class, but now have developed into a universal market that extends to people from lower classes. This is not to argue that class is no longer relevant within tourism as issues related to class status are linked to the choice of destination and style of accommodation.

Not so long ago, ethnic and cultural tourism developed and emphasized the uniqueness of traditional cultures belonging to certain ethnic groups. If in Malaysia, Malay, Chinese and Indian groups are involved, and in Thailand there are many ethnic groups involved, including the majority Thai and several ethnic minorities, including the Akha, the Hmong, and the Padaung, in the Philippines there are also many ethnic

groups that are promoted to have unique cultures (Kerr *et al* 2000). The attraction of ethnic tourism for tourists is based on a conceptualization of the 'other'. Third World countries may see an opportunity to exploit this western fascination with the 'other' by developing ethnic tourism as a means to generate economic growth. Governments play a major role in determining which groups can be 'sold' to tourists as ethnic groups. Wood states that 'the material sources to reconstruct ritual traditions for tourist consumption' has become one of the main factors in the Chinese government's selection of appropriate areas for international tourism (1997:11). In the case of Indonesia, the state may pursue contradictory strategies due to conflicting interests. On one hand, in order to unify people of different cultures and backgrounds, the state imposes the nationalist objective by presenting the idea of 'unity in diversity' and on the other the uniqueness of ethnic groups can in fact be sold for tourism so that the reconstruction and preservation of ethnic groups is important. As Kipp has argued:

Indonesia's policies on culture and ethnicity must be seen in terms of these contradictory demands to minimize the destabilizing potential of ethnicity, and also to use traditional cultures for economic and integrative ends (1993:105).

Kipp points to the policy of the New Order Government to create 'a single cultural type for each province' (1993:112). The regionalization of culture at the provincial level is exemplified in the design and establishment of *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park). In line with this policy, Dayak material culture is used to represent East Kalimantan even though the Dayak are a minority of the population (Gerke 1997:182). Gerke notes that the Dayak make up less than ten per cent of the total population (*ibid*).

Like in Indonesia, in Sarawak, Malaysia, for instance, we can visit a similar project, called the *Sarawak Cultural Village (Desa Budaya)*, which was established by the government in 1990. This project can be compared with the *TMI* in Jakarta (Winzeler 1997). Further, Winzeler states, that in the Cultural Village there are traditional houses and the material cultures which are based on ethnic groups, including Iban, Bidayuh, Chinese, Malay, and Punan to attract tourists. In Sarawak, the Dayak cultures have become the key element in the context of ethnic tourism. Winzeler notes, for instance, that the traditional dances of the Dayak Bidayuh are demonstrated when there are cultural events, including cultural workshops. In this case, one of the dances

which is demonstrated is the *skull dance* where the narrator explains that the dance is related to the *head hunting* ritual (Winzeler 1997:203). Zeppel (1993) also writes that the Dayak cultures have been used in tourism promotion in Sarawak.

Likewise, in Thailand we can observe cultural and ethnic tourism in the hill tribe villages. These villages are designed to be tourist destinations which offer various attractions, including the material cultures of these ethnic groups. People can find various handicrafts that are supposed to be culturally traditional. The Thai government has supported the development of the handcraft industry along with the development of hill tribe villages as tourist destinations (Research Center for Regional Resources – the Indonesian Institute of Sciences 2004).

In the Philippines, indeed, people can experience the Nayang Philippines where they can gaze at miniatures of the Philippines, including volcanoes. The development of tourism can also be linked to other developments. Kahn (1997) gives an example of the development of a particular street in Georgetown, which has less to do with the tourism industry or the encounter between the West and the East, and more to do with economic, political and cultural developments in Malaysia. In this case, the state government's efforts to conserve important heritage sites was directly linked to the government's intention to show the international community that Malaysia was a developed and attractive country. In the context of Malaysia's economic development, this image was important in terms of attracting professional and skilled labour (Kahn, 1997).

Tourism is also affected by power relations. Often ethnic tourism is a manifestation of a superior/inferior relationship in which those in power describe the inferior as 'primitive'. The interest of westerners in experiencing exotic tribal society may reflect the feeling of superiority of the tourists in ways reminiscent of power relations in the colonial period. Nash points out that:

At the most general level, theories of imperialism refer to the expansion of society's interests abroad. These interests - whether economic, political, military, religious, or some other - are imposed on or adopted by an alien society, and evolving intersocietal transactions, marked by the ebb and flow of power, are established (1977:34).

Tourist enterprises in the Third World therefore, cannot be separated from colonial representations, especially in the case of ethnic and cultural tourism. It may be true that in observing the backwardness of 'primitive' peoples, westerners want to revel in their 'superiority'. Nevertheless, we should not ignore the extent to which people of the Third World themselves participate in such constructions and the accompanying power differential. As Van den Berghe argues (1994), middlemen (including local elites) offer a meeting point between tourists and *tourées*. Hence, the relationship between tourist and *tourée* is not limited to an encounter between a western tourist and an indigenous *tourée*, but is in fact mediated by agents of the tourist industry who come from local elites. Likewise, Maunati (2000) found that in East Kalimantan, local elites have a significant role in developing a 'cultural village', which is supposed to be a showcase of the Dayak, and they have benefited from such developments. Ethnic tourism typically involves tourist, *tourée*, nation state agencies, and individual agents. The notion of 'tradition' invoked by the agents within the tourist industry may be little more than a contemporary reconstruction of cultural practices to meet market demand or the tourists' needs. Kahn (1993) argues that those aspects which seem to be traditional are often modern responses to an imagined past (Handler and Linnekin 1984). The relations established by tourism, therefore, also include 'modern' people of the Third World who actively contribute to the construction of 'tradition' as well as those domestic tourists who also expect to gaze at 'primitive tribes'.

Social scientists have only belatedly taken an interest in the issue of tourism. Smith dates this interest from the 1970s. But while the effects of tourism have been investigated by anthropologists around the globe, they have been concerned generally only with certain aspects of the phenomenon (1977:1). Volkman maintains:

Anthropologists have not quite decided what to do with tourism when it appears on 'their' turf. It seems to be a blight upon the local culture as well as an intrusion upon (and a threat to) the anthropologist's own privileged domain. As a phenomenon it is easily disdained, mocked, even condemned; as a subject of inquiry, it is easily trivialized. Yet in many parts of the world, contemporary ethnographic reality is strongly shaped by tourism. That shaping need not be direct or obvious; it need not take the form of a development miracle, an economic disaster, or 'culture by the pound'. It may be a subtle shift in the way the world is viewed, the way pieces of a cultural puzzle are taken apart and fit together in new ways to create an

object, or many objects, that can be consumed: purchased, photographed, even eaten, but above all, narrated, understood (1990:91).

Appadurai also notes that a detailed ethnography of tourist locations, one which explores the construction and reconstruction of locality 'is just beginning to be written' (1995:216).

Anthropological studies on tourism focus mostly on the impact of tourism in terms of whether it is good or bad for indigenous people. But a number of other issues, ranging from the impact of tourism, commodification of culture, consumerism and the rise of the global market, are considered in the theoretical literature. The more pessimistic commentators suggest that tourism has led to cultural deterioration, whilst the optimists argue that due to economic growth generated by tourism, societies have been able to maintain and revive their cultures. Moreover, the nature of the economic impact of tourism is still debatable. On the one hand domination by elites and the marginalisation of indigenous people (or the unequal distribution of wealth) often exists, while on the other hand, tourism expands and creates jobs for a large number of people. Van den Berghe (1994) and Urry (1990) are partly concerned with the impact of tourism on host societies, Van den Berghe (1994) arguing that tourism not only brings about negative impacts, but that it also provides certain benefits.

We would argue that to understand tourism it is not sufficient to restrict the discussion to the issue of whether tourism has negative or positive impact on society. Instead both effects, the negative and the positive, seem to be necessary to understanding tourism itself. Moreover, the role of an agency must be considered, that is, individuals and/or groups within that society participate in, and have an effect upon, the development and transformation of the content of tourism.

Tourism, especially ethnic tourism, also involves the promotion of the uniqueness of particular ethnic groups, celebrated for either their 'primitiveness' or their cultural richness. The process of cultural commodification in the context of the tourist industry, particularly ethnic and cultural tourism, are often believed to have negative impact, that is: the destruction of cultural processes (Greenwood 1977), but Firat (1995), Wood (1993), Adam (1997) and Picard (1997) emphasize more the encouragement of the maintenance of culture by practicing and reinventing its traditions. The central

debate in much anthropological writing is whether the transformation of culture destroys the essence of culture and erodes cultural identity. Controversy surrounding the need for cultural preservation in Bali, for instance, has been around for many years. Those who argue, like Picard (1990), that Balinese culture has not been ruined by the rapid growth of the tourist industry, do so on the basis that there is nothing static or fixed in the culture. Likewise, Kahn notes Greenblatt's 1991 conclusion that Balinese culture was in fact preserved through tourism and 'the remarkable adaptive power of the local community' (Kahn 1995:80). Moreover, Friedman (1990) has argued that the impact of the global market through the commodification of culture has not resulted in homogeneity but rather it has created and recreated identity. For instance, he provides an example of the effect of commodification on Ainu identity and culture, in which 'the Ainu produce traditional goods in order to create themselves' (1990:323). According to Appadurai (1986), 'commodities represent complex social forms and distributions of knowledge' (1986:41). In fact, it is not merely the price but also the 'authenticity' of the commodity that is often negotiated through tourism (Appadurai 1986:44).

In the case of Dayak culture, Maunati (2000) reports that the Dayak people in East Kalimantan are proud that their culture is being promoted as one of the main attractions in the region. The process of cultural commodification does not destroy the Dayak culture which in turn encourages their identity (*keDayakannya*). The Dayak Bidayuh group in Sarawak is also involved in the process of reinventing tradition, apart from the academics and political elite (Winzeler 1997:216).

The use of traditional cultural aspects in the tourist industry as mentioned above is not only a determining factor in the process of the development of the tourist industry. The modernization process in the context of the tourist industry contributes to the success of the process. Kahn (1997) in his study on tourism in Georgetown, notes that aspects of modernity are used as attractive factors. In this case, he gives an example of how the role and the improvement of the infrastructure in the region reflect the modernity of Malaysia. He believes that by improving the infrastructure, political and economic issues are affected. This means that Malaysians wish to show to the world the potential and modernity of their society.

In Thailand, apart from developing cultural and ethnic tourism focusing on the hill tribe people, the development of historical sites and the modern shopping malls are also key elements in tourism. Thailand Stats (February 2004) reports that shopping has become the highest proportion of income from tourism. The opportunity for Thailand to reap from the modern aspects of tourism is likely to develop, including through shopping. In similar vein, Malaysia has also promoted specific events like the Shopping Carnival (Ardhana 2003).

In the Philippines, to offer cultural experiences and a natural landscape that are uniquely Filipino and cannot be experienced anywhere else has been widely promoted. In a brochure, it is said that the mixture of Asian, Spanish, and American cultures will form an amazing social melange which in turn will attract tourists to come to the country. A visitor to the Philippines will also find a mixture of old and new cultures as well as art. Additionally, the Philippines tries to gain benefits from several exclusive items at the amazing tax free prices of Duty Free Philippines.

The combination of many sources of attraction seems to be the efficient strategy in luring tourists to visit the Philippines. The issue, however, is to what extent this strategy has been manageable since tourism is subject to certain risks, including terrorism, war, health problems, and so forth. To study tourism comprehensively is, indeed, crucial, so that we can understand the whole story of its dynamics.

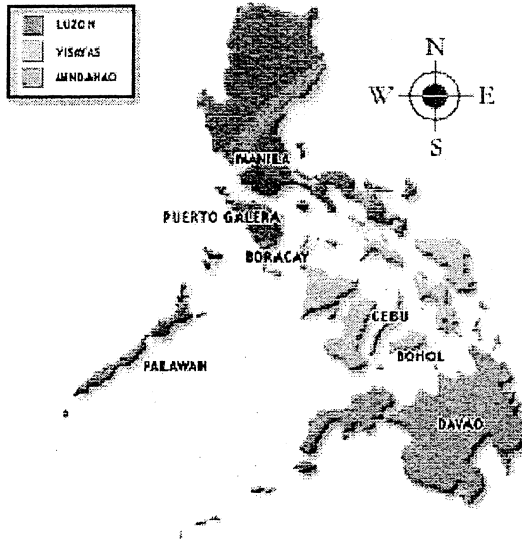
IV. Research Method

The empirical research was carried out in Manila and surroundings for approximately two weeks in June 2005, funded by the Indonesian government. We interviewed several Filipino scholars (especially from the University of the Philippines), who are concerned with cultural, historical and eco tourism and sought data from different sources, including literature on the Philippines by western, non western and Filipino writers and in depth interviews were conducted with many groups. Bernard's discussion of the use of unstructured and semi structured interviewing was very useful for our research (Bernard 1995). Likewise, Geertz's research methods, such as his conceptualisation of fieldwork as 'thick description', were also very important (Geertz, 1973). Though we are aware that to gain a thick description needs a long period of

fieldwork. the understanding of this method is very useful for any researcher carrying out empirical studies on the theme of international tourism, cultural identity and globalization. In order to collect the data on cultural, historical and eco tourism in the Philippines, we started with government officials from different agencies with in depth interviews conducted with those government officials in charge of tourism matters, particularly from the Tourism Authority of the Philippines. In addition, we interviewed people engaged in tourist enterprises, including owners of souvenir shops, the owner of a travel agency, and tour guides in Manila and surroundings. Tourist facilities are mainly located in Manila and its surrounding areas. Of course, there are many other areas, including Cebu and Davao, which have tourist facilities, but Manila and its surroundings offer cultural and historical tourism which have been widely promoted. This research, therefore, focuses on these areas for particular reasons. Being the capital city of the Philippines, Manila is the main gateway for incoming international tourists.

Additionally, observations in the tourist destinations which offer cultural and ethnic tourism are also an important way to gather data. We went to Intramuros and festivals. We also visited Rizal Park, Nayang Philippines, and other destinations within Metro Manila and its surroundings. These destinations were selected because they have been widely promoted as tourist destinations through brochures and books.

Plate 1.1: Map of the Philippines



**Plate 1.2: Interview with a Filipino Scholar
at University of the Philippines**



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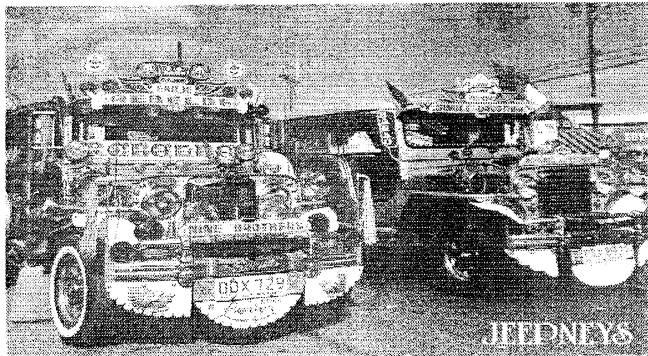
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CHAPTER II
GLIMPSES OF TOURISM IN MANILA AND
ITS SURROUNDINGS

Yekti Maunati, Mayasuri Presilla, and I Ketut Ardhana

The international airport in Manila was quiet when we arrived. We looked for brochures for tourist attractions, but could not find one. Finally, we went out to look for a taxi to take us to town. The taxi fare from the airport to the hotel was P345, quite expensive for such a short distance. Along the way, we saw many decorated jeepneys: a common public transportation vehicle. It is very interesting that each jeepney has its own decoration. At first impression, drivers of jeepneys drive them at high speed. There was no traffic jam on Sunday, June 12, when we arrived in Manila. It was also the Independence Day of the Philippines. On the way to the Hotel, we passed Manila beach. The hotel where we stayed has a casino on Level Two. The cost of a standard room is P1250 per night with the room equipped with a TV, an AC, and a refrigerator. The hotel is located in the Malate area. Surrounded by shops, the area around the hotel is quite crowded especially during the day, because of traffic jams during working hours particularly at lunch times. There are lots of travel agencies, money changers and 'Halal' restaurants, owned by Middle Eastern people here. Biryani Rice, Shawarma, and Kebabs are some examples of the food.

Plate 2.1: Jeepney



The breakfast at the hotel is not buffet with guests only able to select from the provided rather limited menu which includes toast, scrambled eggs, corned beef, coffee and water.

On the way to the Indonesian Embassy from the hotel, the roads were quiet; a situation that does not usually occur on working days. This was because on Monday, June 13, 2005, many offices were on holiday due to the Independence Day on Sunday. Generally, there are usually traffic jams everywhere, from the suburbs to the Makati district; the business centre in the capital, but it is not as bad as in Jakarta. From some Indonesian students studying here, we learned that the Philippine government tries to reduce the traffic jams by providing coloured Car Number Plates for all private transportation. As a result, not every car can be driven every day because it depends on the colour of its number plates. For example, if they have a red number plate they can use their car only on Mondays and Wednesdays, and on holidays.

Makati, is the richest district of Metro Manila, similar to Thamrin or Kuningan areas in Jakarta. All along the main road are high office buildings, luxurious hotels, apartment buildings, malls, etc. Conversely, this situation is very different in other districts. In Makati development is focused on it as a business centre, The Manila district is an area for the government because the Malacanang Palace and other government offices are located here. In addition, Manila is also a place that is visited by many travelers because it has some historical sites, Manila Bay and many facilities for travelers to stay economically with cheap hotels, restaurants, casinos, etc.

Before arriving in the Philippines, we thought that most Filipinos could speak English fluently. However, this was not always so because we found many people who spoke broken English, especially those who might be considered as being of the working class, like drivers. In our experience, many taxi drivers cannot speak English well and we had difficulty in communicating with them. Nevertheless, we found that many people can speak English well, especially within the academia, government offices, and other public spheres. Based on our interviews with many scholars, we can say that on the whole, the people of the Philippines can speak English, even those who reside in remote areas.

Plate 2.2: Makati



We saw so many interesting and different things during our fieldwork in the Philippines. Almost all the fast food restaurants are visited at breakfast, lunch, and dinner times, every day, by working people because the food is cheap. These fast food restaurants like McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Pizza Hut, etc are franchises. So, we do not know what kind of traditional food there is in this country because it is difficult to find. Some Indonesian students here said that Filipino food is tasteless and most uses pork. If we want to eat delicious food and want to be satisfied, we have to go to Thai, Malay or Pakistani restaurants, and for that, we have to spend a lot of money.

Another thing is taxi fares. Despite our initial experience with a taxi, the taxi fares in the Philippines are cheap although the fuel price is high (even higher than in Indonesia) and not fixed. Otherwise, people would prefer to take jeepneys. One thing for sure, is that it is hard to find a clean and neat taxi. Almost all of the taxis are old cars and often the taxi drivers told us the tariff as soon as we entered the taxi, but we could bargain.

Plate 2.3: Rizal Monument in Manila



Yekti Maunati

I. Profile

In 2005 the population of the Philippines was 87,857,473 (<http://search.msn.com/results.asp?FORM=sCPN&RS=CHECKED&un=doc&v=1&q=population%20philippines>). The population has grown rapidly since the 1980s. In 1980 the total population was only 48 million then in 1990 it was more than 66 million. In line with the population growth, there has been a rise of population density from 160 per square kilometre in 1980 to 220 in 1990. Due to the fast population growth and the size of the younger demographic, every twenty nine years the government of the Philippines needs to double the stock of housing, schools, and health facilities (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/34.htm>).

The majority of the population is Christian where the Catholics are the biggest proportion, around 82.9 per cent while the Protestants make up only 5.4 per cent. The third proportion is those who adhere to Islam; approximately 4.6 per cent. While, the Philippine Independent Church makes up 2.6 per cent and the Iglesia ni Cristo 2.3 per cent. For a long time, the people in the Philippines have been adherents of two great religions of the world, Islam and Christianity. After the coming of Arab traders to Southeast Asia during the 14th century, Islam started to be known and embraced, but now, it is merely embraced by the Southern region of the Philippines. Meanwhile, Christianity only started to be known by people of the Philippines in the 16th century (<http://www.gov.ph/aboutphil/general.asp>).

The system of education in the Philippines has followed the American system with English as the medium of instruction. (<http://www.gov.ph/aboutphil/general.asp>). Based on 1988 Philippine government figures, everyone who has completed four years of elementary school is considered literate and the rate of this was 88 per cent and equal for men and women. In 1970 it was only 82.6 per cent. In the Philippines, in the 1987 academic year, elementary education, which was free, was given to some 15 million schoolchildren. Nationwide, the rate of high school enrollment was around

56 per cent. However, the rate was a little lower in two areas, Mindanao and the Eastern Visayas region. More than 1.6 million students enrolled in institutions of higher learning. The majority of the people have at least attended elementary school in 1991 (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/53.htm>).

Education is very important for Filipinos and it is a way to escalate their position socially and economically. Drawing from the American notion of a democratic society, Filipinos believe that through education individuals can reach the forefront. It is not surprising if sending children to secondary and higher educational facilities has become necessary, especially for middle class parents who have may have sacrificed their own needs in so doing. The quality of educational institutions in the late 1980s was not standard, with some institutions better than others. The data on the allocation of the national budget to education shows that it was quite high in 1957, around 31.53 per cent, while in 1981 it decreased to be around 7.61 per cent. In 1991, many scholarships were offered to low income families by the government and universities. Certain universities like the University of the Philippines offered special strategies to allow students from low income backgrounds to pay low institutional fees (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/53.htm>).

In interviews, several scholars argued that today education is relatively good in the Philippines. Many universities, including the University of the Philippines and the Ateneo de Manila University, have high standards and a large number of overseas students have enrolled in these universities.

II. Livelihood and Settlement

As in other countries, people in the Philippines can be categorized as engaging in both the modern economy and in traditional jobs. In the modern field, people are employed in government offices, the industrial sector, and so forth. According to Peralta (2000), apart from the Tagalog, the Cebuano have engaged in the modern sectors, including in government jobs.

The Philippines is widely known as having overseas workers around the globe, ranging from Singapore and Australia to the United States of America. The expectation

of working overseas is a trend in the Philippines. In interviews several scholars from the University of the Philippines, argued that the country's economic dependency on overseas workers has been tremendous. Fortunately, the Filipinos usually can speak English fluently so that they rarely have problems getting jobs, especially in the English speaking countries. An informant from the University of the Philippines told us that the Philippines has not been greatly dependant on the tourist industry because the agricultural sector is still very important there. Apart from Agriculture, human labour has contributed greatly to the national economy. In this case, overseas contract workers have been the most significant. He even said that the economy would collapse without overseas contract workers.

Apart from the modern sources of livelihood, many groups have engaged in so called traditional work, especially in shifting cultivation. As reported by Peralta (2000) many ethnic groups, including the Ilongot, the Ga'dang, and the Bukidnon to mention a few, have engaged in shifting cultivation. Apart from rice, these communities have other, additional crops.

A key feature of societies, according to many anthropological accounts, is to be found in their distinctive residential patterns. There are a large number of ethnic groups in the Philippines where each group may not share the same type of settlement (see the section on 'Ethnicity'). For instance, Peralta (2000:30) reports that the settlement of the Sulod of the Vasayas consists of a cluster of a small number of houses. The head of their settlement is customarily the oldest man called *parankuton*, with the assistance of a younger man, *timbang*, to deal with social activities and disputes. Meanwhile, the Ga'dang of Luzon usually reside in a distinctive area, especially along the streams and close to their cultivated fields. They traditionally practice shifting cultivation (Peralta 2000:23). In similar vein, the Ilongot of Luzon who also use slash and burn cultivation tend to reside near river tributaries (Peralta 2000:25). It seems that the strategy of the Ga'dang and the Ilongot of the Philippines in settling their communities is not particularly distinctive since the Dayak of Borneo have also long resided along the rivers or streams. Lebar notes that among the Kenyah, the longhouse, which is commonly constructed parallel to the river, is effectively the same thing as the village (1972:169). He further reports 'localized segments of a Kayan subtribe generally occupy village clusters along the banks of a common stream' (Lebar 1972:170). Whittier also emphasises that Kenyah longhouses are almost always lo-

cated along a river or stream (1978:97). To Furness (1902), the location of longhouses along the riverbank, where the river is the main transport link, was originally a result of the need for quick access to the house by canoe during periods of headhunting. It seems that the development of a village for various different ethnic groups has been similar by being centred along the rivers or streams. Water transportation is, indeed, the reason behind such development.

Similar to the Ga'dang and the Ilongot, the Bukidnon of Negros Oriental in the Visayas have also engaged in shifting cultivation. They live in the uplands in the interior of the island (Peralta, 2000:31). There is similarity amongst these communities to those of the Dayak in terms of their dependency on shifting cultivation (Dove 1988; Lebar 1972 and Conley 1973 for more information on shifting cultivation for the Dayak). The so called Upland Lao, as well as several minorities in Northern Thailand have also engaged in shifting cultivation (Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia, Vientiane. RDR Laos, July 2005, ASEAN Ministerial meeting 25-29 July 2005 for Upland Lao and Technical Service Club, Tribal Research Institute 1995:2 for minorities in Thailand). The practice of shifting cultivation is assumed to lead to deforestation and the destruction of highland watersheds

Unlike the Bukidnon, the Cebuano people reside in Cebu city and they engage in mainstream jobs in government, education, industry, and culture (Peralta 2000:32). The Cebuano used to be the largest ethnic group in the Philippines, but today they are the second largest after the Tagalog (Peralta 2000:32). In similar vein, the Tagalog who are the largest ethnic group in the Philippines, partly live in Manila and are scattered in many other provinces, including Rizal, Laguna, and Bulacan to mention a few (Peralta 2000:26).

III. Ethnicity

Peralta (2000:vii) argues that ethnic groups in the Philippine archipelago are subject to change so that when people talk about present ethnic groups these could be different from those of the past. For example, the 1990 national census does not include the Tiruray, Ikslahan, I'wak, and others which used to be known in the Philippines. This is not only occurring in the Philippines since many cases show that ethnic groups

are subject to change and their identities are under construction (Barth, 1969; Kahn, 1995; etc.).

The apparently arbitrary way in which cultural markers are selected and the importance of the context in determining which elements are selected is further evidence of the constructedness of cultural identities. Eriksen stresses that:

from the Barthian emphasis on boundary processes and later studies of identity boundaries, we also know that the selection of boundary markers is arbitrary in the sense that only some features of culture are singled out and defined as crucial in boundary processes (1993:117).

He goes on to argue that ‘...ideologists always select and reinterpret aspects of culture and history which fit into the legitimatization of a particular power constellation’ (1993:118). In similar vein, Winzeler (1997) notes that in order to lessen the unity of powerless groups, governments often manipulate cultural identity. Eriksen (1993), Kahn (1995) as well as Picard (1997) similarly argue that ethnic identity is constructed according to the situation. Eriksen points out: ‘...identities are negotiable and situational’ (1993:117). He also argues that ethnic identities are composed in relation to others (1993:111), noting:

Groups and collectivities are always constituted in relation to *others*. A shared European identity, for example, would have to define itself in contrast to Muslim, Middle Eastern or Arab identity, possibly also in relation to African, East Asian and North American identities – depending on the social situation (1993:62).

This negotiable and situational quality of identity markers is clear in the way religious differences have been incorporated into identity formation. Picard points out the way in which the Balinese define themselves with reference to a religious identity in opposition to Islam (1997:186). Dayakness, similarly is linked to Christianity and opposed to Islam, the dominant religion in Indonesia. If a Dayak converts to Islam, he is no longer considered a Dayak, becoming instead ‘Malay’ (Coomans, 1987). Likewise, Winzeler finds that among the Bidayuh Dayak ‘usually to become a Muslim is to cease to be a Bidayuh...’ (1997:219). Correspondingly, King points out that pagans who convert to Islam become Malay (1982:27). Furthermore, this process of shifting identity/ethnicity has a long historical pedigree. As King found,

as early as the 1890s European observers noted that many of the approximately 400 'Malays' in the Putus Sibau and Mandai areas were ethnic Taman (Maloh) who had converted to Islam (King, 1982:38). To pinpoint the boundary between the Malay and the Dayak in certain areas of Kalimantan is not surprisingly somewhat problematic due to this means of shifting from Dayak to Malay. Therefore the Dayak are not necessarily distinctively different from neighbouring 'ethnic' groups, although they are constructed as such. This intermingling of cultures is perhaps the order of the day rather than the exception. For as Said has argued:

Partly because of empire, all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic (Said 1993:xxix).

The markers of cultural identity may originate in a presumed distinctiveness of religion, language, and custom. However, overlapping may occur among different ethnic groups. In the grey areas where markers of identities overlap, the existence of cultural difference is particularly problematic (Kahn 1995).

Such grey areas and difficulties in delimiting distinct ethnic groups often colour the process of identity formation. There is the possibility of the mixture or change of ethnic groups over time. Barth illustrates identity change, for instance, with reference to the Yao of Northern Thailand, Laos and Burma (1969:22). The incorporation of non Yao to become Yao also took place individually. Another example Barth draws on is the process of becoming Baluch experienced by Southern Pathans:

Southern Pathans become Baluch and not vice versa; this transformation can take place with individuals but more readily with whole households or small groups of households; it involves loss of position in the rigid geneological and territorial segmentary system of Pathans and incorporation through clientage contract into the hierarchical, centralized system of the Baluch. Acceptance in the receiving group is conditional on the ambition and opportunism of Baluch political leaders (1969:22).

Bradley (1983:54) also notes the shifting of ethnicity. He reports that the 'Lua' or 'Lawaa', are actually not one group but several completely distinct groups where among the Kanchanaburi, Suphanburi, and Uthai Thani groups the Ugong is almost

completely assimilated, and soon will have become Thai (1983:54). Likewise, King (1982) provides an example of the process of delimiting distinct ethnic groups by exploring the concept of ethnicity in Borneo, pointing out that it is complicated and raises several problems. King found that:

...many people who had been classified as “Maloh” in the past had, over time, become something else, and the forbears of some people categorized as “Maloh” in 1972-3 had come from other ethnic groupings (1982:25).

Moreover King notes that processes of cultural exchange or, in the longer term, a process of assimilation, occurred between neighbouring ethnic groups (1982:25). Therefore, it is not surprising if in the Philippines, certain ethnic groups have disappeared or are not being mentioned in the census any longer.

Indeed, when one talks about ethnicity in the Philippines, it is equally complex. Peralta (2000) argues that to talk about ethnic groups is somehow complicated as there are different perspectives on such an issue. For instance, based on information on the Internet it is said that in 1990, the Philippine society was considered to be somewhat homogeneous, spread throughout 1,000 inhabited islands. Around 90 per cent of the society were unified on the basis of a common cultural and religious background. The different groups were Muslims and upland tribal peoples. The main internal distinction amongst the lowland Christian Filipinos was language, but it was common that they interacted and intermarried regularly across linguistic lines. Linguistic obstacle was blurring due to political centralization, urbanization, and wide ranging internal migration, apart from the government priority on Filipino and English (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>).

The Filipinos have become a hybrid people, originating from a long history of intermarriage amongst many groups, including Malay, Chinese, Spanish, Negrito, and American. Negritos were among the earliest inhabitants. Meanwhile, the Malays came there after the Negritos. They had developed lowland Filipino agricultural life over a long time. The coming and dispersal of the Malays throughout the archipelago have resulted in two important phenomena. Firstly, there had been intermarriage between Malays and Negritos, except for a minority of Negritos who moved to the mountainous areas. The Negritos who reside in the mountains have kept their distinct culture.

Secondly, the Malays split into separate groups with some residing in isolated locations, including Mindanao and northern Luzon. Several sultanates emerged in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago along with the arrival of Islam in the southern Philippines during the fifteenth century. In the mid sixteenth century, Islamic influence extended into the Manila Bay area (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>).

Spanish power in the sixteenth century was able to provide certain conditions for the emergence of a Philippine national identity. Yet, this Spanish colonial power could not fully eliminate Muslim autonomy on Mindanao and in the Sulu Archipelago where the sultanates were against Christian conversion. Similarly, the Spanish failed to convert upland tribal groups, especially on Luzon and Mindanao. Indeed, the Spanish power was most influential among lowland groups and emanated from Manila. (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>).

The rise of Philippine national identity was associated with the process of the formation of Filipinos who originated from the mixing of distinct ethnic and linguistic groups, but they all were lowland Christians who were called *Indios* by the Spaniards. They did not incorporate Muslims, upland tribal groups or ethnic Chinese as Filipinos because those groups 'had not been assimilated by intermarriage and did not fit the category' (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>). In the process of the formation of a national identity, the majority took into consideration the most important societal differentiations among groups. For instance, the awareness of the indigenous people of the need to be unified nationally to encounter the Spanish power and then fight against the United States troops, transcended local and regional identities. To weaken religious, ethnic, and linguistic or regional differences, a public school system that brought at least elementary level education to all, was founded during the early twentieth century. Additionally, the spread of English as a lingua franca as well as the development of transportation and communication systems served to unify the people (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>).

Jocano (1998:1), who studies Philippine indigenous ethnic communities, argues that in the Philippines whilst some of the indigenous ethnic communities have maintained their colourful and unique institutional and cultural practices, others have experienced significant social and cultural changes. To understand the indigenous communities is very important. Peralta has attempted to map the ethnic group in the

Philippines as follows: **Luzon**: Ivatan/Ithayat, Ilocano, Tinggian, Apayao, Kalinga, Balangao, Kankanay, Kankanaey, Bago, Bontoc, Ifugao, Ibaloi, Ikalahan/Kalanguya, Iwak, Isinay, Pangasinan, Ga'dang, Ibanag, Itawait, Malaweg, Yogad, Ilongot, Kapampangan, Palanan, Tagalog, Bicol, Negrito, and Sambal; **Visayas**: Masbateno, Abaknon, Rombloanon, Bantoanon, Aklanon, Kiniray-a/Hantikanon, Hiligaynon, Sulod, Bukidnon, Boholano, Cebuano, and Waray; **Mindoro**: Mangyan; **Palawan**: Tagbanwa, Agutayanen, Kuyonen, Pala'wan, Molbog, Batak, Tau't and Batu; **Sulu/Tawi-tawi**: Yakan, Sama, Sama Dilaut, Tasaug, and Jama Mapun; and **Mindanao**: Manobo, Sangil/Sangir, Maranao, Ilanun, Mangindanao, Tiruray, Tasaday, T'boli, B'laan, Subanun, Kamiguin, Mamanwa, Butuanon, Kamayo, Bagobo, Mandaya, Kalagan, and Kolibugan (Peralta 2000:13-52)

IV. Conclusion

It can be concluded that in terms of religion, Christianity is the most important religion in the Philippines. This cannot be separated from the Spanish colonization. The historical heritage of today is often linked with the Spanish colonization, including churches which can be found on many islands of the Philippines. Apart from Christianity, Islam is important in the Southern region. Today, there have been many problems of the Moro struggle over certain issues, such as economic aspects (Research Center for Regional Resources – the Indonesian Institute of Sciences 2003). Furthermore, ethnic groups are subject to change. In the past, social scientists often took for granted that ethnic grouping was rigid. However, today, experts have come to realize that groups can change their ethnic identity as has been discussed by Barth (1969), King (1982), Kahn (1995) and Peralta (2000) to mention a few. Indeed, in the Philippines, ethnicity is also a complex issue where the disappearance of certain groups has occurred over time.

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Mayasuri Presilla

I. Introduction

The Philippines is an archipelago with 7,107 islands endowed with rich natural resources, a colourful history and a unique culture. The country's tourism attractions are many and diverse, supporting a wide range of tourist products offered to both domestic and international tourists. Capitalizing on this enormous potential for tourism, the Philippine government for almost 30 years has been embarked on tourism development as a major economic thrust besides the service, industrial and agricultural sectors. Tourism in the Philippines has now become one of the country's largest industries. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council and the Wharton Econometric Associates, the tourism industry in the Philippines has already contributed US\$ 6.8 million to the country's Gross National Product and created 2.24 million jobs in 1997. The number of tourist arrivals in the Philippines tends to increase each year. For example, in January-February 2004, the monthly total of visitors to the country was 384,859. This number became 407,429 in January-February 2005.

The above facts about tourism in the Philippines do not diminish the occurrence of some problems in this industry. In the long term, the development of tourism in the Philippines has been influenced by the interaction of a wide range of internal and external factors. These include:

1. The relative attractiveness of the country, its proximity to markets, the availability of tourist infrastructure and superstructure, and the extent to which its role as a promoter of economic and social development is recognized;
2. The location of the Philippines within one of the planet's most active typhoon, volcanic and earthquake belts; and
3. Almost total dependence on Manila, and the resulting vulnerability to externally and internally produced dislocation.

In combination, these factors have produced a modest annual average growth curve.

punctuated by long periods of stagnation and decline, followed by brief bursts of rapid growth which in fact occurred in 1988 and 1989. This pattern of development is highly debilitating not only to the economy but also to the industry.

The availability of a master plan to guide tourism development on a course that minimizes the impact of the negative factors, while maximizing the positive and generates a sustainable growth curve, is essential, if the contribution of tourism to national, regional and local development goals and objectives are to be optimized. The main mission of the Master Plan for tourism development in the Philippines is to provide this course. Therefore, this paper will analyze the development of a tourism policy in the Philippines from one government administration to another and also some impact of the tourism policy itself.

II. Development of the Tourism Policy in the Philippines and Its Impact

A. Philippine Tourism in the 19th Century

Before entering the modern era, we shall begin the discussion of tourism policy in the Philippines in the 19th century. At that time a form of tourism already existed there. The primary reason for foreigners traveling to the country was trade. The destination places were Manila, Laguna, Cavite, Zamboanga, Sulu, and Bicol. Imposed by the Spanish government, there were two travel regulations and formalities that had to be followed by travelers. One was the need for a passport. This for travelers journeying to the Philippines was one of the two most important documents to have as well as a letter of introduction from an official from the travelers' own country. The passport was issued in Manila in order for foreign travelers to be able to visit other nearby towns; to avoid any conflicts that could arise from the presence of foreigners. It was apparently employed as a security measure by the Spanish government (Karl Lenin Abol *et.al.* Oct. 2002: 5-8)

Although the tourism sector was not the main means to develop the Philippines, the Spanish government tried to improve some facilities for the comfort and relief of voyagers. It accommodated the traveler by building a tribunal. This was a sort of town hall where the headmen of the village met to transact business and it was also a place for travelers to stay. Besides, there were a good many hotels in Manila during

the late Spanish Era (1800s). Also in Manila, to avoid traffic jams, the Puente Colgante (now Quezon Bridge) was built. To add to the growing transportation, the first bicycle appeared on Manila streets in 1889. The port of Manila improved and construction of the breakwater was started as well (Karl Lenin Abol et.al. Oct. 2002: 33-37).

The impact of tourism in this era was cultural infusion. Practices, dresses, traditions and ways of living changed after encounters with foreign travelers. A lot of foreigners also wanted to recreate their home environments by bringing activities to the Philippines that were 'indigenous' to their countries. The social life of the Spanish and other foreign residents centred quite a bit around the clubs (Karl Lenin Abol et.al. Oct. 2002: 43-48).

B. The American and Japanese Eras

There is not enough information about tourism in the Philippines in those eras. After independence from Spain in 1898, the Philippines was occupied by the United States. During this time, Filipino revolutionaries were openly defying the Americans, and the Americans were doing likewise. Like of the Spanish, the USA's number one intention was to serve their own economic needs, and by 1930 they had engineered an industrial and social revolution, with two of the biggest booms coming from mining and prostitution. Following the outbreak of World War II, in 1939, the American troops could not defend the country from the Japanese who attacked a little later. So, from 1942-1945, the country endured a Japanese regime (Russ Kerr et.al. 2000: 20-22).

Because of the war and independence movements, almost no economic sectors developed, including the tourism sector. Even after World War II ended, when Manuel Roxas was installed as president of the Republic of the Philippines, the national structure still lay in ruins.

C. The Marcos Era

Marcos succeeded in becoming President in 1965. Although the economy did not go very well, Marcos was concerned about the tourism industry in the country. In the

early 1970s the Philippine government began its mass tourism program. Since then, multinational firms have been given generous incentives to build deluxe hotels in Manila.

The Marcos administration also completed the government structure by establishing a single institution in charge of tourism matters. In May 1973, the Philippine Tourism Authority (PTA) with the Department of Tourism (DOT), and Philippine Convention Bureau (PCB) created pursuant to Presidential Decree No. 189 as amended by Presidential Decree No. 564. PTA implements policies and programs of the department pertaining to the development, promotion, and supervision of tourism projects in the Philippines. Its functions are to develop and identify priority areas; to operate, maintain, and promote facilities in pioneering capacity; to provide technical and financial assistance to qualified tourism projects; and to generate revenues to fund national and corporate development undertakings (<http://www.philtourism.com/missionpage.html>).

DOT, meanwhile, functions as the primary agency charged with the responsibility to encourage, promote, and develop tourism as a major socio economic activity to generate foreign currency and employment and to spread the benefits of tourism to both the private and public sectors (www.wowphilippines.com/ph/dot/mission.asp). For DOT to function well, five sectors were formed within it, that is, the Office of the Secretary; Tourism Promotions Sector; Tourism Services and Regional Offices Sector; Planning, Product Development and Coordination; and Internal Services Sector. Each of the sectors has its own responsibilities to develop the Philippines as one of the tourism destinations in the world.

In 1986, under the Executive Orders No. 120 and 120-A, DOT and PCB were reorganized structurally and functionally. PCB then was renamed Philippine Convention and Visitors' Corporation (PCVC). PCVC is the institution which is in charge of promoting the Philippine Department of Tourism. Planning, implementing, marketing, and promoting the country as a convention destination are the tasks of PCVC. (www.dotpcvc.gov.ph).

D. The Aquino Era

In the era of the Aquino administration, the economic condition of the Philippines was not stable. The new government was bequeathed foreign debts that had to be repaid soon. So, the Aquino policy was more concerned with how to repay the foreign debt which increased every year. Consequently, the development policy stressed liberalization of foreign investment, privatization, and deregulation. Accordingly, it was not surprising if the Aquino administration paid less attention to the tourism industry. The economic situation was deteriorating because of the oil crisis in 1990 ending in the augmentation of the number of unemployed, especially in the agricultural and service industries, the following year (Department of Labour and Employment of the Philippines 1998). As a result, this influenced the balance of the Philippine economy, when the GDP dropped to 0.23 per cent (National Statistics Office 1996).

However, the Aquino administration was still able to found one institution related to the tourism industry, namely, Duty Free Philippines (DFP) in 1987. Since its inception it has been dedicated to satisfying the shopping needs of the international travelers who come to the Philippines. Its vast range of world class brands of high quality products and state of the art facilities in all its eight outlets are all geared to achieve the company's aim of total customer satisfaction. DFP, through the years, soared high among the leaders in the world duty free industry with its impressive sales and operations performance.

E. The Ramos Era

As soon as he ascended to the presidential position, Ramos made many changes for economic improvement with a neo liberal revolution. Free trade, liberalization, privatization and deregulation were his steps to improve the economy. In terms of tourism, Ramos created one plan, known as the Tourism Master Plan (TMP).

The Tourism Master Plan (TMP) for the Philippines, developed by the Department of Tourism, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the World Tourism Organization (WTO), has been formally adopted in the Medium Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) through Proclamation No. 188 signed by President Ramos in 1993.

The TMP in the Ramos administrative era, aimed at serving as a guide for the growth and development of the tourism industry for the next 20 years, was the official blueprint for the sustainable development of the tourism industry. As a result, tourism has been listed as one of the 'flagships' of the government to propel the economic recovery process and promote the Philippines.

The successful implementation of the TMP rests on the adoption of the following strategies: a cluster development approach based on the establishment of three main international gateways and associated satellite destinations; a niche and mass market approach based on a diverse mix of special interest, vacation, resort, convention, exhibition, touring and incentive travel products; and a balance of development between foreign and domestic tourism.

The first strategies of the TMP programs were the establishment of three destination clusters with strategic gateways, including: Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao; and the development of five priority satellite area destinations (Press Release of Philippine Tourism Master Plan, Department of Tourism 1993):

Area 1: Samal Island Tourism Estate;

Area 2: Panglao Island Tourism;

Area 3: Northern Palawan;

Area 4: Southern Luzon (Batangas/Taal/Tagaytay/Ternate/Bicol);

Area 5: Northern Luzon (Baguio/La Union/Ilocos/Pangasinan).

Also in the Ramos era, there were accommodation development policies to attract tourists from East Asia, Europe, Oceania and the ASEAN region. It also attempted to accomplish the accommodation requirements over the short, medium and longer terms. These policies included many actions such as developing additional hotel and budget accommodation outside Manila at least until 1996. The focus of the development of some resorts in the country was in the proposed resort estates on Samal and Panglao Islands as well as in the Cebu, the Batangas Coast, La Union and Northern Palawan areas.

The short term aim for accommodation development in 1993 had the main policy objectives: to build up the utilization of existing accommodation facilities particu-

larly in the Manila area: plan for the development of at least two major resort estates with up to 6,000 resort units; and encourage the upgrading of existing facilities. In the medium to longer term, the aim of policy was to develop two new resort estates, while continuing to promote better utilization of existing accommodation facilities through marketing and upgrading programs. Investment incentives should continue to be targeted to maximize the effectiveness of scarce public sector resources. For the year 1996-1997, the focus of the TMP was destination development wherein efforts were geared towards fast tracking the development of the proposed tourism estates on Samal and Panglao Islands ((Press Release of Philippine Tourism Master Plan, Department of Tourism 1993).

The accommodation development policies above were followed by transportation policies. The principal objectives of the transport strategy for the tourism sector of the Philippines were (Philippine Tourism Master Plan, Policy Implication 1993):

1. To provide the necessary standard of facilities, services and capacity required to efficiently convey markets from their point of origin to and within the Philippines at the lowest possible cost;
2. To assist in the diversification of tourism by encouraging its expansion into the Visayas and Mindanao;
3. To provide a hierarchy of transportation services to cater to varied tourist requirements;
4. As far as possible, to provide alternative modes to the available transportation systems so that at any time, if one mode is shut down, an alternative mode of transport is available.

These transportation policies applied to International Aviation, Domestic Aviation, Road Transportation, Sea Transportation and Rail Transportation.

All the policies mentioned above were headed for achieving target visitor volumes, so the Philippine government then issued Marketing Policies which included Domestic Marketing Policies and Foreign Marketing Policies.

Domestic Marketing Policies

Specifically, they would require (Philippine Tourism Master Plan, Policy Implication 1993):

1. The formulation and implementation of a major domestic marketing program which included:
 - a. Undertaking market segmentation research on which to base short/medium term development and promotion activities;
 - b. Assembling and packaging a range of 'SPECIAL OFFERS' incorporating accommodation, natural and cultural attraction products;
 - c. Mounting a major campaign aimed at the middle to upper income vacation and special interest market in major urban and regional centres of the Philippines.
2. The strengthening of existing programs designed to promote domestic tourism such as the Pasyal-Aral, the North South Cultural Exchange Program, the Lakbay Aral, and the Home Stay.

To achieve the medium to longer term targets in the domestic market, it would be necessary to expand the marketing program which included (Philippine Tourism Master Plan, Policy Implication, 1993):

- The middle to lower incomes groups of the population;
- A broader range of cultural tour programs directed at schools, universities and the retired segment of the population;
- Provide incentives to employers to fund an annual domestic holiday trip for their employees by making such expenses tax deductible.

The emphasis on domestic marketing in short, medium, and longer terms would require a change in the current marketing policies, which were mainly aimed at the international market.

Foreign Marketing Policies

Despite issuing domestic marketing policies, the Philippine government also proposed several points to achieve the short term targets in the foreign markets. Those points were (Philippine Tourism Master Plan, Policy Implication 1993):

1. Showing the positive and the wholesome side of tourism in the Philippines;
2. Promoting its 'GOOD VALUE';
3. Providing 'SPECIAL OFFERS';
4. Repositioning and repackaging existing destinations such as Manila, based on value shopping, entertainment and restaurants.

The achievement of the medium to longer term foreign visitor targets would require marketing the Philippines to its primary markets by:

1. Projecting it as a major and revived destination in the medium term, particularly in the East Asian market;
2. Establishing new brand identities to overcome inherent volatility in the medium to longer term;
3. Marketing newly developed resort areas.

The Philippine government thought that the above Marketing Policies had to be followed by facility provision so that the visitors would feel comfortable and want to stay longer in the country. Therefore, the government then encouraged product development policies to meet the requirements of the additional visitor volumes targeted by the Master Plan. Product development policies focused on moving quickly to enhance facilities by upgrading the existing range of products available to the market, and planning the development of new products designed to attract a larger volume of domestic and foreign tourists in the longer term.

Whilst in the medium term, it may be possible to develop new products, such as resort destinations. It was clear that for the time being, the Philippines would need to rely on existing attractions and products located mainly in the Luzon area. Therefore, an immediate priority was to improve the attractiveness of this product. Although, the country already had the tourism resources and potential demand to market, like the several large resort estate destinations close to the major gateways in the Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao development cluster; a large variety of special interest resort products based on its marine environment, traditional culture, scuba diving, trekking, golf and fishing activities located further from the main gateways were important to build. So, a number of high quality tourism products based on the natural, cultural and historic attraction of the country; and quality shopping experi-

ences based on art and craft items as well as Asian food styles and evening entertainment were also continually constructed.

Still during the Ramos administration, the government realized that tourism, like many other industries, needed high skills and qualified manpower. The ability to meet the demand for trained manpower at all levels was a major issue that had to be addressed immediately. Therefore, the country tried very hard to fill this requirement by improving the standard of manpower training for travel agencies and tour guides (Philippine Tourism Master Plan, Policy Implication 1993):

1. Government control of the Tourism Industry Training Board (consisting of Hotel and Restaurant Industry Board Foundation Inc.) attached to the DOT;
2. Implementing some specific tourism training policies through a Tourism Industry Training Board;
3. Funding of Tourism Industry Training Board's activities;
4. Establishing regional training centres in Metro Manila, Baguio, Cebu, and Davao which would concentrate on training the staff of new hotels prior to opening;
5. Establishing an internationally acceptable standard setting and certification program based on rationalizing the existing education and training establishments, affiliating with an internationally recognized tourism training institution, and arranging technical assistance;
6. Establishing a faculty/trainer development program which aimed to offer intensive courses in teaching methods.

From the information above, it seems that the Ramos administration based its tourism policy on the development of infrastructure facilities. As a Ramos centerpiece, the development program liberalized investment from abroad and a large section of countryside was changed into real estate, hotel, resorts, technoparks, golf courses, commercial centres and malls, especially in the region of Southern Tagalog, Central Luzon, and Iloilo (Walden Bello, 2004: 49). The development program was not adjusted to the local way of life. Consequently, it brought many and various cases of land conversion, land speculation, and environmental degradation as well.

Realizing the unsuitability of this development, Ramos tried to reduce the negative impacts of tourism mass development. The government, through DOT, cooperation with the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) started the Environmen-

tally Sustainable Tourism Development Master Plan which focused on the protection of the rich and sensitive environment.

Based on the Press Release published in 1993, the JICA study on the Environmentally Sustainable Tourism Development Plan for Northern Palawan and the Tourism Master Plan for Pagudpud-Bangui, Ilocos Norte were worked out. Two special projects to be implemented were the Boracay Environmental Infrastructure Project and the Central Manila Urban Renewal Tourism Redevelopment Plan. Conceptual regional tourism master plans were expected to be completed as a prelude to the preparation of integrated cluster development plans for Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao, and detailed physical planning of identified tourism development areas. Tourism development on an environmentally sustainable basis was continuously being pursued with focus on ecotourism and cultural heritage projects.

F. The Estrada Era

The development of the tourism industry continued after Ramos was replaced by Estrada. The Department of Tourism under the Estrada administration encouraged agencies and the private sector to agree to a covenant on September 23, 1998, (*Turismo Kaakbay sa Kaunlaran*) to pursue the following objectives (Travel Post, December 1998):

IMAGE

To project the country as a wholesome destination with emphases on culture, history, arts, and the natural attractions.

MARKETING

To forge marketing initiatives which include standardization of collateral sharing in joint projects, development of special tour packages and competitive pricing schemes and when necessary, to come up with a crisis management plan to avert negative publicity.

BUDGET

To carefully plan, prioritize and judiciously spend the budget of the Department of Tourism; to guarantee the sustainable development of destinations, tourism promo-

tion, standards and service thereby ensuring visitor satisfaction; to lobby for the allotment of a major percentage of taxes and government levies generated from tourism related establishments to the Department of Tourism specifically for tourism development and promotion.

INFRASTRUCTURE

To integrate the tourism industry's infrastructure needs with the infrastructure program of the national government and the local government units (LGUs).

TRANSPORT POLICIES

To push for the immediate liberalization of air, sea, and land transport policies; To lobby for the return of the Department of Tourism as chair of the Civil Aeronautics Board so that tourism priorities are adequately addressed.

DESTINATION DEVELOPMENT

To focus on the best tourist destinations and develop them in accordance with the 20year Philippine Tourism Master Plan (TMP) and Regional Tourism Master Plans (RTMPs); To involve the local government units (LGUs) and host communities in the planning and implementation of the TMP and RTMPs.

LEGISLATION

To be vigilant in the enforcement of existing laws and ordinances and be cognizant of the enactment of new laws affecting tourism and industry; To aggressively campaign for the legislation of laws that would ensure the promotion of sustainable development, preservation of culture, history, and the arts, and the safe and hospitable stay of tourists in the country.

INVESTMENT

To move for the legislation of an Investment Incentives Package for the tourism industry to be administered by the Department of Tourism and for which an annual Tourism Investments Priorities Plan would be formulated in consultation with the private sector.

LABOUR RELATIONS AND MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT

To strengthen industrial peace and increase productivity; To continually undertake

human resource development (HRD) programs to ensure the dignity and quality of tourism related labour and its availability in the right quantity, time, and place.

PEACE AND ORDER, CLEANLINESS AND BEAUTIFICATION

To assist, coordinate and collaborate in the promotion and maintenance of peace and order, cleanliness and beautification of existing, emerging and potential attractions and destinations.

CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM

To institutionalize a consultative body to adopt a mechanism which would address issues and concerns for immediate and collaborative action between the private sector and the Department of Tourism; To review existing policies or mechanisms on private sector representation in the Philippine Convention and Visitor Corporation (PCVC) and the Philippine Tourism Authority (PTA); The Secretary of Tourism would initiate the review.

The covenant was accelerated by the DOT with the tourism program 'Rediscovery'. Rediscovery here means that the Philippines finally would find again the natural beauty and treasures of its archipelago which were found by Ferdinand Magellan in 1521 and must be rediscovered again for both foreigners and Filipinos. So, rediscovery of the Philippines and its treasures would put the country on the world tourism map (<http://www.oneocean.org/overseas/jun99/dot.html>).

The Philippine government believed that the 'Rediscovery' theme was the key to revitalizing the country's trust weakened because of the Economic Crisis jolt in mid 1997. Through the 'Rediscovery' program, the world would be reminded that Magellan's discovery completed the world map; emphasize the most basic motivation for travel –exploration and adventure; serve to highlight the unique and varied treasures of the country; encourage second and third generation Filipinos abroad to visit their homeland; and spur Filipinos to explore and travel in their country.

The 'Rediscovery' program goal was to intensively and comprehensively develop tourism so that it could bring about benefits in the future. Moreover, it was believed to contribute, in a big way, to jobs and justice for Filipinos. In its implementation, this program was influenced by its challenges and opportunities. One challenge was

the Asian Economic Crisis, which took a heavy toll of regional economies and impacted in three ways: cut tourist traffic from the Philippines' biggest and fastest growing market - East Asia, curtailed public and private investment in tourism development and promotion, and made the competition for the international tourist traffic even more intense.

Meanwhile, the key goals and priorities in the Philippine tourism development program were:

1. To generate a greater volume of foreign and domestic tourists;
2. To generate jobs, create livelihood opportunities and improve income distribution in both city and countryside;
3. To develop a diversity of destinations, attractions and markets throughout the country;
4. To promote sustainable tourism through the protection, conservation and prudent management of the country's rich natural environment;
5. To involve local communities in the development of destinations and ensure their share in tourism's rewards;
6. To highlight and enhance the country's colourful culture and unique history in tourism development and promotion;
7. To improve the image of the Philippines abroad and foster greater national awareness of and pride in their own country among Filipinos.

To realize the program, the government implemented reorganization of its overseas offices and recalled Tourism Attaches for reassignment; promoted tourism development; encouraged private enterprise to drive the industry forward by investing in tourism facilities, providing services and generating revenues and actively promoting investment in tourism and other industries. These actions were attached to the Tourism Master Plan as Gemma Cruz Araneta, Secretary of DOT, said in her presentation points out. (<http://www.oneocean.org/overseas/jun99/dot.html>).

The Tourism Master Plan

Continuing Ramos' tourism program, the Tourism Master Plan in the Estrada era also divided the Philippines into three strategic gateway clusters:

- The Luzon Cluster, which included all of Luzon, as well as Palawan, Mindoro and Marinduque.
- The Visayas Cluster, which included Cebu, Bohol, Samar, Leyte, Negros Occidental and Oriental and Panay.
- The Mindanao Cluster, which included the Davao provinces, Zamboanga del Sur and del Norte, Misamis Oriental and Occidental, Surigao del Norte and Sur and the Muslim Provinces.

The Luzon Cluster was positioned as a multi faceted destination with a full range of markets and products. The Visayan Cluster was positioned as a resort centre because of the high quality of its beaches and islands, and the Mindanao Cluster was positioned as an exotic wilderness and colourful cultural destination. Each cluster contained one or more primary gateways, a number of secondary gateways, and a variety of existing, emerging and potential destinations. Adequate facilities and services for the projected tourism volumes would be developed.

Like Ramos, Estrada oriented the development strategy of both special interest tourism and vacation resort destinations to both domestic and foreign markets. Those strategies were a combination between niche and market strategies; a balance between the development of domestic and foreign markets; equal focus on resort; cultural and heritage tourism; improvement in support and services such as transport services, ground infrastructure, existence of tourism plan, and the overall peace and order climate in the country; and ensure the changes necessary for long term sustained growth with an institutional streamlining of tourism management. Along with the strategies above, tourism development under the Estrada administration highlighted cultural and heritage tourism which emphasized the following action ideas (<http://www.oneocean.org/overseas/jun99/dot.html>):

- Promote and preserve native cultures, festivals and traditions;
- Highlight the artistic and cultural achievements of the people by strengthening the networks of museums and libraries in the country;
- Enhance awareness of historic places, date and events;
- Preserve ancestral homes, churches, mosques and other structures of architectural and historical significance;
- Develop arts tourism in the country.

The Tourism Projects

The tourism development program of the Estrada administration involved quite a number of projects, as follows:

1. Tourism Highway

For domestic tourism, a key project in President Estrada's Tourism Highway was a nationwide program that would string together varied local communities into tourism zones and grids. All local communities would be tourist destinations in their own right. Communities, local governments and local businesses would be the main driver in generating tourist arrivals and revenues.

2. Save the Ifugao Rice Terraces Project

A key project for heritage tourism involved the preservation of the historic and world renowned Ifugao Rice Terraces. The government would spend P1.2 billion for their rehabilitation and helping the rice terraces to be a world heritage site.

3. Manila (Multi-faceted Tourist Destination)

Manila is one of the premier gateways to the Philippines because of its facilities of historical and cultural sites, shopping and entertainment, and vibrant business districts. The DOT and the Manila Authority implemented the following projects to increase the number of tourist attractions:

- Save the Metropolitan Theatre;
- Rizal Memorial Stadium Sports Museum;
- Intramuros Restoration Exhibit; and
- NAIA to Pasig River Beautification.

4. 'One day Tours' in Regions III, IV and the NCR

The Philippine government under the Estrada administration promoted one day tours to the scenic spots and historical sites of Regions III, IV, and the National Capital Region (NCR) to visitors who wanted to see the countryside but did not have much time in the Philippines.

5. Balikbayan in the New Millennium

The successful Balikbayan Program for Ethnic Filipinos abroad was expanded with the Tourism Frontliner and Discover Your Roots programs.

5a. Tourism Frontliner Program

Balikbayan or overseas workers were enlisted as a vast marketing network and frontliners for tourism marketing and promotion under the Tourism Frontliners Program.

5b. Discover Your Roots

With this program, the third and fourth generation Filipino-Americans or Ethnic Filipinos living abroad would be enticed to visit their ancestral homeland to trace their own culture.

6. *Back to Basics Cleanliness Drive*

The Back to Basics Cleanliness Drive launched by the DOT was intended to drive efforts for clean restrooms in gasoline stations, bus stations, stores, restaurants and municipal buildings.

7. *Tourist Assistance Centres*

The Tourist Assistance Centres were established by the DOT at international and domestic gateways to offer a range of services: taxi hire, hotel reservations and information on tourist destinations. The first Tourist Assistance Centre is now operational at NAIA.

8. *Barkadahan sa Turismo*

This program pursued and encouraged youth and student groups to participate in domestic tourism. Therefore, resorts owned by the Philippine Tourism Authority all over the country were touted as ideal tourist destinations for them.

9. *Visit ASEAN Year 2002*

The Philippines together with other ASEAN member nations declared the year 2002 as the 'Visit ASEAN Year'. This declaration, with the theme 'Cooperative Competition', purposed to draw and promote the ASEAN region as a single tourist destination for tourists from all over the world.

The interesting results from the Tourism Projects above were the Tourism Highway and the Save the Ifugao Rice Terraces Project. These two projects viewed indigenous culture and ethnicity as very valuable in obtaining revenue. This is now being managed by the DOT. The DOT believed that these tourism projects would get real

support from local communities. It saw community based tourism as the key building block which would ensure sustainable tourism development and maximize community benefits from the industry. However, in another way, it means that commodification of culture arises since culture becomes something to be reproduced and consumed for tourism interests. It was feared that local culture would lose its genuineness. Therefore, the Philippine government developed eco tourism.

Eco tourism was one form of tourism that was envisioned to prosper under a community based development program. With community control and responsibility, the country has the best chance of preserving the cultural heritage as well as natural parks, wildlife, marine life and other natural resources. Eco tourism then had its own policy issued by Estrada himself, namely, through Executive Order (EO) 111. With (EO) 111, it was hoped that Filipinos would participate in sustainable tourism and in the protection of the environment and natural resources as well as their cultural heritage. This way the country would achieve economic growth and increase its economic competitiveness.

G. The Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo Era

In 1997, the tourism industry in the Philippines contributed 8.7 per cent to the national economy. This significant proportion of the GDP then needed further action that was required to further develop the country's tourism product and produce greater growth in the tourism industry in order to increase profit for the country. Under Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's presidency, the tourism sector was involved in national policies, and programs like The Medium Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) 2001-2004 were developed. To mid 2004 the priorities for the tourism sector were threefold, namely, maximizing employment generation capacities outside of the capital and providing a substantial contribution towards the expansion of small and medium sized companies. In the medium term, the policies continued to contribute substantially to expanding small and medium sized businesses, and look to increase foreign exchange earnings, investment, inter industry linkages and the generation of employment from tourism. The information below will provide short term and medium to long term policy actions from the tourism policy as stated in Chapter 5 of the MTPDP 2001-2004 (http://www.world-tourism.org/regional/east_asia_&_pacific/image_country/WTO%20mission%20in%20the%20Philippines.pdf):

Short term Policy Actions

In the short term, the action for the tourism policy was divided into several parts:

Accessibility and Infrastructure

The accessibility of key tourist destinations should continue to be improved in the following areas:

- ❖ Developing smooth access and support infrastructure to and within the four hubs of Manila, Cebu, Davao, and Laong extending to the Clark-Subic Corridor;
- ❖ Work together with the DOT to upgrade and expand the airport terminal facilities and services available in Clark and Laong;
- ❖ Upgrade access and other infrastructure between the five hubs and their contiguous existing and emerging satellite destinations;
- ❖ Improve services at central ports to facilitate tourist flow through;
- ❖ Decongest traffic and beautify the areas leading from the airport facilities to the satellite destinations;
- ❖ Put in place an inter modal transportation system.

When these policy initiatives were completed, they would provide the necessary resources to cope with an expected substantial increase of international and domestic tourism demands between 2005 and 2010.

Civil Aviation

As the Philippines is an archipelago, it is almost wholly dependent on air transportation, this places a far greater burden on its civil aviation in the development of its international tourism sector. This is in stark contrast with many of its neighbours such as Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, as a significant proportion of international arrivals to those countries come by land, due to the inter modal international and domestic land, sea and air access system.

Investment promotion

The Philippine government continued to invest in the tourism infrastructure and facilities, and formulate investment liberalization policies to facilitate local and foreign investment. Along with this policy, medium and large scale enterprises had to work together with small and medium sized suppliers to adopt higher standards of productivity.

Tourism Product Development

In order to remain competitive in its primary and secondary markets, the Philippines made high quality tourism products. The revised Medium Term Economic Plan 2001-2004 continued and expanded preparation of a comprehensive product development plan involving the key stakeholders, with particular attention given to the following:

- ❖ Training the private sector in product development /pricing;
- ❖ Encouraging the private sector to provide affordable tourism products through regular dialogue and meetings with the DOT;
- ❖ Working with the private sector and LGUs in the tourism hubs to obtain a better deal for tourists;
- ❖ Improving and strengthening coordination between the DOT and the travel trade to develop and market affordable packages in the provinces;
- ❖ Implementing plans for a cultural tourist program based on restoring, rehabilitating and maintaining national historic landmarks and the country's unique cultural heritage.

Implementing these policy initiatives would ensure the development of a highly competitive market for tourists, and lay the foundations for future substantial tourism growth.

Human Resource Development

To be a highly competitive destination and to provide a high quality of tourism service, the Philippine government should extend the quality of the country's tourism staff. Therefore, the government should encourage the upgrading of the skills of tourism human resources, promote public/private partnership for investment in tourism training, improve the quality of tourism graduates and establish regional training councils instead of regional tourism training centres of the short term policies. It was hoped that by the end of 2004, the tourism manpower development system would already be in place to deliver services at the required standard in the medium to longer term.

Marketing

The Marketing campaign for the 'Visit Philippines 2003' commenced the process of marketing the Philippines to the wider world as an attractive tourist destination. This campaign promoted appropriate tourist segments that were both reflective and re-

spectful of the country and cultural values. It also marketed the Philippines as a 'prime' tourist destination in Asia. For that reason, tourism officials that were responsible for marketing the Philippines, made some continuous movements like participating in national and international tourism fairs, exhibitions and events in partnership with the private sectors and other countries. It was believed that the marketing program would be effective, so that the country could expand business opportunities for small and medium sized businesses.

Developing a 'Culture of Tourism'

Developing a 'Culture of Tourism' was felt to be really important by the Philippine government; to introduce a common 'culture of tourism' among Filipinos, so that peace and order, the environment and improved security in the country were recognized. Later, the government launched law enforcement as a policy for stabilizing the environment for visitors to the country and campaigning to achieve a greater sense of national identity, pride and commitment among its citizens.

The development of these policies would create the necessary platform to develop a tourism culture among Filipinos and create a more secure environment for tourists to visit, as well as forging a stronger sense of national identity amongst Filipinos themselves.

Recognition of Tourism by Key Policy Makers

The tourism policy, along with additional measures, such as, research on the impact of tourism, whilst increasing its importance and improving its planning and development were implemented. Other steps were to cooperate with international organizations, like the UNDP, the WTO, and the World Bank to develop the tourism industry. Last but not least was the supervision of the LGUs to implement the Regional Tourism Master Plans by regular assessment and evaluation of the tourism development plans.

Medium to Longer Term Policy Actions

The policies in the long term aimed to complete the implementation of hub and spoke destinations based on infrastructure and tourist facility development, whilst consolidating existing related policies and resources.

Accessibility and Infrastructure

Completion and maintenance of access and support infrastructure to and within Manila, Cebu Davao, Laoag and the Clark-Subic Corridor as well as upgrading and expanding airport terminal facilities at these hubs and service at hub ports to facilitate tourist flows. Traffic decongestion and roadside beautification leading to the satellite destination was a priority, together with support infrastructure and accessibility to these satellite destinations.

Civil Aviation

Building a modern aviation industry operating in a favourable international framework; attaining better bilateral and multilateral access agreements with the countries in the APEC region, United States, Europe, and also in the ASEAN region.

Investment Promotion

Maintaining a consistent approach to investment promotion through establishing the proposed new Tourism Enterprise Zones (formerly Tourism Estates), maintaining a flexible trade and investment liberalization policy that would attract both local and foreign investment, and increasing the number of small and medium enterprise suppliers at the disposal of large tourism enterprises to reduce poverty in the country.

Tourism Product Development

In medium to long term action in Tourism Product Development, the Philippine government continued to maintain competitiveness in primary and secondary markets of tourism products and encouraged the private sector to provide affordably priced product and tourist packages, as well as increasing tourism product competitiveness in the region.

Human Resource Management

By 2004, it was hoped that the manpower development system in the tourism sector would reach the international standard. Beyond this time, the main task would necessitate the reviewing of the existing Human Resource Development Plan with a view to making required changes to it. Tourist officials should also continue to better the skills of tourism staff, promote public/private partnership based investment into tourism education and training and review HRD programs so they would be relevant to the changing tourism trends whilst demanding greater professionalism and higher

standards from graduates. Applying these policies would help in delivering and maintaining a more highly qualified tourism staff at a standard in line with the expectations of visitors.

Marketing Policies

In the medium to long term, the marketing policies not only focused on the mass market beach and sightseeing products but also on the niche market special interest and eco tourism products. More specifically, the long term marketing strategy objectives were to maintain a positive image of the Philippines to facilitate greater tourism growth, increase the number of responsible tourists coming to visit the country to the required levels and increase the economic benefits of tourism to the Philippines to the required levels. The current security situation would inform all tourism markets, especially the core markets: Japan, Republic of Korea, USA, China, Taiwan, Singapore, Australia, Germany, and the United Kingdom. These marketing policies would achieve longer term target tourist volumes and related economic benefits.

Developing a 'Culture of Tourism'

The medium and long term policy initiatives aimed to sustain a culture of tourism and continue to promote eco tourism as a step to protecting the environment and implementing the national eco tourism strategy. In doing so, it was hoped that it would provide greater livelihood opportunities and employment for local people. The desired tourism culture among Filipinos would grow on the implementation of these policies, creating a deeper sense of identity, commitment and pride of place among the citizens, while conserving natural and cultural resources.

Recognition of Tourism by Policy Makers

Many of the policies in the short term would again be carried over to the medium to long term, such as enlisting the assistance of international organizations (WTO, UNDP, World Bank) as much as possible to fill technical and financial resource gaps and implementing the installation of the Tourism Satellite Account (TSA) system. These policies should ensure that tourism would be considered with much higher regard at high governmental level and by external development agencies and investment institutions.

Focus of Tourism for the Arroyo Administration

As already mentioned, the focus of tourism for the Arroyo administration, as well as that of Estrada, is on culture. This was stated by President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo herself in her keynote speech at the Culture and Arts Conference in 2002, on June 13 and 14 in Manila. The reason for this was stressed as being aimed at increasing tourism revenues to the country. This step reaped protests from many groups in society particularly from members of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) and from the Alyansa para sa Kulturang Makabayan (AKMA-Alliance for Nationalist Culture) and the Congress of Teachers/Educators for Nationalism and Democracy (CONTEND). They took turns in denouncing the 'culture of tourism' policy as well as its violent dispersal (<http://bulatlat.com/news/2-19/2-19-danny2.html>).

However, the government did not care about those actions. Indeed, the Arroyo administration implements policies and programs on the basis of the omniscient and omnipotent dollar. Furthermore, the government wants to put the Philippines into the world class of art and culture tourism within the context of globalization and a liberalization environment. Additionally, the government directly implemented a culture of tourism into the Basic Education Curriculum (BEC), which promotes a pedagogy that subjugates instead of liberates. It is clear that the drive of the Arroyo government is to enhance the 'competitive edge' of Philippine arts in the international market place. Subsequently, it indirectly seems that culture is something that is commodified (<http://bulatlat.com/news/2-19/2-19-danny2.html>).

Meanwhile, the promotion actions in 2005 done by the Philippines government are trying to persuade some multinational corporations, such as Toyota Motor Corp., Samsung Inc. of South Korea, and Johnson & Johnson Co. based in China to take their corporate leisure travels to the Philippines. The Tourism Secretary said that selling the Philippine to those companies came as a result of the DOT's marketing blitz in China in February 2005. As a result, the country will meet and exceed its target. Further mission of the DOT is encouraging some aggressive investments campaign to Japan to boost Philippine tourism (Philippine Daily Inquirer, 2005). Hence, the PTA (Philippine Tourism Authority) has sent a delegation in Japan to invite Japanese investor to invest in some PTA properties either by leasing or co-managing them with the PTA.

Tourism Organization under Arroyo Administration

Some tourism organizations that were created from the Ramos administration until the Estrada administration still maintain their functions in the Arroyo Era but with changes and additions to their tasks. The Philippine Convention and Visitors Corporation (PCVC), created in the Marcos Era, now is governed by a policy making body known as the Board of Trustees. The Board formulates policies and approves general work programs. (www.dotpcvc.gov.ph). The Board of Trustees membership is drawn both from the government and private sectors. The secretary of Tourism serves as Chairman. The members, who represent organizations involved in the development and promotion of the travel industry, are the following:

- ❖ The Head of Office, United Nations and International Organizations, Department of Foreign Affairs;
- ❖ The Governor of the Central Bank of the Philippines, or his duly authorized representative;
- ❖ The President of the Philippine Airlines, or his duly authorized representative;
- ❖ The elected representative of the paying members belonging to the travel trade sector;
- ❖ The elected representative of the paying members belonging to the congresses and conventions sector;
- ❖ The Undersecretary for Tourism Services and Regional Offices, Department of Tourism;
- ❖ The Undersecretary for Tourism Promotions, Department of Tourism;
- ❖ The General Manager, Philippine Tourism Authority;
- ❖ The PCVC Executive Director (ex-officio member).

III. Conclusion

The tourism policy in the Philippines has changed from time to time in keeping with the development of the needs of the country. While in the Spanish colonial era tourism developed in keeping with trade development, then the tourism industry became one sector that could increase government income from the Marcos to the Arroyo administrations.

Along with the spread of liberalization and globalization ideas in the world, the Philippine government did not want to fall behind. Many objects of tourism were offered to the world, among them beautiful scenery and primitive cultures in the remote areas. Consequently, the country could not avoid some impact from this reality; whether positive or negative. Increase of the country's income and generation of employment are the positive factors, while degradation or the damage of the environment and local culture caused by facilitating construction and culture commodification are negative impacts. As a result, there are many social groups protesting about the national government tourism policy which is not in keeping with social interests.

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CHAPTER V
THE LOCAL PRODUCT, PROMOTION, AND
ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS IN PHILIPPINES TOURISM

I Ketut Ardhana

I. Introduction

Among those in Southeast Asian countries, the Philippine government is one which encourages economic development based on the development of a tourist industry. An economic strategy that has also been applied by other Southeast Asian countries, for instance, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand in order to compete in attracting visits from both domestic and international tourists. Every country has its own models of how to promote a tourism industry in the region. It is well known that here Thailand is the favoured place for tourists besides Bali in Indonesia (Ardhana, 2002a). Both, indeed, strongly depend on the development of the tourist industry in Southeast Asia and it is not surprising, that both are in advance in the context of the tourism industry. This affects the models and strategies of other states in Southeast Asia to attract the total visits of tourists not only from foreign countries, but also from domestic areas.

This paper will discuss how the development of the tourist industry in the Philippines is distinctive, by focussing on certain issues, namely, by looking at the local product, promotion, and economic competitiveness in maintaining tourist visits to the region. To make clear the analysis, the paper will be divided into several sections, including: firstly: an economic perspective of the tourism industry, secondly: is the tourism industry at the crossroads? thirdly: local product, promotion and economic competitiveness, fourthly: the tourist visit: its challenges and opportunities, fifthly: the impact of and alternative solutions for an economical tourism industry.

II. An Economic Perspective of the Tourism Industry

The recent developments in the Philippine society, particularly in Manila which is the centre for tourist development, cannot be separated from the early economic policies of the previous period, when the country was under colonial rule. Based on historical evidence, Manila was a small tribal settlement on the banks of the Pasig River near Manila Bay. The place has become better known since May 1898, when

Dewey's naval fleet destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. Later Manila was promoted as the main capital of the region. There are many reasons why the Philippines became an interesting place for colonial powers. Two of the reasons were the need for natural resources and evangelization. The impact was that, as Reiterer (1999: 296) notes, the Philippines, became the first colonized area in Southeast Asia; colonized by the Spaniards for about 333 years. The occupation of certain areas, like Cordillera, was dependent on lowland sources for its food, funds, and guns. The economic development was also reflected by the ability of the Filipinos to pay taxes to the government (Sugiyanto Padmo 2005: 149). The pacification of the country by Spanish troops was followed by evangelization. This historical process is a capital or cultural asset in encouraging the Philippine government in maintaining its tourism industry based on culture, for instance, churches as tourist destinations. After the Spanish, the Americans occupied the country for 48 years. During the Second World War the Japanese were ensconced in the Philippines for three years. Over that period, the Philippines experienced a long process of the dynamics of the ideas of colonialism, imperialism and capitalism when this created a different picture of economic development of the country. As is known, only the Philippines, in Southeast Asia, has been occupied by the Americans. Based on an agreement on Philippine Freedom in 1934, the region was freed as the third Republic, on July 4, 1946.

In the transition period, both factions, the Philippine government and their former colonial masters, signed an agreement. However, the issues of economic development and security matters were still under the control of the former imperial power. This development lasted until 1954, when the government inaugurated a period of free trade. That period was successful in encouraging the accumulation of taxes of around five per cent. This, some people complained, was not in accordance with the reformation of the Philippine laws and regulations. At that time the difference between the Peso and Dollar was around 2: 1. Even though Japan had occupied the area during the Second World War, in fact, this occupation did not much change the social and economic structures of the archipelago. However, the government tried to develop the internal industrial sector by providing financial help from the former colonial power. By planning this strategy there was a hope to develop the economic sector in relation to the growth of the population.

One of the radical developments was an increase of the population. In the beginning of the century there was a growth in the population of 2 per cent and in the next 10 years a population growth of more than 3 per cent. The population in 1903 was 7.5 million, in 1948 it was 19.2 million and in 1975 it was 42.1 million. The census of 1990 showed that it was 60.7 million. The dominant population growth was in Manila, the main city of the Philippines. This was of course much influenced by the increasing number of industries, in which there were many employment opportunities and a well built infrastructure. There was also a hard question for the government in maintaining stable economic development, as well as a significant issue relating to migration movements. Of course, the high quality of education caused an increasing number of various economic measures and this encouraged the growth of other economic resources, the spread of entrepreneurs and an increased middle classes. This development also affected the entry point of the people entering the bureaucratic elite in the regions (Reiterer 1999: 296).

The main concern of the Philippine government after gaining Independence, was how to maintain internal security and political stability. The foreign influences on the economy and politics of the Philippines were the reemergence of intellectual entrepreneurs who encouraged the idea of nationalism to accelerate with the needs of economic development. Meanwhile, the international institutions such as International Wahrungsfonds (IWF) and the World Bank (IBRD) took over the functions of the former colonial power. In 1961, the Macapagal administration began to take responsibility for the Philippines. Initially it was Ferdinand Marcos who introduced laws on investment, under the Board of Investment. However, there were many conflicts over the leadership of Marcos. He limited the influence of the media and the freedom of the press and did not allow political activities. Indeed he also supported the Barangay, an institutional central organization which easily controlled any mass movements (Reiterer 1999: 305).

The development of the tourist industry in the Philippines cannot be separated from the policies of the Marcos government in the 1970s. However, the era of Marcos is known as that of a president who became a dictator (1965-1986). However, the Marcos government tried to build new infrastructure, like roads. This we can see in the well constructed road from Manila to Ilocos. These developments affected the economies of traffic as well as local economic development. There were some local activities

which prospered, such as basket making and local textiles. Transportation also developed like the increase in Tricycles, Kalesas, and Jeepnys. The Jeepny is very cheap. In the 1970s the very economical, simple jeepny became better, more artistically decorated and more colourful. But it is not too safe for tourists. Both the infrastructure and the local industry developments, it seems, were a major planning focus of the Marcos government. Besides those developments, the government promoted several efforts to attract not only domestic but also international tourists. These kinds of efforts we can see on the promotion of cultural aspects and the emphasis placed on tourist development.

During the Marcos regime, corruption in the government reached unparalleled proportions. Senator Benigno Aquino Jr., a staunch Marcos critic, in August 1983, came home to the Philippines from his exile in the United States and was murdered at the Manila International Airport upon his arrival. Further changes happened during the Ramos administration (1992-1998). He changed the Philippines from 'the sick man of Asia' into 'the next tiger of Asia'. The Philippines 2000, was a strategy and a movement, it was the Filipino people's vision of development by the year 2000. By 2000 the Philippines had a decent minimum of food, clothing, shelter, and dignity. The major goal of Philippines 2000 was to make the Philippines the next investment, trade, and tourism centre in Asia and the Pacific. The Philippines 2000 as a movement, started to gather momentum in the form of multi sectoral consultations. These consultations were geared to pave the way for the Philippine entry into the 21st century. These endeavours involved government, business and private sectors with labour to form a strategic alliance (Filipino.web.com).

The Philippines and its tourism industry expected improvements with a better situation in the country as brought about by the *balikatan* exercises when the Filipino military cooperated with US troops to quell and defeat the terrorist group known as the Abu Sayyaf, which had carried out a series of kidnappings and massacres in the southern part of the country.

III. Tourism Industry: at the Cross Roads?

The Philippine government is committed to the attainment of economic growth fuelled by domestic and foreign investment. Foreign investment is encouraged in enterprises that significantly expand livelihood and employment opportunities, irre-

spective of the economic value of their product, promote the welfare of consumers, expand the scope, quality and volume of exports and their access to foreign markets and/or transfer relevant technologies in agriculture, industry and support services. The Philippines has a natural competitive advantage in tourism because of the warmth of its people and its natural wonders that are yet to be fully harnessed. Tourism is also recognized as a major contributor to the generation of foreign exchange earnings, investment, and revenue, and to the growth of the country's output. It is a catalyst for construction, manufacturing, and other economic activities, and a creator of human resource intensive jobs. The government aggressively marketed the country as a tourist destination and as an investment and convention site. Four tourism hubs were planned to be further developed to promote greater accessibility to markets. The availability of tourism infrastructure and affordability and diversity of tourist products would be enhanced to further attract foreign and Filipino travellers.

Faced with the challenge of putting the Philippines in the growing international tourism market, reforms were to be implemented to meet the tourism industry's development requirements, rebuild the country's image, strengthen its competitiveness in attracting foreign visitors, and further stimulate domestic tourism. This would be done while protecting and preserving the environment, its socio cultural heritage, and the welfare and rights of women and children. (Alan C. Robles, <http://www.hotmanila.ph/travel%20guides/welcome.htm>, *From Pilipinas 2.0 Magazine*, July 2004). The Philippine tourism satellite account designed to measure the contribution of tourism to the economy would be completed, put into operation and institutionalized. Utilization of this data base would enhance planning at the sectoral and national levels.

Given the dynamic nature of tourism, continuing research would also be undertaken to support the preparation of tourism development plans and improve the country's competitiveness as a tourist destination, and as an investment and convention site. Accordingly, the private sector and LGUs would be tapped to provide the pertinent data and reports, and share experiences, perceptions and insights so that the socio-economic benefits of tourism would be increasingly recognized. Official development assistance from the Japan Bank for International Cooperation, the United Nations Development Programme, and WTO, among others, would be sought to fill the technical and financial resource gaps. New mechanisms for sourcing funds would

also be explored and developed to augment the resources for tourism development. Local government units would be encouraged to exercise their powers and mandates in the LGC and avail themselves of existing credit facilities, such as from the Department of Finance-Community-based Resource Management Program to finance the development and maintenance of their tourist attractions and the implementation of RTMPs.

The implementation of tourism development plans at the national, regional, and local levels was to be reviewed and assessed regularly. Existing facilities and services would be periodically evaluated vis-à-vis projected requirements and market demands. Tourism related developments and trends would be frequently monitored to better respond to the changing needs of tourists. The Philippines and its tourism industry expected improvement with an improved situation in the country as brought about by the Balikatan exercises.

There are many places to be visited such as Intramuros, Quippo City and other interesting places. It takes around 30 minutes by car from Manila to Quippo City. The tourists like visiting this place since there are many shops selling crafts such as umbrellas, t-shirts, bags, table cloths, etc. The prices are quite low, for instance, the price for a t-shirt is from P100 to P200 (around Rp. 20.000). The t-shirts are decorated with certain pictures like Jeepnys, Pinatubo Mountain or small islands in the Philippine archipelago. These may also promote certain areas in order for tourists to visit the places. The prices in Bicol are cheaper than in Quippo City. The larger t-shirts like the XL and XXL ones, cost more than the small ones. However, the tourists can bargain for the price. A small wallet costs P85, a table cloth costs from P250 to P750. The table cloths are interesting since the material used is cotton and they are decorated with certain ornaments. Most of the goods are brought from Bicol, where the products are made and later on are sold in Quippo City. Quippo City is quiet on Saturdays and Sundays, since most of the people go to church. It is interesting that the shops often use European place names like Lourdes or Sepanyol. In Quippogiven tourists can buy fruit which is special to the Philippines and pictures like those along the streets around the city.

In Manila there are many problems as in any big city, like traffic jams. Some people prefer taking a jeepny since the fare is low. For example, from the Makaty Medical

Centre to the Gamirlang hotel it costs only P5, and if we take a taxi it will cost P50. For the local tourists it is cheap to take a jeepny for sightseeing, but we felt we had to be careful. Many people reside outside Manila. They leave home at 5. 00 in the morning and spend two hours travelling to Manila. In the afternoon around 5.30, there are already traffic jams in the main streets of Manila and Makaty, where the government offices and centres of entertainment such as hotels, restaurants, casinos and karaoke bars are located. The Pasig River flows in Manila city, but this river is quite dirty and it seems not too much promoted for the tourism industry.

IV. The Local Product, Promotion, and Economic Competitiveness

What appropriate policies does the Philippine government have to promote the region as an interesting place for both international and domestic tourists? Like other Southeast Asian countries, this region has its richness of cultural and historical heritage. Therefore, it makes use of those areas as interesting places to be visited. While Thailand, sells its cultural heritage based on the Buddhist traditions and culture, the Philippines sells tourists its cultural heritage based on Christian traditions, as we can see in several churches in Manila and its surrounding areas. Firstly since most of the people are Christians, the government also promotes religious places like churches as good places for tourists who are Christians to visit. This we can see in Manila itself. Secondly, the government provides historical sites like the Jose Rizal monument in Manila, which is not only visited by the domestic but also by the international tourists. Here the tourist can admire the heroic spirit of Jose Rizal who struggled against the Spanish colonial and the American imperialist powers during their colonization of the Philippines. The tourist can learn much of the historic events in the region, where Rizal not only struggled against the colonial powers, but also the existence of the feudal power of the past. The Philippine government realizes the importance of the meaning of old buildings. These old buildings have been left in their original forms without renovation. From this people can see how those buildings present historical evidence related to the Philippine history. The government also promotes the concept of 'Bya he na: Let's go'. In the context of eco tourism the Philippines is promoted as 'Many islands as capital, and a travel expo every year'.

Indigenous people play a major role in developing the tourist industry for example, in Mindoro, where there is a sub ethnic group, called the Mangyang and their village known as the Mangyang village. These indigenous people who live in hilly areas and

in the mountains are mostly Christians. They have their own script but can be considered marginalized people in the region. These people have become a part of the tourist project in the Philippines. We can see their role in providing local products, such as baskets and other souvenirs. Many people have already copied the Mangyan designed local products. Another tourist destination is Bagio where is located the very well known rice area, planted by the Ifugao. Many tourists from Europe visit the area to stay and sleep there. This area is well preserved due to being one of the tourist destinations in the Philippines. Their local products are woodcarvings in the shape of lions or tigers. The culture is being commodified with local cultural sensitivities sometimes accepted, sometimes ignored. Prostitution is not legal.

There are many reasons for, particularly American and Spanish tourists being interested in visiting Manila. The government provides many easy ways for tourists who are mostly retired. From this we could learn much about how the Indonesian people who now reside in Holland can be given opportunities to be able to visit the Moluccas. The Philippine government pursues policies to make tourist products diverse, more affordable, and of high quality so that visitors would stay longer and spend more money in the country. Also the government upgrades tourism manpower skills to meet international standards of management and service, geared towards attracting more visitors, extending their length of stay, and increasing the attractiveness of tourist products to encourage travellers to spend more. In addition to this, the government improves the accessibility of tourist destinations, makes tourist products better and more affordable, promotes a culture of tourism among local residents, and works for the increased recognition of tourism. There are some policies of the Philippine government to solve issues on employment and creation of job opportunities. President Arroyo's 'five-point reform package' and '10-point agenda' for instance, highlight broad goals such as job creation, economic growth and good governance. It is important to show here that the New Medium Term Philippine Development Plan (2005-2010) has been prepared, in which an important omission is any serious message about tackling the high population growth. It is noted also that a goal of creating 6 millions jobs over the next years compares with the record of an average of 1.4 million additions to the labour force each year, it is estimated that unemployment could reach 6 million by 2010, up from its present 5 million (*Asian Development Outlook 2004 Update*: 54). The level of unemployment in October 2004, was 10.9 per cent and in January 2005 11.3 per cent (Kedutaan Besar Republic Indonesia, *Laporan Bulanan Atase Perdagangan dan Perindustrian April 2005*: 2).

The government tries to take advantage of increased travel to the Asia Pacific region, which is projected to grow at an average of seven per cent until 2020; and capture a considerable share of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) market. In relation to the concept of 'a culture of tourism' instilled in all Filipinos, it is making use of volunteerism and partnerships among all the stakeholders, to reduce threats to the lives and property of tourists. Besides that, the tourism programs and policies are founded on the preservation of cultural and natural resources, and sound use of the environment. Therefore, the Philippine Tourism Master Plan has been implemented to optimize the economic contributions of tourism and develop it on an environmentally sustainable basis, to enhance and contribute to social cohesion and cultural preservation, and promote target destinations, attractions, and markets. (http://www.euromonitor.com/Travel_and_Tourism_in_Philippines).

Many issues emerged in Southeast Asia in general and in the Philippines in particular due to the Asian economic crises of 1997 and 1998. For instance, as a result of the Hong Kong stock market crash, all the currencies in the region including the Philippine peso suffered steep falls in value against the US dollar. Besides this, political instability affected tourist flows. Hall and Page (2000: 1) note that this development in Southeast Asia cannot be understood without looking at the increasing of globalization processes not only of the economy but also tourism. This of course cannot be avoided due to the increasing population in the Philippines. The high inflation rates and the low disposable incomes have slowed down the growth rates of the transportation sector. This is due to the series of problems faced by the country, such as the US-Iraq war, which increased the price of fuel and commodities, the Sars outbreak as well as the Abu Sayyaf terrorism activities in the South. The car rental service sector also experienced a negative growth rate although sales continued. However, most of the players were optimistic because the tourism projects prepared by the DOT (Department of Tourism), aimed to improve the tourism industry within the year.

The domestic economy of the Philippines remained strong in the first quarter of 2003 despite the Iraq war and the prevailing chaotic situation in Mindanao. The improvements in the economy during the period experienced an increase in the real per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of 2.1 per cent, which was higher than its 1.5 per cent growth recorded in 2002. The increase in the GNP also resulted in a substantial rise from 1.9 per cent to 3.2 per cent in the per capita GNP. The country's GDP in 2002

increased by 4.5 per cent from its 3.8 per cent performance in the same quarter last year. In current terms, GDP growth in 2003 is expected to be 8.4 per cent higher than in 2002 where it reached a total of P4, 310.2 billion. This is, however, lower if compared to P3, 639.9 billion in 2001. Travel and tourism activities continued to be negatively affected by the political constraints that the country experienced in the early 2000s. With the Sars outbreak in neighbouring countries, travel and tourism activities were affected severely. The Internet is restructuring the mass communications industry in the Philippines where it is speeding up the pace of the economy. Greater access to computers implies greater opportunities. However, computers are too costly to be purchased by most families, which hinders the acquisition of information. The emergence of pre paid Internet cards may help to resolve this problem and to increase the use of cyber cafes and Internet kiosks. As a result, the increasing number of Internet users will enhance the demand for online services. Thus, most of the players in the tourism industry, mainly hotels and tour operators, are investing in information and communication technologies that may improve their sales and revenues.

The operation of the new Terminal 3 at the Manila International Airport, may be a positive growth factor for the industry. The unfinished 190,000sq m Terminal 3 is a fully automated passenger terminal. With this terminal, the Philippines will have additional capacity to serve more airline companies and receive more tourists. Moreover, flight turnover will be faster and unnecessary delays will be avoided. More tourists may be attracted to the country due to this convenience, which may improve the tourism industry. In current terms, travel accommodation in 2003 was expected to be P29,675 million which reflects an increase of 3.7 per cent from the P28,695 million in 2002. At the beginning of 2002, there was an increase due to the success achieved by the tourism industry over the previous three years. In 1999, the country experienced positive growth rates in terms of visitor arrivals. By 2002, the country enjoyed a 7.6 per cent growth rate due to the improved occupancy rates in the various hotels and other accommodation.

Transportation sales included sales of outgoing travel by Filipinos and domestic travel by foreign nationals. In current value terms, it was likely to reach P41,595. million in 2003 which was an increase of 5.2 per cent as compared to the 1999 figure of P36,171 million. In 1999, the Philippines had 106,647 weekly air seats available, fewer than

Malaysia (299,409), Singapore (359,314), and Thailand (310,491). Meanwhile, 41,521 tourists or only 1.9 per cent of the total volume arrived by sea. The high inflation rates and the low disposable incomes have slowed down the growth rates of the transportation sector. This is due to the series of problems faced by the country, such as the US-Iraq war, which increased the price of fuel and commodities, the Sars outbreak as well as Abu Sayyaf terrorist activities in the South. In air transportation services, PAL suffered a net loss of P1,605 million in 2002. According to industry sources, preliminary figures for 2003 were negative for the airline industry for there was a high supply and low demand. The car rental service sector also experienced a negative growth rate although sales continued. However, most of the players were optimistic because of the tourism projects prepared by the DOT (Department of Tourism), which aimed to improve the tourism industry within the year.

Within the last two years, there has been a decline in the sea transport services due to the accidents that have occurred annually since 2000. This resulted in greater fear and wariness among travellers. However, travellers from the south to the north continued to utilise the service due to its low costs as compared to air transport. In 2002, sea transport received only about 1.2 million domestic travellers. However, such trends are expected to improve with the recent opening of the Strong Republic Nautical Highway on April 12, 2003. The Strong Republic Nautical Highway (SRNH) provided a convenient and shorter route to travel to the Visayas and Mindanao regions. Additionally, the route allowed tourists to explore different islands and to enjoy the scenery without getting out of their cars as vehicles could be loaded onto the RO-RO sea transport vehicles.

In 2003, some 311 tour operators and travel agencies were operating in the country. Of this number, about a hundred had accreditation from the Department of Tourism. Travel retail was a fragmented market with Marsman Tours & Travel Corp, Adventure International Tours Inc and Uni-Orient Travel Inc, being the most popular. (<http://www.hotmanila.ph/travel%20guides/welcome.htm> From *Pilipinas 2.0 Magazine*, July 2004 by Alan C. Robles).

Plate 5.1: Local handicrafts



Plate 5.2: Local handicrafts

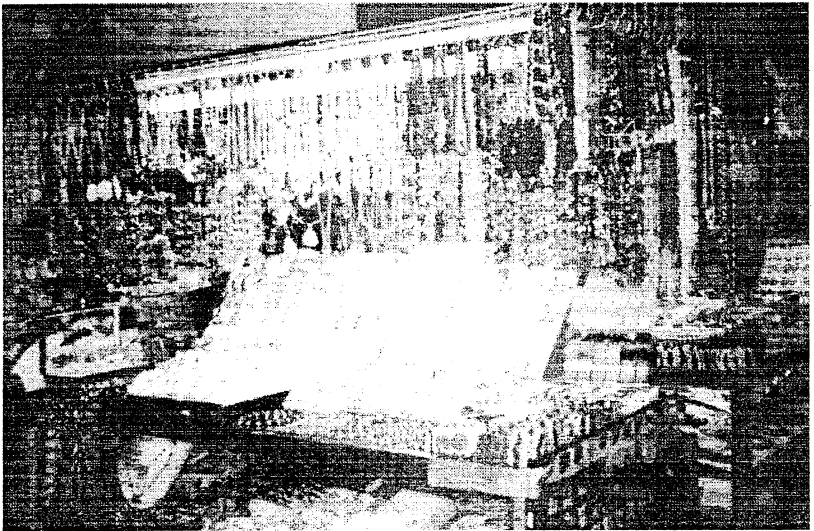


Plate 5.3: Local handicrafts



Plate 5.4: Local handicrafts

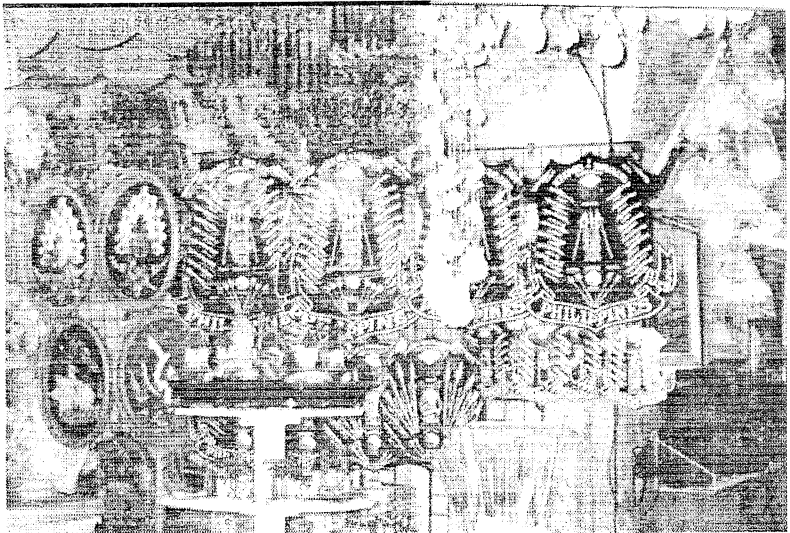
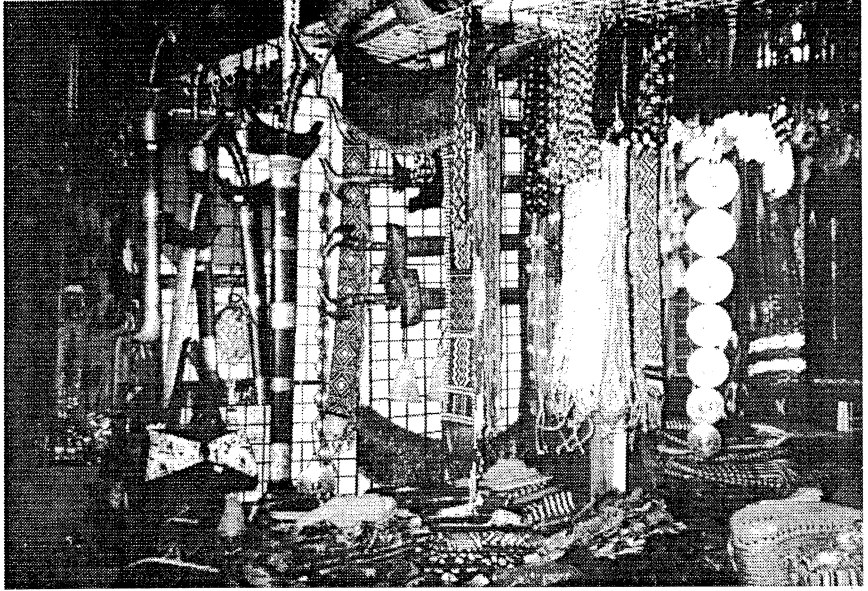


Plate 5.5: Local handicrafts



V. Tourist Visits: Their Challenges and Opportunities

Visitor arrivals in the ASEAN region grew at an annual average of 7.6 per cent from 1991 to 1999. Yet the Philippines has been less successful than its counterparts in attracting foreign visitors. In 1999, the Philippines ranked fifth among ASEAN members in terms of visitor arrivals with 2.2 million tourists. It lagged behind Thailand (8.7 million), Malaysia (7.9 million), Singapore (6.9 million), and Indonesia (4.3 million). Hotel room rates were higher compared to those in neighbouring countries. Of the total number of tourists, 31.4 per cent of the visitors stayed in hotels and 24.6 per cent in the homes of friends and relatives. On a daily average basis, tourists spent more for accommodation (\$47.00) relative to food and beverages (\$26.70), entertainment and recreation (\$22.60), and shopping (\$20.00). Partly due to higher costs, the average daily expenditure in the country of \$132.30 was higher compared with that in Malaysia (\$74.30) and in Thailand (\$98.50). In 2000, tourist arrivals declined to 1.5 million (January to September) or by 4.4 per cent from 1.6 million in 1999 due to peace and order problems. The Philippines experienced negative growth rates in

terms of visitor arrivals to the country. In 2000, it posted a negative annual growth of 8.22 per cent, amounting to around 1.9 million visitors, down from 2.1 million in 1999. In 2001, it posted a negative annual growth of 9.8 per cent, down to 1.7 million visitors. Amid the challenges brought by the attack on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001, visitor arrivals to the country delivered a positive growth rate of 1.9 million or 7.6 per cent in 2002. In 2003, some 2.3 million visitors were expected to arrive in the country. In 2003, the total number of Filipinos travelling abroad numbered just 2.1 million, of a population of more than 70 million. The overly depreciated local currency of the country made foreign travel by Filipinos costly. The Sars scare and terrorist attacks worldwide did little to encourage foreign travel. Direct and indirect employment will proportionately increase with the growth in visitor arrivals. By the end of 2001, tourism was expected to employ 3.8 million to 4.0 million workers across the upstream and downstream levels of the economy. In 2004, total employment in tourism was expected to reach 4.6 million to 5.2 million as visitor arrivals continued to grow. Major sources of employment were to be in the hotel and restaurant sectors, transportation, travel agency/tour operations and retail trade. (http://www.neda.gov.ph/ads/mtpdp/chapters_1-6/ch5.htm).

The domestic economy in the Philippines remained strong in the first quarter of 2003 despite the Iraq war and the prevailing chaotic situation in Mindanao. The improvements in the economic growth during the period experienced an increase in the real per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of 2.1 per cent, which was higher than its 1.5 per cent growth as recorded in 2002. The increase in the GNP also resulted in a substantial rise from 1.9 per cent to 3.2 per cent in the per capita GNP. The country's GDP in 2002 increased by 4.5 per cent from its 3.8 per cent performance in the same quarter of the previous year. In current terms, GDP growth in 2003 was expected to be 8.4 per cent higher than in 2002 when it reached a total of P4,310.2 billion. This is, however, lower when compared to P3,639.9 billion in 2001. Travel and tourism activities continued to be negatively affected by the political constraints that the country experienced in the early 2000s. With the Sars outbreak in neighbouring countries, travel and tourism activities were affected severely.

In current terms, travel accommodation in 2003 was expected to be P29,675 million which reflected an increase of 3.7 per cent from the P28,695 million in 2002. In the beginning of 2002, there was an increase due to the success achieved by the tourism

industry over the previous three years. In 1999, the country experienced positive growth rates in terms of visitor arrivals. By 2002, the country enjoyed a 7.6 per cent growth rate due to the improved occupancy rates in the various hotels and other accommodation.

Transportation sales included sales of outgoing travel by Filipinos and domestic travel by foreign nationals. In current value terms, it was likely to reach P41,595 million in 2003 which was an increase of 5.2 per cent as compared to the 1999 figure of P36,171 million.

Tourist arrivals were projected to reach 1.9 million to 2.4 million in 2001 and increase to from 2.3 to 3.0 million by 2004. Major markets were expected to be East Asia (Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong), North America (United States and Canada) and Europe (United Kingdom, Germany, and France). New ones were, however, to be explored as the World Tourism Organization (WTO) anticipated greater outbound movement from China and Scandinavian countries. Attracting more visitors and convincing them to extend their stays would increase target tourist receipts to a range of \$2.2 billion to \$2.7 billion in 2001, and hopefully reach \$2.6 billion to \$3.4 billion in 2004.

The Visitor Arrivals to the Philippines are as follows:

**Table 5.1: Actual arrivals (in Millions)
January-August 1996-2004**

Year	Volume	Growth Rate
1996	2.05	16.4%
1997	2.22	8.5%
1998	2.15	3.3%
1999	2.17	1.0%
2000	1.99	8.2%
2001	1.80	9.8%
2001	1.93	7.6%
2003	1.90	1.3%
2004	1.52	28.3%

Philippine Visitor Receipts:

**Table 5.2: Actual tourism receipts (in US\$ Billion)
January-July 1996-2004**

Year	Volume	Growth Rate
1996	2.70	10.1%
1997	2.83	4.8%
1998	2.41	14.8%
1999	2.55	5.8%
2000	2.13	16.4%
2001	1.72	19.3%
2001	1.74	1.0%
2003	1.52	12.5%
2004	1.17	37.5%

Source: Department of Tourism (DOT) Manila

**Table 5.3: Visitor Arrivals in the Philippines by country of residence
January -March 2005**

Country of Residence	Jan 2005	Feb 2005	Mar 2005	Jan-Mar 2005	% of Total	Jan-Mar 2004	% Growth Rate
Brunei	102	170	198	470	0.1	549	-14.4
Cambodia	101	113	109	323	0.1	309	4.5
Indonesia	1,474	1,242	1,396	4,112	0.6	5,020	-18.1
Laos	49	56	35	140	0.0	111	26.1
Malaysia	2,451	2,506	3,507	8,104	1.2	8,099	-1.0
Myanmar	164	136	362	662	0.1	579	14.3
Singapore	5,171	4,683	5,428	15,282	2.4	15,159	0.8
Thailand	1,807	1,615	2,380	5,802	0.9	5,597	3.7
Vietnam	494	810	778	2,082	0.3	1,365	52.5

Source: Tourism Research & Statistics Division, Office of Tourism Development Planning, Department of Tourism (DOT)

**Table 5.4: Visitor Arrivals in the Philippines by country or residence
January-March 2005**

Rank	Country	Jan-Mar 2005	% Share	Jan-Mar 2004	% Growth Rate
1	USA	139,744	21.7%	120,588	15.9%
2	Korea	113,491	17.6%	95,580	18.7%
3	Japan	104,402	16.2%	96,859	7.8%
4	Hong Kong	35,411	5.5%	40,969	-13.6%
5	Taiwan	29,183	4.5%	31,217	-6.5%
6	Australia	24,732	3.8%	22,232	11.2%
7	Canada	19,673	3.1%	16,138	21.9%
8	United Kingdom	17,290	2.7%	15,185	13.9%
9	China	17,215	2.7%	9,919	73.6%
10	Singapore	15,282	2.4%	15,159	0.8%
11	Germany	15,274	2.4%	12,222	25.0%
12	Guam	8,247	1.3%	7,153	15.3%

Source: Tourism Research & Statistics Division, Office of Tourism Development Planning, Department of Tourism (DOT).

Recently the Philippine government did not only encourage two types of tourism, namely, cultural and eco tourism, but also medical tourism, in which the tourist can undergo plastic surgery if they have around Rp.10,000,000. The government has already prepared for these operations by providing a better medical education. It is not surprising if most students on graduating, prefer to go to the United States or Europe for better job opportunities. The government actually is a bit worried about this since many medical practitioners have already left Manila so that the cost of hospital care there is becoming greater.

There are many foreign students studying in Manila, particularly from the United States. By spending only US\$2000 (monthly) the student is able to take a Master's Degree in the Philippines. There are even foreign students taking Doctoral Degrees in Philippine universities. It must also be understood that there is an emotional relationship between Filipinos and Americans. Also it is important to note that there is no difficulty in taking a course in the English language. In addition to this, there is a similar standard in the universities. The recent developments show that there is a foreign fee imposed on the international students. A particular strategy is employed

by the Philippine government to attract a number of tourist visitors to the country. One of the Philippine strategies is by looking at the ways of how the people from the US and Spain prefer to visit the country due to their former familial ties in the context of the Spanish and the American colonial rules. However, in comparison to the Indonesian experience, one of our interviewees told me that this policy does not hold in Indonesia. In other words, this policy has never been applied by the Indonesian government. As we know, during the colonial Dutch rule, there were many people, particularly from the Mollucas who escaped or were exiled to the Netherlands. Now some might wish to travel to Indonesia, especially to the Moluccas. However, they perceive that there are many administrative matters which could be as a barrier so that they feel it too complicated and finally choose some other country for travelling in. One way to solve this problem is to make costs not too expensive and visas easy to get. Some people argue that this issue is much influenced by a lack of coordination among departments like the Foreign Affairs Department, the Department of Tourism and others.

It is important to note here that the Philippine government is able to package the local products to offer to tourists who visit Intramuros, which is close to the main city of Manila as one of the tourist destinations in the region. For instance, there are many local products from the various places like crafts and local food sold cheaply. In addition to this the government also introduced local dances as well as modern dances which show that the Philippine culture is not only based on traditional culture but has also developed to absorb modern dance. Through promotion and exhibition the local people introduce their products to not only domestic but also international tourists. Each region has its own uniqueness which could be very interesting for those tourists wishing to know about different cultures and traditions. Through this the Philippines can compete with other countries in Southeast Asia in promoting tourist destinations there.

The Philippine government also promotes the Miss Universe Contest, first introduced in the Marcos era. However, Filipinos prefer shopping in Hong Kong rather than in other Southeast Asian countries, due to the cheaper prices there. When I asked people about visiting Indonesia, they had no ideas, even seeming not to know about Indonesia. From this we can see that there is a lack between Indonesians and Filipinos in promoting their tourism industries. There are still barriers in the context

of joint cooperation between the Philippines and Indonesia due to lack of tourist visits from Indonesia and vice versa. The reason is that there is no direct flight from Jakarta to Manila and only one flight from Davao to Manila a week.

VI. Conclusion: The Impact and Alternative Solutions to Tourism Development

The Philippines is a developing country in Southeast Asia where the government like those of other countries in Southeast Asia, plans to develop both the agricultural and the tourist industry sectors, since it is perceived that both the sectors should provide more opportunities for employment. This movement not only has problems with the unemployment of internal but also of foreign workers, and will try to cater to the needs of both and provide a brighter future to the country. However, there is a handicap since the standard or quality of the working class in the country it is still problematic, due to the lack of skill capacity. For these reasons, there are opportunities for the Chinese to play an important role in the Philippines with the owners of big hotels in Manila and other cities often being Chinese. The lack of capacity among the local people can be seen also in several cities such as in Bagio. This, however, does not mean that there are no local entrepreneurs who it seems, are connected one to another in terms of international profit and in employment.

Only a small number of developing countries are heavily dependent upon tourism. The impact of tourist development in the Philippines can be diverse. The economies of developing countries differ in a number of ways from those of more developed nations. This can be seen in the social, cultural and also political arrangements of the destination area (Butler 1975: 85). 'New tourism' market strategies focus on the quality, rather than on the quantity of visitors. The development of the tourism industry in the Philippines has led to the construction and opening up of new hotels as well as the upgrading of hotels, services and other facilities. There will be efforts to accelerate the development of infrastructure supporting the four tourism hubs: Manila, Cebu, Davao, and Laoag. Metro Manila for instance, is the recreational hub of the Philippines. It consists of the city of Manila, Quezon City, Makati and other smaller cities. There are many malls, boutiques, flea markets and other shops abounding in Manila. Additionally there are interesting places like the Intramuros, the old walled city and Chinatown. The American lifestyle we can see is due to there being a number of McDonalds, Burger King, Wendy's and Kentucky Fried Chicken outlets.

However, while some people argue that this process is a process of Americanization others are still wondering about it feeling that it can be said that the Filipinos still refer to the United States rather than to the Philippines itself. There are many people who can speak English, due to the Philippines being under American influence when the country was colonized by the United States. It is very well known and very interesting to say that everyone from the cleaning service personnel to managers in hotels can speak English very well. A room in a hotel costs from around P1500 to P2000 per night in some of which tourists, accompanied by young girls, can play in casinos which open at 21.00 every night. The casinos are not taboo for Filipinos.

In encouraging the total number of tourist visits to Southeast Asia, many countries even provide visas on arrival as one strategy in encouraging the development of a tourist industry. Even though, not all of the regions have already applied this agreement since one country in Southeast Asia does not have any kind of such an agreement. ('Melintas Perbatasan Laos' in Suara Pembaharuan Sunday October 2, 2005: 15).

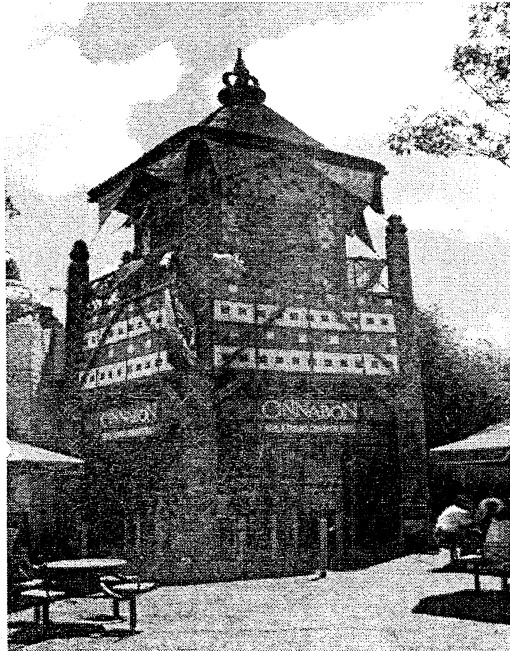
Plate 5.6: Jeepny Pop



Plate 5.7: Jeepny as a public transportation



Plate 5.8: Spice Island Wings and Fries has been transformed into Cinnabon



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CHAPTER VI

CULTURAL AND ETHNIC TOURISM: ENCOUNTERING THE COLOURFUL AND
UNIQUE CULTURES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Yekti Maunati

I. Introduction

One context within which the search for authentic tradition takes place is international tourism. This search for authenticity in response to tourism has involved a commodification of culture, especially within the context of cultural and ethnic tourism with both positive and negative effects on host economies and cultures.

In terms of the economic aspect, dependency theorists for example, have criticized the effects of international tourism on a Third World that is dependent economically on the First World. This can be seen in the large investments in tourism involving capital transfers from the First World. The benefits of these investments usually return to the First World, or to the local elite rather than to the local people. Such a critique, however, does not recognize differences in the patterns of development of tourism, nor does it acknowledge the fact that some locals do benefit from tourism. For example, if the tourist industry were halted, local people could be among those who suffered economically.

Secondly, there is the issue of the cultural effects of tourism. The commodification of culture is undoubtedly a consequence of tourism. The question is who benefits from the resultant shift in culture and who has the authority to shape that culture? After all, culture as we have seen, is subject to change, and continuously changing even without tourism (Kahn 1995). For instance, the staging of 'traditional' rituals, as tourist attractions, might maintain the culture or even produce a new traditional culture.

Pessimists argue that tourism is a threat to traditional culture, while optimists believe that tourism can stimulate it. Dependency theorists for example, have argued that modernization, through tourism, does not create development, but rather underdevelopment.

In fact, the combination of what modernization theorists considered 'tradition' (now seen as the outcome of the incorporation of the periphery into the world capitalist system) and 'modernity' (now seen as capitalist imperialism) produced not development but 'underdevelopment' (Wood 1993:54).

On the other hand, for the optimists:

Traditional cultures, were adaptive and resilient; neither their dissolution nor their degradation in the face of mass tourism could be assumed. Tourism could even strengthen traditional cultures by augmenting local pride and making the continuation of traditional crafts and activities economically viable (*ibid.*:55).

In similar vein, Picard argues that the dangers posed by tourism to Balinese culture has been challenged:

A decade or so later, it seemed that cultural tourism had achieved its mission, at least based on the declarations of provincial authorities extolling tourism as an agent of the cultural renaissance of Bali. According to most opinion leaders, the money brought in by tourists had revived the interest of the Balinese in their artistic traditions, while the admiration of foreign visitors for their culture had reinforced the Balinese sense of identity. By patronizing Balinese culture, tourism was said to contribute to its preservation and even to its revitalization, to the extent that it had turned culture into a source of both profit and pride for the Balinese (1997:183).

Similarly it has been widely argued that commodification degrades traditional culture. Yet, this too, has been challenged by Firat (1995) among others, who argue that the commodification of culture spurs the maintenance of such cultures. Maunati (2000) also found that the commodification of Dayak culture within the context of tourism has not resulted in the losing of Dayak identity, but rather this has strengthened their identity not only because their culture is admired by other people, but also because of the emergence of the feeling of pride among the Dayak who used to be labeled 'backward'.

In the case of Bali, for instance, there have been efforts made to maintain traditional culture, though on the other hand, change has been unavoidable. The reason behind

both these factors is that Balinese culture is being promoted to the tourist. The tourist agent may in fact both recreate and support 'traditional' identity. It is clear that the process of constructing a social identity is not free of self interest.

Authenticity is often the most significant aspect of ethnic tourism. Yet authenticity is not fixed; it may change, as the traditional culture itself is subject to redefinition or reconstruction. Some elements of authenticity may have disappeared by the time tourism prompts their reintroduction for tourist consumption. Citing Redfoot (1984), Wood points out:

authenticity – as well as its widely perceived opposite, inauthenticity – does not inhere in the touristic experience as such, but rather is a variable that depends on the expectations and goals of the tourist (Wood 1993:59).

For this reason it is better to consider authenticity as a socially constructed concept, the criteria of which vary depending on the perspective of the tourist or even the host. As Wood says:

The same applies to the tourist hosts. Authenticity for them must be judged through their eyes, and the evidence suggests that 'invented' or reshaped 'tradition' may acquire authenticity quite quickly (loc. cit.).

One of the drivers of international tourism is the desire to experience the exotic and pristine culture of particular ethnic groups in Third World countries. However, such purity and originality is problematic given the dynamics of cultural construction and reconstruction. Hall, for instance, argues that both the centre and periphery of the global system have experienced the impact of globalization - the exotic and untouched ethnic other is a Western fantasy.

The idea that these are 'closed' places – ethnically pure, culturally traditional, undisturbed until yesterday by the ruptures of modernity – is a Western fantasy about 'otherness': a 'colonial fantasy' maintained about the periphery by 'the West, which tends to its native 'pure' and its exotic places 'untouched'. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that globalization is impacting everywhere, including the West, and the 'periphery' is experiencing its pluralizing impact too, though at a slower, more uneven pace (Hall 1992:305).

The promotion of a tourist destination as 'untouched' or 'unique' that cannot be found anywhere else in the world seems to be common and it can be a response to the tourists' fantasy of 'otherness'. Experiencing 'exotic' Dayak, for instance, has been widely promoted through brochures or other means of promotions (Maunati 2000). Furthermore, the way in which ethnicity is marketed is not only reflective of the Western hunger for the consumption of otherness, but also of the desires of the host government. As Kipp (1993) and Wood (1997) demonstrate, the ethnic diversity within provinces in Indonesia is displaced by the state sponsored identification of each province with one main, culture specific ethnic group. The same practice also characterizes state sponsored tourism, so that tourist agencies promote a particular range of material and non material culture depicted as uniquely and authentically the property of a legitimate ethnic group.

Clearly, the positioning of so called traditional cultures as commodified objects is the outcome of a number of different relations including the desires and self interests of Western tourists, host governments, tourist operators and local people on the ground (both elite and non elite). The implication of a number of different actors in the shaping of traditional culture in the context of tourism was evident in this study. Take for example, the presentation of certain rituals like the harvest ritual of the Ifugao people. The selection of this ritual as an almost iconic representation of Ifugao culture reflects the interaction of a number of competing voices. In the first instance, the pervasive image of a harvest ritual that is widely written about by western observers or anthropologists has contributed to the demand for such a ritual. Moreover, the government, through tourist offices, responds to such images and exploits them in order to attract tourism. Similarly, the individual entrepreneurs who create and sell postcards also utilize and 'cash in' on such images. In addition, the Ifugao themselves are not passive by-standers here. They also contribute to the reproduction and 'authenticity' of such rituals as of the Ifugao. This is, indeed, shared by other people in the context of tourism.

The new wave of international tourism witnessed in the Philippines thus builds upon older images of the 'distinctive' and unique Ifugao or Mangyan which can be seen in more detail later on. If Sarawak, East Malaysia, uses the abbreviation of CAN (Culture, Adventure, and Nature) for the promotion of tourism (Research Center for Regional Resources 2002), the Philippines uses three similar words: Nature, Adven-

ture, and Culture in order to promote its 7,107 islands. With this richness of Islands, the Philippines has the advantage of offering natural beauty and adventurous tourism. On top of this, many islands are resided in by many different ethnic groups which have their own uniqueness as well, so that the Philippines can indeed offer cultural and ethnic tourism. In terms of culture, the Ifugao province is well known for its cultural richness. It is often claimed that the Ifugao people are different from those of the rest of the groups in the Philippines.

Cultural and ethnic tourism seems to be given priority in the development of the tourist industry in the Philippines. I shall, however, limit myself to discussing only a few ethnic groups which have been promoted for tourism, especially the Ifugao and the Mangyan.

II. The 'Colourful' People of Ifugao

A. The Ifugao People and Their Culture

Many studies, especially social and cultural studies, have focused on the Ifugao people (Goda 2001; Conklin 1980, Peralta 2000; etc.). Harold C. Conklin has written the '*Ethnographic Atlas of Ifugao*' which was published by the Yale University Press in 1980, and mainly focuses on land use, terracing, crops and agrarian matters (<http://www.tribalsite.com/articles/ifugao.htm>). The Ifugao reside in the Grand Central Cordillera of Northern Luzon. In the past, the Ifugao rejected both the Spanish and the American powers. They are an independent people and live in the traditional way. Unlike Manila which could not avoid rapid modernization or those people who reside in the big cities like Manila, the majority of the Ifugao keep their identity and 'live their lives in accordance with the beliefs and mores of their sacred ancestors' (<http://www.tribalsite.com/articles/ifugao.htm>). According to Goda, Eggan reports that 'the Ifugao culture represents the most ancient, primitive in Northern Luzon' (2001:xii). Goda states:

...the indigenous people of Cordillera, such as Tinguian, Isneg, Kalinga, Bontok, Kankana-ey, Ibaloi, Ibanag, and Ifugao share the so-called "megalithic culture complex." Historically, it includes such cultural traits as terrace field rice cultivation, custom of headhunting and worship of skulls, animal sacrifice in rituals, feast of merit, and the building of stone circles or megalithic monuments together with the "Y" shaped wood pillar after the headhunting. (Goda 2001:1).

Meanwhile, Peralta (2000) notes that:

The Ifugao (Ifugaw, Ipugao, Ypugao, Hilipan, Quiangan) are world-famous for their spectacular rice terraces especially in Mayaoyao and Banaue where entire mountainsides are sculpted like a giant steps. The national population is over 167,369 (NSO 1990). Concentrations in the province of Ifugao are in the municipalities of Banaue (25,400), Lagawe (15,615), Kiangan (21,329, NSO 1990), and Mayaoyao (23,330, NSO 1980). The language has been grouped in a number of ways; one of which is: (1) Kiangan-Hapao, (2) Banaue-Burnay, (3) Ayangan-Mayao-yao, (4) Hanglulu, (5) Tuwali, and (6) Keleyi (related to the Ikalahan). In the whole province, they number some 117,281 (1990 provincial estimates) (Peralta 2000:19).

Peralta (2000:19), further, reports that the Ifugao have utilized the wet rice cultivation as a basic subsistence technology. Their rice fields are usually on huge terraces that cover whole mountainsides. The magnificent rice terraces have often attracted people to gaze at this area. Apart from cultivating rice, the Ifugao utilize dry cultivation of additional crops, including potatoes and plant vegetables on the terraces during off seasons.

Peralta (2000) also notes that Ifugao people continue to practice food gathering as well as hunting animals in the forested areas nearby. Similarly to the Ifugao, the indigenous people of Kalimantan, especially the Dayak also practice hunting and gathering though today they experience scarcity of animals due to the huge exploitation of the forests (Maunati 2000 and Maunati 2005). Furthermore, the Ifugao are also known for their skills in wood carving and weaving. Wood carving is often linked to their rituals (Peralta 2000:19).

In terms of religion, the Ifugao have 'a very complex indigenous religion marked by a cosmology that includes hundreds of deities' (ibid.:9-20). This group has several rituals for personal or social occasions. According to Peralta:

Among the many celebrations is that of the elevation of a couple to the rank of *kadangyan* – the most prestigious rank in the society which involves the carving of a prestige bench – the *hagabi*. The Ifugao are famous too, for their prodigious oral epic literature like the *hudhod* and the *alim* (ibid.).

The Ifugao also have unique types of housing. Goda (2001:66) reports that three types of houses can be found among the Ifugao, *bale*, *abong* and *kampo*. *Bale* is the traditional elevated floor with four posts and a ladder. The ladder is taken up at night time in order to protect those inside from any danger (Goda 2001). This notion is similar to that in the houses of the Dayak. Maunati (2000) in her study in Long Mekar found that the Dayak built raised floor houses, one or two metres above the ground. In the past, this style was to avoid the wild animals that lived in the nearby forests as well as to protect the inhabitants from enemies during headhunting raids. Dayak longhouse dwellers would remove the steps to prevent enemies or wild animals from entering the longhouse. The rice granaries in the dry rice fields are also elevated as protection from thieves.

Apart from this, the house with a raised floor is also similar to that of the longhouse of the Dayak. For instance, according to Geddes, the Land Dayak of Mentu Tapuh in 1949-1950 had two longhouses, one longhouse over two hundred yards long occupied by two hundred and fifty people was raised approximately sixteen feet off the ground (1968:28). While, the Kenyah longhouse described by Whittier was slightly different in style because it had only one covered verandah. Although a few longhouses are huge, containing about 65 apartments, generally Kenyah longhouses consist of 10 to 15 apartments (*lamin*), each with a door connected to the verandah. The whole structure is raised around 4 to 6 feet off the ground, but in the past it was much higher in order to guard against headhunting attacks (Whittier 1978:99-102). Miller notes that the average longhouse of the Dayak is raised about ten feet above the ground or even higher, the area underneath being used for chickens and pigs (1946:40). Of course, there is a different model house among the Ifugao which is not a longhouse, but a single family dwelling.

The Ifugao people live with their nuclear families and do not like to live together with their lineal family (Goda 2001:66). If a married child wants to stay with the parents, the couple can stay in an *abong*, as the second type of the Ifugao house is called, which is built within the same house yard as that of the parents. Initially, the meaning of *abong* is: a temporary house built in the forest where the people slash and burn fields (Goda 2001). The third type of house is *kampo* which is a more modern type. *Kampo* has cement or wooden walls with an iron roof. Instead of constructing an *abong*, now people tend to build *kampo* in the same house yard (Goda. 2001).

Goda (2001:67) notes that among the Ifugao there is no specific rule on the notion of who lives with the parents, but the eldest child is responsible for looking after them when they are old and gets the biggest proportion of the parental property.

The three types of houses are not fixed because in certain circumstance these are subject to change. Goda (2001:67) reports that due to the development of tourism as well as the invention of new technology in housing construction, the Ifugao of Banaue have begun to build big houses for extended families. Today, people rarely build the *bale* though the *bale* used to have certain religious functions.

Goda (2001:67) also notes that the Ifugao recognize a competitive ritual ranking system. To show their ritual status, a ritual ornament or a symbolic statue is often exhibited in the house yard after certain rituals are conducted. Unlike the *bale* or the *abang* which can be inherited by children, a ritual status as achieved status cannot be inherited by them. The burden for someone who inherits the *bale* of a parent, who has a high ritual rank, is that he or she is expected to be better than his/her parent or at least have the same rank (loc. cit.).

In relation to harvesting, the Ifugao have a certain ritual called *baddang*. Basically, this tradition is the announcement of the number and size of lands inherited by a newly married couple from both parents on the occasion of harvesting for the first time when both parents and other bilateral relatives help this couple (Goda 2001:68). A birth ritual known as *palaong* is conducted by an Ifugao couple when they have their first baby. To this ceremony the couple invite bilateral relatives and there is an exchange of gifts. The husband's relatives usually provide his wife with a woven traditional skirt, a belt, a digging stick, and an iron spatula. While, to the husband, the wife's relatives give different goods like a blanket, a native knife, a spear, and G-strings (Goda 2001:68). Furthermore, Goda (loc. cit.) notes that ritual status can be achieved from different blankets, spears, or clothes.

Based upon the customary laws of the Ifugao, there are certain prohibitions on marriage, including marriage to the second cousin (Goda 2001:69).

Among the Ifugao, migration has existed, especially among the younger generation. In the Philippines in general, the reasons for rural people to 'migrate to urban

areas are due to shortage of land for agriculture, fast population growth, and low productivity of agriculture. On top of these, for younger siblings of the Ifugao, migration is partly due to the rule of ranked bilateral primogeniture. In the end, there is no rice field for them (Goda, loc. cit.).

Goda (2001:71) notes that based upon the Philippine constitutional rule of inheritance, every child has an equal right to the property of his/her parents. However, the Ifugao have their distinctive traditions. The Ifugao do not divide rice land equally among the children because if land is subdivided over and over there will, eventually, be no independent farmers able to survive on the small sized rice lands (Goda, loc.cit.). Applying the rule of ranked bilateral primogeniture, the eldest child could be wealthier than her/his parents. The rising of the inheritance could happen if there is a marriage between the eldest children (Goda, loc.cit.).

According to Goda (loc.cit.), among the Ifugao the competition is quite rigid because people do not like to share the property, but to compete for it in many forms, including within the context of the ritual ranking system. Usually, it will be the rich family (*kadangyan*) able to perform the pig sacrifice ritual (*baya*) and water buffalo sacrifice (*uya-uy*) by inviting bilateral relatives and neighbours. By having these rituals, they should have an economic surplus. The Ifugao also have poor families (*lawá*) who depend on waged labour or on tenant farming (Goda loc. cit.). Basically, apart from having a simple stratification of *kadangyan* and *lawá*, there is a complex stratification system in the form of a ritual ranking system. Holding the animal sacrifice rituals, like that of pig or water buffalo, determines the ritual status of the Ifugao community (Goda, loc. cit.). Economic condition is, therefore, an important aspect in determining this status.

There are five ritual ranks: *hinmagabi*, *inmuya-oy*, *bumaya*, *hudgor*, and *nawotwot* (ibid.72). Amongst these five ranks, the *hinmagabi* is the highest and bestowed on people who have performed pig sacrifice rituals three times and water buffalo rituals more than twice. They must also make a long wooden bench to be exhibited in their yards (Goda, loc. cit.). The title of *inmuya-oy* is given to those who have performed the pig sacrifice two or three times and *bumaya* to those who have held fewer rituals than those who are entitled to be *hinmagabi* or *inmuya-oy*.

Indeed, apart from residing in the magnificent mountainous areas with rice terraces, the Ifugao are rich in attractive cultural traditions. It is not surprising if this group is promoted for tourism.

Plate 6.1: vegetable farm

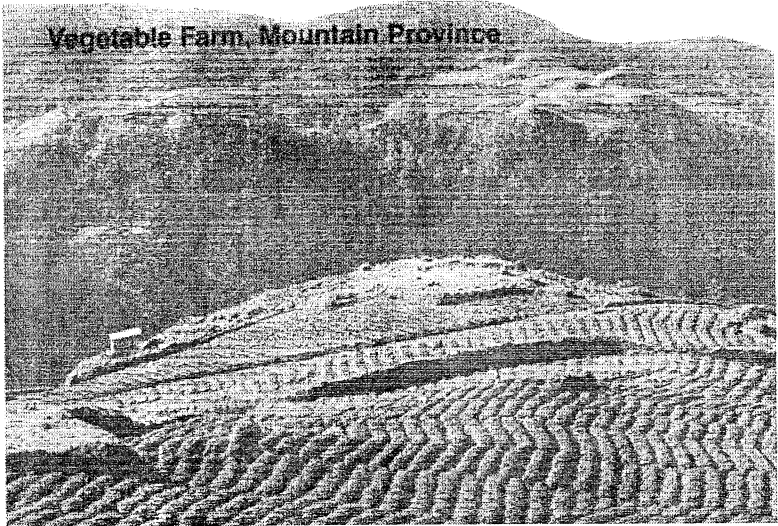


Plate 6.2: example of rice terrace

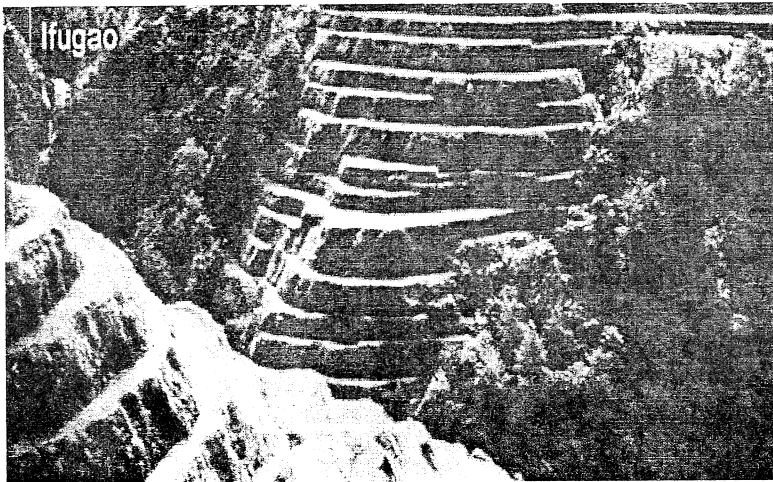
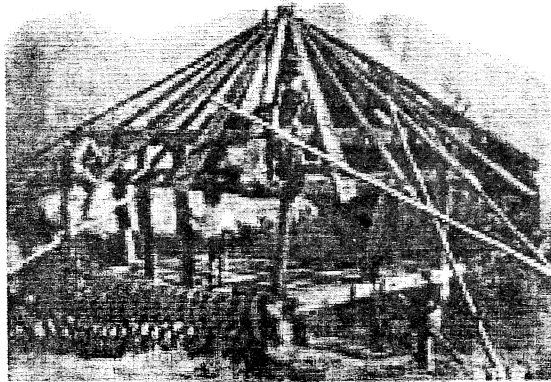


Plate 6.3: Ifugao lady



Plate 6.4: an example of an Ifugao house



B. The Ifugao and Tourism

The Ifugao province is very well known for its cultural and eco tourism. Even though the area is promoted as a tourist destination, this does not always mean that the local people are involved directly in the enterprises related to the tourist industry or have benefited more than non locals. For instance, Van den Berghe (1994) found that the city of San Cristobel benefited from the development of ethnic/cultural tourism directed at the local Indian population. While the Indians still lived in their villages, it was the city of San Cristobel that provided the facilities for tourists, such as hotels, restaurants, and souvenir shops. The middlemen, who gained most from tourism, were not Indian, but the local elite, the Ladinos. Manila and other cities like Baguio may share the experience of the city of San Cristobel. For instance, the Ifugao group promoted for tourism live a simple life in the mountainous area while the tourist facilities are mostly located in the nearby cities, like Baguio, Sagada, and so forth. Baguio, according to an informant, is well known to American tourists because in the past this city was a holiday venue for the Americans. The city has developed rapidly and is a transit place for tourists visiting many different tourist destinations. Baguio is also promoted widely on the website and in the brochures that can be found in public spheres, including hotels and travel agencies. To reach the Ifugao province, visitors may pass through Baguio, which is around 6-7 hours from Manila. From this city, visitors need to take a cab for a few hours to arrive at the town in the Ifugao province. Visitors have to walk for around two hours to reach the village of the Ifugao people. To people who love and enjoy nature and culture, this destination will provide pleasant and unique experiences.

Based on interviews with a scholar at the University of the Philippines, indeed the Ifugao people, who consist of many sub tribes, are considered to have unique traditional cultures. In the middle of rapid modernization and development in the rest of the Philippines, the Ifugao people are able to maintain their way of life. Rice terraces like the traditional culture of the Ifugao, are also an important part of tourism here. The combination of nature and culture is an important source of tourism development in this area and its surroundings.

Here the tourist is not only offered the uniqueness of the Ifugao culture, but there are also many other groups that can be looked at. For example, Dizon (1999:14) reports that in the past the Kankkanaeys and Spplais of Sagada, had the custom by which a

visitor does not need to wait for the host to serve him/her as is usually considered good manners.

The development of tourism, as an industry, was started during the Marcos government^[1] period and mass tourism has been growing since that time. Since this development, there have been fluctuations in terms of the growth of this industry. For example, issues of separation and terrorism have often been obstacles to the development of tourism. Up to now, according to a Filipino scholar, separatism has often been a barrier to the tourist industry. The case of kidnapping of tourists in Palawan, for instance, has affected the image of tourism in the Philippines in general. Nevertheless, cultural and historical tourism have always attracted people to visit the Philippines. The Philippines has the ability to separate between the 'dangerous' and the 'attractive' regions for tourism. In this case, the North Luzon, including the Ifugao area and its surroundings has indeed been promoted as one of the safe places for experiencing beautiful nature and the 'colourful' culture of many ethnic groups, especially the Ifugao. The city of Baguio is a well known tourist destination as well. It is known as a summer place for Americans to stay. The Ifugao Province is also well known as a tourist destination for other reasons. There are many rice terraces where tourists can enjoy the beauty of rice plantations in the form of terraces. Unlike the lowland people of the Christian Luzon, the upland people have unique cultures. Furthermore, a Filipino scholar explained to us that recently the Philippines has created the program '*Wow Philippines*'. Filipinos live all over the world and they are supposed to bring friends home. The Ifugao area, of course, is one of the most attractive destinations that has been widely promoted. Indeed, there are many ethnic groups which have distinctive traditional cultures, but because of certain limitations in this paper I will merely discuss the Ifugao and the Mangyan of Mindoro who are also well known for their uniqueness.

III. The Unique Mangyan of Mindoro

In similar vein, Mangyan people have also been promoted within the context of tourism due to their unique and colourful cultures. Mic Looby states:

To hire a hotel cab, for the first three hours we were requested to pay P500 and for each additional hour we had to pay P200.

The indigenous people of Mindoro are collectively known as Mangyan; and comprise tribes including Alangan, Buid, Iraya, Hanunoo, Tagaydon, and Tatagnon. Among the least 'modernised' of the Philippine indigenous groups, the 80,000 or so Mangyan were originally a coastal people, but with the arrival of new settlers they were forced to relocate to the rugged interior of Mindoro. The basket weaving Mangyan communities on Mindoro's north coast are often visited by tourists from nearby Puerto Galera and Sabang (2000:258).

Meanwhile, Peralta notes that the Mangyan (Iraya, Alangan, Batangan, Tadyawan, Buhid, Tao Buid, Hunanoo, Ratagnon; also known in literature as Mangianes, Manghianes, Manguianes, Tiron, Lactan, Buquit, Barangan, Tagaydan, Pula, Nauhan, and Buid) is basically 'a generic term that refers to the indigenous peoples of the island of Mindoro' (Peralta 2000:32). He further reports that different authorities have classified them as:

- (1) Hanunoo, southern part of Oriental Mindoro, (2) Buhid, just north of the Hunanoo, (3) Batangan, in the interior forests north of the Buhid, (4) Ratagnon, in the southern tip of the island, (5) Iraya, on the northern tip of Mindoro, (6) Tadyawan, on the east and northeastern side, and (7) Alangan, on the vicinity Mount Halcon. (Peralta, loc. cit.).

Based on the calculation of NSO (1980) and NSO (1990), the population of Mangyan was around 30,000 spread over many areas, including the towns of Sablayan (4,140 NSO 1980), Bulalacao (5,316 NSO 1990), and Mansalay (4,090 NSO 1980) (ibid.:33). The Mangyan have unique settlements usually made up of 'five to twelve houses with single families' (Peralta, loc. cit.). The location of their settlements is on the slopes near mountain streams. This model seems to be shared by other groups, including the Dayak who often choose to construct their houses along the riverbanks or streams (Lebar 1972). Among the Mangyan, the name of the oldest member is very important as a way to identify a settlement. Like many groups in the Philippines, including the Ga'dang, the Ilongot, etc. as well as the Dayak of Borneo (Dove 1988; Lebar 1972; and Conley, 1973), the Mangyan practice shifting cultivation as their basic means of subsistence. Usually, they cultivate corn, rice and additional products like beans, sweet potatoes, yams, and so forth (Peralta 2000:33).

Peralta (2000), further, reports that the Mangyan are well known for their poetry and songs with the use of a native Indic based script or syllabary. It is very interesting that these poems and songs 'are written by stylus or knives on slivers of bamboo' (Peralta 2000:33).

Apart from having the unique tradition of writing poetry and songs, Virola (2003:10), for instance, reports on the Mangyan ritual of healing which is equally distinctive and attractive. To go to Barangay Paitan of Mindoro Island where the Alangan-Mangyan people reside is not too easy since people need to go by jeepney for around two hours from the Calapan City Market (Virola, loc. cit.). As claimed by Jocano (1998) some of the indigenous people have maintained their colourful cultures. According to Virola (loc. cit.), this Mangyan group has preserved their cultural uniqueness in many ways, including the process of a healing ritual called *marayaw*. The *marayaw* is considered sacred and is a kind of singing which can catch sight of illness causes usually in the form of animals (Virola, loc. cit.). Ritual healing is often attractive to visitors and it is common in many areas, including East Kalimantan where people can find *belian*, a ritual healing for the Dayak Benuaq communities. Helbling and Schult (2004) focus on the question of why the Mangyan, unlike the North Luzon or Mindanao generally, have been a peaceful society throughout their history. They always went further into the interior if there were a threat and they never fought. They have maintained the relationship with the lowland in the forms of trading or goods exchange.

In interviews with a scholar at the University of the Philippines, it was said that the infrastructure to enable visiting beaches is insufficient. Mindoro, a small island, near Luzon, has been offered as a tourist destination. There are many travel agencies offering package trips to go there. Apart from the beauty of the beaches, Mindoro offers a kind of a living museum of the Mangyan. The Mangyan themselves have been marginalized, but their products, made by non Mangyan are promoted with the tourism project in the resorts on this island. The Mangyan village is not easily accessible except by jeepney.

In Mindoro, the Mangyan people have been promoted, but resorts and other forms of accommodation for tourists can be more easily found in the cities. Kerr et al (2000) report, a lot of resorts are located along the north coast, especially in the cities of

Puerto Galera and Sabang. Meanwhile, the Mangyan generally reside in the mountain area. Lack of infrastructure has partly become an obstacle for tourists to visit and stay within the Mangyan communities. As mentioned above in the case of Ifugao people, tourist amenities are available in the cities surrounding the indigenous people who have been promoted for tourism due to their unique traditional cultures. This has also occurred in Mindoro. It seems that Van den Berghe's (1994) study on the Indians in Mexico shows similarities to the situation of the Mangyan in the way tourist amenities are located in the cities, especially the luxurious facilities.

IV. The Commodification of culture: The Gaze at the Ifugao and the Mangyan

The process of the commodification of culture is closely related to tourism. Many studies have shown that in order to attract tourists to visit a country or a tourist destination, commodification of culture occurs. The need to consume indigenous people and their cultures seems to be a growing trend in the tourist industry. This inevitably leads to a commodification of culture along with the tourism services that market cultural performances, architecture, and rituals. Here, it seems that the link between tradition and modernity is transposed into a commercial relationship. In MacCannell's words:

The modernization of work relations, history and nature detaches these from their traditional roots and transforms them into cultural productions and experiences (MacCannell 1976:91).

The commodification of culture due to the demands of the tourist industry has taken place in a large number of tourist destinations. By commodification, I mean the process of packaging and selling cultural objects, performances and life-styles of a people. It involves ascribing a monetary value to aspects of people's lives which formerly had a value independent of the tourist market. Greenwood, who studied Fuenterrabia and Guipuzcoa, in the Spanish Basque country, focuses on 'the promotion of "local colour" as a part of tourism merchandising' (1977:130). He describes the commodification of the *Alarde*, a major public ritual in Fuenterrabia.

Fuenterrabia's *Alarde* is a public ritual *par excellence*. It involves almost all the men, women, and children in the town during the preparations for it and includes a staggering number of them in the actual enactment (Greenwood 1977:131).

He states that while this ritual ‘*is a performance for the participants, not a show*’ (ibid.:133) and therefore oriented to the insiders, because the *Alarde* has ‘the misfortune of taking place during the tourist season’ elements of it have become commodified (ibid.:143-5). For example, the government’s promotion of the *Alarde* in its tourist brochures and calendars meant that it became a focus for tourists visiting the area. The swell in the number of tourists wanting to view the performance meant that the town council made the decision that the *Alarde* should be performed twice in order that everyone could see it. Consequently the town council:

In service of simple pecuniary motives, [it] defined the *Alarde* as a *public show to be performed for outsiders* who, because of their economic importance in the town, had the *right* to see it (Greenwood 1977:135. Emphasis in the original).

Picard describes a similar process in the enactment of the welcoming dance, the *Panyembrama*, in Bali:

... the fate of the short group dance which opens every performance of “Legong Dance” - whether destined for tourists or for the Balinese - is revealing. It was originally a temple dance, called the **Pendet**, performed by dancers presenting welcoming offerings of flowers, food, and incense to the visiting gods installed on their shrines. During the 1950s, it became the rule to greet President Sukarno and important state guests with a large-scale **Pendet**. This custom was then taken up by the management of the Bali Beach Hotel, which decided to open each “Legong Dance” with a **Pendet**, as a welcome dance for their guests. This caused great distress to the Balinese religious authorities, shocked that the tourists were being treated in the same way as the gods, and worried about the desecration of ritual dance. Thus, in the late 1960s, they ordered the composition of a new dance inspired by the **Pendet** from a choreographer of the Conservatory of Music. Entitled **Panyembrama** (literally “that which is offered to the guests”) or else *Tari Selamat Datang* (“welcome dance”), this new creation from then on replaced the **Pendet** as a curtain raiser to the tourist performances. Later on, this tourist version of a temple dance was brought back to the temple, as dancers who had learned the **Panyembrama** at the Conservatory began to perform it instead of the **Pendet** during temple festivals (Picard 1990:52).

There has been a large number of cases of cultural commodification. It is a global trend in relation to the tourist industry. For instance, one can easily find a large number of t-shirts and clothes which draw on cultural icons such as temples, dances, the *barong* (a good spirit), and so on.

Architecture is another example here. The Indonesian government's suggestion that new government buildings, hotels and other buildings should utilise aspects of traditional architecture in order to attract tourists is a further example of the commodification of culture. In Bali, West Sumatra, East Kalimantan, and other places in Indonesia, for instance, there are many government offices and hotels which utilise traditional designs, especially in their roofs and walls. Bali is the pioneer here and has experienced a degree of success. This authentic decoration is a trend. Kahn finds in a similar case in Georgetown, Malaysia where traditional architecture is also found (1997). Based on her research, Maunati (2000) reports, in East Kalimantan the local government encourages the use of traditional Dayak architecture. The use of Dayak architectural motifs and designs in government offices is seen as a way of encouraging a wider use of Dayak material culture. It is also thought to be attractive to tourists. In the Citra Niaga traditional market complex there is a *belawing*, a symbol of a Kenyah guardian, with a carved wooden hornbill facing upstream. Selection of the Dayak ornaments varies from one office to another (Maunati 2000). The Dayak have become the target of ethnic tourism in East Kalimantan. People can easily find 'Dayak artefacts' portrayed in many different types of products, ranging from t-shirts and jewelry to wooden handcrafts in Samarinda. King (1993) notes that in addition to having ritual meaning, Dayak woodcarvings, paintings, weaving, and so forth are also sold as tourist souvenirs.

As has been the case in other tourist destinations, such as Bali, Tana Toraja (Volkman 1990), the Spanish Basque country (Greenwood 1977) and San Cristobel, Mexico (Van den Berghe 1994) the commodification of culture is a central element of tourism in the Ifugao province as well as on Mindoro.

The commodification of culture particularly characterises ethnic and cultural tourism, partly because it is the culture that is offered as the object of attraction. Van den Berghe argues:

The Fourth World peoples who are attractive to ethnic tourists are often at a disadvantage in "selling" themselves directly to the tourists, although they may be quick to exploit new economic niches open to them for the "commoditization" of themselves and their artifacts. Thus they start demanding fees for being photographed, or producing artifacts more or less distantly related to their "traditional" ones for sale to tourists (Van den Berghe 1994:13).

The central debate in much anthropological writing is whether the transformation of culture destroys the essence of culture and erodes cultural identity. Controversy surrounding the need for cultural preservation in Bali, for instance, has been around for many years. Those who argue, like Picard, (1990) that Balinese culture has not been ruined by the rapid growth of the tourist industry, do so on the basis that there is nothing static or fixed in the culture. Likewise, Kahn notes Greenblatt's conclusion that Balinese culture was in fact, preserved through tourism and 'the remarkable adaptive power of the local community'' (Kahn 1995:80). Moreover, Friedman (1990) has argued that the impact of the global market through the commodification of culture has not resulted in homogeneity but rather it has created and recreated identity. For instance, he provides an example of the effect of commodification on Ainu identity and culture, in which 'the Ainu produce traditional goods in order to create themselves' (1990:323).

For some groups (such as the local people), the consumption of cultural commodities (or souvenirs) can mean the expansion of the market. In other words, it can create the opportunity to establish such enterprises. However, it may be that not everybody has the same opportunities, as it depends on the ability of an individual to see an opportunity and take advantage of it. Van den Berghe (1994) states that the businessmen who are able to see the opportunities of a tourist industry are also the ones who have the capital.

In the case of the Ifugao and the Mangyan, for instance, visitors can find many material culture objects of the Ifugao and the Mangyan in the forms of souvenirs like t-shirts, handicrafts, and so forth. Based on interviews with several people in Manila, we found that the process of the production of material cultures used in rituals by these groups is also used in souvenir production. This is often so among other groups whose cultures are promoted for tourism, including the Balinese and the Dayak to mention two. It is indeed evident that there are many forces at work in the process of commodification of culture.

V. Cultural Festivals

Cultural festivals have been promoted widely. This type of attraction is not only occurring in the Philippines, but in many other countries, including Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. During our study in Malaysia (Maunati 2003), for instance, we

saw that the Batu Caves in which a Hindu temple is located, and the temple itself are promoted within the scheme of tourism.

During the annual Thaipusam festival, thousands of *kavadi* carrying devotees climb 272 steps up to the main cavern of the Batu Caves to pay homage to Lord Subramaniam. The limestone walls, overgrown with ferns, loom 20m high with rays of light piercing from the gaps above. Another cavern, the 'Art Gallery', contains colourful images from Hindu mythology. In the temple grounds, monkeys roam freely around the souvenir stalls (*Passport to Kuala Lumpur 2001-2002*: 110-111).

Apart from this, Malaysian Tourism has initiated the celebration of religious rituals open to public audiences. Musa (2000) points out that tourism products in Malaysia include diverse religious events, ranging through Islamic, Hindu, and Confucian festivals. Islamic representations can be seen in many different elements, either in the celebrations or in the mosques. For instance, after a month of fasting during Ramadhan, the Muslims celebrate Eid Ul Fitr (*Idul Fitri*). On this occasion, there is an open day during which visitors can enjoy meals and artistic performances. Tour operators are invited to bring their guests to join the celebrations. Often, this kind of celebration is attended by well known politicians, including the leaders of UMNO (Maunati 2003). Likewise, Thailand has invented or dug up many festivals. For instance, based on our research in Thailand in 2004, we found that many festivals have been promoted as a spur to tourism, such as the Songkran, the Khatung, and the Lanna wedding (Maunati 2004). Maunati further notes that each month, visitors can find certain festivals in Thailand. Songkran, which is performed in April, brings about the Thai calendar's greatest movement of population when Thai families return to their home towns for a reunion and beaches and national parks are packed by these families. According to Thai scholars from Chulalakovn University, during this festival, Bangkok is very quiet because Thais leave to visit their families outside Bangkok. If someone happens to witness the festival, he/she will get wet because people will pour water on him/her. The festival does not occur on the same date in every province, but the usual date is April 13th-15th. Songkran, for instance, occurs on April 6th-16th in the south, while in Nakhon Pathom water is not thrown until the 16th and as late as April 18th - 20th in Mon communities like those in Phra Pradaeng and Sangkhlaburi (Cornwell-Smith on <http://www.tatnews.org/emagazine/detail.asp?id=1872>).

In the Philippines, people can find the promotion of the month of February as follows:

February is a wonderful time to fall in love with the Philippines. Be enamored with our rich culture and colorful heritage. Know more about our diverse traditions as exhibited in music, dance and visual art forms. Listen to the music of the world-renowned Bamboo Organ of Las Pinas, in its annual concert series with international artists performing, as it casts its musical spell on you. Or view the different cultural presentations at the Cultural Center of the Philippines and Theater Festival at the old walled city of Intramuros (<http://www.balikhayantrip.com/info/holiday.html>)

Each month, the Philippines has festivals in different regions and these are promoted widely on the web. To mention a few: In January, the Sto. Nino festival is held when colourful street dancing is performed. During this month too, there is the feast of the Black Nazarene in Quiapo, Manila. In the 17th century the image of the Black Nazarene was transferred from Mexico to Manila by galleon. Another important festival is held in Zambulawan to showcase the Subanon tribe's cultural heritage, including songs, dances and the playing of musical instruments. Then, in February, in Western Visayas, visitors can enjoy the biggest and most magnificent religious pageantry. March is famous for the sports festival, ranging from underwater world activities, mountain biking or hiking, sailing or snorkeling, to relaxing along the amazing coastlines. In April, for instance, visitors can enjoy several festivals, such as the pilgrimage to see Lent in different traditions, the annual feast of the Manobo tribal community of Magpet to enjoy an abundant harvest, and Moriones festival. In May, flower festivals and parades are held in many places. Apart from the flower festivals, Santacruzán, a procession to celebrate St. Helena's finding of the 'True Cross' which occurs before a nine day Novena. June 12th. is the Independence Day of the Philippines when a Grand Parade at the Luneta Park is held. July is the shopping festival a kind of 'Sale of the Century' as seen throughout the world. Exotic Mindanao, centering on natural resources, romantic fruit and flowers, and unique tribes, is conducted on August. The taste of the Philippines month is September when culinary skills are demonstrated by both Philippine and international chefs in various first class hotels and restaurants. October is the eco tourism month centering on natural beauty like discovering more of the natural beauty of the Philippines, experiencing the rainforests of Palawan, and gazing at the world renowned Banaue rice terraces. The music and theatre festival month is November when traditional and classical music can be en-

joyed by tourists. Apart from this, in November, visitors can experience a Grand Cordillera festival in Baguio city in which the gathering of tribes to perform their traditional dancing and thanksgiving rituals are held annually. In December the Philippines is coloured by various festivals, ranging from the Christmas festival, Marian Procession in Intramuros, Bikol Pastores in Legazpi City, to the San Fernando Giant lantern festival (<http://www.balibayantrip.com/info/holiday.html>).

It seems that it is a trend in many countries that a festival is promoted as a spur to tourism. This can be understood because any festival can have its own uniqueness or attraction, especially when it is related to a cultural aspect. In the context of tourism, unique and distinct cultures are often invented or reformulated in order to attract tourists, especially international tourists who are supposed to have different cultural backgrounds. The creation of uniqueness is a trend globally within the tourism context. Hall (1992) argues that the creation of local cultures is a paradox of globalization which is partly assumed to lead to a process of homogenization. Indeed, in this instance it is an example of the different impact of globalization.

Competition, in the context of tourism, therefore, includes a recreation of uniqueness. People can easily find advertisements showing colourful ethnic groups who have been 'untouched'. The word 'untouched' is attractive because it implies that the tourist is the first to experience being there. This is the sort of attractive word used for tourist promotion or in advertisements. Indeed, it is hard to say that any culture is untouched or unchanged since the process of globalization has affected everywhere, including remote areas in each corner of the world.

Plate 6.5: Festival night

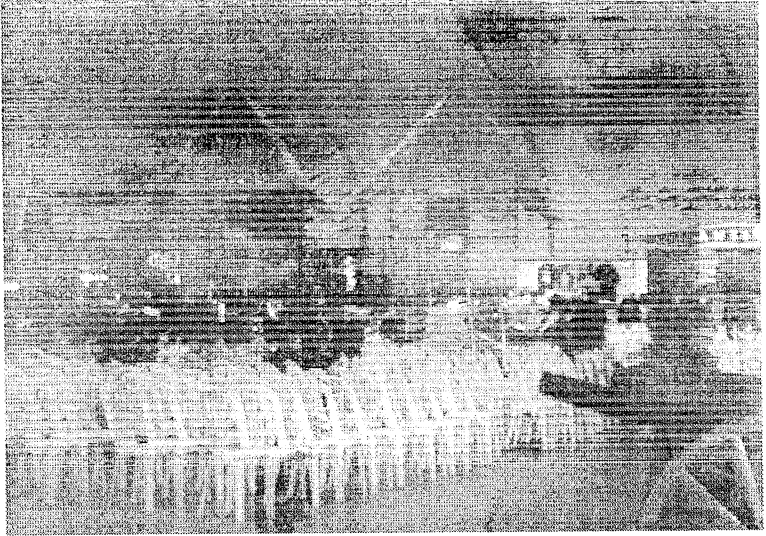


Plate 6.6: Handicraft Stand in a festival night



Plate 6.7: a traditional dance

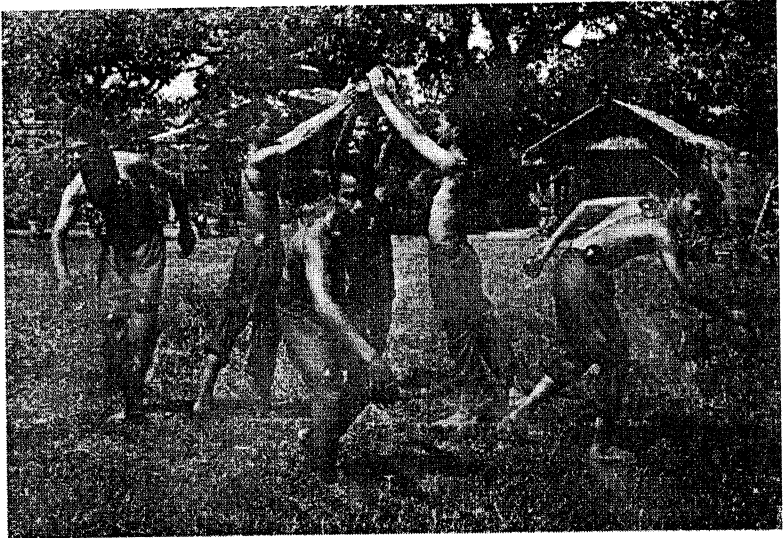


Plate 6.8: Carabao Festival



Plate 6.9: Festivals and Fiestas



VI. Conclusion

In conclusion, commodification of culture is a trend in the context of tourism, particularly cultural and ethnic tourism. Traditions of certain ethnic groups which are supposed to be distinctive and unique, are often reformulated in order to meet the demands of international tourism through which international tourists want to gaze at specific traditions of the hosts. Cultural festivals have been mushrooming where different regions have offered their own uniqueness. The process of globalization that is argued to lead to the process of homogenization of cultures, in this case, has been challenged since the local cultures have in fact flourished in response to globalization in the context of tourism.

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CHAPTER VII HISTORICAL TOURISM

Yekti Maunati, Mayasuri Presilla, and I Ketut Ardhana

Before commencing our fieldwork, we had an opportunity to interview Patrick Flores of the University of the Philippines, who was in Indonesia for fieldwork on art history. According to Patrick, the most popular type of tourism in the Philippines is heritage tourism. Heritage can be found in many different destinations, including churches, rice terraces, in eco tourism and so forth. UNESCO has acknowledged many heritage sites in the Philippines. According to Patrick, the Philippines has many different types of tourism, ranging from eco tourism (like the coral reefs in Mindanao), through heritage, to recreational tourism. Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, and its surroundings, offer many tourist destinations, including the walled city, Intramuros (the Spanish used to reside inside the walls), churches, Fort Santiago, the Rizal Museum, and so on. Manila is also the most important gateway for international flights so that many international tourists stopover in here first before continuing their trips to somewhere else.

Historical tourism is an important attraction in the Philippines in general, apart from other types of tourism, like maritime tourism, eco tourism, and cultural tourism. Every country has its own unique history. Therefore, it is not surprising if in the context of international as well as domestic tourism, the development of historical tourism has been mushrooming. The renovation of historical sites has been carried out in many places, including the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. Thailand is well known for its shrines and historical sites, especially the Grand Palace, Ayutthaya, Sukhothai, and so forth. Shrines and the historical sites have been heavily promoted as important and exciting tourist destinations. As an example, in the brochure *The Official Map of Bangkok* we can read about several sites in these categories, including: the City Pillar Shrine, the Grand Palace, Jim Thompson's House, the Vimanmek Mansion, the Wat Arun (Temple of Dawn), the Wat Benjamabophit (Marble Temple), the Wat Phra Chetuphon, the Wat Phra Kaew, and the Wat Trimit (Maunati and Rucianawati, 2004).

In similar vein, in the Philippines, we can find a large number of historical sites which have been promoted as tourist destinations, including the Miag-Ao Church, Intramuros, and so on.

Based on interviews with many scholars concerned with tourism in the Philippines, churches are considered to be attractive in tourist promotion in the country, especially because the churches are inheritors of the Spanish colonial power. The Miag-Ao Church, for example, is more than 200 years old and is located in Iloilo City (*Mabuhay* June 2005:35). It is an example of Baroque-Romanesque architecture and is very well built. The depth of the foundations is around six metres and the thickness of the walls is 1.5 metres (loc. cit.).

In Metro Manila itself and the districts, there are many churches as well, for example, there is the Manila Cathedral located on General Luna St. It is the main Catholic church in Manila and is a popular venue for high society weddings, which are often presided over by the Archbishop of Manila, the interestingly named Jaime Cardinal Sin. The original church was destroyed during World War II, but the Vatican donated considerable funds for its reconstruction. The new cathedral was completely rebuilt in 1958 but it still looks suitably ancient. The church has a grand gilded altar and a huge 4500 pipe organ, and there is usually at least one wedding here every Sunday.

In another part of Metro Manila, in the Quiapo area, there is also a church, called the Quiapo Church. Actually the Quiapo area is famous as a Muslim cluster because there are so many Muslim people from the southern part of the Philippines (Mindanao) living and trading in this area. The Quiapo Church on Quezon Boulevard, is a modern replacement for several older churches that were destroyed by fires, earthquakes and bombing. The interesting attraction here is the Black Nazarene, a black wooden cross which came to Quiapo from Spain in 1767. It's carried on the shoulder of a wooden statue of Christ, and devotees are allowed to fondle the cross and the heel of the statue through holes in the Perspex case. Around here are dozens of apothecary stalls selling all manner of herbal and religious medicines, as well as amulets (carved stones and other objects believed to have healing powers) (Kerr, 2000 :119).

On the second day of our fieldwork in Manila, we hired a cab from the hotel^[2] to visit some interesting places and historical attractions, like Rizal Park, Intramuros and the Nayong Pilipino. It was Monday, June 13th. And the roads were quiet because it was a holiday for many offices. The original holiday had been on Sunday, June 12th. Independence Day, but since that was a Sunday, Monday was celebrated as the holiday. Before reaching the large Rizal Park, we passed a garden with tall trees. As at other tourist destinations, there were street traders and photographers offering visitors the chance to have pictures taken here. Some street traders sell coconut juice (*juice hayo*), a drink easily found in the tourist destinations of Manila and surroundings, especially along the Manila beaches. There were many Philippine families visiting this park. Some had brought food and lunched on the lawns under the trees. In contrast we could not see many foreigners here.

Also in Rizal Park, there is the Museum of the Filipino People. It is the centerpiece of a new National Museum in the former Finance Building. The best of the National Museum collection is housed here, including the skull fragments of the Philippines' earliest known inhabitant, the Tabon Man/Woman, who died around 24,000 BC. A large part of this excellent museum is devoted to the wreck of the San Diego, a Spanish galleon that sank off the coast of Luzon during a gun battle with the Dutch in 1600. As well as the recovered artifacts there is the wreck site which has been painstakingly recreated within the museum. Other treasures include the anthropomorphic burial jars from the Maitan cave burial (sculpted to represent the faces of the dead) and a large collection of pre colonial artifacts and musical instruments.

Besides the Museum of the Filipino People, there are several other famous museums in Manila. Among them the *Museo ng Maynila*, the excellent Metropolitan Museum, the interactive Science Museum for children *Museo Pambata*, the University of Santo Thomas Museum of Arts and Sciences and the Makati Ayala Museum (miniature dioramas depicting the key events in the Philippine quest for independence) (Kerr, 2000 :117).

Intramuros is a well known historical site in Manila. Here there is the San Agustin Church, a famous cultural and natural heritage in the Philippines (*Mabuhay* June 2005:34). Known as '*Firmiter Aedificata*' ('strongly built' in Latin), this, the oldest church in the Philippines, was built by Chinese workers between 1599 and 1606 and had undeniably survived earthquakes as well as the Second World War (loc. cit.).

In the brochure on Intramuros, visitors can read the history of it, which in brief is as follows: Societies had resided and made money along the Pasig River banks long before the coming of the Spaniards to the Philippines. Maylinad, a palisaded fort, was one of these places, a trade centre for Asian goods under a native head Rajah Soliman. The prosperous society was devastated when the Spaniards came, led by master of camp Martin de Goiti and later by conquistador Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. The old settlement was established as the city of Manila by Legazpi on June 24, 1571 and became the capital as well as the base for Spanish control over three hundred years in the Orient. High stone bulwarks and moats were built as protection from Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, and Portuguese pirate attacks. The length of the wall was 4.5 kilometres, covering around 64 hectares which was constituted of residences, churches, palaces, schools and government buildings. The fee to visit was P40 per person. This place seems to be very attractive to foreigners. When we visited we saw many Japanese tourist groups led by tour guides. Within the walled city of Intramuros, we found many souvenir shops and restaurants. Visitors can go to antique and furniture shops, including Sala Filipina, Galeria Andrea and Galeria Ida Antiques (*Mabuhay* June 2005:35). Visitors usually stop here after observing the very end of the wall. At the end of this wall, once used by the Spanish for defence, we saw a river. The Rizal shrine is a building inside Intramuros. The guide showed us Rizal's bones and clothes. On the way out of this building, we passed the souvenir shops and restaurants. The souvenir shops sell various handcrafts from all over the Philippines, like postcards, paintings of beaches and other scenes, jewelry, t-shirts and so on. According to a trader here, those handcrafts are mostly from outside Manila. The shopkeepers here, while looking after the shops and waiting for visitors to buy their handcrafts, may weave objects like small pockets for mobile telephones. In *Mabuhay* (June 2005:35) the souvenir shops in the Intramuros are promoted as good places to purchase Philippine souvenirs, such as native bags, indigenous musical instruments and carved house decorations at prices ranging from P100 to P850. In this compound visitors can easily get iced, young coconuts, which, since the heat was unbearable, we watched being enjoyed by many visitors.

Nayang Philippine is another interesting place in Manila. This Nayang Philippine is a miniature of interesting Philippine places, including the volcanoes, the Cordillera, and so forth. When we visited, it was very quiet and we barely saw any visitors. The parking space was also nearly empty with only a few cars.

From many sources of historical tourism in Metro Manila, we can learn that there are several places that can be visited, like the Cultural Centre of the Philippines (CCP) which was designed by Leandro Locsin, a leading Filipino architect, and conceived as a celebration of Philippine culture by Imelda Marcos during the optimistic early years of her husband's regime. It was built on a plot of land reclaimed from Manila Bay and cost P40 million of the people's money. The whole thing was opened with great fanfare in September 1969, to be an art gallery, a museum of musical instruments and a theatre that often would host performances by the excellent Philippine Philharmonic Orchestra. Around the complex of the CCP, there are the Folk Art Theatre, the Philippine International Conference Centre, the *Museo ng Sining* (a huge museum of contemporary art), and the Coconut Palace. According to our interviewee, the CCP is now only opened if there is a cultural exhibition from another region of the country or even from abroad (Kerr, 2000: 116).

Another place of interest is the Malacañang Palace similar to the Istana Merdeka in Jakarta. It is one of the most popular venues in Metro Manila. An attractive complex of colonial buildings, along Jose P Laurel St, San Miguel, it is the seat of the Philippine government and also includes the *Museo ng Malacañang*, where Imelda Marcos' extravagant collection of shoes is exhibited (Kerr, 2000: 117).

Like almost all big cities or capitals in the world, Manila has an area called Chinatown. It has a main business street Ongpin and Arches of Goodwill. Manila's Chinese population quickly rose to the top of the economic and social ladder under the US administration, after centuries of suppression by the Spanish Colonial power. The modern Chinese community is now mainly centered in Binondo, north of the Pasig River. In this area there are dozens of goldsmith shops, herbalists, Chinese teahouses, textile, jewelry, furniture, aromatic essence shops, and shopping centres (Kerr, 2000: 118).

The Subic Bay Marine Authority is in the natural deepwater harbour of Subic Bay. It was the base for the huge 7th Fleet of the US Navy. Renamed the Subic Bay Marine Authority, the naval base is evolving from a US military base into a busy industrial zone and resort, with numerous luxury hotels and casinos, to which charter flights bring in gamblers from across Asia. The most attractive activity here is scuba diving on one of the 27 shipwrecks that lie on the bottom of Subic Bay, or a tour of the Jungle Environment Survival Training (JEST) Camp (Kerr, 2000: 172).

Apart from historical tourism, health tourism has become a trend. In an interview

Ms Ana³³¹, argued that an example of health tourism is plastic surgery, an attraction for visitors because it is widely known that the medical services in the Philippines are of high quality and the cost is rather cheaper than in Europe or America.

Ms Ana also told us that the Philippines offers a night life and casino facilities. Based on our own experience, the first hotel that we stayed in, like many other hotels, has a casino inside the hotel which we thought heavily patronised from the noise made by the departing patrons between 2 and 3 a.m. The Philippines has its natural beauty, especially within its maritime environment. Tourists can enjoy the 'untouched' beaches and the beauty of small islands with white sand. The big obstacle has been the insufficient infrastructure. Ms Ana thought that Indonesia might be one step ahead of the Philippines in terms of infrastructure. However, Americans and Europeans travel all over the Philippines, including small islands because people here can communicate well in English. In other words, there is no language barrier between the host and the guest. The promotion of tourism in the Philippines is extensive, including through 'Wow Philippines' which can be found on the Web. Travel Expos, festivals, and other forms of promotion have been regularly conducted to boost the revenues from the tourist industry. The Philippines has a special relation with the United States of America due to a historical bond between the US and the Philippines and many retired Americans stay in the Philippines since they can easily apply to do so. To the Americans, the human power attractions in the Philippines are relatively high as there is no language barrier or barrier to enter the usually good universities, for Americans who live here. Apart from health tourism, the Philippines also offers education. Many overseas students have come here to study at the universities which generally have high standards and are not expensive. Attracting overseas students, adds to the number of visitors to the Philippines from the families of those students.

According to Ms Ana the Philippines has restored and promoted the old churches which have generally been maintained well. In addition, the Philippines has attempted to dig up and return to its national history in order to promote tourism and every province promotes its own festivals.

'Wow Philippine Biyahena' has become the slogan for tourism in the Philippines recently but over time the Philippines has initiated many events, including beauty contests, festivals and so forth. It has also benefited from its people who have be-

come overseas workers. They have contributed significantly to the economy of the Philippines as in terms of tourism, they are expected to visit their relatives and bring friends and families with them.

During the interview, Ms Ana claimed that terrorist attacks are often daily news here. People can see the tense situation in Manila and its surroundings due to the presence of armed police in the malls and other public places and there has been news of tourists kidnapped by extremists in tourist destinations like Pelalawan Island.

In positive terms, Ms Ana told us of American tourists who come to the Philippines, especially to enjoy beaches like Cebu. While, the Spanish also come to this country because of the memories they have of it. Due to the great fluency in English among people here, many tourists who visit the country find no problems in communication. According to Ms Ana, prostitution is also attractive in certain places in the Philippines, but it is difficult to talk about it or prove it because of its sensitivity. Tourists can easily find casinos and women in Manila and surroundings with night life basically attractive for tourists.

Plate 7.1: Church at Intramuros Complex

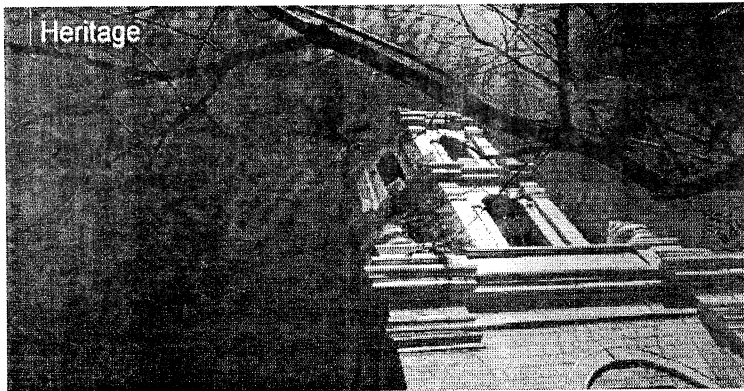


Plate 7.2: Fort Santiago at Intramuros Complex

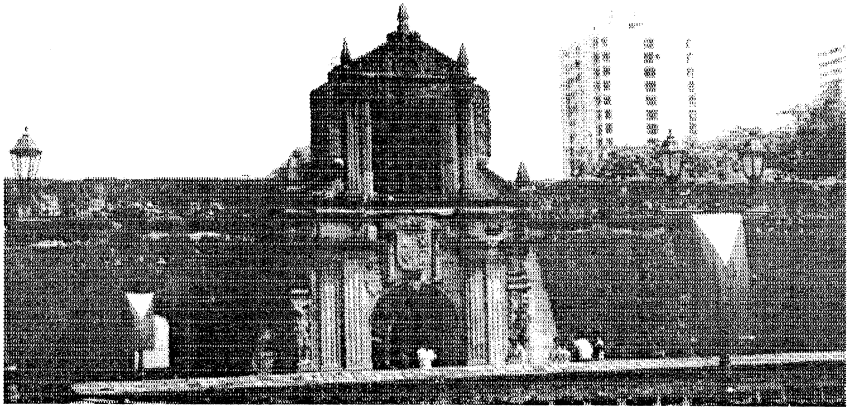


Plate 7.3: Rizal Shrine at Intramuros Complex



Plate 7.4: Intramuros



Plate 7.5: a traditional transportation at Intramuros

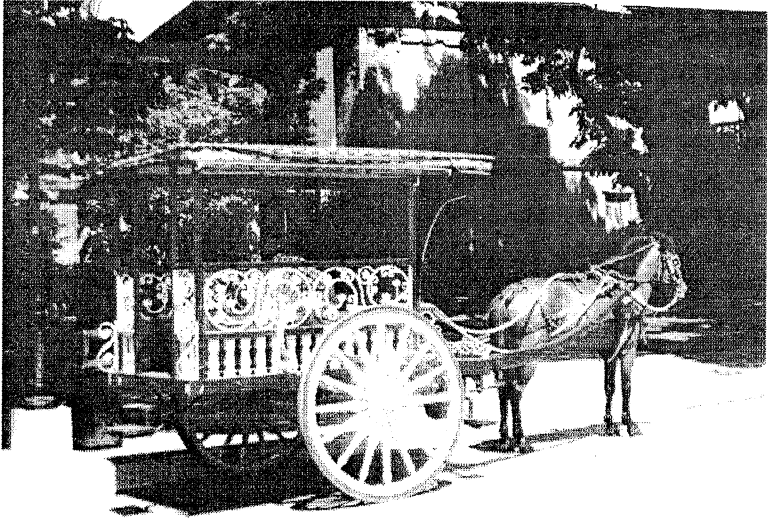


Plate 7.6: a traditional transportation at Intramuros

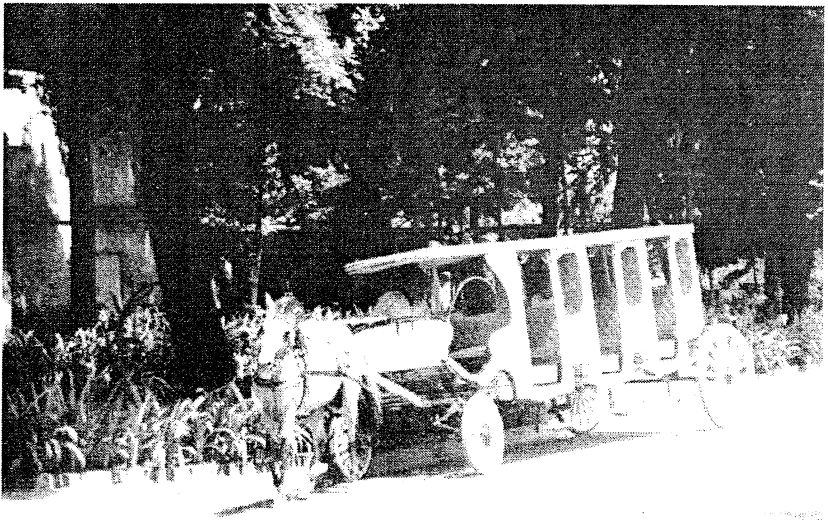
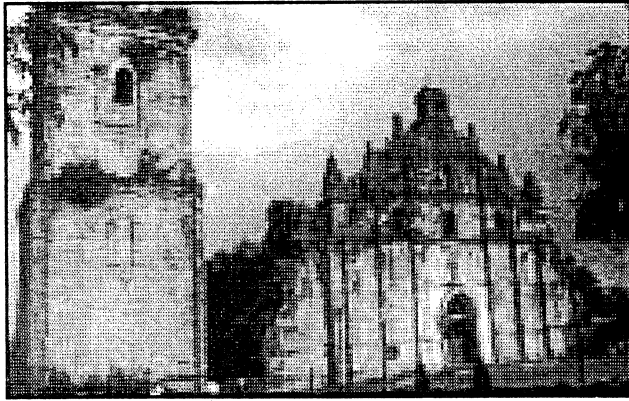


Plate 7.7: San Agustin Church



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CHAPTER VIII
ECOTOURISM: AN ALTERNATIVE ENVIRONMENT CONSERVATION
IN THE PHILIPPINES

Mayasuri Presilla

I. Introduction

The Philippines, a country in the Southeast Asian Region, is located to the north of Indonesia. Recently, it has been developing its tourism industry as a new pillar of its economic growth besides the service, industrial and agricultural sectors. Consequently, many places are being opened up as tourism sites. With the motto 'Visit the Philippines Year' in 2003 and 'WOW Philippines! More Than the Usual!' in 2004, the Philippine government through its Department of Tourism (DOT) has been actively marketing and advertising to portray the country as a safe tropical holiday destination. The aim is to increase visitor arrivals and consequently bring in more foreign currency to the country.

Besides historical and cultural tourism sites, ecological tourism (eco tourism) was being developed alongside with the commemoration of the International Year of Eco tourism in 2002. Historically, eco tourism was actually introduced in the Philippines in the late 1980s. The reason why the government is expanding ecology as a tourism attraction is because it has become aware that the Philippines is regarded as one of the top 25 biodiversity hotspots in the world in view of its high percentage of endemic plants and animals which are now threatened with extinction. With just over 7,000 islands, the Philippines or 'Pearl of the Orient Seas' is the world's second largest archipelago after Indonesia. Also along with Malaysia, Indonesia, and Papua New Guinea, the Philippines is part of the Coral Triangle, the most diverse marine habitat of the tropics.

Since its introduction, eco tourism in the Philippines has been one of the fastest growing industrial niches. Its promise of sustained environmental, social and economic gains make eco tourism the preferred type of development for different tourism organizations. The government also believes that eco tourism can help minimize negative impact on the environment, and even help conserve it and preserve indigenous cultures. In other words, eco tourism is a vital component of its overall

plan for sustainable development and environmental conservation. Sufficient incentive, strong motivation, and social justice are just some of the reasons why eco tourism should succeed. The present Arroyo administration has reiterated the importance of tourism as 'a major engine of socio economic development' (PCVC 2002). Specifically, it has been promoting eco tourism as a key to sustainable development. This report will take an in depth look at eco tourism in the Philippines: eco tourism resources, the impact of eco tourism, and the government policies in this industry.

II. Eco tourism in discourse

In speaking about eco tourism, we must first know what it means and what makes it different from other types of tourism. Essentially, eco tourism, of which there are many definitions, is a relatively new concept in the tourism industry. These many definitions address different concerns such as: sustainable development, environmental protection, cultural preservation, community empowerment and education. Actually it has not been very clearly defined and has, therefore, been confused with many other types of tourism like nature based tourism, cultural tourism and adventure tourism. Unfortunately, definitions of eco tourism, by tourism groups, vary from one group to another, depending on the priorities of each.

In 1987, Hector Ceballos-Lascurain (cited in Boo 1990:xiv) defined eco tourism as:
Traveling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as many existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas.

In 1992, the Eco tourism Society further expanded this definition by emphasizing that eco tourists had the responsibility to improve the welfare of local people (<http://www.biol.tsukuba.ac.jp/~macer/ABC4/abc4313.htm>).

Ballantine and Eagles (1994) further state that eco tourism differs from other forms of travel in that eco tourism combines specific social (traveling to learn about nature) and attraction (visiting wilderness) motives, as well as requiring a specific time commitment (33 per cent of one's vacation time is spent in the field). Others consider 'eco tourism is an enlightening nature travel experience that contributes to conservation of the ecosystem, while respecting the integrity of host communities' (Wight, 1996).

Eco tourism, as ‘responsible travel to natural areas,’ which conserves the environment and sustains the well being of local people, was defined by Goodwin (1996:288) as low impact nature tourism which contributes to the maintenance of species and habitats either directly through a contribution to conservation and/or indirectly by providing revenue to the local community sufficient for the local people to value, and therefore protect, their wildlife heritage area as a source of income. Meanwhile, Fennell (1999:43) identified eco tourism as a sustainable form of natural resource based tourism that focuses primarily on experiencing and learning about nature, and is ethically managed to be low impact, non consumptive, and locally oriented (control, benefits, and scale). It typically occurs in natural areas, and should contribute to the conservation or preservation of such areas.

The Philippines itself, as one of the eco tourism destinations of the world, has its own definition of eco tourism. In 1998, the Department of the Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and the Department of Tourism (DOT) issued a joint memorandum, *Guide Laws for Eco tourism Development in the Philippines*, wherein eco tourism was defined as:

A low-impact, environmentally-sound and community-participatory tourism activity in a given natural environment that enhances the conservation of biophysical understanding and education and yields socio-economic benefits to the concerned community.

In addition, the official Philippine definition for eco tourism, as adopted by the National Eco tourism Development Council (NEDC, 2000), is:

A form of sustainable tourism within a natural and cultural heritage area where community participation, protection and management of natural resources, culture and indigenous knowledge and practices, environmental education and ethics as well as economic benefits are fostered and pursued for the enrichment of host communities and satisfaction of visitors.

From the definitions above, those who implement and participate in eco tourism activities should follow the following principles: minimize impact; build environmental and cultural awareness and respect; provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts, provide direct financial benefits for conservation; provide finan-

cial benefits and empowerment for local people; raise sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental, and social climates; and support international human rights and labour agreements (<http://www.ecotourism.org/index2.php?what-is-ecotourism>).

Thus, there should be some criteria to be fulfilled by eco tourism (Weaver 2001a: 16):

1. Eco tourism is a form of tourism;
2. Attractions are primarily nature based, but can include associated cultural resources and influences;
3. Educational and learning outcomes are fostered;
4. Eco tourism should appear to be sustainable from both a bio centric (ecologically sustainable) and anthropocentric (socio cultural sustainability) perspectives, based on best practice;
5. The pursuit of enhancement sustainability is desirable but not essential criteria;
6. The importance of an operation's financial sustainability is recognized.

There are various types of eco tourism, i.e. shallow and deep eco tourism, soft and hard eco tourism, active and passive eco tourism, and also smaller and larger scale eco tourism. In the term shallow eco tourism, humans are viewed as separate from the rest of nature. The interest in finding solutions to pollution and resource depletion arises from the central concern of shallow ecology in the health and welfare of humans. Nature is valued for its usefulness to humans. In the case of eco tourism, nature's utility comes from the aesthetic pleasure derived by tourists, or from the economic returns that accrue to the host community. In contrast, deep ecology/eco tourism rejects humans in the environment image. Instead, deep eco tourism adopts a bio centric philosophy that covers a range of ideas that include:

The importance of intrinsic value in nature, emphasis on small scale and community identity, the importance of community participation, a lack of faith in modern large scale technology and an underlying assumption that materialism for its own sake is wrong (Acott, LaTrobe and Howard: 245).

The shallow/deep model of eco tourism improves on earlier, more resource based approaches in that it also addresses the manner in which eco tourism resources are used and developed. The model recognizes that the form of development, including the tourist activities conducted on site, are as important components of eco tourism

as is the site itself. Thus, using this framework, eco tourism programs can also be described in terms of the amenities and facilities introduced to a natural or cultural area. Further, the mode of learning about the natural or cultural resource could also be a source of differentiation between programs.

Weaver (2001a) notes that soft eco tourism is usually associated with steady state sustainability or the idea that visitors should leave a place in the same condition as they found it in. In contrast, hard eco tourism supports a concept of sustainability wherein visitors can 'enhance' or improve the natural environment through donations or volunteer activity. Hard (or active) eco tourism closely corresponds to the notion of deep eco tourism described by Acott et.al. Soft (or passive) eco tourism, on the other hand, appears to be very similar to shallow eco tourism. Weaver's hard/soft approach differs slightly from the deep/shallow model in that it can be applied both to the destination (and the form of development taking place at it), as well as to the tourists.

The active/passive continuum is, essentially, Weaver's hard/soft framework. However, this application does not address the issues of environmental commitment and type of sustainability sought. Thus, an active eco tourism program is one that tends to promote physically active tourist activities such as trekking, swimming, diving and other similar exercises. Trips and itineraries are specialized, designed to emphasize the eco tourist's personal experience of the natural or cultural resource. Active eco tours are generally longer in duration. This refers to the journey (final destinations tend to be remote and relatively inaccessible), as well as to the actual activity. Finally, active eco tourists do not expect many western type services and facilities at the destination. Passive eco tourism, on the other hand, places an emphasis on interpretation. Activities are generally less taxing physically. These include guided sightseeing tours, visits to interpretation centres, photography, etc. Passive eco tours are shorter; some can be taken as day tours. Visitors also expect a relatively higher degree of comfort (compared to active eco tourists) in that western standards of service may be expected. (Alampay and Libosada Jr. May 2003).

Larger scale eco tourism offers destinations and activities that can absorb a greater volume of visitor traffic. This will be the form of eco tourism that is closer to traditional tourist activity in that larger groups can be accommodated at any given time.

However, the sustainable tourism practices and concerns about carrying capacity will still require some form of cap on group size. Smaller scale eco tourism, on the other hand, requires visitation by individuals or small travel parties. Whether a program goes for the mass market or for smaller scale eco tourism will depend on the destination. The more sensitive or threatened the environment is, the more eco tourism should move away from larger scale eco tours.

Then, what about nature based tourism, cultural tourism, and adventure tourism? Are they related to eco tourism? To know more about this, let's define them one by one. Nature based tourism is a type of tourism that relies on attractions directly related to the natural environment. Thus, eco tourism is a subset of nature based tourism. Other categories of nature based tourism include 3S (sea, sand, sun) tourism, adventure tourism, captive tourism, extra active tourism, and some types of health tourism. Unlike eco tourism, none of these is constrained by the requirement to have a learning component or to have the appearance of sustainability, although those are desirable (Weaver 2001a: 16).

In relation to cultural tourism, eco tourism usually contains a cultural component in its attraction base, but is seldom equated with cultural tourism. This is because a cultural tourism product should place its primary emphasis on the cultural component, whereas this element is secondary in eco tourism. Another is adventure tourism. To qualify as adventure tourism, an activity or product should incorporate three components: an element of risk, higher level of physical exertion, and a need for certain specialized skills to participate successfully and safely in the activity (Weaver 2001b: 73-83). Some forms of eco tourism meet these requirements and thus qualify as adventure tourism. However, for several reasons, most adventure tourism does not qualify as eco tourism. First, adventure tourism attractions are not always nature based. Second, adventure tourism has no inherent requirement of sustainability, although many adventure tourism businesses operate in a sustainable way. The third and most important distinction is the nature of the interaction between the participant and the attraction. While eco tourists seek a learning/educational experience, adventure tourists primarily desire an environment that facilitates the risk, challenge and physical exertion that they seek. We can figure the relation between eco tourism and others below:

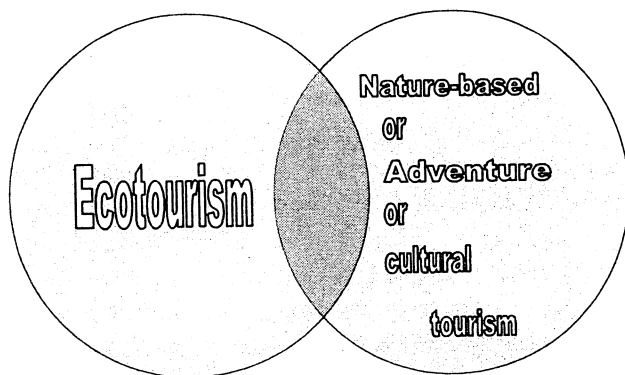


Plate 8.1. Relation between ecotourism and nature-based tourism, adventure tourism and cultural tourism

III. The Philippine Eco tourism Resource Base

A. Natural Resources

The journey of eco tourism in the Philippines first really began in the late 1980s along with the global consciousness about sustainable development. Sustainable development was defined at the Rio de Janeiro Summit in 1987 as 'meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs' (<http://www.philippinecotours.gov.ph/default.php?news=1>)

As already mentioned in the Introduction, the Philippines is one of the top 25 biodiversity hotspots in the world. It means that this country is rich in natural resources. It consists of two million unique species of flora and fauna, many of which are, or were, endemic to the islands. The reefs of the Sulu and Sulawesi seas are home to about 580 of the world's 793 species of reef building corals, compared to just 50 in the Caribbean and 300 in the Great Barrier Reef. There are over 19 identified species of marine mammals and 1,200 varieties of reef fish, including the plankton feeding species, whale shark, the world's largest fish. The information below describe some unique species in the Philippines (<http://www.txtmania.com/trivia/only.php>):

1. **One of the World's Largest Eagles:** The Philippine eagle lives in the rainforests of Isabela, Samar, Leyte and Mindanao.
2. **Largest and Smallest Bats:** The Philippines has at least 56 species of bats. It is home to the smallest and the largest bats among the 1,000 known species in the world. The smallest bat in the world is the Philippine bamboo bat. The three layered virgin forest of Subic Bay and Bataan is home to the world's largest bats. Over the years, these two species of giant fruit bats have roamed around the 10,000hectare Subic Forest National Protected Area, which is considered the biggest roosting site of bats in the world.
3. **Largest Endangered Animal. People used to call Mindoro the 'Land of the Tamaraws':** About 10,000 heads of these unique pygmy water buffalo were roaming around the island province of Mindoro in the 1900s but that was a century ago. Today, the Tamaraws are in danger of extinction, and Mindoro might lose the symbol that it once proudly introduced to the world.
4. **World's Smallest Monkey:** Found in the islands of Samar, Leyte, Bohol and Mindanao. Today, there are only about 1,000 tarsiers inhabiting the wilds of Corella town in Bohol province where the biggest concentration of these rare animals was once reported.
5. **Endangered Cockatoos:** The Philippines is home to some of the world's most exotic birds. Scientists have documented 577 bird species around the Philippine archipelago. Of this number, 185 species are endemic to the country.
6. **World's Largest Fish:** Donsol, a fishing town in Sorsogon province, serves as a sanctuary to a group of 40 whale sharks (*Rhincodon typus*), which are considered as the largest fish in the world.
7. **World's Smallest Fish:** The world's smallest freshwater fish is found in the Philippines. The dwarf goby (*Pandaka pygmaea*) measures 1.2 centimetres or less than half an inch, the tiniest known vertebra. The American ichthyologist Albert Herre first discovered it in the Malabon River in 1925. The Philippines is also the home of the sinarapan, the world's smallest commercial fish.
8. **Herbivorous Marine Mammals:** Dugongs or sea cows, the only herbivorous marine mammals, are often sighted in Philippine waters, particularly near the Palawan province and southern Mindanao.

9. **Exotic Seahorses:** More than 500 of the world's 700 coral species are found under the waters of the Philippines, which is part of the Coral Triangle, a region in the Pacific Ocean.
10. **Largest and Smallest Shells:** Both *Tridacna gigas*, one of the world's largest shells, and *Pisidium*, the world's tiniest shell, can be found under Philippine waters.
11. **World's Largest Reptile:** The saltwater crocodile, which can be found in the Philippines and other Asian countries, is considered as the world's largest reptile.
12. **Endemic Plants:** The Philippine archipelago also teems with different types of plants. It is said that as many as 9,000 flowering plants can be found in the country, including 200 fruit trees. Among the endemic fruit trees in the Philippines are durian, mabolo, pili and bignay.

Plate 8.2: example of an endangered animal



Plate 8.3: Example of an endangered animal



Plate 8.4: Example of endangered animal

Plate 8.5: Example of endangered animal



Despite their richness, the Philippine government realizes that its natural resources can be damaged as a consequence of mass tourism. Therefore, the government has changed mass tourism to niche tourism to anticipate, preserve, conserve and sustain its resources. What government means here is to create many tourism places to become eco tourism sites. The selection for determining the appropriateness and viability of a place as an eco tourism site were guided by a set of criteria involving a two tiered process using specific indicators. The first level evaluation used a scoring system based on relative weightings in percentages, which assessed the sites and product according to natural and/or cultural features (35 per cent), availability of eco tourism product (35 per cent), and level of social/political support (30 per cent). Natural and cultural features refer to the uniqueness of a site as well as the richness and significance of its resources. Eco tourism products are resources and activities that can be developed to generate employment and livelihood for local people. Social and political support indicates the level of commitment of the community, government, private sector and NGOs to implement eco tourism development plans (Department of Tourism and Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002: 59).

The second level evaluation involved setting priorities based on an assessment of the market demand and future benefits accruing to the host communities and visitors. This level depends on the specific circumstances in the regions and includes an assessment of the following:

- ❖ Accessibility of the site from major international and domestic gateways and tourism flows (10 per cent);
- ❖ Current market demand from international and domestic visitors, including the potential appeal to this market (30 per cent);
- ❖ Availability of visitor facilities and services (25 per cent);
- ❖ Local benefits accruing to the community through gaining a livelihood and employment opportunities (30 per cent);
- ❖ Peace and order, security and safety (5 per cent);

This two tiered process of evaluation served as a basis for identifying the key and banner sites as well as the emerging and potential eco tourism areas during the National Eco tourism Planning Workshop. From this two level evaluation process, 32 key sites, including 12 banner sites were selected, as shown in Figure 2 (Department of Tourism and Department of the Environment and Natural Resources, 2002: 59).

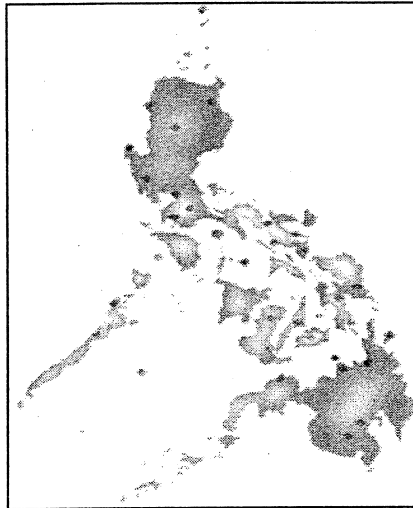


Plate 8.6. Several Key Ecotourism Sites in the Philippines
Source: www.philippinecotours.gov.ph/default.php?news=1

From Plate 8.6, in Northern Luzon, the Key Eco tourism Sites are Batanes, Vigan, Peablanca, Cordillera Rice Terraces, the Hundred Islands, and Mt. Pinatubo. Besides, there are also some Emerging and Potential Eco tourism Sites in northern Luzon, such as the Apayao River (Cagayan), the Balbalasang-Balbalan National Park, the Chico River (Kalinga), Biak-na-Bato (Bulacan), the Eva Puson Garden and the Magat Dam (Nueva Vizcaya), La Union, Mt. Arayat (Pampanga), Mt. Pulag (Benguet), Pagudpud (Ilocos Norte), the Pantabangan-Carranglan Watershed (Nueva Ecija), the Sagada Caves (Mt. Province), the Subic-Bataan Rainforest, the Baggao Bluewater Subterranean Cave (Cagayan), the Malabing Valley Rainforest and the Caves (Cagayan), Palau Island (Cagayan), the Governor Rapids (Quirino), Mt. Tapulao (Zambales), and the Northern Sierra Madre Natural Park (Isabela). In the Southern part of Luzon we can find the Wawa Dam, Mt. Makiling, the Tagaytay and Taal Volcanoes, Mt. Isarog, Mt. Mayon, Donsol, Mt. Bulusan, Apo Reef, Tubbataha Reef, El Nido, and the underground river in Puerto Princesa. There, Emerging and Potential Eco tourism Sites, are Calamianes Island (Northern Palawan), Naujan Lake and Mts. Iglit-Baco (Oriental Mindoro), the Bongsalay Natural Park (Masbate), Caramosan (Camarines Sur), Mt. Palay Palay-Mataas-na-Gulod, the National Park in Cavite and Batangas, Pamitinan (Rodriguez, Rizal), Prieto Diaz (Sorsogon) and the Tres Reyes Islands (Marinduque).

1. The Central Cordillera

is comprised of Baguio City and five provinces: Benguet, Ifugao, Mountain Province, Abra and Kalinga-Apayao. In this area, there is a tribal community, called the Igorot. The most famous part in Central Cordillera are Baguio with the Baguio Botanical Gardens, the Tam-awan Village and the Ifugao people, Sagada with its pine trees, the hanging coffins, the rice terraces and sophisticated irrigation system of Banaue dominate the landscape of eco tourism destinations (Kerr, 2000:192).

2. Palawan

is the second largest province in the Philippines; with a total land area of 16,403.1 sq km, comprising 1,768 islands (NSCB, 2002). In 1967, the entire province was declared a *Fish and Wildlife Sanctuary*. Palawan also has the highest number of protected areas in the Philippines: 12 national parks, 3 bird sanctuaries, 24 watershed forest reserves, and 6 mangrove forest reserves (DENR, 1987).

UNESCO has classified the province as a *Man and Biosphere Reserve* and the Tubbataha Reef Marine National Park and the St. Paul Subterranean River National Park as *World Heritage Sites*. Palawan is also home to four indigenous tribes: the Tagbanua, the Pala'wan, the Batak and the Tao't-bato (PPIO, 2002). Since the 1990s, Palawan has been promoted as an eco tourist destination by the Department of Tourism (DOT, 1991). Recently, Palawan became the *Ecotourism Capital of the Philippines*.

Meanwhile, in the Visayas, eco tourism sites are concentrated in maritime areas. Here, we can visit the Sohoton Caves, Lake Danao, Mt. Kanlao, Olango Island, Bohol, Boracay, TaQon Strait, and Apo Island. The Emerging and Potential Eco tourism Sites are Antique, Camotes-Malapascua-Bantayan, Several Islands in Cebu, the Marabut Marine Park (Leyte), the Odloman Cave (Negros Oriental), Bulabog-Putian (Iloilo), the Taklong-Tandog Island Marine Reserve (Guimaras), Cabucgayan Caibira (Biliran), the Cuatros Islands, the Higatangan, the Kalibo Mangrove Reforestation area (Aklan), the Southwestern Cebu Marine Sanctuary Chain, the North Western Panay Peninsula (Antique), Samar Island, Sagay (Negros Occidental), etc.

1. Boracay.

One of the most popular holiday destinations in the Philippines, is located on the north western tip of the island of Panay in the Western Central Visayas. It is composed of three communities; namely, Balabag, Manoc-Manoc and Yapak. The main tourist attraction is a stretch of white sand beach, predictably called White Beach, located on the east coast of the island. Tourists engage in sunbathing, swimming, diving, snorkeling, beach volleyball, boating, parasailing and other water sports. Other natural attractions on the island include a puka shell beach, bat and crystal caves, and a mountain with an observation deck on the summit, and a dead mangrove forest. On Boracay, eco tourism appears to be associated with activities such as spelunking, horse riding, mountain climbing, diving, and the like (www.biol.tsukuba.ac.jp/~macer/ABC4/abc4313.htm).

2. Cebu.

The name Cebu is attached to a province, an island and the Philippines' second largest metropolis, Cebu City (pop. 660,000). Some islands in the area are Panglao Island (resorts and good beaches), Bantayan Island (remote escape with un-

touched beaches) and Sumilon Island (excellent diving). There are numerous white sand beaches, crystal blue waters, and swaying palms making Cebu a perfect destination for both business and leisure.

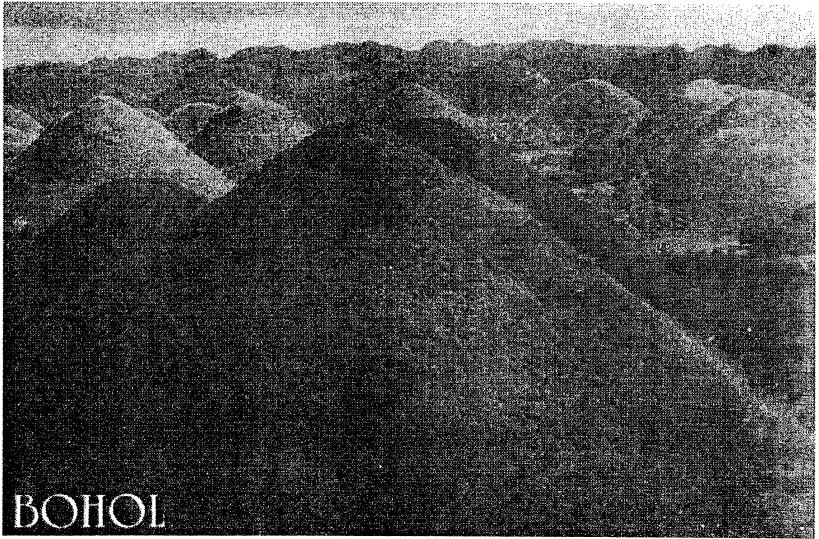
Mactan Island is another site in Cebu. It is a coral island and a famous scuba diving and beach site. It is also the site of the Export Processing Zone. Malapascua Island is endowed with white sand beaches and crystal clear waters with the west coast ideal for swimming and snorkeling. The sleepy little market town of Moalboal was one of the first places where scuba diving caught on in the Philippines (www.iexplore.com/dmap/Philippines/Where+to+Go).

Olango Island in Cebu also supports the largest concentration of migratory birds found in the country. The birds migrating from Russia stop here en route to Australia.

3. Bohol.

Scenic Bohol casts a mysterious charm drawn from the many archaic mementos spread throughout the oval island: from the Chocolate Hills and the tarsier to 16th.century watchtowers and Jesuit Baroque mission churches. The Chocolate Hills, all 1,268 perfectly shaped cones, are undoubtedly the most famous tourist attraction in the province. Among these hills that abound in Central Bohol, two have been developed into top class resorts. One of the rare fauna found in the Philippine archipelago, the Tarsier, the smallest primate in the world which is nocturnal, measures from four to five inches, with a tail that is longer than its body, is found here. A tropical haven of natural beauty, the coastline of the province is girt by gentle coves and white sand beaches. Balicasag in Bohol is one of the very best and most popular dives in the Visayas. A black coral forest is among its main attractions. Another major attraction, Cabilao, is renowned for the hammerhead sharks and dolphins that shoal around the clear waters (http://www.wowphilippines.com.ph/explore_phil/place_details.asp?content=description&province=91).

Plate 8.7: Chocolate Hill at Bohol



4. Negros Oriental.

Nature at its freshest can be discovered in the province that promises the charming surprise of a lush countryside, a fascinating highland adventure, breathtaking caves, magnificent lakes, scenic beaches, world class marine reserves, alluring dive sites, and even dolphins and whales. An exhilarating journey awaits at the internationally acclaimed dive site of Apo Island, also home to the Balwarte Rocks and Negros Oriental Marine Conservation Park, all of which are consistent crowd drawers. There are also playful dolphins and pygmy sperm whales out in the Taon Strait at Bais Bay. Birds and other wildlife can be seen at the 400hectare protected mangrove forest that is the Bird Sanctuary and Mangrove Park, whilst Negros Oriental offers the opportunity to commune with nature, undisturbed (http://www.wowphilippines.com.ph/explore_phil/place_details.asp?content=description&province=91).

In Mindanao there are several Key Eco tourism Sites: Siargao, Camiguin Island, Dipolog, Misamis Oriental, Agusan Marsh, Lake Sebu and Mt. Apo

(www.travelwirenews.com/cgi-script/csArticles/articles). Other places also with potential to be eco tourism sites in this region. are Samal Island (Davao), Lake Lanao (Watershed), Mt. Kitanglad (Bukidnon), and Turtle Island (Tawi-Tawi).

1. Mindanao Island.

has two large and rather featureless cities, Zamboanga (pop. 600,000) and Davao (pop. 1,500,000). Zamboanga's main attractions are the Pansonanca Park (hanging gardens), a 17th century Spanish fort and the city markets. Davao, the economic engine of Mindanao, serves as a useful jumping off point for the beaches and dive sites on Sambal Island and for the Mt. Apo National Park (30 mi/50 km west of Davao, the mountain can be climbed in two to four days). Just off the north coast of Mindanao, Camiguin Island is made up of seven volcanoes, some of which are still active and can be climbed. The island also has an underwater cemetery (the result of a volcanic eruption in 1871), good diving at the Jigdup and Burias shoals, hot springs and Tuasan Falls. Besides, there is Lake Sebu, a place of the Tiboli indigenous people. It is among the most scenic regions in the Philippines.

2. Davao Del Norte.

Davao del Norte is one of the most progressive provinces in Region XI. It has seven municipalities, namely, Asuncion, Braulio E. Dujali, Carmen, Kapalong, New Corella, Sto. Tomas, and Talaingod, and three cities of Tagum (which is the capital, commercial and governance centre). Panabo, and the Island Garden City of Samal, known for its white pristine beaches, great diving sites, and well preserved flora and fauna. Although the province is generally an agricultural area, with bananas as its main produce for both local and international markets, a wide array of other agricultural products like coconuts, rice, corn, citrus, mangoes, durian, and other tropical fruit abound. Davao del Norte also boasts a growing aquaculture in B.E. Dujali, a municipality touted to be the future 'tilapia country' of the north. Tilapia, is also known as St. Peter's Fish by gourmets. With most of the municipalities situated along the coastline, Davao del Norte has an extensive mangrove area with marine resources (http://www.wowphilippines.com.ph/explore_phil/place_details.asp?content=description&province=91).

3. Tawi-Tawi.

Tawi-Tawi is well known for its variety of exotic fauna that abounds in the mainland forest, including: wild cattle, wild hogs, and monkeys of the brown and white variety. Lying at the southwestern tip of the Philippines, accessible in only a matter of hours from Sabah in Malaysia, Tawi-Tawi is a province to visit for its natural zoos and a world all its own. At Sibutu, wild hogs come in rampaging bands of black, reddish brown, white, and spotted black and white. A hunter's paradise, Sibutu also boasts the sleek and rare 'labuyo' or wild rooster, edible birds like the balud, tabon, kingfisher, orioles, dandunay of the peacock variety and more, as well as birds caught to become pets such as green, gold, and white parrots, canaries, lovebirds, and many more. Seagulls, known to the natives as tallah-tallah have settled by the thousands at Gusong Reef in Cagayan de Tawi-Tawi to lay their eggs. Gusong Reef is a top producer of the delicious turtle eggs, ranking second to the Turtle Island. Bongao Peak is a veritable monkey sanctuary, which also provides a view of the expanse of sea and the necklace of islands for miles around. Tawi-Tawi can easily transport one to a whole other world. Eye-catching Sitangkai is considered the 'Venice of Tawi-Tawi.' The Royal 'Kupunga' rises straight out of an Arabian setting. The Malay influences as well as tribal arts and crafts are very visible in the province. Here, it is not uncommon to see people dressed in colourful malongs, the women adorned with beads and brass trinkets (http://www.wowphilippines.com.ph/explore_phil/place_details.asp?content=description&province=91).

4. Sulu Islands.

Far flung Sulu is the southernmost part of the Philippines, lying between the Sulu Sea in the north and the Celebes Sea in the south. Fishing is the most important industry here and it is classified as an income First Class Province. The glorious Sulu Sea is dotted with coral reefs, with a pearl farm at Marungas Island, and provides some of the world's best dive spots. Tubbataha Reef is its best known site, a 33,200hectare underwater splendour drawing divers from all over the world with its marvelous marine wilderness and special ecosystem. Because of its fabulous beauty, the Tubbataha Reef Marine Park was honoured by UNESCO in December 1993 as the first natural site in the Philippines to be inscribed on the prestigious World Heritage List (http://www.wowphilippines.com.ph/explore_phil/

place_details.asp?content=description&province=91).

5. Basilan.

is another province blessed with natural bounties. For many years, the area has been called an island of hope, by merchants and travelers. The province is home to different cultures and traditions and rich in aquatic resources, was once considered the trading centre of Mindanao. .

The kilometre wide channel that opens to the port of Isabela; provincial capital, is lined on both sides by mangroves and Samal houses on stilts. Across is Malamawi Island, the gateway to Basilan, where can be found the Badjao, Samal-Luaans-Banguingui, and Muslim cemeteries. The island boasts the only lake in the province with wild ducks and there can be found the Panigayan fishing village, an ideal spear fishing destination (http://www.wowphilippines.com.ph/explore_phil/place_details.asp?content=description&province=91).

B. Cultural Resources

As already said, eco tourism can be combined with cultural resources. The unique features of Filipino culture have not yet been fully emphasized as a tourism resource to motivate and attract overseas travelers to visit the country. Key cultural resources with current or potential adaptation for eco tourism are festivals and events; traditional villages; museums and cultural repositories; handicrafts, arts, and crafts; and local cuisine (Department of Tourism and Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002: 26).

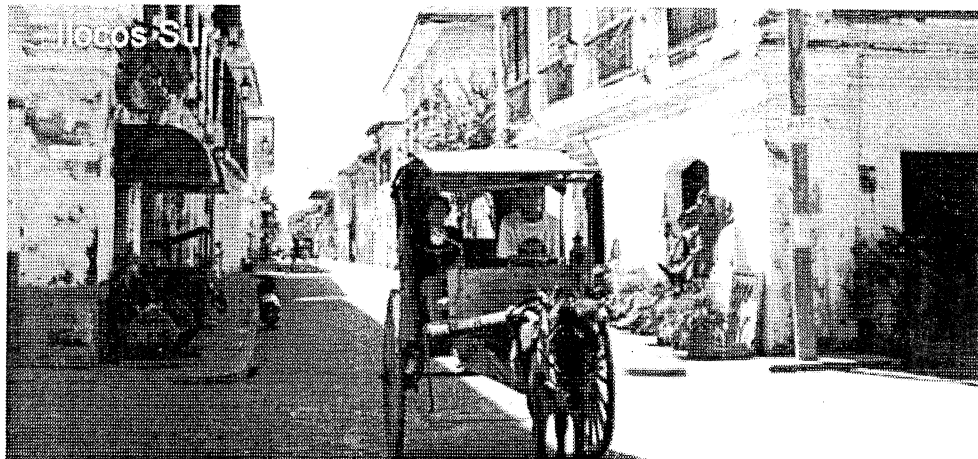
Cultural Villages

One of the earliest examples of a Philippine purpose built cultural village is the Nayong Pilipino, a 32acre attraction located next to the Ninoy Aquino International Airport (NAIA). It is like a 'Little Philippines' that showcases replicas of the country's leading tourist spots, shopping for souvenir items, craft demonstrations and cultural shows featuring regional songs, dramas, and dances.

This little Philippines was popular in the 1970s and 1980s, but is less so now. It is too contrived to be truly reflective of Philippine culture. When we got there, there were only a few visitors. Since the early 1990s, a trend towards more authentic

representation of cultural life has occurred along with the raising of eco tourism in the world. Villages such as Tam Awan, Baguio, and the Talaandig School of Living Traditions, Bukidnon in Mindanao, have been developed as showcases for visitors and as centres for artists and craft practitioners. They also have rehabilitation programs that teach young adults local craft skills and cultural traditions.

Plate 8.8: Vigan Village



Handcraft, Art and Craft Centres

Some of the Philippine island specialties have been redesigned using traditional techniques and materials to adapt them to international market tastes. Based on our experience, in Metro Manila, there are lots of handcrafts from all over the Philippines that can be bought in malls, markets and in many other tourist places such as the walled city (Intramuros) or the Department of tourism in the Philippines (DOT).

IV. Impact of Eco tourism

In the vein of many other industries, eco tourism has also good and bad sides or positive and negatives impact. From literature, we can see that the positive impact of eco tourism is economic benefits and nature conservation. Economic benefits are jobs for communities, revenue for parks, and profit for companies. Eco tourism

plays an important role in creating jobs in remote regions that benefit less from economic development programs than more populous areas. Even a few jobs in such areas can make a big difference. Significantly, this economic impact can also increase political and financial support for conservation and environmental protection. As is well known, in many poor countries, one of the greatest hazards to natural resources is the poverty of the people.

Protected areas and nature conservation generally provide many benefits to society, including preservation of biodiversity, maintenance of watersheds, and so on. The very benefits derived by local people from eco tourism can increase their concern for the preservation of their natural environment, because it is in a sense, their capital. Nevertheless having said that, the benefits of eco tourism should not be oversold, for there may be a backlash if reality does not live up to expectations. We should be aware of the problems of eco tourism that must be faced and resolved. One serious negative impact of eco tourism is the expropriation of virgin territories, such as national parks, wildlife parks and wilderness areas. Another problem is the so called leakage of economic benefits for the host community, as when the food and beverages served in restaurants and the goods in stores are imported.

Economic impact analysis shows that eco tourism works best for local communities when the following are emphasized: increasing backward linkages and reducing leakages, and increasing local participation in the industry. Spending per visitor can be increased through, for example, provision of local handicrafts and other products. Backward linkages can be improved through greater use of local agricultural and other products. Local participation can be enhanced through training programs that enable local people to take over more of the services required by the industry (www.philpost.com/0899pages/frontier0899.html). Nowadays, those negative impacts have become hot issues in the environmental conservation movement.

For the Philippines itself, there are many cases that can be described as the impact of eco tourism. As was said by Carlos M. Libosada Jr, (1998) the environment of the Philippines has already reached a depressing stage wherein much of the natural resources are heavily exploited or totally depleted. denying eco tourism a chance to grow in many areas. Environmental degradation continues to persist in the Philippines basically because of the lack of alternative economic opportunities and the

current economic status of the country. It also happened because since eco tourism was introduced in the Philippines, the whole industry, ranging from government agencies, the private sector, to local government units, was stirred and dazzled by the chance to promote a new product based on nature. Their activities mostly endangered nature because of their lack of knowledge about eco tourism. Thus, eco tourism has been perceived as a chance for others to exploit nature in the name of tourism.

The negative impact of eco tourism activities in the Philippines can be seen in the table 8.1. below:

Table 8.1. NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF ECOTOURISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

ACTIVITY	IMPACT
Mountaineering/ Trekking	Trail Erosion and Damage Garbage Accumulation Disturbance of Wildlife Culture Shock and Degradation of Local People
Spelunking	Damage to Limestone Formation Vandalism
Birdwatching/ Photo Safari	Disturbance of Wildlife
Scuba Diving	Disturbance of Marine Life Damage to Corals

Source: Carlos M. Libosada Jr (1998:109)

Case Studies of Eco tourism Impact in the Philippines

1. Tagaytay City

- Several large subdivisions are being developed in the city as real estate on what mostly used to be agricultural lands. One is even located near a watershed;
- Large companies and industries are waiting for a chance to establish their businesses and these may completely change the face of the area;

2. Banaue and Sagada

- The locals are beginning to rely mostly on tourism for their incomes, for example, some allow themselves to be photographed in their traditional costumes, for a fee;
- The caves in Sagada are being exploited, so the limestone formations are damaged, both by souvenir collectors and vandals. Some burial caves have suffered desecration;
- Decline of the culture and in the environmental well being of the areas is due to migration of the younger generation to Manila and other cities to study and to work, leaving older people to take care of agricultural needs

3. The St. Paul Subterranean National Park

- There are economic benefits of the tourist influx, even though most of the villagers still depend on fishing and farming as their main sources of livelihood;
- From a sleepy village of a few thatched huts to mini resort areas owned, however, by international business chains;
- Tour operators pay local guides on a daily basis to accompany visitors to the park;
- Animals have been affected by the inroads of tourism;
- The destruction of limestone formations and even the marine life of the river.

4. The whales of Bohol

- For a long time, the whales of Bohol suffered from the hooks of American, Japanese, Taiwanese, and Filipino whale hunters. Then whale hunting was completely banned and the creatures slowly increased in number and

felt safer near boats and humans. Whales can become a very good tourist attraction for people who get thrilled by the mere sight of a sixty foot giant. Fishermen can be hired as spotters and their boats used for whale watching as their alternative means of livelihood;

V. Eco tourism Policies in the Philippines

As the Philippine government developed its eco tourism as an alternative sustainable development, it followed with some suitable policies. In point of fact, each region has its own policies in developing eco tourism. Unfortunately, because of the inadequacy of our data and our time, this section cannot illustrate them one by one. It just gives general eco tourism policies at the national level. The policy had its roots in the 1991 Tourism Master Plan by the Philippine Department of Tourism, the United Nations Development Program, and the World Tourism Organization. This blueprint on the development of the tourism industry aims to 'be sensitive', 'contribute to livelihood', 'minimize impact of negative factors', 'maximize and generate sustainable growth' (DOT 1991).

Then, in response to a call for sustainable development, the Philippine Council for Sustainable Development (PCSD) was created in 1992 to demonstrate the country's commitment. The DOT with the assistance of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Tourism Organization (WTO) initiated the formulation of the Tourism Master Plan (TMP) for the Philippines. The TMP is among the first government plans in the country that pioneered sustainable development concepts, and made them a mainstream issue. It consists of two main policies:

A. Protected Areas Policy

The passage of Executive Order No. 192 in 1987 marked the emergence of a new initiative in Protected Area Management with the creation of the Protected Areas and Wildlife Bureau (PAWB) which was mandated to implement the National Integrated Protected Areas System Act (NIPAS) Law, or Republic Act (RA) 7586, in June 1992. NIPAS Law is a landmark legislation that recognizes the importance of the integrated protected areas system as a powerful mechanism for the conservation of the country's biodiversity. The NIPAS Law also provides for the establishment of a buffer zone and other multiple zones including eco tourism. Zoning recognizes the role of tourism in protection, development and management of protected areas. Tour-

ism activities, particularly eco tourism, are permitted in 'recreational zones' to provide benefits to local residents as well as to enable visitors to appreciate the beauty of nature. Along this line, DOT and PAWB have teamed up to develop a meaningful policy. The NIPAS Law mandates the establishment of a Protected Area Management Board (PAMB) to plan and administer the protected area, approve implementation proposals and work plans; delineate boundaries and promulgate rules and regulations for their conservation, protection and management. Relevant policies on cave management are governed by RA 9072. The National Cave and Cave Resources Management and Protection Act; RA 9147, the Wildlife Resource Conservation and Protection Act, is also a policy consideration for eco tourism activities (Department of Tourism and Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002: 12).

The NIPAS Law originated with the Integrated Protected Areas System Project (IPAS I), a DENR (Department of Environment and Natural Resources)-PAWB project funded by the Japanese Government through a grant to the Philippine Government under the administration of the World Bank. DENR contracted this project to two NGOs the University of the Philippines Science Research Foundation, Inc. and the Foundation for Sustainable Development, Inc. under the supervision of the World Wildlife Fund Philippine Program. This project was the first serious effort to analyze the biodiversity profile of protected areas within a socio economic context.

The NIPAS law identified, as initial components of the system, all areas or islands proclaimed, designated or set aside pursuant to a law, presidential decree, presidential proclamation or executive order as National Park, Game Refuge, Bird and Wildlife Sanctuary, Wilderness Area, Strict Nature Reserve, Watershed, Mangrove Reserve, Fish Sanctuary, Natural and Historical Landmarks, Protected and Managed Landscape/ Seascape as well as identified virgin forests before it was put into effect. There are 203 Protected Areas under the initial components of the system and 87 others which include newly protected areas under the NIPAS category.

B. The Eco tourism Policy

Based on the TMP and Philippine Agenda (PA) No.21, a sustainable tourism development framework was prepared by the DOT in 1998, providing for eco tourism as a form of tourism that can be sustainable and use natural and cultural resources while providing employment opportunities for local communities. At that time, collabora-

tion between the DOT and other agencies such as the Protected Areas and Wildlife Bureau (PAWB) of DENR, the National Commission for Culture and Arts (NCCA) and the National Museum were to be instigated with the aim of fostering eco tourism. Recognizing this, Executive Order (EO) No. 111 was issued on 17th. June, 1999, to establish the guidelines for the Eco tourism Development Council as the policy making body, and the National Steering Committee (NESC) and the Regional Eco tourism Committees (RECs) as operating arms. In addition, the EO called for the formulation of the National Eco tourism Strategy (NES) to provide an integrated management plan for the development of eco tourism. (<http://www.travelwirenews.com/cgi-script/csArticles/articles/000009/000910-p.htm>)

**EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 111
ESTABLISHING THE GUIDELINES FOR ECOTOURISM
DEVELOPMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES**

()

Whereas, it is the policy of the State to develop and promote sustainable tourism while enjoining the participation of the Filipino in enhancing the growth and competitiveness of the Philippine economy;

Whereas, it is the policy of the State to ensure the sustainable use, development, management, protection and conservation of the country's environment and natural resources and cultural heritage for the enjoyment of the present and future generations;

Whereas, the development and promotion of the ecotourism in the Philippines are viable and sustainable activities that will promote the protection of our environment while contributing at the same time to the growth of the economy;

Whereas, there is a need to establish an integrating system that shall warrant and focus government effort to sustain the viability of ecotourism development in the country and;

Whereas, the Department of Tourism (DOT) and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) have issued a joint Memorandum Circular for the development of ecotourism in the Philippines.

Now, therefore, I JOSEPH EJERCITO ESTRADA, President of the Philippines, by virtue of the powers vested in me by law, do hereby order:

Section 1. National Ecotourism Development Council.

There is hereby created a National Ecotourism Development Council (NEDC) to be composed of the Secretaries of the following departments: Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources, Interior and Local Government, Trade and Industry, Finance, National Economic and Development Authority, and Education, Culture and Sports and representatives from the private sector and non-government organizations. The Chairperson may invite other sectoral representatives in the NEDC. The NEDC, will serve as the policy making body for ecotourism, shall be chaired by the Department of Tourism and Co-chaired by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources.

The NEDC shall have a National Ecotourism Steering Committee (NESC) and Regional Ecotourism Committees (REC) to effectively implement the programs and activities approved by the Council. The NESC shall have the following composition

DOT Undersecretary for Planning Chairperson DENR Undersecretary for Environment Co-Chairman Director, DENR – Protected Areas and Wildlife Bureau Director, DOT – Office of Tourism Development Planning Director, DOT – Office of Product Research and Development Director, DOT – Office of Tourism Standards Director, Department of Interior and Local Government Private Sector Representative/s Non-Government Organization/s The REC, on the other hand, shall be composed of the following: Regional Director, DOT Chairman Regional Executive Director, DENR Co-Chairman Regional Technical Director for Environment Management and Protected Area Sector (EMPAS), DENR NEDA-PCSD Private Sector Representative NGO Representative Concerned Local Government Unit Representative The Chairmanship of the Council and its committees shall have a term of three (3) years and shall be held on rotation basis by DOT and DENR.

Section 2. Functions and Responsibilities of the Ecotourism Committees.

The NESC shall be responsible for the following:

1. Formulate and develop a national ecotourism strategy and program for the promotion and development of ecotourism strategy and program for the promotion and development of ecotourism in the country;
2. Formulate and recommend policies, guidelines and programs relevant to the development and promotion of ecotourism in the country;
3. Review, evaluate and approve major ecotourism project proposals;
4. Devise an accreditation and incentives mechanism for ecotourism projects;
5. Conduct consultation with the local population to be affected by ecotourism development to integrate their cultural values and beliefs in ecotourism plans and programs which may be formulated through their own initiative;
6. Provide technical and financial assistance to communities which are included in the network of ecotourism sites to be established by the Council;
7. Supervise and monitor the implementation of policies, guidelines, ecotourism programs/projects/activities in the country; and,
8. Perform such other activities as may be necessary to carry out the objectives of the Order.

The REC shall have the following functions:

1. Review, evaluate, approve and monitor ecotourism projects in their region;
2. Implement policies, guidelines, programs, projects and activities formulated by the Council;
3. Identify network of ecotourism sites in the region;
4. Recommend plans and programs for ecotourism; and,
5. Perform such other activities as may be prescribed by the council.

Section 3. Secretariat Support.

The NEDC shall establish an Ecotourism Technical Working Group to provide technical and administrative support to the NEDC and NESC in the implementation of the Order. The NEDC may also request the services and support of other government agencies necessary in the development and implementation of ecotourism programs in the country.

Section 4. Formulation of a National Ecotourism Strategy.

A National Ecotourism Strategy shall be prepared by the Council to provide an integrated management plan which shall warrant a comprehensive direction for the future of ecotourism in the country by recognizing issues and problems for its sustainable development and recommend feasible approaches in addressing these issues. The Strategy shall be formulated in consultation with concerned stakeholders in the environment and tourism sectors including indigenous peoples and local communities to be affected by ecotourism development.

Section 5. National Ecotourism Program.

To complement and support the aforementioned Strategy, a set of National Ecotourism Programs shall be developed. The program shall encompass the major aspects of ecotourism, which are:

1. development, management and protection of identified ecotourism sites;
2. product enhancement and development;
3. environmental education and information campaign;
4. support programs for community stewardship and livelihood development.

Section 6. Operational Budget.

The Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and Department of Tourism (DOT) shall allocate funds from their respective regular budgets which shall be used for the operations of the NEDC. The NEDC is also empowered to generate funds through an appropriate financial mechanism shall be placed in an Ecotourism Fund to finance the various ecotourism programs and activities pursuant to the mandate of the NEDC.

Section 7. Repealing Clause.

All executive orders, circulars, rules and regulations or parts thereof contrary to or inconsistent with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed or modified accordingly.

Section 8. Separability Clause.

If any portion of this Act is declared unconstitutional or invalid, any provision not affected thereby shall remain in full force and effect.

Section 9. Effectivity Clause.

This order shall take effect immediately. Done in the City of Manila, this 17th day of June, in the year of Our Lord, nineteen hundred and ninety nine.

(SIGNED)

PRES. JOSEPH EJERCITO ESTRADA

(SIGNED)

RONALD B. ZAMORA
Executive Secretary

Pursuant to EO 111, the NEDC, together with the National Eco tourism Steering Committee (NESC) and the Regional Eco tourism Committee (REC), were created in 1998 under EO 111 to formulate and monitor the implementation of guidelines for the development of eco tourism in the Philippines. EO 111 created also a National Eco tourism Development Council (NEDC), composed of the Secretaries of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources, Interior and Local Government, Trade and Industry, Finance, Education, the Secretary General of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) and representatives from the private sector and non governmental organizations (NGOs).

Under the NEDC, the National Eco tourism Steering Committee (NESC) and Regional Eco tourism Committees (RECs) were established to implement programs and activities approved by the NEDC. EO 111 also called for an Eco tourism Technical Working Group (ETWG) to provide technical and administrative support to the NEDC and the NESC. All of these bodies are referred to collectively in this report as the EO 111 Bodies.

As articulated in EO 111, the following policies served as bases for proposing a system to promote and develop eco tourism in the Philippines:

- The State shall develop and promote sustainable tourism while enjoining the participation of the Filipino people in enhancing the growth and competitiveness of the Philippine economy; and
- The State shall ensure the sustainable use, development, management, protection and conservation of the country's environment and natural resources and cultural heritage for the enjoyment of the present and future generations.

The EO 111, therefore, provided for the formulation of a National Eco tourism Strategy and Program for the promotion and development of eco tourism in the Philippines (<http://www.philippinecotours.gov.ph/default.php?news=1>).

B.1. The National Eco tourism Strategy (NES)

The NES was founded on the vision to advocate, foster, coordinate, monitor and mobilize support for eco tourism. The launching of the NES was during the Second National Eco tourism Congress in Tacloban City in April 2002 after it was conceived in the First National Eco tourism Congress in Bohol in 1999. The emphasis of the NES was on promoting 'eco tourism for the Philippines' not 'Philippines for eco tourism'. It specifically aimed to:

- Promote and mobilize support for eco tourism from all sectors: government, business and general populace; Develop a culture of sustainable tourism among the local people;
- Institutionalize community participation in planning, development, implementation and monitoring of eco tourism projects;
- Promote environmental education and ethics;
- Develop capability of LGUs and local entrepreneurs;
- Facilitate domestic and foreign investments to fill in facility requirements;
- Develop globally competitive eco tourism products for quality visitor experience; and,
- Ensure benefits redound to the local community.

The NES viewed eco tourism not as an imported concept but a direct response to real needs and circumstances in the country; resting on the following pillars:

- Sustainable management of natural and cultural resources;
- Environmental education and conservation awareness;
- Empowerment of local communities; and,

- Development of products that will satisfy visitor needs and position the Philippines as a globally competitive eco tourism destination.

The general approach to achieve NES goals involved the establishment of a network of sites and products through a 'top-down and bottom-up' approach. The top-down sought to define flows from the national government by developing and marketing key eco tourism sites as well as setting the standards to regulate and monitor eco tourism projects. The bottom-up was envisioned to provide opportunities for host communities, local government units, local entrepreneurs, non governmental organizations and other stakeholders to actively participate in the protection and management of their resources and other viable eco tourism projects.

An important approach in the NES was the establishment of a communication network via the web site, newsletters and other media to facilitate sharing of information and experience among stakeholders. It also provided for linking key sites and products to facilitate the development of new packages and programs that would ensure a longer visitor stay and quality experience for the tourists. (www.philippinecotours.gov.ph/default.php?TID1=3&TID2=3).

The NES should be prepared to provide an integrated management plan, which would warrant a comprehensive direction for the future of eco tourism in the country by recognizing issues and problems for its sustainable development and recommend feasible approaches in addressing these issues. The Strategy should be formulated in consultation with concerned stakeholders in the environment and tourism sectors including the indigenous people and local communities likely to be affected by eco tourism development. Other specific and urgent national imperatives to be addressed by the NES were (<http://www.philippinecotours.gov.ph/default.php?news=1>):

- Diversification of the Philippine tourism product mix in the light of current downturn in visitor arrivals;
- Spreading tourism benefits to rural areas not only for employment generation and poverty alleviation but also for the sustainability of the tourism industry;
- Provision of an economic rationale for conservation of natural and cultural sites to ensure the long term sustainability of conservation management systems;

- Promotion of wholesome styles of recreation in outdoor environments and provision of conservation awareness and education programs outside the classrooms; and
- Creation of models that will demonstrate ways for local communities to engage in non exploitative and sustainable utilization of natural resources.

A set of National Eco tourism Programs (NEP) was identified in the NES in support of its implementation. The programs included a selection of key eco tourism sites, product development, marketing and promotions, education and advocacy, establishment of an eco tourism fund, support programs and monitoring (<http://www.philippinecotours.gov.ph/default.php?TID1=3&TID2=3>).

B.2. The National Eco tourism Program (NEP)

A National Eco tourism Program (NEP) was developed to provide an integrated and coordinated mechanism for eco tourism in the Philippines. The NEP was composed of the following:

1. Key Eco tourism sites;
2. Product Development;
3. Marketing and Promotion;
4. Education and Advocacy;
5. Support Program;
6. National Eco tourism Fund;
7. Monitoring and Evaluation;

The DOT and the DENR were to spearhead the implementation of the NEP at the national and regional levels. Assistance would be sourced from government agencies, NGOs, private sectors, and bilateral and multilateral agencies interested in conservation and eco tourism to ensure the orderly and timely implementation of the NEP. The formal basis for partnership between the DOT and the DENR was provided in EO 111.

The DOT was to implement product development and promotion of the NEP. To complement and support the NES, a NEP would be developed and encompass the major aspects of eco tourism, which were the (<http://www.philippinecotours.gov.ph/default.php?news=1>):

1. development, management and protection of identified eco tourism sites;
2. product enhancement and development;
3. environmental education and information campaign;
4. support programs for community stewardship and livelihood development.

The main activities of the DOT component of the NEP included international eco tourism promotion, domestic eco tourism promotion, planning and product development, training and awareness, and assistance to EO 111 bodies. Some priorities for DOT's eco tourism product development and marketing program were divided into three terms: short term (2002-2004), medium term (2002-2007), and long term (2002-2012).

Short term Priorities (2002-2004)

- To collaborate with DENR, RECs, and LGUs and the private sector, and focus on enhancing current attractions at selected Key Sites. Special attention would be given to matching products with target market preferences, particularly Asian and domestic visitors;
- To strengthen linkages between Key Sites, packaging them in partnership with the private sector, in order to influence the tourism pattern, improve visitor experience and lengthen stay;
- To refine, adopt and implement the Eco tourism Marketing Plan with the aim of establishing the Philippines as an eco tourism destination in source markets;
- To integrate images of Banner Sites into promotional campaigns;
- To integrate eco tourism products into domestic promotional campaigns in order to encourage Filipinos to explore and appreciate their natural attractions;
- To work with the DENR on the design and delivery of Eco tourism and Conservation Awareness workshops. These to focus on developing and strengthening local eco tourism products in Banner Sites and other selected Key Sites in order to more effectively involve local communities in tourism.

Medium term Priorities (2002-2007)

- With input from the NESC and RECs, review progress of the Eco tourism Product Development and Marketing Program and make adjustment as necessary;
- Improve service and safety standards through the implementation of the Standard and Accreditation program;

- Provide professional skill training relevant to eco tourism and adventure operators;

Long term Priorities (2002-2012)

- Enter into partnership with private sector operators to attract the western eco tourism markets and other high yield niche segments through marketing and improved quality attractions;
- Strengthen partnership with DENR, LGUs, and NGOs to consolidate the involvement of local communities in tourism to ensure the long term sustainability of natural and cultural resources;

On the other hand, the DENR would implement the resource management in the key sites to include development of visitor management services, implementation of livelihood programs, provision of extension services, conduct of training and monitoring of impact. The DENR program component of the National Eco tourism Program included visitor management, livelihood programs, extension services, training, impact and monitoring and assistance to EO 111 bodies. Like the DOT, the DENR also had priorities for eco tourism programs in protected areas. Those priorities were also divided into three terms:

Short term Priorities (2002-2004):

- Work with DOT on design and delivery of eco tourism and conservation awareness workshops. These to focus on developing and strengthening local eco tourism products in Banner Sites and other Selected Key Sites. Participants to be selected from PAMBs, local communities, LGUS, and local DENR staff. Workshop to be provided by national consultants and coordinated through the RECs and RETWGs;
- Short training workshop for PAWB member and Protected Area staff on visitor management techniques in protected areas;
- Complete the 'Guidelines for the Selection and Management of Recreational Zones in Protected Areas', then underway by the PAWB, making adequate provision for eco tourism within the Guidelines;
- Develop model visitor facilities at the selected key eco tourism sites spread between Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. RECs and the NESC to select the sites based on the ETWG's selection criteria for Key Eco tourism Sites.

Preparation of brochures, maps, and outdoor information kiosk was also to be included;

- Design and implement a model program of working with schools in selected urban centres to raise student awareness of conservation and the benefits of recreating in protected areas.

Medium term Priorities (2002-2007)

With DOT, continue with short, practical training modules in eco tourism product development at Key sites in order to further develop professional skills of local guides and protected area managers. The focus should be on sites where actual products have been or are going to be launched and should include training local guides in interpretation, group management, safety and small business skills where appropriate. Emphasis should be on strengthening or establishing eco tourism businesses;

- PAWB, in association with the RECs should develop a visitor impact management system for application at Key Sites by PAMBs and DENR staff;
- Identification of those Key Sites where visitor impacts were considered by the relevant PAMB or other agency to be an issue. Trial visitor impact management techniques and monitor response of vegetation, wildlife or the local community in a systematic way;

Long term Priorities (2002-2012)

- Prepare Visitor Management Plans for each Key Site protected area with direction from the PAMBs and input from the PAWB, NGOs, LGUs and the private sector where necessary;

(Department of Tourism and Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002:56-58)

C. Organizations involved in Eco tourism activities

C.1. National Government

Besides the DOT and the DENR, many organizations are involved in Eco tourism activities. From the National Government, additional national government agencies which should support eco tourism, are (Department of Tourism and Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002:14):

- § Department of Education (DepEd)@ to raise awareness of the need for environmental and cultural heritage protection, and to foster social cohesion and national unity among Filipinos;
- § Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG)@ to ensure that Local Government Units (LGUs) play a key role in developing eco tourism programs;
- § Department of Finance (DOF)@ to develop an incentive program for eco tourism to stimulate local communities and the private sector;
- § Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)@ to foster the development of indigenous products that can be promoted and marketed internationally;
- § National Commission on Indigenous People (NCIP)@ to help ensure the needs of local people are incorporated in eco tourism planning;
- § National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA)@ to support conservation of the cultural heritage resource base of eco tourism;
- § National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA)@ to provide the policy and enabling climate for eco tourism to develop in consonance with PA 21.

C.2. Non Governmental Organizations

There are also Non Governmental Organizations which help the government in eco tourism activities. While the government provides the policy framework, there are many non government agents that have contributed to the actual groundwork on eco tourism. Often working largely independent of government, these organizations collaborate with each other and have secured support from international sources to implement various eco tourism programs. NGOs in the Philippines started developing eco tourism projects in the 1980s when 'eco tourism' first became a buzzword among conservation groups throughout the world. Key NGOs involved in the development of eco tourism include (Department of Tourism and Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002:14-15):

- Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM). Under its 'EcoDev Tour' program, the PRRM has developed nature tours in Ifugao, Marinduque Island and Camiguin.
- WWFPhilippines Kabang Kalikasang ng Pilipinas is an environmental organization committed to reverse the accelerating degradation of the environment.

The WWF Philippines is involved with eco tourism programs in Tubbataha, Donsol, Pamilacan Island, and Turtle Island.

- Conservation International (CI) helps in the protection of the ecosystem and improving the quality of life of local communities. CI has been involved with eco tourism in the Northern Sierra Madre and Palawan.
- Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) Philippines provides long term practical assistance to both government and NGOs working on issues that face the urban and rural people throughout the country. The key areas that VSO are working in include community based resource management and enterprise development as well as education and communication.
- Accessing Support Service and Entrepreneurial Technology (ASSET) provides assistance to various organizations to build their capacity as agents of social change and managers of people driven development. ASSET is a founding member of the Philippine Community based Sustainable Tourism (CBST) Association. It is implementing projects in Bohol, Palawan, Cebu, Davao, Camiguin, Ifugao, El Nido, Marinduque and Bataan.
- The Haribon Foundation works for biodiversity conservation and sustainable resource management. Its mission includes the promotion of community based management strategies and Haribon has undertaken programs at Mt. Isarog, Masinloc (Zambales), Bolinao (Pangasinan) and Getafe (Bohol).
- The El Nido Foundation is a social development organization that seeks to improve the quality of life in El Nido while at the same time preserving the area's natural integrity through community based efforts and partnership in conservation and sustainable utilization of resources.
- Responsible Culture Experience Ltd. (REC) aims to specialize in supporting local overseas projects concerning conservation, alternate livelihood earning, community development, and adventurous pursuits. It follows the principles of eco tourism and strives for better living conditions for the local population.
- The BioResource and Conservation Trust for the Philippines (Biocon) provides support and assistance to the conservation efforts primarily on Panay Island.

C. 3. Government Corporations

Besides the NGOs, some of the wide range of organizations associated with promoting and marketing eco tourism are (Department of Tourism and Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002:15):

- The Philippine Tourism Authority (PTA), attached to DOT as its implementing arm for physical development. The PTA has set aside a special fund for environmental projects related to eco tourism.
- The Philippine Convention and Visitors Corporation (PCVC), attached to DOT and is responsible for international tourism marketing and promotion.

C.4. The Private Sector

There are relatively few specialized eco tourism operators in the Philippines like the Ten Knots Corporation's El-Nido Resorts (owned by the Asian Conservation Corporation), some dive operators and a handful of adventure operators (Department of Tourism and Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002:15).

C.5. Local Government Units (LGUs)

Based on the Local Government Code of 1991 (RA 7160) a number of LGUs have already linked up with the DOT, the DENR, NGOs, and the private sector to undertake community based sustainable tourism projects. LGUs are universally recognized as potentially key players in the successful development of eco tourism in the Philippines. Some LGUs have collaborated with media and outdoors clubs to promote greater consciousness to protect the environment and cultural heritage. Several LGUs have won awards from national and international bodies for their efforts to promote environmental protection, conservation and management (Department of Tourism and Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002:16).

C.6. International Organizations and Bilateral Arrangements

International agencies have launched various programs to promote eco tourism as a means to save degrading natural resources. The World Bank's Global Environment Facility (GEF) has allocated US\$8 million to fund alternative livelihood earning in ten priority protected areas under the Conservation of Priority Protected Area Project (CPPAP) of DENR. The NGOs for integrated Protected Areas (NIPA) which manages the CPPAP, has signed a memorandum of agreement with the DOT. Other

organizations with programs that involve aspects of eco tourism include the UNDP, the European Union (EU) and the World Tourism Organization (WTO).

Besides, there is also Spain that has provided bilateral assistance to the PRRM to implement its eco tourism program on Camiguin Island. The New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZID) has provided technical assistance for the formulation and implementation of the National Eco tourism Strategy (Department of Tourism and department of Environment and Natural Resources 2002:16).

NZAID is an institution that has assisted NESC to spearhead the preparation of the NES. NZAID also approved the Philippine proposal and the Tourism Resource Consultants of New Zealand were contracted to work alongside NESC and ETWG in the planning process.

VI. Conclusion

In a country with a great variety of natural and cultural resources, the Philippine government now mainly promotes the country as a tourism destination in the Southeast Asian region which has to be visited by tourists from all over the world. The reason why the government thinks that they should do that is because the government believes that tourism is an industry that can provide big profits for the country and become a new economic pillar for the country.

Not only in the Philippines, but all over the world, the tourism industry can have two different side effects. On one side, from the economic aspect, the country receives lots of international currency from tourism. On the other side, many potential natural and cultural resources can be ruined because of mass tourism. To prevent the damage from becoming worse, the government applies a new tourism concept which has already been applied in western countries, namely eco tourism.

The concept of Eco tourism was actually introduced in the Philippines in the late 1980s, and now it is being promoted again. The government hopes that through this environmental damage can be prevented or at least minimized. It means that the government tries to succeed in a sustainable development program. Besides enjoying the wonderful scenery and culture, it is hoped that tourists can learn about the environment.

The Philippine government makes some effort to implement eco tourism very well, like by identifying several eco tourism sites in the country, issuing policies that are related to the resource conservation, creating some tourism institutions that work on sustainable development, and cooperate with private and international institutions as well.

Plate 8.9: few beaches



Camiguin



Boracay



El Nido

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Yekti Maunati, Mayasuri Presilla, and I Ketut Ardhana

Tourism in the Philippines has been developing since the Marcos era, from around the 1970s. However, the development of a tourist industry has been continuously in a position of fluctuation. This is understandable because the tourist industry can be easily affected by certain circumstances, including terrorism, health problems, war, and so forth, and could easily impact on other aspects. The problem of separatism in the southern part of the country has also been argued to affect the development of tourism in general. Apart from the obstacles challenging the Philippine government in developing a tourist industry, there have been many advantages to pave the way to the success story of tourist visits, particularly the skills in English throughout the Philippine archipelago. Visitors do not need to worry about being able to communicate even in the remote areas since people can find locals who are fluent in English.

From the economic aspect, it can be concluded that in order to spur economic growth, the tourist industry has been promoted by looking at cultural and historical assets. Churches as well as cemeteries, local products, and ecological assets have contributed greatly to the development of tourism. The Philippines has applied interesting regulations through which Americans and Spanish have been attracted to stay in the country for a long period. Indonesia needs to learn from this strategy.

Eco tourism has become a trend partly in response to the global issue of environmental degradation. It is expected to preserve the environment as well as cultural resources. To avoid the negative impact of mass tourism such as the destruction of the environment, the government reintroduced a new concept of tourism, called Eco tourism. With this new concept, the government determines several eco tourism key sites throughout the country. It is hoped that the damage to natural and cultural resources can be minimized and sustainable development can be reached.

There are some benefits and compensations from eco tourism for the government and people of the Philippines. The benefits come from economic aspects, such as generating employment opportunities even in the remote areas, revenue for national capital, etc. Likewise, the activities of eco tourism create some compensations for the environment as well, though the essential aim of eco tourism is to protect natural

resources from degradation. This is because of the lack of knowledge about eco tourism. In this vein Libosada Jr has said that the activities of eco tourism in the Philippines have already disturbed not only wildlife but also local and indigenous people, as has happened in Tagaytay City, Banaue, and Sagada. To lessen this situation, information about the real meaning of eco tourism has to be given to attain a good comprehension especially among eco tourists and travel agencies.

If Sarawak, East Malaysia uses the abbreviation of CAN (Culture, Adventure, and Nature) for the promotion of tourism (Research Center for Regional Resources, 2002), the Philippines uses three similar words: Nature, Adventure, and Culture in order to promote its 7,107 islands. Having such numerous islands resided in by various ethnic groups, the Philippines certainly has many sources of attraction linked to nature, adventure and culture. Eco tourism, centering on maritime resources, does not only offer a natural magnificence, but also awesome places for adventurers. In terms of cultural attractions, visitors can experience the uniqueness and colourful lives like those of the Ifugao and Mangyan people. Despite the common belief that processes of globalization threaten identity with homogenization, there is a strong argument to the contrary. This is evidenced in 'the rise of the local' or a strengthening of a sense of local identity (Friedman 1990; Hall 1992; Featherstone 1993; Featherstone 1995; Appadurai 1995; etc.) and even a reconstruction of traditions to support the reassertion of cultural distinctiveness. This argument seems to be relevant in the context of tourism which focuses on the promotion of cultures.

The rise of local cultures has been occurring in many different places with different responses and causes. In the case of the Philippines within the context of tourism, it gives the impression that the cultural richness of some ethnic groups, especially the Mangyan and Ifugao, has been maintained by the people and even reformulated by tourist agencies for promotion.

Finally, a lesson that could be adopted by the Indonesian government from the Philippine case is that Indonesia should not make it difficult for people from the Netherlands, especially the Indonesians who have been living there for a long time, to be able to holiday in their former homeland on favourable terms. They can make money for Indonesia if they can stay in Indonesia after retirement, bringing their money, in Euros, which would be beneficial for Indonesia. This kind of strategy has been ap-

plied in the Philippine with the case of the Americans who reside in the Philippines after they retire due to the Philippine government's creation of an easy procedure to allow them to be able to reside there.

Another important feature that Indonesia should learn from the Philippines is in terms of establishing an efficient coordination of travel agencies. In Indonesia, unfortunately, the competition amongst travel agencies has become very rigid and often unfair so an improvement of coordination would, in Indonesia, establish fair competition.

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A. PENDAHULUAN

I. Latar Belakang

Filipina merupakan salah satu negara di kawasan Asia Tenggara yang sedang gencar-gencarnya mempromosikan negaranya sebagai tujuan pariwisata internasional. Walaupun posisi yang ditempati Filipina saat ini tidak sebagus Thailand, Singapura dan Malaysia, pemerintah Filipina tetap berusaha untuk meningkatkan industri ini setaraf dengan perkembangan sektor jasa dan industri. Alasannya adalah menciptakan lapangan pekerjaan dan meningkatkan devisa negara. Sebenarnya alasan ini bukan saja milik Filipina, tetapi juga negara-negara lain di seluruh dunia, sebagai dinyatakan oleh Hall sebagai berikut:

Tourism has been a component of economic development of the Asia-Pacific since the early 1960s and is an important source of foreign exchange for many of the countries in the region (1994:1)

Berbagai masalah dalam negeri di beberapa propinsi Filipina seperti krisis ekonomi, terorisme, masalah kesehatan, dan lain sebagainya merupakan berbagai kesulitan yang harus dihadapi dalam pengembangan sektor pariwisata dan pembangunan ekonomi secara umum. Maka dari itu, pemahaman yang mendalam mengenai industri pariwisata sangatlah penting.

Benar sekali bila dikatakan bahwa pariwisata merupakan media orang-orang bertemu dari berbagai jenis latar belakang, misalnya orang dari belahan bumi bagian barat (sebagai turis) dan masyarakat dari belahan dunia ketiga (turis domestik, lokal elit, pemerintah lokal, dan masyarakat indigenous). Dengan cara ini industri pariwisata telah memberikan kontribusi kepada terjadinya proses globalisasi (Friedman, 1990). Maka seringkali terjadi komodifikasi budaya di mana budaya ditransformasikan menjadi sebuah komoditas dan diproduksi ulang oleh pasar untuk memenuhi permintaan dari para turis. Hal ini berpengaruh terhadap identitas dari masyarakat

tersebut karena identitas budaya masyarakat pada akhirnya terbentuk dan dibentuk oleh perusahaan-perusahaan yang bergerak dalam industri pariwisata.

Di Filipina, untuk memajukan industri pariwisata, pemerintah mempromosikan citra dari beberapa etnik grup sebagai sesuatu yang 'unik' dalam satu bentuk 'kemasan budaya'. Promosi pariwisata budaya ini mendorong masyarakat untuk memelihara dan menggunakan nilai-nilai tradisi dalam hidup keseharian mereka. Tidak hanya pariwisata budaya, pariwisata sejarah dan pariwisata lingkungan (ecotourism) juga dipromosikan secara besar-besaran di Filipina karena negara ini memiliki kekayaan yang besar dalam hal warisan sejarah dan keindahan alamnya.

Penelitian tentang pariwisata di Filipina, yang meliputi sejarah perkembangannya serta dampak sosial, budaya, dan ekonomi yang ditimbulkan, sangat penting untuk dilaksanakan karena studi ini akan bermanfaat dalam pembahasan khazanah konsep-konsep dan teori-teori kebudayaan dan sekaligus berguna untuk mencari model-model kebijakan pada sektor pariwisata di Indonesia, mengingat sektor ini memiliki potensi yang besar dalam penyerapan tenaga kerja dan penerimaan devisa negara. Pengalaman Filipina ini bisa dijadikan rujukan dalam kerangka pemahaman terhadap trend pariwisata internasional itu sendiri.

II. Perumusan Masalah

Filipina memang sering mengalami guncangan yang dalam negaranya yang berakibat pada perkembangan pasang surut dunia pariwisata dalam negeri. Namun demikian, Filipina terus berupaya mencari kiat-kiat dalam pengembangan pariwisata ini dengan melihat sumber-sumber yang ada dan bisa dipasarkan, seperti penggalian sejarah, tradisi dan adapt istiadat serta kekayaan dan keindahan alam.

Adapun isu-isu yang akan dikaji dalam penelitian ini adalah sebagai berikut: Pertama, bagaimana persoalan di sekitar factor-faktor yang menyebabkan pengembangan jenis pariwisata etnik dan budaya, lingkungan (ecotourism), dan rekreasi serta sejarah yang dipromosikan di Filipina. Kedua, sejauhmana proses penggalian kebudayaan tradisional atau kekayaan local dalam kaitannya dengan pemngembangan industry pariwisata. Ketiga, bagaimana proses pembentukan identitas bangsa dan local dalam konteks pariwisata budaya dan etnik yang dipromosikan bagi wisatawan internasional. Keempat, bagaimana strategi dan kebijakan pemerintah pemerintah Filipina, dan apa

kaitan antara kebijakan tersebut dengan praktek sehari-hari. Kelima, bagaimana dampak ekonomis dari perkembangan sektor pariwisata, yang meliputi sektor ekonomi makro dan mikro, misalnya tentang usaha perhotelan, restoran, dan pembuatan dan penjualan souvenir. Keenam, strategi apa yang dikembangkan oleh pemerintah Filipina untuk menyelaraskan antara pembangunan industri pariwisata dan kelestarian alam sehingga terwujud pembangunan yang berkelanjutan. Dari analisis ini diharapkan penelitian ini akan bermanfaat bagi Indonesia untuk belajar dari kesuksesan Thailand sebagai upaya memperkuat daya saing Indonesia dalam pengembangan sektor pariwisata.

III. Tujuan dan Sasaran

Penelitian ini bertujuan

1. Memahami model pengelolaan industri pariwisata di Filipina, baik dari segi promosi, pemasaran, pemeliharaan serta pengadopsian strategi baru dalam dunia pariwisata yang riskan terhadap berbagai aspek seperti terorisme, perang, keamanan, kesehatan, dan kerusakan lingkungan serta budaya.
2. Menambah pengetahuan mengenai model-model kebijakan di sektor pariwisata di Filipina dan dinamikannya dan memahami kaitan antara kebijakan dan respon masyarakat yang berkepentingan di bidang pariwisata terhadap kebijakan pariwisata dari pihak pemerintah Filipina tersebut.
3. Mengkaji apakah Filipina memiliki kekhususan dalam pengembangan dunia pariwisata, terutama yang berkaitan dengan pariwisata budaya dan etnik, pariwisata sejarah dan pariwisata yang berkelanjutan (*sustainable tourism*).
4. Mengkaji dampak ekonomis, sosial dan budaya dari perkembangan industri pariwisata di Filipina
5. Mengkaji respon etnik mayoritas (Filipino) maupun minoritas terhadap pariwisata budaya/etnik yang mempromosikan 'keunikan' budayanya.
6. Memberikan rekomendasi kepada pemerintah Indonesia tentang pembangunan pariwisata yang berkelanjutan dengan mengambil pengalaman positif dari pariwisata Filipina.

Sasaran penelitian:

1. Menganalisis perkembangan jenis-jenis pariwisata di Filipina sejak tahun 1970-an sampai dengan sekarang. Menggali alasan-alasan mengapa jenis pariwisata tertentu dipilih dan dikembangkan di Filipina (misalnya pariwisata budaya, sejarah dan *ecotourism* menjadi bagian terpenting dalam promosi pariwisata).

- Menggali pasang-surutnya jenis pariwisata yang dikembangkan di Filipina, termasuk proses pembangunan *image* baru tentang Filipina di tengah-tengah munculnya terorisme dan pemberontakan yang berkepanjangan.
2. Menggali model-model kebijakan di bidang ekonomi, sosial, budaya, politik pada sektor pariwisata.
 3. Menjabarkan aspek-aspek tradisional dan modern yang menjadi pendukung sektor pariwisata, seperti misalnya proses pemunculan festival budaya yang bernuansa Timur dan Barat dan penggunaan kebudayaan tradisional yang sering digambarkan oleh para antropolog maupun ilmuwan sosial sebagai bagian dari kehidupan masyarakat Filipina.

IV. Metode Penelitian

Pada tahun 2005 di Filipina ini merupakan penelitian lanjutan yang dilakukan dari penelitian-penelitian sebelumnya di Thailand (2004), Semenanjung Malaysia (2003) dan Sarawak (2002). Pengumpulan data akan dilakukan melalui berbagai sumber baik primer maupun sekunder. Sumber-sumber primer diperoleh di Filipina melalui wawancara mendalam dengan berbagai pihak seperti agen-agen pemerintah, agen-agen swasta yang menangani masalah pariwisata, biro perjalanan, Pusat Kebudayaan Filipina, museum nasional, pemilik toko souvenir, pemilik hotel, pemandu wisata, beberapa masyarakat lokal, wisatawan asing maupun domestik, ahli-ahli pariwisata dan budaya di University of the Philippines. Selain wawancara mendalam, observasi dan partisipasi dilakukan sebagai upaya pemahaman terhadap dinamika perkembangan industri pariwisata di Filipina. Sumber-sumber sekunder dikumpulkan dari berbagai perpustakaan, instansi-instansi atau lembaga-lembaga terkait baik di Filipina, Indonesia maupun tempat lainnya.

Lokasi penelitian dalam penelitian tahun 2005 adalah di Filipina, tepatnya di ibukota Metro Manila dan daerah-daerah sekitarnya. Manila sebagai ibukota Filipina merupakan gerbang utama berbagai wisatawan, terutama wisatawan mancanegara banyak berkunjung. Di Manila pun memiliki banyak keunikan tersendiri dan merupakan wadah dari '*indigenous urban tradition*' dalam arti kebudayaan karena kota merupakan mosaic kelompok-kelompok etnik yang berlapis-lapis dari proses migrasi dan perkembangan fungsi ekonomi.

B. TEMUAN LAPANGAN

Hasil penelitian dibagi dalam beberapa bagian antara lain sekilas orang-orang Filipina (Filipino), kebijakan pariwisata, pembangunan ekonomi dan industri pariwisata, pariwisata budaya dan etnik, pariwisata sejarah, serta *ecotourism*.

I. Orang-orang Filipina

Semenjak periode 1990-an, populasi penduduk Filipina mengalami pertumbuhan yang cukup cepat. Pada tahun 1980, total populasi negara ini hanya berkisar 48 juta jiwa, sedangkan pada tahun 1990 meningkat menjadi lebih dari 66 juta jiwa. Untuk tahun 2005, negara ini penduduk negara ini berjumlah 87.857.473 jiwa (<http://search.msn.com/results.asp?FORM=sCPN&RS=CHECKED&un=doc&v=1&q=population%20philippines>).

Mayoritas penduduk Filipina adalah beragama Katolik, yaitu sebesar 82,9%. Jumlah ini diikuti oleh penganut Protestan (5,4%) dan Islam (4,6%). Berdasarkan pada perjalanan sejarahnya, agama yang pertama kali masuk ke Filipina adalah agama Islam, yaitu pada abad ke 14 seiring dengan masuknya para pedagang dari kawasan Arab, sedangkan agama Nasrani baru masuk pada abad ke 16 (<http://www.gov.ph/aboutphil/general.asp>).

Dalam hal pendidikan, sistem pendidikan di Filipina mengikuti sistem yang berlaku di Amerika Serikat di mana bahasa Inggris merupakan bahasa resmi pengajaran di sekolah sehari-hari (<http://www.gov.ph/aboutphil/general.asp>). Pendidikan merupakan hal yang penting bagi masyarakat Filipina (Filipino) karena pendidikan dapat meningkatkan status sosial dan ekonomi mereka. Oleh karena itu, para orang tua akan sangat berkorban untuk menyekolahkan anak-anak mereka sampai ke tingkat yang tinggi, terutama masyarakat kelas menengah ke atas. Alokasi dana pendidikan nasional yang ditetapkan oleh pemerintah cukup tinggi. Pada tahun 1957, dana ini berkisar 31,53% dari dana pembangunan nasional. Walaupun dana ini mengalami penurunan sebesar 7,61% pada tahun 1981, namun pada tahun 1991 pemerintah Filipina dan juga banyak universitas dalam negeri yang menawarkan beasiswa khususnya untuk para pelajar yang berasal dari keluarga yang kurang mampu secara ekonomi (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/53.htm>). Berdasarkan hasil wawancara selama penelitian, para akademisi mengatakan bahwa pendidikan di Filipina pada

saat ini relatif bagus. Banyak universitas di Filipina, seperti University of the Philippines dan Ateneo de Manila University, memiliki banyak jumlah mahasiswa dari luar negeri karena memiliki standar dan kualitas yang tinggi.

Karena tingkat pendidikan yang dimiliki oleh Filipino rata-rata tinggi, maka kebanyakan dari mereka juga bekerja di luar negeri, seperti di Singapura, Australia, Amerika Serikat, dan negara-negara eropa barat. Hal ini ditambah pula dengan kelancaran berbicara mereka dalam bahasa Inggris. Tenaga kerja yang bekerja di luar negeri memberikan kontribusi yang besar pada pertumbuhan ekonomi nasional.

Berbeda dengan penduduk perkotaan, penduduk yang berada di pedesaan di beberapa daerah biasanya terlibat dalam pekerjaan yang bersifat tradisional, terutama dalam bidang pertanian. Sebagaimana dilaporkan oleh Peralta (2000) bahwa kelompok-kelompok etnik seperti Ilongot, Ga'dang, dan Bukidnon hidup dengan cara berkebun dengan padi sebagai tanaman utama dan beberapa tanaman tambahan lainnya. Selain itu, mereka pun memiliki tempat tinggal yang berbeda-beda sesuai dengan tradisi mereka masing-masing.

Sebagaimana negara lainnya yang berbentuk kepulauan, Filipina juga memiliki keragaman etnik yang kompleks dan sangat rumit. Sebagai contoh, berdasarkan informasi yang diperoleh dari internet dikatakan bahwa pada tahun 1990, masyarakat Filipina adalah masyarakat yang homogen yang tersebar di hampir 1.000 pulau. Hampir 90% dari masyarakat tersebut berada dalam satu latar belakang budaya dan agama yang sama. Yang berbeda hanyalah masyarakat muslim dan suku-suku di daerah pedalaman dan pegunungan. Perbedaan internal utama di antara Filipino yang beragama Nasrani adalah bahasanya saja. Namun hambatan linguistik ini tersamarkan oleh sentralisasi politik, urbanisasi, dan internal migrasi yang mencakup wilayah yang cukup luas, serta prioritas pemerintah dalam penggunaan bahasa Pilipino dan Inggris dalam kehidupan sehari-hari (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>).

Filipino sendiri dikatakan sebagai masyarakat hybrid karena menurut sejarahnya, mereka merupakan masyarakat hasil perkawinan antara beberapa grup masyarakat, yaitu Melayu, Cina, Spanyol, Negrito, dan Amerika. Negrito merupakan masyarakat yang pertama. Mereka telah mengembangkan sistem pertanian *lowland* sejak lama. Sementara itu, kelompok Melayu merupakan hasil dari dua fenomena penting. Petama,

telah terjadinya perkawinan campuran antara Melayu dan Negrito, kecuali minoritas Negrito yang pindah ke daerah pegunungan dan tetap menjaga budaya asli mereka. Kedua, orang-orang Melayu terbagi ke dalam beberapa grup masyarakat yang berbeda, yang mana beberapa dari mereka menetap di lokasi yang terisolasi, seperti di Mindanao dan Luzon bagian utara. Beberapa kesultanan muncul di Mindanao dan kepulauan Sulu seiring dengan kedatangan Islam ke Filipina bagian selatan pada abad ke-15. Pertengahan abad ke-16, pengaruh Islam meluas hingga ke Pantai Manila (Manila Bay) (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>).

Kekuatan Spanyol yang muncul di Filipina pada abad ke-16 telah menimbulkan identitas nasional baru Filipina. Namun begitu, kekuatan kolonial, yang memaksakan pengaruh Nasraninya, ternyata tidak mampu mengeliminasi otonomi Muslim di Mindanao dan kepulauan Sulu. Begitu juga dengan suku-suku di daerah pedalaman dan pegunungan. Hasilnya, pengaruh Spanyol ini hanya terasa di masyarakat-masyarakat daerah dataran, khususnya di Manila (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>).

Munculnya identitas nasional Filipina dihubungkan dengan proses pembentukan Filipino itu sendiri, yang aslinya merupakan percampuran antara berbagai etnik dan grup linguistik. Namun mereka hanya terdiri dari masyarakat dataran dan tidak termasuk masyarakat muslim, suku-suku di pegunungan, dan etnik Cina yang dinyatakan sebagai masyarakat yang tidak cocok untuk masuk ke dalam kategori 'Filipino' (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>).

Dalam proses pembentukan identitas nasional, grup mayoritas, dalam hal ini Filipino, dipertimbangkan untuk masuk sebagai masyarakat penting yang berbeda dengan grup-grup minoritas lainnya. Konsekuensinya, grup-grup minoritas membentuk identitas lokal dan regional sendiri untuk melawan kekuatan Spanyol dan Amerika Serikat. Untuk mematahkan perjuangan mereka, maka sistem pendidikan yang sama diterapkan mulai dari tingkat dasar di awal abad ke-20. Tidak hanya itu, bahasa Inggris pun dipergunakan sebagai 'lingua franca', untuk memudahkan pembangunan sistem transportasi dan komunikasi, untuk menyatukan masyarakat (<http://countrystudies.us/philippines/35.htm>).

Beberapa etnik grup yang diidentifikasi sebagai masyarakat indigenous yang tetap ada hingga saat ini adalah sebagai berikut:

Luzon: Ivatan/Ithayat, Ilocano, Tinggian, Apayao, Kalinga, Balangao, Kankanay, Kankanaey, Bago, Bontoc, Ifugao, Ibaloi, Ikalahan/Kalanguya, Iwak, Isinay, Pangasinan, Ga'dang, Ibanag, Itawait, Malaweg, Yogad, Ilongot, Kapampangan, Palanan, Tagalog, Bicol, Negrito, and Sambal;

Visayas: Masbateno, Abaknon, Rombloanon, Bantoanon, Aklanon, Kiniray-a/Hantikanon, Hiligaynon, Sulod, Bukidnon, Boholano, Cebuano, and Waray: **Mindoro:** Mangyan;

Palawan: Tagbanwa, Agutayanen, Kuyonen, Pala'wan, Molbog, Batak, Tau't and Batu;

Sulu/Tawi-tawi: Yakan, Sama, Sama Dilaut, Tasaug, and Jama Mapun; and

Mindanao: Manobo, Sangil/Sangir, Maranao, Ilanun, Mangindanao, Tiruray, Tasaday, T'boli, B'laan, Subanun, Kamiguin, Mamanwa, Butuanon, Kamayo, Bagobo, Mandaya, Kalagan, and Kolibugan (Peralta, 2000:13-52)

II. Kebijakan Pariwisata di Filipina

Walaupun mengalami fluktuasi, ternyata Filipina telah menikmati buah manis dari industri pariwisata yang saat ini sedang berkembang. Maka tidaklah mengherankan bila pemerintah mempromosikan negaranya secara besar-besaran sebagai tujuan pariwisata bagi turis-turis mancanegara. Untuk meneruskan keberlangsungan industri pariwisata, maka pemerintah Filipina mengeluarkan berbagai kebijakan yang berkaitan dengan pariwisata.

Kebijakan pariwisata di Filipina, sebagaimana dengan kebijakan-kebijakan lainnya, selalu mengalami perubahan dan perkembangan pada satu masa pemerintahan ke masa pemerintahan lainnya. Dimulai pada abad ke 19, yaitu masa kolonial Spanyol di Filipina. Pada masa ini industri pariwisata belum berkembang karena sektor yang paling ditekankan adalah perdagangan dengan dunia luar. Agar tidak terjadi kekacauan, maka pemerintah Spanyol mengeluarkan peraturan mengenai siapa saja yang datang berkunjung ke Filipina harus memiliki dua dokumen resmi, yaitu surat jalan yang berasal dari negeri asalnya dan pasport. Lalu, untuk memudahkan transaksi para pedagang, pemerintah Filipina membangun beberapa fasilitas perkotaan hotel, alat transportasi, dan beberapa pelabuhan.

Pada masa berikutnya, yaitu jaman kolonial Amerika, kolonial Jepang dan sesudahnya, sektor pariwisata pun belum juga mengalami kemajuan, terlebih lagi pada saat itu Perang Dunia kedua tengah berkecambah di beberapa kawasan, termasuk Filipina.

Memasuki pemerintahan Marcos, sektor industri mulai mendapatkan perhatian. Pada tahun 1970-an, pemerintah mulai memunculkan pariwisata dalam pembangunannya. Mulai saat itulah, pembangunan hotel-hotel menjamur hampir di seluruh kawasan. Tak lupa pula, Marcos menciptakan organisasi-organisasi pemerintahan yang bertugas untuk mengurus masalah pariwisata, seperti the Philippine Tourism Authority (PTA), the Department of Tourism (DOT), and Philippine Convention Bureau (PCB).

Masa Aquino, di mana perekonomian tidak begitu stabil karena warisan hutang pemerintahan Marcos, pembangunan sektor pariwisata kembali mengalami kemunduran, karena Aquino lebih menekan pada ideologi neoliberalisme. Ideologi ini dipercaya oleh Aquino dapat menimbulkan kembali kepercayaan dunia kepada Filipina, sehingga perekonomian bangsa dapat terangkat kembali.

Ramos yang menggantikan Aquino, mulai membangun kembali industri pariwisata sebagai salah satu industri pendukung perekonomian bangsa. Dia membuat *Tourism Master Plan* sebagai payung dalam pembangunan pariwisata. Tidak hanya itu, dia pun menjalin kerjasama dengan beberapa badan dunia seperti *World Tourism Organization* dan *Japanese International Cooperation Agency*, serta menarik beberapa investor dari luar negeri untuk membangun infrastruktur di dalam negeri, seperti hotel, perumahan, resort, pusat-pusat perbelanjaan, dan lain-lain. Akibatnya yang ditimbulkan adalah munculnya masalah penggunaan lahan konversi, spekulasi pertanahan, dan degradasi lingkungan.

Pembangunan fasilitas-fasilitas untuk kepentingan pariwisata tetap dilanjutkan pada masa pemerintahan Estrada yang kemudian menggantikan Ramos. Beberapa kebijakan pun dibuat Estrada untuk menarik minat para turis dari mancanegara. Tak ketinggalan pula, Estrada mulai membangkitkan kembali pariwisata lingkungan (*ecotourism*) yang sempat terlupakan pada masa-masa pemerintahan sebelumnya. Pencanangan *ecotourism* ini ditetapkan dengan dikeluarkannya *Executive Order* No. 111 yang diharapkan masyarakat akan lebih berpartisipasi dalam sektor pariwisata, sehingga

negara pun mendapatkan keuntungan ekonomi dari partisipasi masyarakat tersebut. Namun, sisi negatif yang ditimbulkan oleh kebijakan-kebijakan pariwisata pada masa Estrada tidak jauh berbeda dengan dampak negatif yang ditimbulkan pada masa Ramos.

Kontribusi sektor pariwisata yang cukup besar pada masa-masa pemerintahan sebelumnya, membuat Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, sebagai pengganti Estrada, menyadari betapa pentingnya sektor ini bagi perekonomian negara, seperti penciptaan lapangan pekerjaan dan penerimaan devisa negara yang cukup besar. Hal ini membuat sektor pariwisata dimasukkan ke dalam kebijakan nasional, *The Medium Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) 2001-2004*. Kebijakan-kebijakan pariwisata yang tertuang dalam MTPDP 2001-2004 tersebut-baik jangka pendek, menengah, walaupun panjang-lebih banyak menyoroti masalah promosi, pemasaran, dan investasi pariwisata; dengan berfokus pada promosi kebudayaan lokal. Dampak yang ditimbulkan tentu saja berpulang pada masyarakat yang budayanya dipromosikan tersebut. Komodifikasi budaya adalah contoh nyatanya. Hal ini menimbulkan protes dari kalangan budayawan dan pemerhati seni. Sikap acuh diambil pemerintah dalam menanggapi aksi para pemrotes ini, karena pemerintah Filipina lebih melihat pada keuntungan yang akan diperoleh.

III. Aspek Ekonomi dan Industri Pariwisata di Filipina

Dari tahun 1991-1999, terjadi peningkatan kunjungan turis-turis ke wilayah ASEAN sebesar 7,6% setiap tahunnya. Namun begitu, Filipina tampaknya kurang berhasil dengan industri pariwisata ini dibandingkan dengan negara-negara ASEAN lainnya. Di tahun 1999, Filipina hanya menempati urutan kelima dalam hal jumlah kunjungan turis mancanegara dengan hanya 2,2 juta turis, sedangkan Thailand menempati urutan pertama dengan 8,7 juta turis, Malaysia dengan 7,9 juta turis, Singapura dengan 6,9 juta turis, dan Indonesia dengan 4,3 juta turis. Jumlah turis tersebut bahkan mengalami penurunan di tahun berikutnya (2000) menjadi 1,5 juta turis (Januari-September) yang disebabkan oleh alasan keamanan dalam negeri negara Filipina. Namun jumlah ini sedikit mengalami pada tahun 2001, di mana kedatangan turis ke negara ini mencapai 1,7 juta orang walaupun terjad penyerangan isu-isu seperti pengemboman World Trade Center tanggal 11 September 2001 di Amerika Serikat dan isu penyebaran penyakit SARS di wilayah Asia.

Tabel 1. Jumlah Kedatangan Turis ke Filipina, 1996-2004

Tahun	Volume (Juta)	Tingkat Pertumbuhan (%)
1996	2.05	16.4
1997	2.22	8.5
1998	2.15	3.3
1999	2.17	1
2000	1.99	8.2
2001	1.8	9.8
2002	1.93	7.6
2003	1.9	1.3
2004	1.52	2.83

Sumber: Department of Tourism (DOT)

Fluktuasi yang terjadi pada jumlah turis yang datang ke Filipina berdampak pula pada penerimaan negara ini pada periode yang sama, sebagaimana yang terlihat pada tabel 2 di bawah berikut ini:

Tabel 2. Penerimaan dari Sektor Pariwisata Filipina (dalam Miliar US\$), 1996-2004

Tahun	Volume	Tingkat Pertumbuhan (%)
1996	2.7	10.2
1997	2.83	4.8
1998	2.41	14.8
1999	2.55	5.8
2000	2.13	16.4
2001	1.72	19.3
2002	1.74	1
2003	1.52	12.5
2004	1.17	37.5

Sumber: Department Of Tourism (DOT)

Masih berdasarkan data yang didapatkan dari DOT, dapat diketahui bahwa turis mancanegara mayoritas berasal dari negara Amerika Serikat, yang kemudian disusul oleh Korea Selatan, Jepang, Hongkong, Taiwan, Australia, Kanada, Inggris, Cina, Singapura, Jerman, dan Guam.

Jenis-jenis pariwisata yang dikembangkan Filipina pun beraneka ragam, seperti pariwisata lingkungan (ecotourisme), pariwisata budaya dan etnik, pariwisata sejarah, dan satu lagi jenis pariwisata baru, yaitu pariwisata pengobatan (medical tourism). Maksudnya adalah banyak-banyak turis-turis asing, terutama yang berasal dari wilayah Asia datang ke Filipina untuk melakukan operasi plastik. Selain biayanya relative lebih murah, teknologi serta sumber daya manusianya pun cukup berkualitas dan tidak kalah dibandingkan dengan eropa barat atau Amerika Serikat.

IV. Pariwisata Budaya dan Etnik

Isu-isu yang berkembang di seputar pariwisata budaya dan etnik adalah mengenai komodifikasi budaya, siapa yang mendapatkan keuntungan dari pariwisata ini dan siapa yang berhak untuk membentuk budaya suatu masyarakat.

Di Filipina, pembangunan sektor pariwisata tampaknya dititikberatkan pada pengembangan pariwisata budaya dan etnik. Dalam pembahasan mengenai jenis pariwisata yang satu ini, pembahasan akan dibatasi pada dua etnik grup yang memang secara gencar dipromosikan untuk pariwisata, yaitu suku Ifugao yang berasal dari sebelah utara Pulau Luzon dan suku Mangyan yang berasal dari Pulau Mindoro.

Banyak sekali studi sosial dan budaya yang telah dilakukan mengenai keberadaan suku Ifugao. Suku Ifugao berdiam diri di Grand Cordillera Central of Northern, Pulau Luzon bagian utara. Pada masa lalu, suku ini ditolak oleh kolonial Spanyol dan Amerika. Mereka adalah suku yang bebas dari penjajahan dan hidup secara tradisional dengan cara mereka sendiri. Tidak seperti masyarakat lain yang tinggal di kota-kota besar seperti Manila, masyarakat suku Ifugao selalu menjaga identitas mereka dan hidup berdasarkan kepercayaan dan tradisi leluhur mereka (www.tribalsite.com/articles/ifugao.htm). Hal ini senada dengan Goda (2001) yang menyatakan sebagai berikut:

...the indigenous people of Cordillera, such as Tinguian, Isneg, Kalinga, Bontok, Kankana-ey, Ibaloi, Ibanag, and Ifugao share the so-called 'megalithic culture complex'. Historically, it includes such cultural traits as terrace field rice cultivation, custom of headhunting and worship of skulls, animal sacrifice in rituals, feast of merit, and the building of stone circles or megalithic monuments together with the 'Y' shaped wood pillar after the headhunting (Goda, 2001: 1)

Berdasarkan hasil wawancara tim peneliti kepada salah seorang ahli di University of the Philippines, diketahui bahwa selain budaya tradisional, hal lain menarik untuk dijadikan objek pariwisata adalah keindahan *Rice Terraces* yang merupakan bagian dari kehidupan suku Ifugao hingga saat ini. Kombinasi antara alam dan budaya inilah yang merupakan sumber penting dari pembangunan pariwisata di wilayah Ifugao dan sekitarnya. Berdasarkan pada hal tersebut, maka pemerintah Filipina menetapkan dan mempromosikan daerah tempat tinggal suku Ifugao sebagai daerah pariwisata budaya dan pariwisata lingkungan. Walaupun begitu, hal ini tidak selalu berarti bahwa masyarakat lokal (Ifugao) merasa diuntungkan dan terlibat langsung dalam industri pariwisata ini. Penyebabnya adalah fasilitas-fasilitas bagi para turis (seperti hotel, restoran, dan toko penjualan souvenir) hanya tersedia di kota-kota sekitar tempat tinggal suku Ifugao itu sendiri, seperti di Baguio dan Sagada, karena suku Ifugao sendiri hidup sangat sederhana dan di daerah pegunungan.

Hampir sama halnya dengan suku Ifugao, masyarakat suku Mangyan juga merupakan salah satu objek pariwisata budaya yang dipromosikan di Filipina karena keunikan dan keberagaman budaya mereka. Oleh Virola (2003:10), dinyatakan bahwa suku yang masih mempertahankan keunikan budaya nenek moyang dalam cara-cara hidup mereka sehari-hari, seperti misalnya ritual proses penyembuhan yang disebut dengan *Marayaw*. Ritual ini tampaknya seringkali menarik perhatian para turis yang datang berkunjung.

Cara-cara hidup tradisional suku Mangyan yang unik dan juga keindahan pantai yang mempesona mendatangkan keuntungan besar bagi sektor pariwisata di Pulau Mindoro. Tidak mengherankan bila banyak agen-agen travel dan pariwisata yang kemudian menawarkan pulau kecil di sebelah selatan Pulau Luzon ini sebagai salah satu tujuan pariwisata bagi para turis. Namun sayangnya kehidupan suku Mangyan menjadi

termarginalisasi. Hal ini diungkapkan oleh Mic Looby sebagai berikut:

The indigenous people of Mindoro are collectively known as Mangyan; and comprise tribes including Alangan, Buid, Iraya, Hanunoo, Tagaydon, and Tatagnon. Among the least 'modernised' of the Philippine indigenous groups, the 80,000 or so Mangyan were originally a coastal people, but with the arrival of new settlers they were forced to relocate to the rugged interior of Mindoro. The basket weaving Mangyan communities on Mindoro's north coast are often visited by tourist from nearby Puerto Galera and Sabang (2000:258).

Di Mindoro, suku Mangyan adalah obyek pariwisata yang dipromosikan, tapi sebagaimana halnya suku Ifugao, segala fasilitas yang berkaitan dengan industri pariwisata hanya ditemukan di kota-kota besarnya saja, seperti Puerto Galera dan Sabang. Sementara itu, suku Mangyan sendiri tinggal di daerah pegunungan yang sangat kekurangan akan sarana infrastruktur, sehingga membuat para turis enggan untuk tinggal bersama dengan komunitas suku ini.

Dari dua studi kasus yang telah dipaparkan ini, jelas terlihat bahwa komodifikasi budaya adalah suatu trend dalam konteks pariwisata, khususnya pariwisata budaya dan etnik. Tradisi dan karakteristik unik dari beberapa etnik tertentu seringkali dibentuk ulang (reformulasikan) untuk memenuhi kebutuhan sektor pariwisata internasional di mana turis-turis internasional ingin melihat tradisi tertentu dari suatu negara.

V. Pariwisata Sejarah

Pariwisata sejarah, secara umum, merupakan atraksi penting lainnya di Filipina selain pariwisata kelautan, *ecotourism*, maupun pariwisata budaya dan etnik. Seperti kita ketahui bahwa setiap negara memiliki sendiri perjalanan sejarah yang unik. Maka dari itu, tidaklah mengherankan bila dalam konteks pariwisata internasional dan juga pariwisata domestik, pembangunan pariwisata sejarah ini menjadi sesuatu yang menjamur. Renovasi beberapa tempat-tempat bersejarah dilakukan di beberapa negara, seperti Filipina, Thailand, dan Indonesia.

Dalam kasus pariwisata sejarah di Filipina, tempat-tempat bersejarah yang dipromosikan adalah gereja-gereja tua peninggalan bangsa-bangsa kolonial, terutama

bangsa Spanyol. Misalnya saja Gereja Miag-Ao di kota Iloilo, Manila Katedral di kota Manila, dan Gereja Quiapo di Quiapo. Selain gereja, peninggalan lainnya yang dipromosikan sebagai tempat bersejarah adalah benteng-benteng seperti Intramuros (Walled City) di Manila, museum-museum seperti *Museo ng Sining*, dan taman-taman seperti Rizal Park di Manila.

VI. Ecotourism

Menurut sejarahnya, ecotourism sudah diperkenalkan di Filipina semenjak akhir dekade 1980-an. Alasan yang dipakai oleh pemerintah Filipina mengembangkan pariwisata jenis ini adalah tingginya tingkat kekayaan budaya dan tingkat persentase endemik pada jenis flora dan fauna di dalam negeri. Selain itu, ecotourism dipercaya mendatangkan pembangunan yang berkelanjutan, keuntungan sosial dan ekonomi. Tidak hanya itu, pemerintah pun yakin bila ecotourism dapat meminimalisir dampak negatif pariwisata terhadap lingkungan, karena dengan ecotourism diharapkan dapat membantu terjadinya pelestarian lingkungan dan melindungi kebudayaan lokal.

Karena Filipina menyatakan dirinya sebagai salah satu tujuan ecotourism di dunia, maka pemerintah Filipina mendefinisikan sendiri konsep ecotourism. Konsep ini dikeluarkan oleh *National Ecotourism Development Council* (NEDC, 2000):

A form of sustainable tourism within a natural and cultural heritage area where community participation, protection and management of natural resources, culture and indigenous knowledge and practices, environmental education and ethics as well as economic benefits are fostered and pursued for the enrichment of host communities and satisfaction of visitors.

Sumber-sumber kekayaan alam flora dan fauna yang dimiliki oleh Filipina sangat banyak sekali, seperti ikan terbesar dan terkecil di dunia, kelelawar terbesar dan terkecil di dunia, kuda laut yang eksotis, reptil, kera, dan lain sebagainya. Sementara itu, kekayaan budaya di dalam negeri direpresentasikan ke dalam bentuk festival, desa-desa tradisional, museum dan daerah budaya, kerajinan tangan, seni, dan masakan-masakan daerah.

Kombinasi kekayaan ini tersebar luas di seluruh kepulauan Filipina. Oleh karena itu, pemerintah Filipina kemudian menetapkan dan mengidentifikasi 32 tempat-tempat ecotourism yang tersebar di Pulau Luzon dan sekitarnya (Batanes, Vigan, Penablanca,

Cordillera Rice Terraces, Hundred Islands, Gunung Pinatubo, Wawa Dam, Gunung Makiling, Tagaytay dan Taal Volcano, Gunung Isarog, Gunung Mayon, Donsol, Gunung Bulusan, Apo Reef, Tubbataha Reef, El Nido, dan Puerto Princessa); kepulauan Visayas (Sohoton Caves, Danau Danao, Bunung Kanlao, Pulau Olango, Bohol, Tanon Sirait, dan Pulau Apo); dan Pulau Mindanao dan sekitarnya (Siargao, Pulau Camiguin, Dipolog, Misamis Oriental, Agusan Marsh, Danau Sebu, dan Gunung Apo).

Terdapat berbagai dampak yang ditimbulkan dari ecotourism, baik negatif maupun positif, yang menjadi isu yang memanas dalam hal pelestarian lingkungan hidup. Dampak positif dari ecotourism adalah keuntungan ekonomi yang berupa penambahan lapangan pekerjaan bagi masyarakat di lingkungan yang dijadikan tempat wisata; keuntungan yang berupa konservasi lingkungan dan biodiversitas; serta meningkatkan kesadaran masyarakat lokal untuk melestarikan lingkungan alamnya.

Di sisi lain, dampak negatif yang ditimbulkan dari ecotourism adalah pengeksploasian yang berlebihan pada daerah-daerah yang sebelumnya tidak pernah terjamah oleh manusia; degradasi lingkungan; perlombaan dari agen-agen pariwisata pemerintah pusat dan lokal, serta agen-agen pariwisata swasta untuk mempromosikan secara berlebihan kekayaan alam dan budaya yang terdapat di suatu daerah.

Untuk menghindari dampak negatif yang terus berlanjut, maka baik pemerintah pusat maupun pemerintah lokal setempat membuat dan mengimplementasi berbagai kebijakan yang berkaitan dengan ecotourism. Kebijakan ecotourim tersebut berhubungan dengan pembangunan, pemasaran, perencanaan, pelatihan dan pengawasan dari aktivitas ecotourism di semua daerah. Dalam pengimplementasian ini, pemerintah tidak hanya berjalan sendirian, tetapi juga dibantu oleh lembaga-lembaga swadaya masyarakat, sektor swasta, dan lembaga-lembaga internasional yang berada di bawah naungan *World Tourism Organization*.