



Community participation in Tourism

Case-study:

Batak participation in tourism activities and its socio-cultural impact on their daily life in Apiriran and Kalakuasan, The Philippines

(Batak, ang kanilang partisipasyon sa turismo at ang sosyo-kultural nitong epekto sa knilang pang araw-araw na pamumuhay sa Apiriran at Kalakuasan, ng Pilipinas)



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Acknowledgement

A lot of people were directly or indirectly involved in my research and I would like to thank the following.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Michael Marchman for his support in the last couple of months. I would like to thank him for his enthusiasm and for his flexibility, patience and open minded attitude which was necessary because of the data collection that took place in the forest of Palawan, The Philippines. I would like to thank him for his support throughout my research as being an expert in doing research in less developed regions. I have learned to focus more on structure even when it was hard sometimes. I also would like to thank Dr. René van der Duim for reading my thesis as second supervisor.

Furthermore, special thanks to the Centre for Sustainability in Puerto Princesa, The Philippines. They gave me the opportunity to link my master's thesis to one of their projects related to the impact of tourism on the Batak community. Special thanks to Kyra Hoevenaars for her helpful guidelines during my fieldwork, her feedback and the chance to go into the forest with an interpreter and talk with the locals. This was something I wanted for whole my life and I am thankful the Centre for Sustainability gave me this opportunity which was an enriching experience.

Irene, chairwoman of the Batak Visitor Centre (BVC) helped me a lot during my visits to the Batak tribes. She was there to arrange a local guide to both Batak settlements and provided me information about the visitor numbers at the BVC by showing me the logbook with the registration of all visitors from the last few years. I am grateful for her patience and enthusiasm. All the Batak members were so friendly and kind and therefore it was hard for all of us to say goodbye in the end. I would like to thank the Batak in Apiriran for building such a nice visitor hut where I could sleep with my counterpart Ryan. Even when I interviewed adults in both Batak settlements I also would like to take this opportunity to thank all the kids with whom I had such a good time after the interviews. Thanks for the basketball games and your smiles.

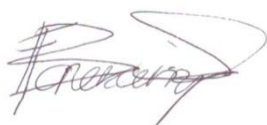
I would like to thank the City Tourism Office for their time. They couldn't provide me statistic information about Apiriran and Kalakuasan but I appreciate the time Melinda put in several interviews and discussions. I also want to thank NCIP, the **National Commission for Indigenous People** in Puerto Princesa who provided information about the function of their organization, the Batak and their land ownership and rights, with special thanks to Mary Ann Delos Santos.

Special thanks to counterpart, Ryan Lucero from The Palawan State University for joining me in the field and working as an interpreter during the interviews with the several Batak members, he has learned me a lot about Palawan Island and its culture. My colleague Inge de Boer played also an important role during my stay in Puerto Princesa City, she was there for mental support and at the time I had problems with my health. I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge Ronald Pors who provided unyielding and overwhelming support during the whole thesis process.

Maraming salamat po
Thank you very much

October 2012

Fleur Bonekamp



Community participation in tourism, Sept. 2012

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II. Abbreviations

BVC -	Batak Visitor Centre
CBT -	Community-Based Tourism
DSWD-	Department of Social Welfare and Development
DFID -	Department for International Development (based in the UK)
DOT -	(Philippine) Department of Tourism
ICCA-	International Congress and Convention Association
LDC -	Less Developed Countries
LGC -	Local Government Code
NCIP-	National Commission for Indigenous People
NGO -	Non-Governmental Organisation
NTDP -	Nation Tourism Development Plan
PPC -	Puerto Princesa City
PPUR -	Puerto Princesa Underground River, one of the seven world wonders
TMP -	Tourism Master Plan
UNDP -	United Nations Development Program
WTO -	World Tourism Organization

III. Summary

The aim of this paper is to investigate Batak community perceptions about their participation in tourism and its socio-cultural impacts on their daily lives in Palawan, The Philippines. It will discuss the participation and involvement of two Batak settlements in tourism development using a case study in Apiriran and Kalakuasan. The main concepts of this study are community participation in the tourism development and decision-making. The field work has focused on the perceptions of both the Batak members in the two Batak settlements and government agencies regarding the key concepts of this study.

To achieve these systematically, this study will discuss the following three sub questions: (1) How can Batak their participation in tourism activities be described; (2) How do the Batak members experience this participation and its socio-cultural impact on their tribe; (3) To what extent are the perspectives of governmental organizations about Batak their participation in tourism activities and tourism development decision-making in line with Batak their perceptions.

This study will use a case study approach to get a better understanding of Batak respondents' perspectives from a grass-root level. The findings were obtained by multiple qualitative methods, including semi-structured interviews and field observations, carried out during two months of field research in two Batak settlements Apiriran and Kalakuasan.

The findings indicate the main tourism activities for the respondents in Apiriran are handicrafts making and performing which most of the time take place at the Batak Visitor Centre daily. They mainly interact with other members from Apiriran and with domestic and international visitors. In Kalakuasan the Batak members make handicrafts and sell forest products to visitors on average once a month and perform only once or twice a year in their own village. They only go to the Batak visitor Centre if they want to sell their handicrafts. For Batak respondents in Apiriran tourism activities can be seen as an unmissing part of their income and in Kalakuasan their participation in tourism can be seen as an additional income.

According to Batak respondents from both settlements, tourism activities are perceived to have socio-cultural impacts on their tribe with a remarkable contrast between both settlements. According to the respondents in Apiriran and Kalakuasan the positive impacts of tourism on their community are divers; (1) changing communication and behavior, (2) a feeling of self-reliance: increased access to local market of Puerto Princesa City, (3) increasing knowledge exchange, education and personal development and better access to social facilities (4). The five main negative socio-cultural impacts are changing community roles and cultural traditions (1), a feeling of 'irritation' and of 'being observed' (2), dependent on government agencies (3), disappointments about time intensive tourism activities and funding delays (4) and miscommunications regarding interaction and personal development (5). In Kalakuasan the participation of the Batak in tourism activities and its impact on their tribe is less visible than in Apiriran because of their different locations. This lower level of participation in Kalakuasan may be due to the relatively long walking distance to the Batak Visitor Centre. The Batak Visitor Centre is located on a 4 hours walk from Kalakuasan and on a 2 hours walk from Apiriran which leads to more tourism participation in Apiriran.

Government agencies agreed with Batak their perceptions about the negative impacts of Batak participation in tourism activities. But the agencies mentioned other positive socio-cultural impacts like the role of the Batak Visitor Centre as a family house for interaction and its purpose of preserving the Batak culture. Furthermore, government agencies think their participation in tourism activities can minimize community concerns.

By looking at the involvement of the Batak respondents in tourism development and decision making, it seems government agencies perspectives are in contrast with the perceptions of the Batak respondents in this study. Where government agencies argue they involve Batak members in decision-making regarding tourism development in both Kalakusan and Apiriran, the Batak respondents experience a lack of involvement even when their frequency of participation in tourism activities may increase.

More community involvement in tourism activities and decision-making is necessary to stimulate effective communication between both the Batak tribes and government agencies to minimize the negative socio-cultural impacts experienced by Batak respondents and to stimulate sustainable development in both research areas. Tourism development in Apiriran is contributing negative towards the preservation of the Batak culture in Apiriran but seems to have a positive contribution in Kalakusan. Tourism activities should be sensitive to local cultural norms and beliefs for it to be accepted by the Batak communities in both Apiriran and Kalakusan. This is only possible if all stakeholders work closely together and collaborate in policy formulation, implementation and monitoring. The Batak should be informed about the socio-cultural impact of (future) tourism activities to stimulate sustainable community development.

Keywords: indigenous people, host communities and visitors, community participation, tourism development, community involvement, decision-making, community-based tourism, cultural commoditization, authenticity, community development, sustainable development, dependency theory, qualitative community research.

III. Kabuuan

Ang layunin ng papel na ito ay upang pag-aralan at alamin ang persepsyon at pananaw ng mga Katutubong Batak tungkol sa epektong sosyo-kultural ng mga Pangturismong aktibidades sa Palawan. Tatalakayin rito ang epekto at kaugnayan ng dalawang komunidad ng mga Batak sa umuunlad na turismo, sa pamamagitan ng pag-aaral sa Apariran at Kalakuasan. Ang pangunahing konsepto ng pag-aaral na ito ay ang partisipasyon ng mga komunidad umuunlad na turismo at ang kanilang kinalaman sa bawat pagpapasya. Ang pangangalap ng datos ay nakatuon sa persepsyon ng miyembrong Batak sa dalawang nasabing komunidad at ng mga ahensya ng gobyerno tungkol sa konsepto ng pag-aaral na ito.

Upang sistematikong maisakatuparan ito, magiging usapin sa pag-aaral na ito ang tatlong katanungan: 1. Paanong ang mga Batak, ang kanilang partisipasyon sa mga pang turismong gawain at sa pagpapasyang kaunlarang pang turismo ay mailalarawan; 2. Sa papaanong paraan nararanasan ng mga miyembro ng Batak ang mga ganitong partisipasyon at ang sosyolohikal at kultural na epekto nito sa kanilang tribo; 3. Hanggang saan masasabing magkatulad ang persepsyon ng mga ahensya ng gobyerno sa mga katutubong Batak tungkol sa partisipasyon ng mga ito sa mga gawain at pagpapasya sa kaunlarang panturismo.

Ang pag-aaral na ito ay gagamit ng paraang “case study” upang mas maintindihan ang mga persepsyon ng mga miyembrong Batak mula sa puno’t dulo. Ang mga resulta ay nakalap sa pamamagitan ng iba’t ibang kalidad na pamamaraan, kasama na ang semi na istrukturang panayam at mga obserbasyon, na nakalap sa loob ng dalawang buwang pananaliksik sa dalawang komunidad ng mga Batak, ang Apiriran at Kalakuasan.

Ang mga resulta ay nagpapahiwatig na ang mga pangunahing gawaing panturismo ng mga Batak sa Apariran ay pagyayari sa kamay-paggawa at pagtatanghal na madalas nangyayari sa Batak Visitor Centre. Sila ay madalas na nakikisalamuha sa mga kapwa miyembro sa Apariran na may kasamang panauhing lokal at internasyonal. Sa Kalakuasan, ang mga miyembro ng Batak ay gumagawa ng mga produktong yari sa kamay at pagbebenta ng mga produktong mula sa kagubatan sa mga bisita na karaniwan ay isang beses sa loob ng isang buwan at pagtatanghal na ginaganap isa hanggang dalawang beses sa isang taon sa loob ng kanilang komunidad. Sila ay pumupunta lamang sa Batak Visitor Centre kung sila ay ipagbibili ang kanilang mga produktong yari sa kamay. Para sa mga miyembro ng Batak sa Apariran, ang mga gawaing pangturismo ay maituturing na pangunahing kabuhayan samantalang sa Kalakuasan, ang partisipasyon sa turismo ay isa lamang karagdagan sa kanilang kabuhayan.

Ayon sa mga miyembro ng Batak sa dalawang komunidad, ang mga gawaing pangturismo ay itinuturing na may mga positibo at negatibong epekto sa kani-kanilang tribo na may kapansin-pansin ding mga kaibahan. Ayon sa mga nakapanayam sa Apariran at Kalakuasan, ang apat na pangunahing positibong epekto ng turismo sa kanilang komunidad ay pagkakaiba (1), pagbabago ng komunikasyon at pag-uugali (2), pakiramdam ng pag-asa sa sarili: karagdagang ugnayan sa lokal na pamilihan sa lungsod ng Puerto Princesa (3), karagdagang pagpapalitan ng kaalaman, edukasyon at personal na pag-unlad at mas magandang ugnayan sa mga panlipunang pasilidad (4). Ang limang pangunahing negatibong epekto sa sosyolohikal at kultural na aspeto ay pagbabago ng mga tungkuling pangkomunidad at kultural na tradisyon (1), pakiramdam na inoobserbahan (2), pag-aasa sa desisyon

ng gobyerno at mga gawaing pang turismo (3), pagkadismaya sa mahahabang oras ng gawaing pangturismo at pagkaantala ng pondo (4) at di-pagkakaunawaan sa pakikisalamuha at personal na pag-unlad. Sa Kalakuasan, ang partisipasyon ng mga Batak sa gawaing pangturismo ay hindi masyadong nakikita kumpara sa Apariran dahil sa pagkakaiba ng kanilang lokasyon. Ang mababang partisipasyon sa Kalakuasan ay bunga marahil ng mahabang paglalakad papunta sa Batak Visitor Centre. Ang Batak Visitor Centre ay mararating sa loob ng apat na oras na paglalakad mula sa Kalakuasan samantalang dalawang oras na paglalakad mula sa Apariran na nagbubunga ng mas malaking partisipasyon sa turismo sa Apariran.

Ang mga ahensya ng gobyerno ay sumang-ayon sa persepsyon ng mga Batak tungkol sa negatibong epekto ng partisipasyon ng mga Batak sa mga gawaing pangturismo. Subalit ang mga ahensyang ito ay nabanggit din ang mga positibong epekto sa sosyolohikal at kultural na aspeto tulad ng tungkulin ng BVC bilang tahananang pampamilya para sa interaksyon at pagpepreserba ng kulturang Batak. Bukod pa rito, itinuturing ng mga ahensya ng gobyerno na ang partisipasyon sa mga gawaing pangturismo ay nakakatulong sa pagbawas ng mga alalahaning pangkomunidad.

Sa pamamagitan ng pagtingin sa paglahok ng mga miyembro ng Batak sa turismo pag-unlad sa pagpapasya, masasabing taliwas ang pananaw ng mga ahensya ng gobyerno sa mga persepsyon ng mga Batak na nakapanayam sa pag-aaral na ito. Kung saan ang mga ahensya ng gobyerno ay iginigiit ang pakikipaglahok ng mga Batak sa mga pagpapasya kaugnay sa pag-unlad ng turismo sa Kalakuasan at Apariran, ang mga miyembro ng Batak ay nakararanas ng kakulangan sa partisipasyon sa mga pangturismong gawain sa kabila ng pagtaas ng bilang ng mga gawaing pangturismo.

Karagdagang partisipasyon ng komunidad sa mga aktibidades na pangturismo at pagpapasya ay kinakailangan upang buhayin ang epektibong komunikasyon sa pagitan ng mga tribo ng Batak at sa mga ahensya ng gobyerno upang mabawasan ang mga negatibong epektong nararanasan ng mga Batak at upang pasiglahin ang patuloy na pag-unlad sa dalawang pinag-aaralang lugar. Ang pag-unlad ng turismo sa Apariran ay nagbibigay ng negatibong kontribusyon sa pagpapanatili ng kultura ng mga Batak sa Apariran, ngunit mukhang positibo ang kontribusyon nito sa Kalakuasan. Ang mga gawaing pangturismo ay dapat sensitibo sa mga lokal na kultura at paniniwala upang ito ay tanggapin sa parehong komunidad ng Apariran at Kalakuasan. Ito ay posible kung ang lahat ng may mga kinalaman ay magtatrabaho ng sama-sama sa pagbuo ng mga alituntunin, pagpapatupad at pagmamanman. Ang mga Batak ay dapat na mabigyang kaalaman tungkol sa sosyolohikal at kultural na epekto ng mga gawaing pangturismo sa hinaharap upang pasiglahin ang patuloy na pag-unlad ng bawat komunidad.

Importanteng termino: katutubong tao, mga komunidad at mga bisita, pakikipaglahok ng komunidad, kaunlarang pangturismo, pakikialam ng komunidad, pagpapasya, turismong pangkomunidad, pagiging legal, kaunlarang pangkomunidad, patuloy na pag-unlad, teorya ng pag-aasa, komunidad na pananaliksik.

1 Introduction and focus of the study

This chapter will start with an introduction about Palawan Island, The Philippines (1.1) where both Batak settlements of this study are located. Furthermore, this chapter will look at the Batak settlement more specific by providing more detailed information about their specific location (1.2), their characteristics and their culture (1.3). In this section also the government institutions or agencies that play a role in the participation of Batak members from both settlements in tourism will be discussed (1.4) and the current tensions between the government and Batak communities (1.5). The final part of the chapter will look at the preliminary problem statement and research's objectives, the relevance of the study and at the main research questions and sub questions of this study.

1.1 Introduction

The Philippines is located between Taiwan and Borneo, bounded in the west by the South China Sea and in the east by the Pacific Ocean with Palawan as the third largest island in the Philippines (Sagun, 2011). The Philippines consists of more than 7000 islands and islets and is the world's second-largest archipelago with 23 municipalities. The main capital of Palawan is Puerto Princesa City (PPC) with a population of 225,955 living in one of the 66 barangays in the area (Sagun, 2011).

But the island is changing; a process of economic, political, cultural and social globalization is transforming the world we live in. Globalization will homogenize and standardize cultures and destinations not without noticing. Due to an increasing interest in other destinations people all over the world are seeking for new experiences. Tourist arrivals in Puerto Princesa have increased rapidly, from approximately 12.000 in 1992 to 700.000 in 2012 (Sagun, 2011) and are expected to increase even more in the coming years. Puerto Princesa has 66 villages where there are three indigenous tribes left. The regulations striving for their protection are formulated and their voice is represented in NGO's.

At the moment, tourism agencies in Puerto Princesa organize tribal tours so that visitors have the chance to interact or stay with an indigenous tribe in the forest. This focus on direct contact with communities has been seen as a Community Based Tourism initiative that has a less negative effect on communities and the environment than mass-tourism and stimulates sustainable development (Rustema et al, 2007). In Palawan, the Western culture has mixed with indigenous culture when the Spanish and the Americans colonized the Philippines. Spain occupied the country for over 300 years and the Americans for over 50 years (Carlos and Carlos, 2006). Within PPC three indigenous tribes can be found; The Batak, Tagbanua and Palawan (Sagun, 2011). These tribes are considered as being the native inhabitants of Palawan province. These tribes are carefully watched which makes it hard for some communities sometimes to stay at an isolated location in the middle of the forest without experiencing any impact of the tourism industry (Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006). Regulations seem to strive for their protection and the voice of indigenous people are represented in NGOs' strategies (Carlos and Carlos, 2006). Among various institutions, the idea of indigenous people as tourism attraction is a sensitive topic (Rustema et al, 2007). Especially when the growing visitor numbers in Palawan are taken into account due to the active promotion of PPC after it received the award for Philippines' cleanest and greenest city and introduced the new tourism brand "*It is more fun in the Philippines*" (Department of Tourism, 2012). This strategy will also attract more visitors but again the

question arises: will these visitor numbers have a positive impact on the members of the two Batak villages and what are their perceptions about their participation in tourism.

“Palawan, the last natural frontier’ of the Philippines” (Carlos and Carlos, 2006).

On the other hand, increasing visitor arrivals and a booming tourism industry may also have a lot of side effects (Smith, 2008) and one of these side effects can be linked to the socio-cultural impacts of growing tourism activities on people who belong to or reside at a destination. A destination is therefore not only a product for the visitors but also a place that can change rapidly if tourism becomes an important drive for economic growth in their home environment.

The effects of globalization and the participation of local communities in tourism activities initiatives are applauded by some and criticized by others. On the one hand stimulating more interaction between the visitor and the locals can develop more sympathy and understanding from both sides about other culture and stimulate the unique authentic travel experience. On the other hand local communities and cultures are changing rapidly which can mean their traditions and original way of living will be gone in a couple of years. Because of the booming tourism industry for a long time academic research was focusing on the tourists and their motives to travel. Nowadays the perspectives of the local communities are getting more and more attention (Smith, 2008). This because of the fact that indigenous tribes or local communities in remote areas are getting more and more affected by the growing tourism activities where their culture and way of living can change rapidly. The question here is what do the local communities or the host communities think about their participation in tourism activities and how are they be involved in decision-making?

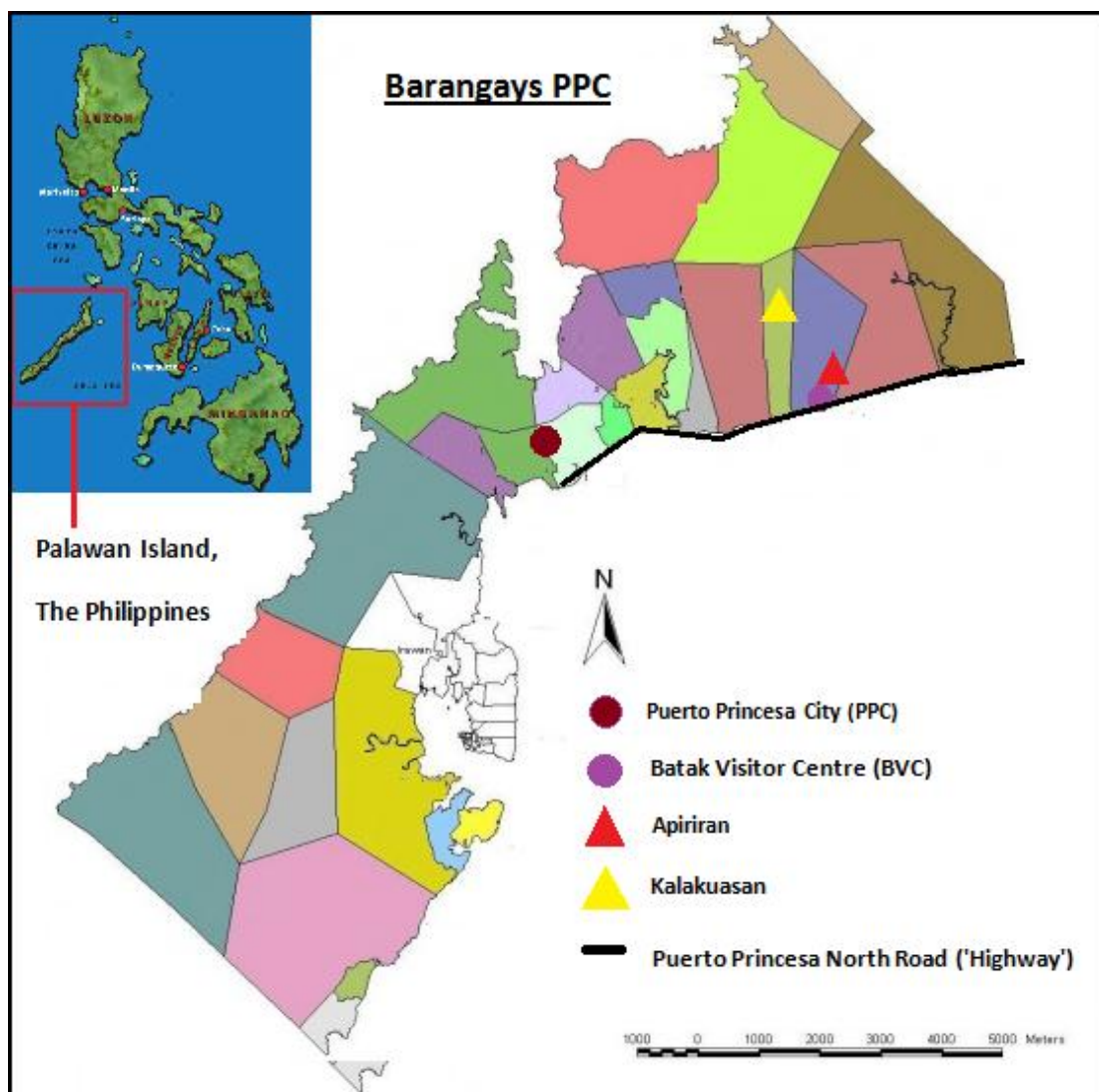
1.2 Batak settlements and background

The Bataks are 'negrito people' and can be found in the mountains in the interior of Palawan about 10 miles north of Puerto Princesa, back of the coast villages of Babuyan, Tinitian and Malcampo. Assumably the Batak joint the first wave of human populations who crossed the land bridges connecting the Philippine islands with mainland Asia, around 50,000 years ago. Originally the Batak were nomadic people, food gatherers and hunters who migrated in the archipelago when Palawan was connected to Borneo, Malaysia (Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006) but should not be confused with the ethnically diverse Indonesian Batak of northern Sumatra. Others (Llamzon, 1978) say the name 'Batak' comes from an old Cuyonen term that means 'mountain people' which seems to be a logic name for the only tribe in Palawan that still lives in the middle of a forest that live close to the Cleopatra Needle, the highest mountain in the area.

Originally, the Batak did not stay too long at one particular location in the mountains because they had to move around due to forest products, they moved and lived even outside their territory, including to Tanabag on the coast and to the higher mountains such as Tina, Kalabayog and Mayseray (Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006). Particular forest products will only grow in particular seasons of the year and not all products could be found at the same places in the forest. Especially tourism has changed batak their way of living dramatically (Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006) and have been seen in surrounding villages. It seems the Batak do not live that isolated anymore. According to Warren, around 1910 the government of Palawan asked the Tanabag Batak to create a permanent settlement on the coastal plain near Sumurud (Warren, 1964, 30-33)

The Batak in Palawan are divided among five different *barangays* of Puerto Princesa City (Figure 1.2) which is the smallest administrative division in The Philippines and a Filipino term for village or district. Barangays are further subdivided into smaller areas called *puroks* (zones) (Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006). This study will focuss on the two Batak settlements Apiriran (*Perihan*) located in Barangay Concepcion and Batak settlement Kalakuasan (*Kalakwasan*), located in Tanabag (Figure 1.2). Other names for Tanabag are 'The Tanabag Kabatakan' (the Batak land of Tanabag) or 'lugta it amula kat Tanabag' (the land of the ancestors in Tanabag) (Llamzon, 1968). Tanabag is the local name of the main river in their region and is also the name of the coastal barangay. The Batak area in Tanabag encompassed about 5,000 hectares of which 3,458.70 hectares fall within the CBFMA area with 31 households (ICCA, 2008). Kalakuasan is situated in the middle of the forest on athree till four hours walk from the highway which leads to the Batak Visitor Centre. Apiriran is located on a two till three hours walk from the BVC which is located next to the 'highway': Puerto Princesa North road.

Figure 1.2: Palawan Island and Barangays in PPC: Specific location Batak Visitor Centre and Batak settlements Apiriran and Kalakuasan



(Fleur Bonekamp GEO GIS, 2012).

In the early 1900s the total Batak population in Palawan was around 600 (Miller, 1905). Especially due to diseases such as malaria, measles and tuberculosis their population was decreasing where the total Batak population (total of all Batak settlements in Palawan) in 2009 was only 351. (BVC, 2009). The total Batak population is divided into local subgroups, composed in an indefinite number of small bands. A Batak settlement can be seen as a settlement or a village where they temporary stay and is most of the time located near the seacoast. The band is a social group of related and unrelated individuals who have common interested in economic activities. In 2009 the two Batak villages of this study have a total population of 168 with 121 Batak members in Kalakuasan and 47 Batak members in Apiriran (BVC, 2012). No statistics are available regarding demograpic information of the different Batak settlements after 2009.

Table 1.2: Overview of Batak settlements and its population in Palawan, The Philippines

Batak settlements	Barangay	Population
Riandakan	Maoyon	48
<u>Kalakuasan</u>	<u>Tanabaq</u>	<u>121</u>
<u>Apiriran</u>	<u>Concepcion</u>	<u>47</u>
Mangaping	Langogan	72
Kayasan	Tagabinet	61
Total		351

(BVC Concepcion, 2009).

According to Novellino (2008), in the past Batak members from different settlements visited each other once in a while but due to an increasing amount of immigrant pressure in the coastal areas and increasing visitor numbers, most of the Batak felt forced to move. This has led to new Batak settlements which were further away and more isolated from each other. Because the distance between the batak settlements increased, the interaction between Batak communities may have decreased and their social-networks are declining. At the moment the Batak even intermarry with non-Bataks because there are not enough suitable partners in or close to their own settlement (Novellino, 2008).

Boissière and Liswanti (2006) argue that important income generating activities of the Batak are hunting, fishing, gathering, exchanging and selling forest products. Some community members that are too young to attend these activities will stay at home and help other community members in their own village. Important forest product for the Batak are rattan, resins and almaciga which they carry to the highway to trade it with visitors or other Filipino's for rice or western products. Also wild yams, nuts, ferns, insects, grubs and eggs are collected in the forest. Most activities take place in the forest where the 'outdoor forest activities' can be considered as the main threats on their territory and are experienced as unsustainable (Boissiere and Liswanti, 2006). Most of the coastal Batak settlements are characterized by haphazard growths of coconut palms and fruit trees which can mean the Batak do not have to trade that much forest products for rice anymore. Some Batak settlements create occasional small gardens to plant vegetables like potatoes and cassava so that they do not have to collect all their food in the forest anymore.

The dialect of the Batak is a mixture of Taglog, Tagbanua and Batak which means that talking with visitors or people from outside their own village can be problematic (Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006). According to Llamzon (1978) the Batak are shy people and do not mingle or intermarry with the other tribes which means they can be afraid for people from outside their own village (Llamzon, 1978). He argues sometimes the Batak run away for visitors especially when no arrangement with the chief or captain has been made in advance to inform the Batak members. But these findings of Lamzon (1978) are based upon field observations in 1978 which makes it interesting to see how the Batak will behave nowadays and if they have developed new communication skills.

The Batak are an animist group which means they believe there is no separation between the spiritual and the physical world where good and bad spirits can be found not only in people but also in animals, plants or geographical features (Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006). There are gods they fear like the cause of sickness, bodily harm, crop failures, misfortunes, death and gods they admire for the favors they give to people of their tribe like good crop production, good harvest and good health (Llamzon, 1978). As Batak nomadic groups move from place to place, they dance for the local spirits. The traditional dances of the Batak are used to ask permission or approval to inhabit a location or for guidance before fishing, hunting, or planting.

In each Batak settlement there is a special role for the Shaman who can recall the soul of Batak members during illness or sickness as a method of healing and curing. Batak members can perform at the same time to stimulate the process of recalling. Hereby the traditional performances create a link between their natural and social world and the world of the spirits (Llamzon, 1978). Besides the role of the Shaman, there is a main function for the *babalyan* who is both a medium and a shaman and will sing and dance while curing the person that is sick or needs curing. The main leader of a Batak tribe is called the *kapitan*, *chieftain* or *chief* (Boissiere and Liswanta, 2006) and is chosen by the elderly of a Batak village because of his well developed hunting and fighting skills. Furthermore, the leader of each Batak settlements should have a feeling of responsibility towards his community members. When there are problems or concerns in the village community members will inform their leader so that he will come up with a solution. These community problems can relate to abuse, landownership and grabbing but also to problems with foreign visitors or other Filipinos to whom they want to sell their forest products. The Kapitan will be assisted by the *masikampo* who is the local group expert on customary law of a Batak tribe and conducts all important meetings of elders (Llamzon, 1978). According to Boissiere and Laswanti (2006) it is hard to say something specific about their culture and traditions because it can not be find in the available literature, to find out how their community works a visito to a Batak settlement has to be made.

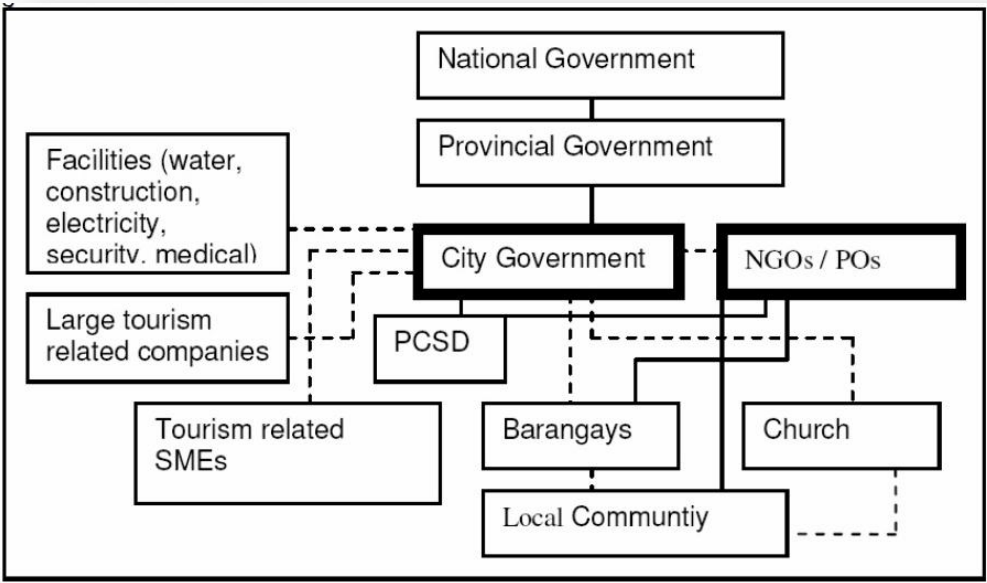
1.3 Government agencies and their role in the tourism industry

Today PPC has gained the distinction of being a model local government unit in the area of cleanliness, environmental protection, conservation and local governance in general (Carlos and Carlos, 2006). The aim of the City Government (City Tourism Office) of PPC is to build it as a model city in sustainable development, with tourism and agriculture as prime economic sectors (Sagun, 2011). The City Tourism government is active in Puerto Princesa in order to increase the number of tourists with approximately 10% each year (Rustema et al, 2007).

The blueprint for tourism development in The Philippines has been the development of The Philippine Tourism Master Plan (TMP) which has been designed by the Department of Tourism and

developed in 1989 and completed in 1991. During this time the concept 'sustainability' was not introduced yet which means the TMP does not contain a reference to a policy based on “sustainable tourism development (Alampay, 2002). In 1991 the local government system was being revised which lead to decentralization and a reorganisation of local government units like barangays, municipalities, cities and provinces and a shift from central to local government authorities (Courtney et al., 2002). This change in local government units meant an increasing power of local authorities in decision-making so that social services in the Philippines changed dramatically. (Courtney et al., 2002). In 1992 the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) evaluated on the tourism industry in The Philippines by providing a list of recommendations like weak enforcement of laws, limited capital for tourism marketing and product development, and regulations regarding sustainability and skills shortages in key areas like tourism management (Mintel, 2004). In contrast with The Philippine Tourism Master Plan from 1989 the concept of 'sustainable tourism' plays a central role in the new Strategic Environmental Plan new (SEP). This plan includes strategies for sustainable development in the whole country and is focussing on the long term development of the area and on sharing benefits between different type of stakeholders. The main elements of the SEP are preserving the natural resources and minimize the negative impacts of tourism on the social and physical environment (Mintel, 2004).

Figure 1.3: Stakeholder network of plan and project implementation by government and/or NGOs in Palawan, The Philippines.



(Rustema et al, 2007)

Figure 1.3 shows stakeholder involvement in the implementation (and operation) of tourism plans and projects by the City Government and NGO in Puerto Princesa City. The involvement is visualized from this specific perspective. The different lines indicate the level of involvement; a dotted line for passive and a thick line for interactive participation (Rustema et al, 2007). The question rises if the perceptions of the local community will reach the level of the City Government via or the Barangays or the Church. There seem to be a direct line between the local communities and NGO's in Palawan which represents an active attitude between both actors.

This direct contact between the local communities and the NGO's in Palawan may be due to the formation of the Batak Association in the early 1990s. This federation was developed with the assistance of a NGO in Palawan: Haribon Palawan and based in PPC. The objective of this NGO was to help gathering together different Batak communities and stimulate monthly meetings with the aim to socialize and discuss their problems direct with the people from The Haribon (Yana, 2008). This could reflect the direct relationship between the local community and the NGO's in Palawan. However, it should be mentioned that this contact stopped when the funds for covering traveling costs from the Batak settlements to PPC were exhausted. The meetings took place in PPC which was a three hours drive for most members. According to Yana (2008) the Batak did not have the capacity to keep the process going (Yana, 2008).

Another element in decision-making relates to reports like the Annual Work Plan (AWP) that will be sent from the Community Resource Management Framework (CRMF) to the Community Environment and Natural Resources Office (CENRO) and has to be written mainly by the community (ICCA, 2008). These reports will show the traditional use of resources and the way they are being produced, collected and distributed. The point is that these reports would be written according to strict government standards and that can create some problems by knowing that the Batak are illiterate and do not have the technical skills to prepare them. This can result in reports that are filled in mainly or partly by actors from governmental agencies which can result in a decrease of community involvement in decision-making (ICCA, 2008). This is one of the reasons why it may be hard for the Batak to communicate their needs to government agencies, transfer their opinions to them and participate optimal in decision-making.

Finally, it has to be mentioned that for the Batak in Palawan there is a special role for the Kaptain (the chief of their tribe) and the Shaman in their community. When decisions have to be made about natural resources, community rituals with rice, honey and freshwater resources the Shaman plays an important role and for all other decisions the Kaptain will implement the decisions after discussing the issues with the whole Batak community (ICCA, 2008). Sometimes, depending on the size of a Batak community, the Kaptain has one or a couple of subordinates. As ICCA (2008) stated the assistance of a vice-Kaptain is about settling internal disputes, discussing a possible transfer of the Batak community to temporary locations, building new houses, and about the organization of certain festivities. He is also responsible to act as a representator of the Batak village in times of communicating community needs to governmental agencies. Besides the Kaptain, the vice-Kaptain and the Shaman there is a council of elders (*'surugiden'*) that is responsible for cases such as divorce, stealing, adultery or the abduction of married women (ICCA, 2008). Today, elderly seldom play a leading role in decision-making, and leaders (generally of mid-age) are elected (every three years) and can hold the title if the community agrees (ICCA, 2008).

1.4 Problems and tensions

According to Tadena (2006) Batak settlements experiences some problems and tensions in the last 40 years related to a process of transition and processes of deculturation where tourism, deforestation and pressures from the outside world were the most important causes. The Batak communities tried to keep their culture and traditional social structures alive but people can ask themselves if these villages will look the same in the future, how they change or if they disappear (Tadena, 2006).

In 1969, the Philippines government tried to resettle the Batak and turned them into permanent farmers with the purpose to keep them together and stimulate control regarding their population. This resettlement caused new problems and great damage was done but it was a fact that in the 1970's demand for forest products grew which meant an increasing production of forest products and a stimulation of Batak their involvement in the cash economy. When the local government outlawed the Batak's farming methods in 1994, rice yields fell dramatically and the tribe was on the brink of devastation.

In the late 1990's the Batak Lambay ceremony began to be exploited by the local government. During the mid to late-20th century the Batak were pushed out of their preferred gathering grounds by the sea into the mountains by emigrant farmers. Living in less fertile areas, they have attempted to supplement their income by harvesting and selling various non-timber forest products, such as rattan, tree resins, and honey (Centre for Sustainability, 2011). According to Eder (1988) the Batak could not survive without the element of 'cultural mixing' because with a population of less than 400 people they had to look for other communities and mixed with other ethnic groups (e.g. Cuyonen, Tagbanua).

In March 1998 the government of Puerto Princesa City asked the Batak families to join the Lambay festival in their city and to give a traditional performance for tourists and visitors. If they would agree the government would give them compensation. In this period the Batak communities started to involve in tourism activities (Novellino, 2005). The Batak used this traditional dance normally only in their own village because traditionally, it is an annual Batak ritual that signals for them the start of hunting and gathering season where they pray for a successful honey season and abundant rice harvest. In this time the Batak had to neglect the traditional purpose of their dances and accept the invitation of the government and attend the city. The years 2000 till 2005 have been characterized by social disorientation, decreasing reliance on the Batak community and its leaders and shamans and by shifting cultivation processes with a more civilized focus (Novellino, 2005).

In 2008 the Government of Puerto Princesa City started with the plans for a BVC in Tanabag but because of some problems with the landowner they changed their plans and build a BVC next to the highway in Concepcion, a 2 hours walk from the Batak settlement Apiriran (Perihan) and 68 kilometres from Puerto Princesa City. This place offers an insight to Batak Life with a small museum, handicrafts, a Batak hut and the opportunity for visitors to see a Batak performance or to plan a visit to the Batak in Apiriran (BVC, 2012). When the government of Puerto Princesa City decided to build a BVC next to the highway in Concepcion, the Batak community started to get involved in tourism activities close to or in their own villages. This participation in tourism activities at the BVC and the socio-cultural impact on their daily lives and community are the main focus of this study which relates to the following words of Novellino (2005):

"...Increasing Batak involvement in the cash economy and continuous dealings with government authorities and with other external agents has also led to destabilization of culturally imposed limits on material wealth and has badly affected their internal cohesion and solidarity networks..." (Novellino, 2005).

Part of the history of the Bataks is their interaction with outsiders, with recently increasing activities by government agencies, scientists, projects and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The Bataks are becoming the target of 'everyone's' attention, with more or less ethical objectives. Novellino (2005) described the reaction of the Bataks when confronted with increasing activities by NGOs:

'No matter how far we go, outsiders will show up unexpectedly and say they want to help us, even if they have other goals' (Novellino, 2005: 110).

Nevertheless, the Batak people are still retaining their traditional social structures with their own spiritual beliefs and ideological orientations but the question is until when (Tadena, 2006). The only way to achieve this is to stop the illegal depletion of their environment, involve the Batak community in decision-making and stop corruption among different actors that play an important role in the daily lives of the Batak. The question now is if the population of the Batak settlements, their activities and cultivation elements, their spiritual beliefs and performances, their problems or concerns and decision-making issues are undergoing processes of change and what role tourism activities play.

1.5 Preliminary problem Statement

With the promotion of Palawan as ecotourism capital of the Philippines, the island is changing at a rapid pace: tourist arrivals to its capital Puerto Princesa have increased from approximately 12.000 in 1992 to 700.000 in 2012 (Madrono, 2008). The local government is now trying to find strategies to focus on locations that are different than the main tourism hot spots on the island to distract the visitors from overcrowded areas and to prevent that some places will exceed their carrying capacity. One of the strategies to distract visitors from the main tourism attractions on the island (e.g El nido, Underground River and Sabang) is promoting sustainable tourism or eco-tourism by organizing tribal tours to less remoted rural areas and offer the visitors a new experience. One of these tribal tours is going to the Batak settlements, located in the northeastern part of PPC. Because of this strategy more visitors seem to visit the Batak villages which may lead to changes in their village. This is according to Boissiere and Laswanti (2006) who argue changes in the Batak settlements are already be noticed (Llamzon, 1978, Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006).

According to Muganda (2009), active participation of local communities in the tourism industry is necessary to achieve sustainable development. Getting a better understanding of Batak members' perspectives about tourism participation and involvement in decision-making, active participation may be stimulated. Local communities especially in less developed countries are hardly involved in tourism development (Manyara and Jones, 2007) and sustainable tourism initiatives like community-based projects seem to improve the involvement of local communities in tourism activities and decision-making. As Blank (1989, 115) stated: "the destinations of tourists are communities and it is in the community that tourism happens". But the perceptions of indigenous people towards their participation in tourism can change, especially if you take the rapid changes in Puerto Princessa City into account. According to Courtney et al. (2002) in tourism related development plans or strategies, social effects on local communities are so significant that they should be studied before anything else. This is in line with the thoughts of Pearce et al. (1996) who argue that the knowledge of residents' perceptions regarding tourism development is highly required in order to understand the significance and value of local participation.

At the moment the Government in Puerto Princesa City hardly knows what the Batak tribe really thinks about tourism development in their communities and what their concerns are regarding their participation in tourism activities (Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006). The tourism developments in Palawan may have an impact on the indigenous tribes and if the government does not listen to the

communities or does not involve them in decision-making or tourism development, tensions between governmental agencies and the Batak community are likely to increase in the future.

Qualitative research is necessary that looks at the perceptions of the Batak regarding their perceptions about participation in tourism activities. Because it is too time-intensive to visit the tribes because of the distance and language issues, the perceptions of the tribes in the forest of Palawan are not always taken into account (Verner, 2007). Without incorporating the perceptions of the Batak community in tourism activities that take place close to or in their villages, the Batak culture may get lost.

1.6 Research objectives

The main objective of this research is *analyzing the perceptions of two Batak communities in Palawan, The Philippines about participation and involvement in tourism activities and its socio-cultural impact on the tribe*. This study will look to *what extent their perceptions are in line with the perspectives of government agencies*. Getting a better understanding of the interaction and communication levels between government agencies in the tourism sector and members of two Batak communities is crucial to stimulate community involvement in tourism and stimulate sustainable tourism development in the future. This study will determine how both Batak communities are being integrated into the tourism industry so that different stakeholders and other destinations may learn more about the socio-cultural impacts of community participation in tourism.

This study will come up with recommendations to improve the satisfaction of Batak respondents regarding their participation in tourism activities. Government agencies, NGO's and tourism agencies can involve these perceptions in strategies, policies and/or decision-making.

1.7 Relevance of the study

According to Swarbrooke (1999) most of the current thinking and ideas in tourism are based on Western perceptions of the impacts of tourism in developing countries, rather than based on the perceptions of people living in developing countries. This research will therefore focus on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the Batak tribe and on the perspectives of its members. Because tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in the Philippines and even more on Palawan Island, this research will fill in the knowledge gap by giving new insights in the way an indigenous tribe in the forest is affected by tourism. It can even help anthropologists to get a better understanding in the Batak tribe, as one of the last indigenous tribe in the Philippines. It can help them to get a better understanding of their way of living, how they think and how they evaluate their daily lives. It is relevant to investigate why communities support or oppose tourism so that it will be easier to select those developments which can minimize negative social impacts and maximize support for alternative modes of tourism (Williamson & Lawson, 2001).

Furthermore, this research can be used as background information for several stakeholders (e.g City Tourism Office, tourism developers and planners and NGO's). With these outcomes, recommendations can be made to hopefully improve Batak their satisfaction about their tourism participation and to stimulate the relation between the Batak communities and government agencies. Understanding the community situation of the two Batak settlements may help maximize

the capacity of community based initiatives in tourism to act as an effective and sustainable community development strategy.

At the moment there are some theoretical frameworks related to the process and degree of community participation but there is still a lack of general mechanisms for involving community in tourism. This study can be an example for other destinations if they want to use community participation as a tool for tourism development, on the condition the community wants to participate. The findings of this research can be useful in creating models or mechanisms in the future regarding the process of community participation in tourism.

Also, this research is a time intensive study and that is why not a lot of studies were done in the same research area. It can therefore be helpful in a general planning policy to reinforce positive and mitigate negative impacts of tourism and stimulate community involvement so that residents understand tourism and will hopefully participate more efficient in decision-making related to their tourism activities. This to make sure indigenous tribes, like the Batak, receive benefits from tourism activities to an extent they prefer (Courtney et al, 2002).

In this study community participation approaches and typologies will be linked to the Batak case and can help to gain insight in the relation between the tourism sector of Puerto Princesa and the Batak community and to understand the (non) involvement of indigenous tribes in the tourism value chain.

1.8 Research question

To gain a better understanding of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the Batak living in Apiriran and Kalakuanan, Puerto Princesa, questions that need to be addressed include; what are the impacts of tourism on the communities in both settlements? Who is benefitting from it, and who does not? Do government agencies involve the perceptions of the Batak in their tourism strategies and plans? Is tourism indeed a good alternative for their current livelihood forms? Will these tourism activities be sustainable for the Batak tribes in the long term? This research will focus on these questions.

The main question of this study will be as follows:

'How do the Batak members in Apiriran and Kalakuanan (Palawan, The Philippines) experience their participation in tourism activities and its socio-cultural impact on their tribe and to what extent are their perceptions in line with government agencies' perspectives?

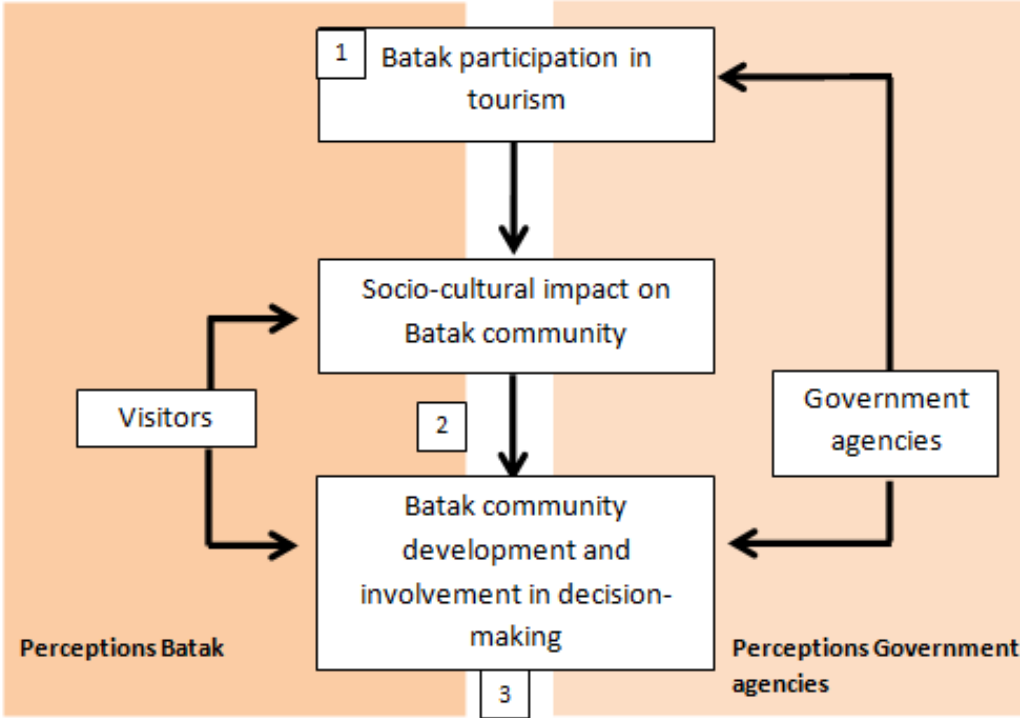
1.9 Sub questions

To find an answer to this main question the following sub questions will be used:

- 1 How can Batak their participation in tourism activities be described?
- 2 How do the Batak members experience this participation and its socio-cultural impact on their tribe?
- 3 What are government agencies' perspectives about Batak their participation in tourism activities and Batak their involvement in decision-making?

These sub questions refer to the numbers in the conceptual model of this study (figure 1.9) and will help to gain an overall understanding of the possible socio-cultural changes that have occurred in the Batak communities affected by the tourism industry.

Figure 1.9: Conceptual model socio-cultural impact of tourism on the Batak tribe in Kalakuasan and Apiriran.



(Fleur Bonekamp, 2012)

2 Literature Review

Now some background information about The Philippines and the Batak has been discussed and the relevance, objectives and research questions of this study have been explained, this chapter will present the relationships between the most important concepts of this study.

This chapter seeks to address a number of issues related to the concepts *community participation*, *typologies of participation*, *community-based initiatives in tourism and sustainable community development* which will now be discussed in more detail.

2.1 Community participation and involvement

By looking at the Batak in the north Eastern part of Puerto Princesa and their perceptions about the impact of the tourism activities, it is interesting to investigate if they participate in tourism independently or if they work with or for key persons in the tourism industry. This research not only focuses on where the Batak participate and in what type of activities but also WHY they participate and with whom. This last element "whom" reflects the collaboration with other Batak members, visitors and governmental organizations that play an important role in tourism activities for the Batak.

After analyzing 94 community definitions, Hillery (1955) concluded that there is no agreement between all definitions of the concept "community". The only common part is that all definitions deal with people (Marzuki, 2009). This is in line with the thoughts of Claiborne (2010) who stated that communities are not homogeneous groups of like-minded people, but instead a collection of individuals with ambivalent or mixed feelings which may lead to different perceived impacts of tourism (Claiborne, 2010).

In this study the following definition of community participation by France (1998) and Paul (1987) will be used:

" It's a process of empowerment that helps to involve local people in the identification of problems, decision-making and implementation which can contribute to sustainable development" (France, 1998: 127).

" It's an active process by which beneficiary client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish" (Paul, 1987 in 2000, 10).

The definition by France (1998) involves the local communities and involves the identification of problems and the aspect of sustainable development (2.3). According to United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), local participation is one important aspect of sustainable tourism and it is therefore included in the UNDP Principles for implementation of Sustainable Tourism (UNDP, 2001).

One element has to be added to the definition of France (1998) like the socio-cultural element of communication and sharing knowledge as part of community participation. Therefore, the definition of Connell (1997) is relevant:

“Community participation is not only about getting more material resources but also about the process of learning, self-development and sharing knowledge which can be a long term socio-cultural impact on communities” (Connell, 1997, 152).

In the debate about community participation Marzuki (2009) argues stimulating public awareness and involvement of communities in decision-making is not always encouraging because the response of the community is not always strong even though it was invited. In line with the thoughts of Marzuki (2009) some argue communities may not effectively participate in tourism activities or may not be involved in decision-making because of their apathy, lack of awareness and lack of expertise. Others, like Boyle (2004), disagree with this argument by saying that communities should not be blamed for ineffective participation because most of the time the access to information about tourism projects and their socio-cultural consequences can be very limited and governmental agencies sometimes do not inform the public. According to DFID (1999), language and understanding the tourism market are relevant elements to participate in tourism activities. In general, a community with a wide variety of assets has a better chance to make the right choices in improving their livelihood because of the fact they have more options to choose from and are not forced. Still the participation in tourism activities of a particular member of a community can be called positive but can disadvantage others (Erenstein, 2010). Some postmodern theory favors a participatory and democratic approach to cultural development including the breaking down of barriers between culture and society, art and life, high and low culture (Marzuki, 2009). Smith (2009) argues there is a need for democratic and pluralists participation in the institutions and practices of culture. She argues there is still one dominant ‘world culture’ which is partly based on the imperialism of the past which can be related to core-periphery models that describe the different levels in power at several levels (Smith, 2009). According to Lesego (2005) community participation in tourism activities can only be effective when the community is involved from the beginning and when there is a possibility for the community to create small scale, locally owned businesses. Lesego (2005) thinks benefits are to be spread to a large proportion of the community.

Although participation can essentially be seen as a morally good thing to do, it can also have long lasting negative effects and influence stakeholder relations (Assche et al, 2011). As Joppe (1996) points out, often residents do not even know where to begin or how to get involved when it comes to participation. It seems that community involvement is crucial in order to avoid uncertainties and misunderstandings among different type of stakeholders (Simmons, 1994). When treated too lightly and handled inappropriately, failed attempts to participate can increase suspicion among particular stakeholders where they feel that their efforts are not being reciprocated. Stakeholders can opt for non-participation in the end (Assche et al, 2011). Communities can even manage to take a degree of control and exercise power over tourism developments in their localities (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). Mowforth & Munt (2009) argue that if communities are getting more involved in tourism activities this can stimulate a sense of ownership among its members, a feeling of responsibility and practical involvement in tourism. Liburd and Edwards (2010) argue that the personal lives of communities can change because of tourism participation because it may affect their lifestyles, traditions and culture. It is not easy to summarize all the socio-cultural impacts of community participation in tourism because impacts and effects will vary in type, location and significance because of the different types of visitors and their different demands (Liburd and Edwards, 2010).

According to Hazel (1996) optimal community participation can be achieved by investing in human capital like education, health and social capital. He argues that local institutions, the participation of community members in decision-making and getting support for community-based initiatives will have a positive impact on community participation and satisfaction levels of host communities in the end (Hazel, 1996, 145). A bottom-up approach can be a guideline in tourism development by looking at the perspectives of the local community (Yana, 2008). One example of focusing on community participation in the tourism sector of Palawan can be found in Barangay 'Buena Vista' (Yana, 2008). The Palawan Network of NGO's is facilitating community development via ecotourism, to provide market option for visitors and is looking for alternative forms of tourism without harming the environment and cultures. They focus on the local communities by building capacities and involve the locals in the tourism industry by making them active players. Perspectives from a grass-root level are crucial in tourism to stimulate sustainable development and community involvement in decision-making where maintaining cultural values of a community is the key to sustainable development (Yana, 2008).

In this study *community participation* or participation refers to the attendance of the Batak members in tourism activities and how they are involved in decision-making. When talking about *tourism activities* in this study, all activities that are indirect or direct linked to activities in the tourism industry will be taken into account.



2.3 Typologies of participation

To investigate the concept of participation in more detail, different typologies of community participation can be found (Tosun 2006, Arnstein 1971, Pretty 1995) where Tosun (2006) compares three forms of community participation (Figure 2.3a).

Tosun (2006) distinguishes three forms of community participation: spontaneous community participation, coercive community participation and induced community participation (Figure 2.3a). The model of Pretty (1995) is focussing on behavior of communities where participation is divided in seven categories ranging from manipulative and passive participation to interactive participation and self-mobilization (figure 2.3a). According to this typology, participation can range from an individual passive receiving money, to a whole community that mobilizes itself to manage a tourism destination or organization. Arnstein's (1969) typology of community participation has also different stages, from manipulation or therapy of citizens, through to consultation, and to what might be known as genuine participation (e.g levels of partnership and citizen control). Still some argue his definition is outdated because these stages were too broad and the use of a participation ladder implies that more control is always better than less control (Wilson and Wilde, 2003).

Figure 2.3a: Typologies of community participation by Tosun (1996), Pretty (1995) and Arnstein (1971).

7. Self-mobilization	←	8. Citizen control	Degrees of Citizen Power	→	<u>Spontaneous Participation</u> Bottom-up; active par.; direct participation; par. in decision making, authentic participation; self planning;	
6. Interactive participation		7. Delegated power				6. Partnership
5. Functional participation	←	5. Placation	Degrees of Citizen Tokenism	→	<u>Induced Participation</u> Top-down; passive; formal; mostly indirect; degree of tokenism, manipulation; pseudo-participation; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternatives and feedback.	
4. Participation for material incentives		4. Consultation				3. Informing
3. Participation by consultation		2. Passive participation				2. Therapy
1. Manipulative participation	1. Manipulation		→	<u>Coercive Participation</u> Top-down, passive; mostly indirect, formal; participation in implementation, but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice; paternalism, non-participation, high degree of tokenism and manipulation.		
Pretty's (1995) typology of community participation		Arnstein's (1971) typology of community participation		Tosun's (1999a) typology of community participation		

Keys: Corresponding categories in each typology  
(Tosun, 2006)

This can be linked to the thoughts of Skelcher (1993) who refers on the one hand to a form of voluntary action in which individuals confront opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship and development plans. On the other hand Skelcher (1993) argues community participation also implies a desire to avoid using traditional bureaucratic paternalism wherein agencies tend to believe they are aware of the perceptions of the community. Governmental agencies think their implementations and ideas are close to the perceptions of the communities and decide for them in which activities they should participate (Skelcher, 1993).

According to Hall (1994) there is a need for local control over the development process where a community can mobilize their own resources, defining their needs, and can make their own decisions about how to meet them. This community approach is a bottom-up form of planning with a focus on the development *in* the community rather than development *of* the community (Tosun, 2000). Some argue this community approach cannot always be implemented successfully because the community also has to deal with political elements of the planning process (Tosun, 2000). This is in line with the thoughts of Taylor (1995) who argues that it would be too easy to conclude that the recognition of need to involve the community is widely accepted. He thinks residents or communities of destination areas are seen as the nucleus of the tourism product which may lead to a double meaning of community participation. When communities or the Batak tribes are being used to give the tourist a "community show" they have to act as hosts and show the visitors what government agencies want them to show. According to Taylor (1995) this may have a negative impact on the main purpose of community participation. The City Government of PPC indicates that it consults all relevant stakeholders during a planning process. This consultation can be categorised in the first three levels of Pretty's typology of participation, being rather passive forms of participation (Rustema et al, 2007). Nowadays there is a focus on the understanding of participation in terms of the

empowerment of individuals and communities where people are expected to be responsible for their own behavior and should take action by themselves if they want to be active in decision-making (Novellino, 2005).

The model by Wilson and Wilde (2003) discussed four categories of community participation (figure 2.3b). The first category, 'Influence', is about the access communities have in decision-making and how they can share their thoughts with other stakeholders. Do all community members have the same access to tourism activities and decision-making and do they have the possibility to evaluate on activities that occurred in the past? If they have the possibility to evaluate, stakeholders may learn how to improve community participation. According to Boissiere and Laswanti (2006) in Palawan not all communities have a voice in decision making or not in the way it should be.

Figure 2.3b: Four-dimensions model of community participation by Wilson and Wilde (2003)

<p style="text-align: center;">Influence</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The community is recognised and valued as an equal partner at all stages of the process. 2. There is meaningful community representation on all decision making bodies from initiation. 3. All community members have the opportunity to participate. 4. Communities have access to and control over resources. 5. Evaluation of regeneration partnerships incorporates a community agenda. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Inclusivity</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The diversity of local communities and interests is reflected at all levels of the regeneration process. 2. Equal opportunities policies are in place and implemented. 3. Unpaid workers/volunteer activists are valued.
<p style="text-align: center;">Communication</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A two-way information strategy is developed and implemented. 2. Programme and project procedures are clear and accessible. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Capacity</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Communities are resourced to participate 2. Understanding, knowledge and skills are developed to support partnership working.

(Wilson and Wilde, 2003)

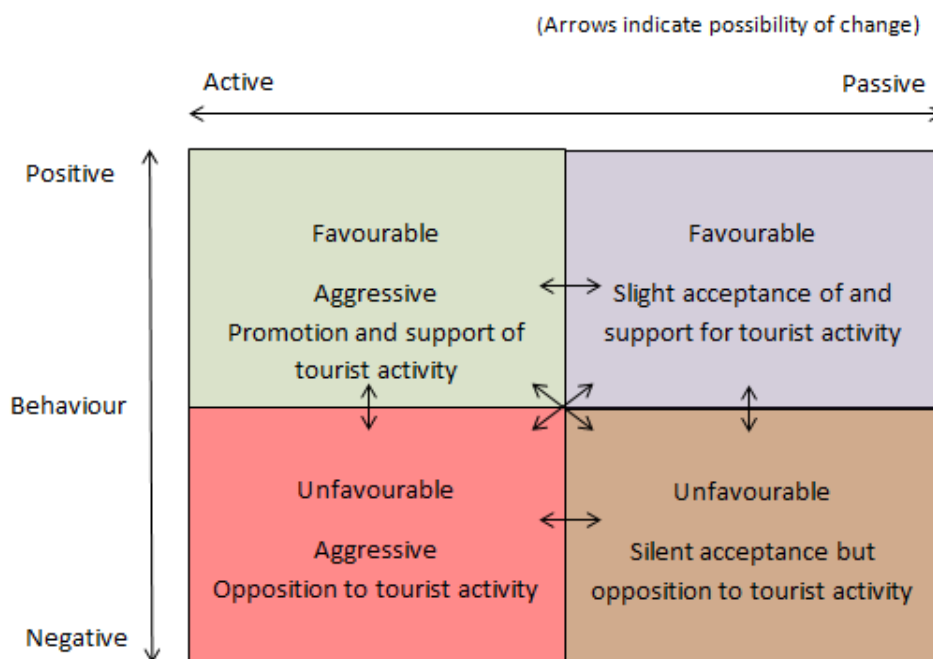
The second dimension, 'Inclusivity', of their model reflects the involvement of community perceptions in decision-making and implementations. Community participation should provide policies that represent the diverse members and their ideas of participation. This is according to Marzuki (2009) who argues that even when the differences in representative’s background may create divergences among stakeholder groups, it is essential in shaping the final plan to represent the wishes of the entire community (Marzuki, 2009). The third dimension, 'communication', is about knowledge exchange between different stakeholders that stimulate community participation in tourism activities and decision-making. A two-way information strategy reflects the transfer of knowledge from government agencies to communities and from communities to government agencies. Besides the exchange of knowledge the third dimension of the model also reflects clear communication about procedures and community projects. In this study the two-way information strategy also reflects the exchange of knowledge between community members and visitors. This means community participation of the Batak in tourism activities and decision making can be improved or stimulated by improving communication failures.

The last dimension of the model of Wilson and Wilde (2003) is called 'Capacity' and is about developing a basis for a community to participate in tourism activities and decision-making. It is about developing the right skills that are necessary for participation and about giving the community

the right information. Furthermore, this dimension is about getting a better understanding of the community regarding participation.

Besides models about the different dimension or different typologies of participation the actual behavior and attitudes of community members towards tourism activities has to be discussed in this study. Behavior and attitudes of community members can change over time. A framework by Bjorklund and Philbrick (1975) will be used to categorize the social-cultural impacts of tourism on a group of people which demonstrates these impacts can change for example as a response to the extent and duration of the exposure of the local population to tourism development. Community members' behavior can range from passive to active acceptance of tourism development. The attitude of the community and their attitude towards tourism activities can range from positive to negative (Ryan, 1991) (Figure 2.3c). The framework analyses the processes that take place when two or more cultural groups interact where residents can actively or passively support or oppose the presence of tourists and tourism development.

Figure 2.3c: Bjorklund and Philbrick (1975) model: host attitudinal/behavioural responses to tourism

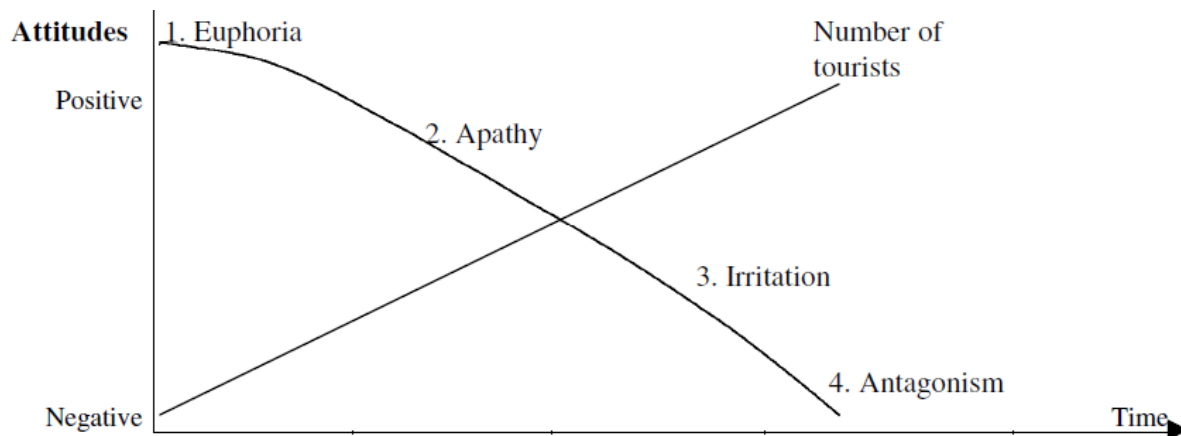


(Fleur Bonekamp (2012) modified from Bjorklund and Philbrick, 1975)

Besides the model of Bjorklund and Philbrick, the irridex model by Doxey (1975) assumes that community participation in tourism activities or only the presence of tourists can create tensions for communities, and as this tension accelerates due to the continuous of tourists, community attitudes' towards tourists will become more and more negative. Doxey (1975) described four levels of residents' attitudes where each phase depends on various economic, social, cultural, natural and psychological factors. These attitudes can range from positive to negative, ranging from phase Euphoria, Apathy, Irritation to Antagonism (Figure 2.3d). His model shows that in the beginning a host community is pleased to see visitors and invites visitors to their village to interact with them outside their own home environment (Doxey, 1975). This model shows that the more visitors would come to a community or the more they interact with each other, apathy sets in where the community experience negative effects of their participation. This may lead to a negative attitude of

residents or communities towards tourism activities and visitors the phase antagonism. In this stage the community has become marginalized in their own home environment where irritations can develop towards the behavior of visitors or the non-direct impacts of the community-visitor interaction. It is also possible that the community experience irritation that has nothing to do with the interaction with the visitors but with irritations that are related to the dominance of government agencies (Ashley, 2002).

Figure 2.3d: Irridex Model by Doxey (1975)



(Doxey, 1975)

Because this model includes the element of time it is possible to visualize the development of residents' attitudes towards visitors which is an important element in this study as well. Therefore the model of both Doxey (1975) and Bjorklund and Philbrick (1975) will be used in this study to discuss the development of Batak their attitudes towards tourism activities and visitors in the last few years. Again, a comparison between both Batak settlements Apiriran and Kalakuan will be made.

2.3 Sustainable tourism development

Before explaining the concept sustainable tourism it is relevant to pay attention to sustainable tourism and development as two separated components.

Often, when people think about development a link with economic growth has been made but that is not the main purpose of this study and therefore not part of the definition of development and sustainable tourism development we are looking for. In this study development of local communities refers to socio-cultural changes in the daily lives of community members caused by their participation in tourism activities.

During the second half of the century development debate was dominated by economists. Moreover a lot of development approaches tend to equate 'development' with capitalism with an Eurocentric origin of the concept (Potter et al, 2008). This concept, influenced by a Western way of thinking was not working for most developing countries because the economic benefits were not shared with third world countries and according to Daniels et al. (2005) human development is about much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. Some societies were able to absorb selectively from this imposed development to their own advantages with a focus on bottom-up development or

'development from below' (Daniels et al, 2005). Alternative forms of development started to emerge which were human centered where locally oriented views were more used in policy making (Potter et al, 2008).

Looking at the level of the state, development has been linked to national economic development plans with a close connection to planning. Planning will be defined as foreseeing and guiding change. Economic development in this study is subordinated to socio-cultural changes. This is in line with the thoughts of Potter et al. (2008) who argue greater production is not the key to prosperity and peace. In this study development is not a synonymous with economic growth because it is not about increasing Batak their participation in tourism but about making qualitative changes in tourism participation. In this study community development is about getting a better understanding about what host communities think, why and how governmental agencies take their perceptions into account in decision-making. So it is not about quantitative improvements but qualitative improvement of Batak participation in tourism activities. Increasing the involvement of community members in decision-making regarding tourism activities can therefore be more important than increasing their participation in performing and making handicrafts to stimulate economic profits. This is in line with UNDP (2001):

"People must be free to exercise their choices and to participate in decision-making that affects their lives, it is about their own satisfaction rather than a focus on economic profits" (UNDP, 2001, 9).

According to UNDP (2001) development should be about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential in order they should be enabled to lead productive and creative lives that will meet their needs and interests. To create such an environment, qualitative research that addresses community perceptions is needed to find out what the local concerns are. Development in this study therefore promotes the idea of human capabilities with a focus on qualitative change by looking at enhancing freedoms for community participation in tourism.

Flint and Taylor (2007) refer to four fundamental types of change when they define development (e.g transition or transformation occurs as an external process, transformation as an internal process where one system evolves into another, discontinuities where different entities share the same mode of production and the system breaks down and a new one is constituted in its place, a transition where continuities occur within systems where despite the popular image of 'timeless' traditional cultures, all entities are dynamic and continually changing). Also, there has been a huge interest in tourism that takes the public sensitivities and concerns about the environment, communities and maintenance of their culture into account (Verner, 2009). These thoughts are based on the premise that tourism should develop in an environmentally, economically and socially sustainable manner (Simpson, 2007). Because mass tourism is associated with numerous negative effects, such as the destruction of ecological systems and loss of cultural heritage, the purpose of sustainable tourism was to minimize these concerns by introducing new forms of tourism like *sustainable tourism* or *eco-tourism* (Mowforth and Munt, 2009). This focus on sustainable tourism seems to be crucial because tourism will become the largest sector of world trade in the next century (UNDP, 2001). Therefore, tourism activities should contribute to bottom-up development in a sustainable manner, from a local scale to a global scale in the future (Hunter, 1997).

According to McKercher (2003) sustainable tourism has been built around four pillars of tourism, economic sustainability, ecological sustainability, cultural sustainability and local sustainability. He

argues, sustainable tourism should focus on a devolution of the top-down system and should make room for decision-making where the responsibilities start from a grass-root level, should minimize gender inequalities and poverty, respect human rights, enhance the quality of life and preserve the biodiversity of life support systems and respect the spiritual and cultural traditions of different people (McKercher, 2003).

According to the World Trade Organisation, sustainable tourism:

"....meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support system" (WTO, 2004).

Four out of the 12 principles of sustainable tourism defined by the WTO (2008) are relevant for this study; (1) it should reflect community values, (2) it should respect natural and cultural values, (3) provide mutual benefits to both visitors and hosts and stimulate capacity building with a focus on positive and self-sufficient capacity (4) (WTO, 2004). If four out of the 12 principles according to WTO (2004) are focussing on local communities, it seems crucial to get a better understanding of community participation in tourism and how these communities are involved in decision-making. Cater (1993) identifies three key objectives for sustainable tourism: (1) meeting the needs of host communities in terms of improved living standards; (2) satisfying the demands of a growing number of tourists; and (3) safeguarding the natural environment in order to achieve both of the preceding aims. It has to be criticized that this list of objectives is rejecting the extremes of sustainable tourism. According to Hunter (1997) focus of sustainable tourism seems to be on a system that is in balance, a system where none of the objectives can be allowed to dominate. This is in line with the thoughts of Pigram who argues ecological determinism alone is not more defensible than economic determinism (Pigram, 1990, 6). According to Hunter (1997) different conceptualisations of sustainable tourism can be found which is appropriate for both developed and developing countries.

Liu (2003) argues sustainable tourism should not be seen as a synonymous with unlimited growth of tourism development:

" Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems" (Liu, 2003, 460).

In this study the terminology "sustainable tourism development" can be considered misleading because it seems to focus on elements like increasing economic growth instead of looking at the viability at the long term. Furthermore, the concept also involves a sustainable approach for environments and cultures which seems not to be reflected in the concepts at first sight.

Hunter (1997) identifies four approaches or models of sustainable tourism as conceptual vehicles for sustainable tourism development and policy formulation ranging from a weak sustainability approach towards a very strong sustainability approach. These approaches vary because of their different perspectives towards the maintenance of both natural and cultural resources and the focus on *or* economic and marketing benefits *or* environmental concerns (table 2.4). He argues it is difficult to imagine the formulation and implementation of any approach to sustainable tourism in the absence of strong local authority planning and development control (Hunter, 1997). It is possible the objectives regarding the maintenance of the natural environment may not be in line with the desires of the local community. Different desires towards various levels of participation can also play a role in the effectiveness of these approaches. The perceptions of local communities are therefore relevant to find out if an approach may be successful and effective at a particular location. The concerns of sustainable tourism have become too far removed from those of its parental concept, resulting in a gap such that principles and policies of 'sustainable' tourism do not necessarily contribute to those of sustainable development (Hunter 1995).

Table 2.4: Four different approaches of sustainable tourism by Hunter (1997).

Tourism imperative	Product-led	Environment-led	Neotenus led
Weak sustainability approach	Weak sustainability approach	Strong sustainability approach	Very strong sustainability approach/precautionary approach
Satisfying needs of visitors and tourism operators, little benefits for local communities	Stimulating growth in the tourism sector as much as possible	Maintaining the high quality of both the natural environment and cultural experiences.	Absolute preservation of environment and cultures, tourism growth should be sacrificed for the greater good
Environmental protection and education	Environmental issues are subordinated to develop new and maintaining existing tourism products. Prioritizing marketing opportunities over environmental concerns	Prioritizing environmental concerns over marketing opportunities. Reorientations of tourism activities along more ecocentric lines, change behaviour of visitors and tourism operators	Minimalizing the utilization of renewable and non-renewable natural and social resources
Used at locations where tourism could be an improvement upon more overtly degrading current economic activities	Most easily justified in old and developed tourism areas.	Most applicable where tourism is relatively new or non-existent	Most justified in areas largely devoid of tourism activities.

Fleur Bonekamp (2012) extended from Hunter (1997).

The concept of sustainability may be the tool to minimize negative impacts of tourism on communities and its long term viability because it has been praised as the solution for problems like communication and interaction issues between several actors and may be seen as a response to cultural and environmental concerns (Liu, 2003). But sometimes the objectives of sustainability are hard to achieve on site because of conflicts for example about its main purpose. Some argue economic sustainability should be the dominant feature in sustainable tourism, others prefer to focus on ecological sustainability. Sometimes it is hard to achieve sustainability because of communities themselves, members can participate in tourism activities without understanding fully its implications (McKercher, 2003). Dominant actors can impose tourism on communities without having any influence in tourism development and decision-making. The government does not always work in partnership with other levels of government and host communities. Tourism industry may have the tendency to take over control without developing a balance in collaboration between different stakeholders (McKercher, 2003). Another reason why sustainable tourism sometimes may be hard to achieve is because most of the current thinking and ideas in sustainable tourism are based on Western perceptions of the impacts of tourism in developing countries, rather than based on the perceptions of people living in developing countries (Swarbrooke, 1999). This may be one of the reasons why it is not easy to state that sustainable tourism always stimulates community participation and community development in a sustainable manner (McKercher, 2003). So the impacts and effects of sustainable tourism will vary in type, location and significance not only because of the different types of visitors and their different demands but also because of miscommunications and a lack of interaction and collaboration between different stakeholders (Liburd and Edwards, 2010).

One element of sustainability according to the definition of Liu (2003) is about maintaining cultural traditions and integrity. With an increasing tourism industry in Palawan the question rises if the increasing tourism initiatives in Apiriran and Kalakuanan will be sustainable and if their culture will change in the future. Maintaining cultural traditions and integrity as one element of sustainability according to the definition of Liu (2003) may be hard to achieve when local communities are participating in tourism. The question rises if tourism activities that are promoted by dominant actors as sustainable, meet all the objectives of sustainable tourism. According to OECD (2009) culture is increasingly an important element of the tourism product and also creates distinctiveness in a crowded global marketplace. Culture is sometimes being used as a tool to attract tourists to particular regions where communities can become more vulnerable as actors in the tourism network. This is according to the concerns of UN (2001) where they argue tourism development may lead to destinations that are losing their cultural identity by serving the tourists according to their needs. By finding out why some communities do not experience the positive impacts of sustainable tourism, participation and involvement in decision-making for communities may be improved. Positive impacts of tourism activities may relate to jobs and local businesses, creating opportunities for partnerships, preserving local traditions and culture, generating local investment in historic and natural resources, building community pride and increasing awareness of the site or area's significance (OECD, 2009).

According to Lansing and De Vries (2006) the perceptions of communities towards participation in tourism activities and involvement in decision-making vary per tribe and per location which can lead to different evaluations of tourism impacts by the host community. In the Western World we define 'good' or 'bad' or 'positive' or 'negative' totally different than communities would do in developing

countries. Lansing and De Vries (2006) argue that local residents most of the time experience negative effects of tourism participation and that change in their community largely happens against their will. It is possible that communities want to support tourism activities and that they want to participate more and more while being aware of its 'negative' and 'positive' socio-cultural impacts. This would mean that even when communities are aware of the negative impacts of community participation in tourism activities, their acceptance and support of these activities will not always reduce (Lansing and De Vries, 2006).

2.4 Community-based initiatives in tourism

Now the importance of participation of local communities and sustainable tourism development has been discussed, this section will discuss the effectiveness of community-based initiatives in the tourism industry. First Community-Based Tourism (CBT), as an approach to tourism development will be described. CBT aims to put control over resources and decision-making as well as sharing benefits and try to increase community participation in tourism activities and stimulate the involvement of local people. Rest (1997) defines community-based tourism as follows:

"CBT is tourism that takes environmental, social, and cultural sustainability into account. It is managed and owned by the community, for the community, with the purpose of enabling visitors to increase their awareness and learn about the community and local ways of life".

(Rest, 2000, 14)

Sometimes there is some confusion about the concept CBT because internationally more concepts are being used for very similar tourism activities like Rural Tourism, Eco-Tourism and Sustainable Tourism (Asker et al, 2010). Some argue CBT ensures local control of activities and that it increases benefits that are being realized by locals. Other argue one important element of CBT relates to the respect for socio-cultural values of host communities like the conservation of their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and its contribution to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance (Asker et al, 2010). The aim of CBT is to build a tourism product which belongs to the community so that cultural values and the living environment of the people does not change (Rest, 2000).

According to Mearns (2003), Community Based Tourism (CBT) came about in the 1980's as a result of the World Conservation Strategy's emphasis of linking protected area management with those activities which are of importance to local communities.

The question arises if CBT will lead to positive changes regarding sustainable tourism development, if it will stimulate sustainable tourism development for all stakeholders and improve livelihoods in the end. There is a lot of criticism on the CBT tourism approach and community-based initiatives (Blackstock 2011, Asker et al. 2010, Yeoman et al. 2007, Laliberté 2006, Butcher 2003, Kibicho 2003) where they criticize community-based initiatives in tourism and think its positive impacts are subordinated to its positive impacts on local communities.

In the discourse on CBT, opponents of community-based initiatives have argued the involvement of communities in tourism activities may lead to more support for the tourism industry and may act as a relevant component in achieving sustainable development of the industry (Kibicho, 2003). Furthermore, proponents of CBT argue when visitors plan a visit the money will go directly to the community without having any leakages. They argue CBT will have a positive impact on communities in the end and will stimulate sustainable development (Yeoman et al, 2007). Still, these arguments can be refuted according to Butcher (2003) because nowadays visitors will plan these tourism activities at a travel agency where part of the money from the visitors will be used for community projects and part of the money will stay at the agency. He thinks there are more leakages in these initiatives than you might think. Mearns (2003) thinks community-based initiatives empower indigenous tribes to take control of their land and resources and acquire skills which they can use to develop themselves. By involving communities in tourism development the negative impacts of mass tourism can be reduced which can lead to community development in a locality as Leballo (2004) stated. Furthermore, the main focus of CBT is to involve local communities in the tourism industry with focusing on interaction with the visitors and learning processes for both visitors and communities. It can be seen as a form of sustainable tourism if it is implemented according its main principles where the focus is on local service providers and suppliers with collaboration between the community and other agencies while preserving and respecting their culture (Asker et al, 2010). CBT is managed and owned by the community, for the community and supported by communities, local government agencies and non-government organizations (Asker et al, 2010). Again, some argue the purpose of CBT is to involve communities in tourism activities so that they will get the profits and benefits in return but the paradox is that they may not always experience these positive impacts (Leballo, 2004).

Yeoman et al. (2007) question themselves if these initiatives meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs and describe the movement to self-actualisation as a search for a deeper meaning and a sense of material possessions (Yeoman et al, 2007). According to Rest (2000) communities and indigenous tribes all over the world cannot always be keep on living in isolation because of globalization; “communities passed the time of absolute self-reliance and are increasingly dependent upon the outside ‘urban’ world’ (Rest, 2000, 10). In many cases, local communities have received few benefits from tourism and suffered a spectrum of negative effects that damaged their natural resources and changed their society and culture (Asker et al, 2010). CBT initiatives tried to link communities with the tourism industry so that tourism could contribute to the process of sustainable development (Rest, 2000). But in practice CBT does not always have this effect (Asker et al, 2010). According to Blackstock (2011) the literature on CBT has three major failings from a community development perspective because it seems to treat host communities in tourism as a homogenous bloc, neglect the structural constraints of the tourism industry as a whole and tends to follow a functional approach regarding community involvement. She thinks community-based initiatives should be aware of their shortcomings so that their projects may contribute to a more sustainable and equitable tourism industry in the future. Furthermore, there is evidence that the large majority of CBT initiatives enjoy little success for communities with the most likely outcome for a CBT initiative to collapse after funding dries up. The main causes of collapse were poor market access and poor governance (Goodwill and Santilli, 2009) so that community-based initiatives are not always participatory in local power structures and decision-making (Kibicho, 2003). Cohen (1988) thinks these initiatives in tourism may lead to the

commodification of culture which he defines as a process that involves the conversion of phenomena into saleable items (or 'commodities') (Cohen, 1988). Tourists are involved in the consumption of a destination's tourist product. Related to the arguments of Cohen (1988), Smith (2009) adds another comment which criticizes the impact of community-based initiatives in tourism. She argues that indigenous people lose sight of their traditions and copy elements of a dominant culture and make it part of their own because of increasing visitor numbers (Smith, 2009). This is according to the concern of ICCA (2008) when they explain that some community-based projects are building a tourism product that may change communities and cultures forever. Williams (2009) defines culture as follows:

"Culture is about the whole way of life of a distinct people or social group with distinctive signifying systems involving all forms of social activity, and artistic or intellectual activities. It covers both the development of individual and group culture, conveying the importance of heritage and tradition, as well as contemporary culture and lifestyles (...) Not only the arts and the aesthetic judgements of a select minority who have been educated to appreciate certain cultural activities, it is also about the lives and interests of ordinary people" (Williams in Smith, 2008, 1).

Others argue community-based initiatives are all about false representation of local cultures to its visitors where there is a paradoxical form of modern authentic seeking (Laliberté, 2006, Yeoman et al, 2007). Sometimes the host community may dress up in traditional clothes and perform only when visitors are coming to their village. When the visitors leave this host community can put their jeans on which means visitors can experience a false representation of culture. Laliberté (2006) argues especially community-based activities disregards economic activity and time schedules because the host communities will change their traditional activities because of the visitors. She also thinks community-based initiatives in tourism do not seem to use the concept of sustainability in the right way because the visits of tourists to communities can lead to manifestations that encompass un-manipulated tourism experiences. This is in line with the thoughts of Butcher (2003) who argues that the biggest change and challenge for communities in tourism is the objectification of culture:

"How the host is viewed through the prism of culture, inevitably affects the prospects for and type of development on offer..... Culture is getting objectified; a romantic image cast in stone, rather than the creative subjectivity of the host. It can become a part of heritage as well, the past, preserved for the sensibilities of the tourist, rather than being made and remade in the context of social change" (Butcher, 2003,93).

Mbaiwa (2004) thinks that if local communities and indigenous tribes are not involved in tourism, they tend to resent tourism in the end. This means the impacts of tourism on communities will always be there even when stakeholders will try to minimize its negative effects (Rátz, 2000). According to a research of Rátz (2000) positive socio-cultural impacts on communities because of their participation in tourism initiatives can be found like an increasing mobility of the host (especially women and children), meeting new people and making new contacts, developing language skills, improvements in residents' attitudes and politeness, changing in housing conditions and the transformation of behavior. Rátz (2002) also thinks negative impacts of community participation in tourism are related to the disruption of social networks within the community, suppressed local language and the disappearance of local habits or cultural traditions.

3 Methodology

The main aim of this study was to investigate the socio-cultural impacts of community participation in tourism activities on two Batak communities in Apiriran and Kalakuasan, Palawan. An explorative approach has been used and is characterized by a qualitative research paradigm. This paradigm is an investigative process where the researcher attempts to understand a social phenomenon (Miles & Huberman, 1984). This section highlights the underpinning reasons towards adopting a community case study approach and the reasons for employing a combination of techniques of data collection. The chapter continues with a description of the case study area profile, which provides background information of the research context and establishes the context of generality of findings. A brief description of various participants involved in the study is provided. The analytical framework that outlines the patterns of data analysis is introduced. A critical discussion of the study limitations and strengths is presented.

3.1 The research strategy

This study will use a case study approach to find out the deeper understanding of the Batak settlements. According to Saunders et al. (2000) this approach has the ability to explore and generate a holistic, intensive knowledge of local communities. Because this study is focusing on community participation of Batak members in tourism activities, a research strategy that looks at the community level seemed to be applicable. This qualitative study will integrate different stakeholders' perspectives amongst on the one hand members of the Batak communities in Apiriran and Kalakuasan and on the other hand various government agencies (3.2).

3.2 Research area and interview profiles

Both batak settlements were being selected in agreement with the Centre for Sustainability so that a comparison between a more civilized and a more isolated Batak settlement could be made. First Apiriran, as being a more civilized Batak settlement was being visited by the researcher, followed by a visit to Kalakuasan which is a more isolated Batak settlement. After visiting these settlements, a list with government agencies that played a role in their participation in tourism could be created (figure 3.2). So the data of this study has been collected in the two Batak settlements or at the location of the various government agencies in PPC or Concepcion (table 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Study area structure



Interviews of study May-July 2012
Community participation in tourism, Sept. 2012

Table 3.2: Interview profiles and areas of data collection

# No	Description	Sex	Age	Location
1	Father of 3 kids, BVC employee	M	32	Apiriran, Concepcion
2	Mother of 3 kids, BVC employee	F	27	Apiriran, Concepcion
3	Father of 3 kids, BVC employee	M	41	Apiriran, Concepcion
4	Mother of 3 kids, BVC employee	F	23	Apiriran, Concepcion
5	Mother of 2 kids, BVC	F	52	Apiriran, Concepcion
6	Village elder, father of 2, BVC employee	M	64	Apiriran, Concepcion
7	Mother of 4 kids, BVC employee	F	37	Apiriran, Concepcion
8	Chieftain, father of 4 kids, BVC employee	M	31	Apiriran, Concepcion
9	Father of 3 kids,	M	33	Kalakuasan, Tanabag
10	Batak member	F	25	Kalakuasan, Tanabag
11	Batak member	M	35	Kalakuasan, Tanabag
12	Health worker PPC and BVC employee	F	28	Kalakuasan, Tanabag
13	Mother of 2 kids	F	21	Kalakuasan, Tanabag
14	Mother of 5	F	52	Kalakuasan, Tanabag
15	Young boy, BVC employee	M	19	Kalakuasan, Tanabag
16	Father of 3 kids	M	24	Kalakuasan, Tanabag
17	Chieftain	M	42	Kalakuasan, Tanabag
18	City Tourism Office	F	33	PPC
19	NCIP	F	36	PPC
20	Batak Visitor Centre	F	32	Concepcion
21	Government Provincial Office	F	45	PPC

(Fleur Bonekamp, 2012)

3.3 Data collection methods

There are different methods within the qualitative approach to measure the interpretation of human experiences and behaviour (Boeije, 2010) which help to understand how people give meaning to their lives by interpreting their thoughts, experiences, actions and expressions. To make certain of the research validity as well as strengthen reliability, Merriam (1988) suggests that, triangulation or multiple methods of data collection and analysis should be used. Primary data was collected by using two major techniques of data collection. These were in-depth semi-structured interviews and field observation.

Data for this study was collected through in-depth semi-structured one-to-one interviews with various tourism stakeholders (e.g Batak members from both Apiriran and Kalakuasan and government agencies (table 3.2)). The focus was on both formal and informal interviews because interviewing respondents working for government agencies was different from interviewing Batak members in their own village. During the interviews with government agencies a more structured topic list with some questions was created. The Batak members in both villages had more time than

the respondents from government agencies which led to a different topic list for the Batak and the government agencies.

Qualitative research methods were selected for this study since a basic element of such methods is to understand the experience of individuals and the meanings activities and objects in settings have for individuals (Stewart et al. 1998, 259). This qualitative research was focused on exploring the social relations of the Batak community. The fieldwork in the forest of both Barangays Concepcion and Tanabag was characterized by isolation where only the researcher and a local guide visited the villages. After asking for permission at the NCIP office in PPC and the Barangay Captain in Tanabag, the trips to both settlements could be planned. This also means pilot interviews were necessary to find out how people live and how they respond during interviews. This is an element of inductive research where the researcher first has to get a feeling of what is going on in the field and to better understand the cause or nature of a problem (Saunders et al, 2000). So in this research *validity* is determined systematically by experts, asking the respondents to explain in their own words what they think each question means. Therefore the interview pilot was been used so that questions could be revised and retested. Reflexivity will be explained in more detail later in this section (3.8).

According to Jorgensen (1989) taking part of participants' everyday life is necessary to come up with a description about what happens in the research area and with whom. This is also relevant in this study to see who are involved in tourism activities, when and what kind of problems can be found based on observations. This is one of the reasons why participant observation occurred first and the researcher tried to get in contact with the members by helping them with their daily activities. After observation and creating a comfortable sphere for the Batak members, semi-structured interviewes were conducted where the community members had more time with the researcher and had the opportunity to share their story, pass on their knowledge and perceptions about the research topic which is a relevant element in doing qualitative research according to Boeije (2010).

It was not possible to talk with all Batak members in both Batak settlements (total of 138 members) during the 8 weeks of data collection. In the Batak settlement Apiriran, located in barangay Concepcion, there were 8 huts in total which covers 8 families and 41 Batak members. It was possible to plan an interview with one adult from each hut (3.4). That is why the results in Apiriran will give a good overview of the perceptions of the whole Batak community. Morse and Field use the principle of *maximization* where "a location should be determined where the topic of study manifests itself most strongly" (Morse and Field, 1996). This is the main reason why interviews in Apiriran took place because it is the Batak village that is closest located to the Batak Visitor Centre and where community participation in tourism activities was expected to be the highest. All these decisions were made in agreement with the Centre for Sustainability. Another reason to choose Apiriran is because of its possibility to collect demographic information of the whole village because it has the smallest population of all Batak villages (Table 1.2). As mentioned before, the village has only 8 huts it was possible to plan an interview with one person per hut and make an overview of its demographics (e.g gender, age, ethnicity). This was not possible in Kalakuanan with 121 Batak members in total.

3.4 Semi-structured interviews

Interviewing was used as the main method for data gathering because it was the most useful form of collecting qualitative data, since it provided individuals 'perception about their world and the way

the interviewees construct the reality of that world' (Clark et al., 1998). An in-depth semi-structured interviewing technique has been used in order to encourage respondents to talk, to have the possibility for the interviewer to ask supplementary questions and ask respondents to explain their answers (Veal, 1997:p.132).

To conduct the interviews, the researcher visited two Barangays Tanabag and Concepcion with one Batak settlement in each Barangay. The data was conducted in the period April-June, 2012 which was the end of the tourism high season and the start of the rain season in Palawan. Each interview took about 2 hours. This because of the fact the counterpart who was the interpreter during the interviews had to translate respondent's answer from Tagalog to English. Sometimes I misunderstood the interpreter or did not understand the exact point of the respondent so that some questions were asked several times but in different words. This was done to stimulate the validity of the research and to minimize communication or translation failures. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed, and notes were taken. Two different topic lists have been used during the interviews of Batak members on the one hand and government agencies on the other hand to help the interviewer focus and add some structure (guide) to the interview (see appendix II). Most questions were related to Batak their participation in tourism activities, tourism development and decision-making.

No distinction has been made based on gender or ethnicity or role of a Batak member in their community. This because of the fact Apiriran is a home for 8 families so making a distinction based on gender, ethnicity or specific role within the community would not lead to enough respondents for this study. Therefore, all Batak members above the age of 18 were asked to participate in an interview. By interviewing 8 Batak members in Apiriran and 7 Batak members from Kalakuan, 18 interviews were recorded in total (excluding the four interviews with government agencies) (table 3.2). Batak respondents have been openly approached after an explanation of the research aims. Group interviews were not planned in the end because in the Batak tribe there was always one person who was the leader in the conversation because of his or her age. After doing a pilot focus group interview (3.3) the researcher found out this specific method was not effective in this study. Members were following the opinions of the eldest member or did not say anything at all. Therefore interviews with one Batak member at the same time were planned. Fieldwork in Apiriran and Kalakuan required strict planning of interviews because the researcher had to ask for permits at the NCIP office in PPC before entering one of the Batak villages. This to make sure the Batak chieftain expected the researcher and the Batak members were in the village instead of hunting in the forest or being busy with traditional activities outside their village. When entering the village potential interviewees were either randomly approached or identified by means of the snowballing method in which research subjects would lead to other potential subjects and an interview with one person can lead to an interview with a new respondents.

There was room for extra topics without pushing the participants in a particular direction during the conversations. This made it possible to come up with a good representation of Batak perceptions in the end. It was possible to develop an understanding of Batak experiences in regard to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on their community and why they think the changes in their village due to tourism are a positive or negative development. The key note is active listening and creating extra time for the interviewee to talk freely and ascribe meanings, while keeping in mind the broader aim of the study (Silverman, 2006).

3.5 Participant observation

Because the researcher planned several visits to the Batak communities it was possible to live within the community and observe where possible. Agar (1996) used participant observation as a cover term for all of the observations and formal and informal interviewing in which anthropologists engage.

As a researcher it is essential to understand the major line of a conversation even if you do not speak the language of the respondents fluently. A feeling of understanding or respect can be created towards the researcher when he or she knows some words in the local language or dialect from the respondents (DeWalt and De Walt, 2002). After showing the respondents I understood some words in Tagalog they felt more comfortable and were more open so that they were more excited and were trying to explain better what their perceptions were. During the participant observation I created a sphere in which they felt comfortable by not talking too loud and let them speak when they want. Because the Batak members were shy people and needed time to think before they answered a question I had to be patient. Observations occurred whenever an opportunity arose where the researcher visited both villages. During these visits the researcher had the opportunity to find out how the daily activities of the members looked like and how much they were busy with tourism activities. There was an opportunity to participate in several tourism activities. Also the researcher visited the BVC to observe in what type of tourism activities Batak members from both Apiriran and Kalakusan were participating. Together with a local guide the researcher hiked from the BVC to both Apiriran and Kalakusan and used the conversations between Batak members on the road also as observations in this study. This provided the researcher not only a list of observations but also an understanding of what happens in the field. According to Veal (1997) careful observation could aid in interpreting the data (Veal, 1997).

3.6 Sampling

A purposive sampling technique has been used. This means that cases are selected because they can teach a lot about the issues that are of importance to the research (Coyne, 1997).

The study employed a two-step selection procedure as follows. The target population for this study was people living in the Batak settlements Apiriran and Kalakusan. I started with some introduction tours to the Batak villages to get to know the people because it was expected they were shy and wary of visitors. It gave the opportunity to observe people and talk with people without having a formal interview. I wanted to let the Batak feel comfortable and to let them recognize my face during my next visit. So for this study it was relevant to plan some short visits first before starting with the interviews. Apiriran and Kalakusan were chosen by the Centre for Sustainability (CFS) because the Batak in Apiriran and Kalakusan have seen visitors before and according to CFS these places were the best locations for interviewing. Visiting other Batak villages was therefore more difficult because of the hiking further into the forest and because of the fact both Batak communities in Apiriran and Kalakusan lived on a fixed location. As discussed earlier (3.3) the principle of maximization by Morse and Field (1996) was used where in Apiriran tourism activity manifested itself most strongly. A random sampling technique was used by selecting respondents while walking around in the village and asking those people that were there at that particular moment if they had time for an interview. This was necessary because in the Batak villages some members are busy with gathering forest products or hunting so not all members were in the village at the same time. Batak members above

the age of eight-teen were chosen as the target group of this field work because of the fact that children did not really understand the relation between tourism activities and the socio-cultural impact on their village or community. Fieldwork was necessary where logic and process of inquiry were flexible and open-ended (Jorgensen, 2008). Interviews were spread out over several days for each barangay and Batak settlement to minimize impact of the day chosen and to make sure I could speak with a lot of different members. The number of interviewees was not fixed but after noticing no new information or answers during interviews were being provided, a saturation point had been reached at which point the researcher was confident that enough data to had been collected to answer the sub questions of this study. So the process of saturation has been used and the researcher kept on interviewing until no new elements could be derived from interviewing more Batak members.

In addition to the interviews with Batak community members, interviews with representatives from several government institutions which were closely related to the tourism activities in both Batak settlements were conducted (e.g BVC, City Tourism Office, National Commission for Indigenous People, BVC and Government Provincial Office). These government agencies were located in Puerto Princesa City except the BVC which was located next to the highway in the Barangay Concepcion. These organizations were approached as they could help to put the tourism industry in Apiriran and Kalakuasan in a broader context. A total number of eight teen respondents were chosen for in-depth interviews with the Batak.

3.7 Data analysis methods

In this phase, the research moves to selective coding which is the process of integrating and refining theory. In open coding, which takes place in the first stage, the analysis is concerned with generating categories and their properties. In the next stage, axial coding is used to develop categories which are systematically linked with sub categories. However it is not until the major categories are finally integrated to form a larger theoretical scheme that the findings take the form of theory. Selective coding is the process of integrating and refining categories.

The primary data of this research was the information gathered during the interview sessions. Because all interviews were recorded it was possible to transcribe all the interviews from the beginning till the end. To minimize the loss of information because of the translation from Tagalog into English, the interviews have been conducted in the language of the respondents which is the Tagalog dialect. The topic list with several questions and main topics were written down before the interviews took place which relate to the model of Ashley and Hussein (2010). The questions and the topic list were discussed with the interpreter before the interviews took place so that both the researcher and the interpreter agreed upon the content of the conversations with the community. After each question and the answers of a respondent the interpreter translated all the information into English. Hereby the researcher was involved in the conversation as much as possible and could understand the line of the conversation. Because of this strategy the researcher could immediately ask for clarifications when things were unclear so that miscommunications due to differences in language were minimized as much as possible. The researcher could hereby lead the interview and could add new questions where possible which stimulate the open character of the conversations.

Directly after the interviews the researcher had a short meeting with the interpreter to summarize

the findings of the interview and agree upon the answers of the respondent. All 18 interviews with the Batak members were transcribed directly or within 3 weeks to minimize the loss of information. All the respondents gave their permission to participate by putting their thumb marks on paper (appendix I). The respondents agreed upon the recording of the interviews and upon the use of their names in the final papers. They would only agree upon the use of their full names in the final report if no publications would be done.

The primary data gathered by the interviews and the secondary data gathered by participant observation were used in the data analysis phase. Because this study is focusing on qualitative methods no statistical tests were done and only some statistics derived from the Batak Visitor Centre's logbook were created. This is the main reason why a content analysis has been done to come up with an analysis of community's opinion and perspectives.

Tesch (1990) argues that by means of grounded theory, the researcher can sort events from qualitative data into categories by coding them. Through the constant comparison of what these categories stand for, categories are given properties. So these were then coded into different themes and categories suited to answer the main question of this study (1.8). According to Boeije (2010) there are three rounds of coding that should be done; open coding, axial coding and selective coding. First, *open coding*, all data that have been collected in the interviews are divided into fragments, followed by categories dealing with the same subject and labelled with a code to help summarize main findings of the research to be further elaborated on. Second, *axial coding*, then can help to make connections between the categories formulated before (Boeije, 2010). This is necessary to find out which elements in the study are relevant and dominant and which elements are less important and will be left behind. The last round of coding according to Boeije (2010) is *selective coding* where connections between the categories in order to make sense of what is happening in the field are being made. This is necessary to find out which themes show up in each interview transcription and can be seen as the main message in respondents' stories. Hereby the connections between the main messages of different interviews can be found to see how they are shaped by respondents' perspective. Perceptual differences between respondent categories could be explored and relationships between particular variables could be established. Therefore it was possible to lift the information to a new level, from a more descriptive to a more explanatory analysis.

3.8 Limitations of the research

First of all the interviews were conducted in English which is not the language of the respondents but also not the native language of the researcher. This can lead to misunderstandings with both the interpreter and the respondents during the interviews. This can influence their answers as well as the amount of information they want to tell.

This led to the fact that the Batak community wanted to be as positive as possible about the socio-cultural impact of tourism because they might be afraid their answers will influence the visitor numbers to or their participation in tourism activities. Especially when the researcher asked the Batak community about their concerns or problems found it *hard to say something negative*. I let them feel comfortable by lowering my voice; I tried to listen carefully to what they were trying to tell me. I promised them the information would be used confidentially and without publishing the results they dare to be more specific and honest. The positive and negative impacts only represented the perceptions of the Batak members in the two settlements, positive impacts of tourism in both

villages might be perceived as negative impacts in another Batak community in a location outside Apiriran and Kalakusasan. Also, in this study more positive effects of tourism may be found which does not mean the impact of CBT on the members of both Batak villages is more positive as well. Batak members may easily talk about positive elements and may find it harder to talk about its negative impacts.

An unmissing element of this study that should be discussed as a limitation refers to the level of reflexivity. The researcher, as being a female, a westerner and a student will have affected the findings of this study. I experienced people prefer to talk with a woman from Europe which has led to more information than expected. Also because of the *history and colonisation background* of the Philippines and a dominant role of the Western world, the Batak respondents in this study maybe felt more uncomfortable when a *western researcher* is leading a conversation. The researcher may also have affected the lives of the interviewees. When a researcher or maybe a visitor is coming to their village in the future to ask them several questions their level of suspicency might have changed. Furthermore, the researcher has tried to minimalize these impacts as much as possible by explaining the purpose of the study.

Still, because the interpreter was a Filipino as well they felt comfortable by talking to him which lead to a less dominant role of the researcher during the interviews. Filipinos are polite and always try to satisfy other people, so not knowing an answer would mean a loss of face and they rather make up an answer in this case. This attitude towards 'outsiders' might have influenced interview outcomes.

Furthermore, some socio-cultural impacts the Batak mentioned during the interviews cannot always be due to tourism activities. Of course also other developments and an increasing interaction with other locals from outside their Batak village can lead to cultural change and to another way of living. Besides that due to some *time constraints* the researcher had about 8 weeks to collect the data for this study. IF the research had more months to spend in the field, other results might be found.

Fifth, even when some information about the Batak settlements was available at the City Government in PPC they did not want to share this information with me. This means that I was not able to get statistic information about *economic features* of the settlements or any complains of the Batak tribes in the past. Even when this information would have been used as background information for this study, it would have been useful. The City Tourism Office also had a map of all the Batak settlements in Palawan but refused to share it with me which is a limitation of the final report and a lack of visualization of the study area.

A *generalization of the results* in this study is not possible after interviewing 18 Batak members but will help to give a better insight in the perceptions of one of the last indigenous tribes in Palawan regarding their participation in tourism activities. Therefore the results and perceptions of the Batak members in this study do not necessarily have to count for the broader Batak community as a whole because the members in Apiriran were mixing with other tribes what may lead to other perceptions. This study is therefore not a complete and coherent analysis of tourism developments, issues and all problems in Palawan the indigenous tribes are facing at the moment. Though this study will give a snapshot of these issues and perspectives from an "outsider's view", which sometimes might shine new light on existing situations. Even when the respondents in this study were both non-participants and participants in tourism activities, this study could not make a full comparison between both groups because only a couple of Batak members did not involve in tourism activities. Further

research into the differences in both groups is necessary to better understand the reason for (non) participation in tourism.

Finally, research into the linkages between the tourism sector and indigenous tribes might help verifying constraints and exploring possibilities for the Batak community to improve their satisfaction in the tourism value chain which might result in changing participation patterns or improved communities (on economic, socio-cultural and environmental level).



4 Results and Analysis

This chapter will present and analyse the findings from the interviews with respondents from Apiriran and Kalakuasan and from government agencies which will help answering the sub questions and main question of this study (1.9). First the background information of the respondents will be provided (4.1), followed by a description of Batak respondents' participation in tourism activities (4.2), batak respondents' perceptions about its socio-cultural impact on their community (4.3) and government agencies's perceptions about tourism participation of the Batak tribe in tourism and their involvement in decision-making (4.4).

4.1 Background

First, comparisons between the perceptions of respondents from Apiriran and respondents from Kalakusan will be made. The respondents from Apiriran were most of the time a mix of both Batak and Tagbanua and the respondents from Kalakuasan were all Batak and have not mixed with other tribes yet. The ages of all Batak respondents range from 19 to 64, in total 9 respondents were male and 8 respondents were female. In total 2 out of 18 respondents started college and one of them got his degree (9). The other 16 respondents do not have a degree. In both settlements, children have most of the time received the highest level of education, which is elementary school. So in general the level of education in both Batak villages is low. Kalakuasan has around 30 huts, 49 families and a total of 160 members on 3400 hectares. Apiriran is relatively smaller with 8 families living in 8 separated huts with a total of 39 Batak members. Because of this relatively small village it was possible to create an age distribution figure (figure 5.1a) by making use of participant observation. This figure shows the distribution of the Apiriran population per age category. It shows 24 of its members are below and 15 members are above the age of 20 which represents a relatively young Batak settlement.

The four respondents from various governmental organizations (e.g City Tourism Office, Batak Visitor Centre (BVC), National Commission for Indigenous People (NCIP) and the Provincial Tourism Office) were all female and their ages range from 32-45. All government agencies are located in PPC except the BVC which is located close to Apiriran and next to the highway in barangay Concepcion.

4.2 Sub question 1: Background tourism participation

This section gives a general picture about the participation of Batak respondents from both settlements and gives answers to questions 'where', 'with who' and 'when' particular type of tourism activities take place. It will present the results of sub question 1 in this study (1.9):

✓ *'How can Batak their participation in tourism activities be described?'*

According to all respondents from the Batak villages, men are responsible for traditional activities in their village that relate to hunting or collecting forest products. Some female respondents from Apiriran and some of the female respondents from Kalakuasan stay at home to take care of their children, help their husbands in the forest or sell honey and rattan at the highway. All respondents from Apiriran are busy with tourism activities in or outside their village and only a few from Kalakuasan. The men in both Apiriran and Kalakuasan are responsible for collecting almaciga in the forest, hiking to the highway for almost 2 hours and sell it to locals or visitors. According to all

respondents from Apiriran, the men are only responsible for selling the almaciga at the highway; the women will sell all the other forest products at the highway. This because of the fact almaciga is too heavy for the women to carry it all the way to the highway.

According to all Batak respondents their participation in tourism activities started to increase when the City Tourism Office in PPC decided to build the BVC. They argue, the aim of this BVC was to attract domestic and foreign visitors and to use this place as a location for tourism activities related to the Batak culture and traditions. In 2008 the government started with the construction in barangay Tanabag, close to the Batak settlement Kalakuan but had to stop after a couple of months because there were some local filipinios who did not agree with the plans. According to all respondents from Apiriran, the aim of the BVC was to ask Batak members from several settlements to be involved in tourism activities at the BVC and in their own villages. Some landowners disagreed with the government plans and therefore the government decided to relocate the BVC to a place next to the highway in Concepcion, the adjacent barangay of Tanabag. Because the Batak settlement Apiriran was situated close to this new location, the BVC started to send a lot of requests to the Batak chieftain. According to the respondents from Apiriran, the spokeswoman from the City Tourism Office visited their village and told them that participating in tourism activities at the BVC or in their own village would lead to some extra earnings for the whole community (more explanation about Batak their involvement in decision-making in 4.3.2). According to all respondents, the BVC is focusing on the Batak members in Apiriran because they live on a one hour walk from the BVC. Batak members in Kalakuan were not been asked by the City Tourism Office or BVC to come to the BVC to participate in tourism because they lived on a 4 hours walk from the BVC. They think because of the relocation from the BVC and the changing plans of the government regarding the relocation of the BVC, Batak respondents in Apiriran are participating in tourism activities more often than the respondents in Kalakuan. According to all the respondents, they participate in tourism activities in return for money, food, western products or other material incentives. Batak members in Apiriran say their participation in tourism activities has increased in the last couple of years because of the BVC. This is in contrast with the perceptions of the respondents from Kalakuan who argue the amount of visitors that is coming to their village has not been increased in the last couple of years and is constant.

Table 4.2a: Overview participation Batak members in tourism activities, Apiriran and Kalakuan

	Apiriran	Kalakuan
Amount of visitors	1 or 2 visitors daily	1 or 2 visitors per month
What?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making/selling handicrafts* - Performing ** - Teaching *** - Selling almaciga to visitors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making handicraft - Performing - Selling almaciga, honey and rattan to visitors
Where?	At BVC	In own village

When?	June-April	All year
Busy with tourism activities	Often <u>Men:</u> sell the handicrafts once a week, sell forest products twice a week, perform weekly, teach once a month at BVC. <u>Women:</u> Make handicrafts every day, perform weekly and teach seldom.	Seldom <u>Men:</u> make and sell handicrafts and forest products once a month, perform 3-4 times a year. <u>Women:</u> make handicrafts once/twice a week, perform 3-5 times a year
With whom?	Other Batak from Apiriran, Non-Batak Filipinos, staff BVC, visitors and some staff from City Tourism office in PPC.	Batak from Kalakuan and some visitors.

Why?	Part of income they can't miss	Additional income
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(Fleur Bonekamp, 2012) * Handicrafts reflect all the traditional products the Batak can make with materials they find in the forest, especially baskets made out of reed or rattan and G-strings (traditional clothes of the Batak). ** performing relates to spiritual and traditional dances as entertainment for visitors. *** When the elder Batak members learn visitors more about the Batak culture at the BVC

In Kalakuan all respondents argue they only go to the BVC to sell handicrafts they make in their own village. Respondents from Apiriran explained they participate more frequently in tourism activities and see the tourism activities as an important part of their income. Important was described by the Batak respondents from Apiriran as *part of their earnings that is necessary to survive and they can not miss, not as an additional income*. In general they participate more in tourism activities, have more often interaction with 'outsiders' of their village and see tourism activities as an important part of their income. Respondents from Kalakuan are less dependent on tourism activities. They argue to be less dependent on tourism activities, seldom participate in tourism activities and see these types of activities as an additional income. According to all respondents from Kalakuan, making handicrafts is the most important tourism activity and performing for visitors only occurs in their own village a couple of times a year. As all respondents from Apiriran argue, most tourism activities take place at the BVC while the interviewees from Kalakuan say they participate in tourism while staying in their own village to make the handicrafts or to perform (table 4.2a). Tourism activities of the respondents in Apiriran most often take place at the BVC and tourism activities of the interviewees from Kalakuan most of the time take place in their own village (welcoming visitors) and seldom at the BVC (when selling their handicrafts).

3 out of 8 respondents from Apiriran go to the BVC almost every day but prefer to stay in their own village. They think there is a different ambiance in their own village than at the BVC. In Kalakuan all respondents say they only meet the visitors in their own village and are really happy about that. They only go to the BVC when they want to sell their baskets or other types of handicrafts (see table 4.2a for a detailed description of handicrafts). Sometimes a few respondents from Kalakuan feel bored in their own village and therefore welcoming 2-4 visitors per month is special for them. The Batak from Kalakuan only interact with members from their own village and occasionally they meet

Batak from other settlements at the BVC. They explain they only interact with members from Apiriran because other settlements are located too far from the BVC. In Apiriran there seem to be more contact with people from outside their own village, all respondents from Apiriran have contact with non-Batak Filipinos, the staff of BVC, visitors and some staff from the City Tourism Office in PPC. In this study non-batak Filipinos are all people that are born in the Philippines and not part of the Batak tribe. Respondents from Apiriran think contact with a lot of different stakeholders does not directly mean there is a high level of interaction or knowledge exchange (4.3.2). The Batak members from Apiriran see these activities as an unmissing element in their earnings, without tourism they will not have enough income to survive. Some respondents from Apiriran argue they experience a low level of participation in decision-making in tourism activities, a low level of satisfaction and a high level of dependency on the government. In Kalakuan the Batak interact seldom with visitors, experience tourism not as an important activity and also experience a low level of participation in decision-making. But most respondents from this more isolated settlement experience a low level of interaction with visitors, a low level of dependency on tourism activities and a higher satisfaction level compared to the members in Apiriran (table 4.2b). So even when the respondents from Kalakuan participate less in tourism activities they experience a higher level of satisfaction in tourism participation.

Table 4.2b: Comparison importance participation in tourism, Apiriran and Kalakuan

	Apiriran	Kalakuan
Frequency of interaction with visitors	High (daily)	Low (monthly)
Level of dependency on tourism activities	High	Low
Level of participation in decision-making in tourism	Low (government visits four times a year)	Low (government visits: twice a year)
Level of importance of tourism activities for community	High	Low
Current level of satisfaction in tourism participation	Low	High

(Fleur Bonekamp, 2012).

4.3 Sub Question 2: Community experiences tourism participation Apiriran and Kalakuan

This section will discuss the results regarding sub question 2 (§1.9):

- ✓ How do the Batak members experience the socio-cultural impact of their participation in tourism activities on their daily lives and future community development?

This section refers to *all respondents* when it reflects all the Batak respondents in this study from both Apiriran and Kalakuan and excludes the perceptions of the government agencies' respondents.

In this section, the main four positive and five negative impacts of tourism participation on both Batak settlements will be discussed. Table 4.3 provides a summary of these impacts. During the interviews more impacts were discussed but when the researcher asked for the causes of changes in their village because of tourism, they came up with the elements provided in table 4.3. These positive impacts seem to have side effects (4.3.2) so that it may look hard to talk about 'positive' impacts of tourism participation. The following findings will *only* represent the perceptions of the Batak respondents, how they experience tourism participation, as a positive or negative change in their community. Even when there are differences between both villages, they agreed upon the positive and negative elements but only differ in the level of impact participation in tourism has on their community.

Table 4.3: Positive and negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism participation according to Batak members in Apiriran and Kalakuan.

Positive socio-cultural impacts	Negative Socio-cultural impacts
Improved communication skills and behaviour towards visitors and non-Batak Filipinos *	Changing socio-cultural structures
Feeling of self-reliance: increased access local market PPC	Feeling of 'irritation' and 'being observed'
Knowledge exchange and personal development	Feeling of dependency towards government agencies
Access to social services	Disappointments towards visitors and government
	Miscommunications: tourism activities lack interaction and personal growth

(Fleur Bonekamp, 2012) * communication skills and behaviour are perceived by the respondents as all changes in non-verbal and verbal communication of the Batak that shows they are not running away of visitors or people from outside their village anymore, are less shy and dare to give their opinion in conversations, Non-Batak Filipinos refer to all people that are born in the Philippines and not part of the Batak tribe.

4.3.1 Perceived positive elements

➤ **Improved communication skills and behaviour**

According to most of the respondents from both settlements participation in tourism has changed their communication and behaviour skills. These skills reflect all non-verbal and verbal communication of the Batak that shows they are not running away of visitors or people from outside their village anymore, are less shy and dare to give their opinion in conversations (table 4.3). They mention their interaction with visitors is the main reason in Apiriran for changing communication and behaviour. Because since 2008 they have seen visitors almost every day, most of the Batak have

learned to speak Tagalog fluently (in both Kalakuasan and Apiriran) which is the language most people in Palawan speak. more details about this impact will be discussed later in this section.

Furthermore, all respondents have learned some English words from foreign visitors and from the local guides who walk with the visitors to the Batak settlements. Today, all respondents from both settlements are less shy while they are speaking with people from outside their own village. They agree that before 2008 there were already visitors coming to their villages but the level of communication between both visitors and the Batak was low. All respondents argue the main reason for the lack of interaction and communication was the fact that they did not bring a local guide or a translator. According to most of the respondents from both Kalakuasan and Apiriran, nowadays there is always a local guide who stimulates communication between visitors and the Batak. In Kalakuasan visitors always hike to the area with a local guide. Without a local guide they are not able to find the Batak village. Most respondents from both villages think a local guide who is guiding the visitors to their villages stimulates effective communication between visitors and the community because during each visit the local guide can act as a translator. Respondents from Kalakusan argue that if visitors decide to hike from the BVC to their village, never come alone. This is in contrast with the thoughts of some respondents from Apiriran who explains a lot of visitors arrive in their village without a local guide because the location of their settlement is closer to the BVC than the Batak settlement in Kalakuasan. This has also led to negative experiences for some respondents from Apiriran (4.3.2).

Most of the respondents from both Apiriran and Kalakusan say they have improved their communication skills because of their participation in tourism activities. Because of tourism they dare to involve in activities now like workshops at the BVC, programs at elementary school, and forest activities with Filipinos from outside their village and visit the Barangay Hall for health care issues.

According to all respondents in Apiriran, the children in their village have learned not to be afraid of visitors because of tourism and also explained the youngest generation of their community grew up in a world with tourism. They explain that a lot of young children join their mother when she is busy with tourism activities at the BVC or at home.

Furthermore, some female respondents from Kalakuasan argue their attitudes towards other community or family members have changed because of their participation in tourism activities. 3 out of the 4 female respondents from Kalakuasan say they do not want to be dominated by their husband anymore because they can earn money by themselves because of tourism activities.

" Before I had to stay in our village all the time and I was feeling bored sometimes, because of tourism I can make handicrafts and walk to the BVC and sell my products. I do not need my husband anymore and feel free because of making my own money, even if it is not that much" (Mother of 3 kids, healthworker PPC and employee BVC, 28 years old).

According to all respondents, visitors came to their villages and before their community members started to perform at the BVC the women stayed in their village and took care of their children. The men were always busy in the forest with hunting or collecting almaciga, honey and rattan. These women argue tourism activities are a way for them to earn money as an additional income besides the earnings from the forest products the men collect. Tourism activities for the Batak in Kalakuasan

seem to stimulate a feeling of independence because the women can make the handicrafts, sell them to the BVC without the help of their husbands and earn money for their family as well. The female respondents from Kalakuan experience this as a positive development because it makes their life less boring sometimes (8). But according to some respondents from Kalakuan there may be some side effects of this development. Because the women leave their village more often for tourism activities that take place at the BVC, their husbands or other community members sometimes have to take care of their children. They also argue, the time the men spend in the forest is decreasing even as the amount of forest products that are being collected (6). All female respondents from Kalakuan think that the participation of women in tourism activities may not lead to higher earnings but do not experience it as something negative.

Working at home

In both Apiriran and Kalakuan some of the respondents agree that tourism has stimulated the chance to work at home and earn money. They argue the BVC told them they can make the handicrafts at the BVC or at home and when they have finished a basket they can sell it at the BVC. This may mean the BVC gives the members in both villages the opportunity to be involved in the tourism industry without attending tourism activities they do not like. All respondents from Kalakuan prefer to stay at home and only participate in tourism if they can perform in their own village to entertain the visitors or go to the BVC only for selling their handicrafts. They all argue if they want to make handicrafts at home and only go to the BVC to sell these products, they can earn money from tourism activities without interaction with visitors. They also explained they will earn some money when visitors are coming to their village but that happens only once or twice per month (table 4.2a). Another reason why all respondents prefer working in their own village is because of the fact they are in charge there and can set their own price for performances. They agree that if they perform at the BVC, they have to agree with a fixed price where they have to share their earnings with the BVC.

10 out of 18 respondents say they still have the chance to say no when the BVC asks them to perform or come to the BVC, 10 of them were from Kalakuan. This means that most respondents from Kalakuan do not feel obligated to come to the BVC if they get a request or invitation. 8 respondents from Apiriran feel some kind of pressure when they get an invitation or request from the BVC to participate in a particular type of activity and feel they are depending on government decisions (4.3.2).

“The BVC will first contact a member from Apiriran to perform at the BVC, but if they invite us we can say no because it is a 4 hours walk. Therefore the members in Apiriran may feel a higher obligation to respond and walk to the BVC than we do. Sometimes it feels we are a backup plan if the members in Apiriran are not available” (Chieftain Kalakuan, 42 years old).

Some respondents from Apiriran feel a negative pressure sometimes that they have to collect enough almaciga in the forest and sell enough forest products to locals while being busy with tourism activities every day (4.3.2).

➤ **Feeling of self-reliance: access to local market PPC**

Another positive impact of participating in tourism according to all the respondents in both Apiriran and Kalakuan is the feeling of being more self-reliant now they sell handicrafts to the BVC and sometimes to local shops in PPC. Most Batak respondents in Apiriran like the idea of not only focussing on the BVC but also make handicrafts for local shops in for example PPC. Because the BVC has a local shop to sell some handicrafts to visitors, most respondents from Apiriran make more products than the BVC can sell. So because of the BVC most interviewees from Apiriran can make handicrafts. At the moment their handicrafts production is limited because of the lack of access to the local market in PPC. 8 respondents from Apiriran want to make more handicrafts which is impossible because of the low capacity of the BVC to store all these items. 6 out of the 8 respondents from Apiriran want to make handicrafts for the local market in PPC but do not always have the money at the moment to go there and sell them. They go to Puerto 3-5 times a year to sell some extra handicrafts. As one respondent argues:

“We have learned how people from outside our village think and how to communicate with them. Therefore we can sell our local products not only to the BVC but also to visitors and local shops in PPC. Tourism gave us the chance to start our own small business in Batak products and if we get some more help we could develop this market of selling our own products. But maybe the government does not want to help us because that would mean our participation at the BVC may decrease” (BVC employee Apiriran, mother of 3 children, 27 years old).

Most interviewees from Apiriran want to increase the production of handicrafts products but all respondents from Kalakuan argue they are satisfied with the way it is now. Last year in low season, some members from Apiriran made 90 G-strings which are traditional clothes the Batak used to wear when they went into the forest for hunting. All respondents from Apiriran do not wear these items anymore, only if they have to perform at the BVC or in their own village to entertain the visitors. These G-strings were sold in low season to a buyer in Manila. Most of the respondents from Apiriran prefer to make more traditional products for buyers in Puerto and see it as a solution for the lower earnings from tourism in low season.

Respondents from Apiriran explained they do not work together with local tourism agencies or stores in Puerto Princesa City, only with some individual buyers. They sell their local products more often to individuals in PPC than to souvenir shops or big stores. Respondents from Apiriran would like to improve their network with the local market in PPC. They agree it is a waste of time when they have to wait for a request from the BVC. As discussed, sometimes the BVC does not need a lot of handicrafts so they also want to focus on another market to increase profit. They think all stakeholders should work together more closely. The respondents in Apiriran *are not able to develop contacts with external institutions for the resources or (technical) advice they need* to improve their access to the local and tourism market in PPC. Even when they want to sell more local products they do not have the tools to make it work. Their participation in tourism activities is therefore limited at the moment. In Apiriran all respondents argue they are only participating in performing and making handicrafts but want to increase the diversity of these activities. They think, because the BVC and the City Tourism Office do not listen to their needs, this diversity of tourism activities has not changed in the last couple of years. According to them, the involvement of Batak members in decision-making towards tourism activities is not optimal. After listening to the respondents of Apiriran, it seems they

want to participate in joint analysis so that they have a voice in action plans and the formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. For Apiriran, there is a need for an interactive form of participation in decision-making in the tourism sector.

By looking at the perceptions of the interviewees from Kalakuan, most of them are satisfied with the amount of products they make and sell to the BVC and to visitors. They are thankful the tourism industry has provided the possibility to make handicrafts at home and sell it to visitors and the BVC and none of them want to increase this production. Before the visitors arrived in their village they only made handicrafts for their own purpose and use. After the BVC was built they started to make more handicrafts. Sometimes the BVC sells part of their handicrafts to individual buyers in PPC if the BVC do not have enough space to store all the products. There is no direct contact between the Batak members in Kalakuan and buyers in PPC but none of respondents in Kalakuan wish to improve this interaction. Again, they all agree that making handicrafts in their own village and sell it at the BVC as an additional income and do not want to produce for a bigger market which is in contrast with the perceptions of most respondents from Apiriran.

Knowledge exchange & personal development

Most of the Batak respondents in Apiriran have learned to interact with visitors more effectively because some members have lived at the BVC for a couple of months or a year (3). Some respondents think there are less miscommunications or tensions in the village between the Batak and the visitors. During this period the BVC was their home and they sometimes turned back to their village to share this knowledge. Because of this development it was possible to exchange information between Batak members. Some of the respondents of Apiriran have lived at the BVC for a while and shared their knowledge with other Batak members from their community. Tourism participation for most of the respondents in Apiriran seems to play an important role in the development of geographical awareness of the world outside their own village. As an example because of tourism, most of the respondents from Apiriran have a better idea where visitors come from and how far they had to travel, sometimes the visitors bring maps or a world globe to show the Batak where they are from.

The BVC seems to play an important role for all respondents in Apiriran because they think the BVC is also trying to organise tourism activities that will learn them more about Batak traditions. Some respondents from Apiriran have learned how to make handicrafts like baskets but most respondents already knew how to make these handicraft. Some interviewees from Apiriran argue the BVC is a place where the Batak can improve their handicraft skills and learn more about Batak cultural traditions like new building methods of particular Batak 'nipa' huts. The City Tourism Office has convinced most of the respondents from Apiriran that participating in tourism activities is necessary to survive in a world that is affected by globalization processes like the increasing amount of visitors that are interested in these tourism activities and want to come to their village. This does not necessarily mean that all tourism activities that take place in Apiriran are directly linked to community-based initiatives and meet all principles of sustainable tourism like respecting cultural values and sharing benefits (5.3).

It seems some perspectives contradict claims that tourism is helping the Batak to "maintain their culture". All respondents from Apiriran think their life has changed dramatically because they do not hunt or collect that often anymore because they focus on tourism activities now.

“Before they built the BVC and before the visitors were coming to our village we caught fish and shells and slept close to the river in small tent (...) When the City Tourism Office decided to build the BVC and more visitors came to our village we were forced to live on a fixed location and transform our tents into bigger huts. The government wanted us to live on one location so it was easier for the visitors to find us. So because of the City Tourism Office and because of the visitors we are not moving or relocating anymore, we have learned how to produce our own food on our plantations” (Village elder Apiriran, father of 2, 64 years old).

In Kalakuan all respondents know a lot about Batak traditions and are glad they do not have to go to the BVC to learn more about making handicrafts. They will teach their children how to make these baskets by themselves without the help of the BVC. Some female respondents from Kalakuan do not want to sell their handicrafts to visitors or the BVC and only want to make only products they need in their village. This is in contrast with Apiriran where all respondents say they want to increase the production of handicrafts and decrease their level of isolation. They do not want to stop their participation in tourism activities at the BVC because of the increasing numbers of visitors and the chance to earn more money in the future. In Kalakuan the respondents were less optimistic about the BVC and its positive impact on their community. They want to meet visitors in their own village, make the handicrafts at home and go to the BVC only when they want to get money for their products. But a few respondents from Kalakuan think the BVC is a good place for education and to raise awareness of the impacts of tourism. They are trying to teach their children more about how to make traditional batak products like how to make the G-string, how to speak the Batak dialect etc. At the BVC the children also learn more about the Batak traditional way of living because the oldest member of the tribe in Kalakuan is going to the BVC sometimes to teach the children how to dance and how to make the handicrafts. A few respondents from Kalakuan are going to the BVC to interact with children from both Apiriran and Kalakuan to make sure their culture will not disappear.

According to a few respondents from both Apiriran and Kalakuan, the BVC is stimulating interaction between Batak members of different settlements. Every December, there is a festival for all Batak members divided between five different settlements (table 1.2). They argue that all members have the opportunity to earn money at these festivals or just interact with other Bataks. They see the BVC as a platform where the Batak from different settlements can interact and share life experiences and stories. According to them, this interaction can develop new ideas regarding tourism activities and collaboration between different Batak villages.

All respondents from Apiriran and some from Kalakuan explained the interaction between the Batak members and the visitors has changed some leisure activities. They love English and American music now and have learned how to play guitar. Because visitors gave them a guitar they practiced and even want to develop themselves and want to learn how to play better in the future. They have learned how to play basketball and baseball. The simple basketball field in Apiriran was created during the third visit of the researcher and the basketball field in Kalakuan was a gift from the Barangay Hall. These respondents experience this as a positive impact on their village because they want to learn new things even if new songs or sports or guidelines are a little bit different or American. They think these changes will let their boredom disappear. Even when tourism brought a lot of new products to their villages they think it has changes their lives in a positive way. Before they built the BVC the Batak did not have money for leisure activities like buying a guitar or buying a radio. Because of the visitors the Batak members in both villages got a radio, batteries and music

instruments which make their life in the forest, according to most respondents, much more fun. Most of the respondents of both settlements are thankful for these products because it has changed their lives a lot. So even when some cultural traditions are not the same anymore some respondents also accept these changes and want to get in touch with western products for example. Tourism participation of the respondents in both settlements seems to have an impact on cultural change. The question is if these changes in culture have to be minimized if all members are thankful for their participation but also experience its side effects?

Besides developing skills related to handicraft making, performing, music and sport activities, the Chieftain in both Kalakuanan and Apiriran explained he has learned how to compute, calculate and how to make an official report for the City Tourism Office. Each year both settlements have to come up with a report that reflects their changing activities and their earnings. Because of the BVC the City Tourism Office asked both Chieftains to attend some small meetings about finances and economics so that they learn more about planning:

" At the moment I am planning what I want to do next month and when I have to go to the Batak Centre. If it is a quiet month without a lot of activities at the BVC I will be in the forest more often and we collect more products, Because of the tourism activities I had learned how to plan these activities so that we still have income in low season when there are no visitors coming to our village. For example in June 2012 we are going to make a rainmaker here in the village and we want to sell it to the BVC" (Chieftain Apiriran, 31 years old).

Education

In Apiriran, more children are going to school because their parents participate in tourism activities at the BVC. The BVC is located close to the highway and close to elementary school as well. All the female respondents from Apiriran walk their children to school every day and stay at the BVC while waiting for their children. Around 4pm they stop making handicrafts at the BVC, pick up their children from school and walk back to their village. According to the female respondents from Kalakuanan, when women in their community participate in tourism activities they stay in their village and take care of her children and collected some food in the forest. Because of the distance and the hiking, they do not bring their children to school. Furthermore, according to most female members of Apiriran, before the City Tourism Office built the BVC, they did not have time to bring their children to school because of the long walk. They wanted to focus on forest activities or took care of their children in their own village. But because of tourism and because of the BVC, they argue, they have the opportunity to earn money at the BVC while the children are at school. This because of the fact elementary school is closely located to the BVC. They explained that walking their children to school is not a waste of time anymore because of their participation in tourism. Some of them say they enjoy their time at the BVC because because they have more time for themselves:

" Before I took my children to elementary school close to the highway I never thought about going there because I was busy with activities in the forest or in my own village. Children were staying home because their parents did not leave the village. Time has changed and because the government of PPC built the BVC, we can make handicrafts and earn money while we are waiting for our kids.. I also have the chance to spend some time with other women at the BVC and relax when the kids are

not there. At the end of the day we can walk back to our village together" (BVC employee Apiriran, mother of 4 children, 37 years old).

But it has to be mentioned that a few respondents from Apiriran feel more stressed because their children go to school. They argue they have to combine their traditional activities like collecting products in the forest with being a mom and a career woman. These respondents their life gets busier and they prefer to have more leisure time. Most respondents from Apiriran say they only have some leisure time for themselves in the holiday break from April till June and argue they spend almost all their days at the BVC.

Most of the interviewees from Kalakusan try to only focus on those activities that take place in their own village. No children in Kalakusan go to the same elementary school as most children in Apiriran because of the distance. For most of the respondents from Kalakusan, hiking for almost 5 hours is an impossible task and too dangerous. They all argue that the adults in their village do not have the time to join their children on their trip to elementary school. But because of some donations from visitors, they are building an elementary school in their own village at the moment (see access to social services in this section). According to all respondents from Kalakusan like the idea of getting their own school but have no idea when it will be finished and which children can attend the lessons.

Tagalog

Because of the participation in tourism activities all respondents have learned how to speak Tagalog which stimulates interaction with especially domestic visitors coming from other parts of The Philippines. They explained they have learned how to speak Tagalog because of the visitors and not from the BVC. They argue, before the government built the BVC, they treat visitors from the Philippines exactly the same as foreign visitors because none of the Batak members from Apiriran could neither speak English or Tagalog. In the past two years, increasing numbers of Filipino visitors have come to the village. Because of this development, most respondents were able to communicate and interact in Tagalog with domestic visitors directly. But these respondents could not talk with international visitors only by getting help from an interpreter. According to all respondents from Apiriran, tourism participation creates a feeling of connectedness and belonging with other Filipinos. One respondent argues:

"Now I can speak with Filipinos that are not Batak and live outside our village I feel better about myself. I can communicate with Filipino visitors and that feels good. First I was only part of the Batak community here in the forest but now I can understand other people who speak Tagalog I feel connected with people from outside my own village as well".

All interviewees from Apiriran talk directly (in Tagalog) with visitors from The Philippines, some respondents do not feel a connection with the visitors from foreign countries. All respondents can talk with foreign visitors by using a local guide from the BVC but think it does not create the same feeling of belonging:

"I do not understand what visitors from outside The Philippines are saying, if they have a local guide I sometimes have still problems what they are asking. I will always feel a distance if they try to start a conversation with me".

According to most of the interviewees from Apiriran, 37 out of 39 members know how to speak Tagalog, only 2 members still know how to speak Batak and they all see their participation in tourism as the main cause for this change. Also in Kalakuan almost all respondents know how to speak Tagalog. The only contrast with Apiriran is that respondents from Kalakuan all know how to speak Batak. For the researcher, a translator who could speak Tagalog was therefore enough instead of finding a translator who speaks the Batak dialect.

➤ **Access to social facilities**

In both settlements all respondents argue they have learned not to be afraid of visitors and that has changed their communication and behavior as discussed earlier in this section. Because the Batak are less shy they can interact with people from outside their village without being afraid. The respondents in both Apiriran and Kalakuan say they already had the rights to visit a doctor before their participation in tourism but never had the strength and the persuasion to go there. They mention their participation in tourism activities as one of the reasons why they started to visit the doctor more often. As a respondent from Kalakuan stated:

“Getting a little bit more civilized because of the visitors has also positive impacts, we interact more with people from outside our village and we have less health problems now because we dare to go to a doctor” (Community member Kalakuan, Mother of 5 children, 52 years old).

Apiriran did not have service and because of the BVC the chieftain has a mobile phone now and also the service in their village has improved. The BVC wanted to have the opportunity to contact the chieftain of Apiriran if visitors were coming to their village. Because of this change the chieftain in Apiriran also has more contact with people from outside their village which stimulates interaction between settlements and between the Batak community and other Filipinos.

Also because of the increasing participation in tourism, some interviewees from Apiriran and Kalakuan have learned not to be afraid of taking a jeepney or multicab (type of local transport in The Philippines). They explain that years ago they were afraid of busses and other types of local transport because they had never seen it before. The first time the chieftain of both Kalakuan and Apiriran had to take a multicab or a jeepney to PPC was for a meeting with the City Tourism Office about their role in tourism activities. Both chieftains say they were afraid of going to PPC by local transport and did not get any help from the government. They even had to pay for their own transport costs. Both chieftains have overcome these fears because of their participation in tourism.

Furthermore they explain, if there are problems like criminality or abuse in one of the 2 Batak villages caused by visitors or by their own members, they can go to the Barangay and complain. According all respondents from both settlements, they started to walk to the highway and the Barangay Hall to complain after the visitors arrived in 1996. Not only because there were more complains than before 1996 but also because they were not scared anymore and could communicate in Tagalog with the mayor at the Barangay Hall. This has led to less abuse among Batak villagers because of the fines.

In Kalakuan all respondents see tourism as a way to improve the facilities in their village. Visitors are seldom giving them a lot of money so that they can buy materials for a new hut or buy materials for good hunting gear. Respondents from Kalakuan see these gifts as an additional income but like the fact they have a visitors' hut now and have the money to buy a generator because of the donations of one single visitor. They also have a church, a school and a basketball field in their village

now which was built with the money from only two visitors. This story is about a Korean visitor who arrived in their village a couple of years ago and donated money to build a church and a school. He visited their village a couple of times so see how the Batak from Kalakuan used his money to build both the church and the school. All respondents from Kalakuan are happy with this kind of initiatives because they think most of the time visitors listen better to what they have to say than the government. The basketballfield as developed with money from a Chinese visitor together with some money from the Barangay leader from Concepcion.

But according to some respondents from Kalakuan do also want to mention the negative effects of these donations. They explain all Batak members in Kalakuan had to pay for the generator by themselves as well because the donation of the visitor was not enough. They got donations from a visitor to buy a generator but in the end it was more expensive and each family had to pay a particular amount of money. *Donations may therefore lead to a bigger pressure on the budget of and spendings of community members.* Each family had to save 200 peso per month during 3 years so that they could buy the generator in the future. Without the money of this visitor the Batak had to save money for almost 7 years. So all the interviewees from Kalakuan do not expect that visitors are paying the whole amount of money for a generator and are thankful the visitors are helping them. According to all respondents in Apiriran their biggest donation or gift from a visitor was a present of 15 pigs.

4.3.2 Perceived negative impacts

➤ Changing socio-cultural structures

Performing at the BVC has led to the change of cultural traditions. In the past and before the City Tourism Office started to build the BVC in 2008, the traditional dances always had a purpose related to spiritual healing or stimulating crop production by asking help to the gods. Since 2008 this purpose has changed because the traditional dances were most of the time used at the BVC to entertain the visitors. In both Kalakuan and Apiriran they like making handicrafts in their village or at the BVC but do not want to perform if the purpose of their dances does not feel right. Because the Batak still believe in the spiritual world they feel guilty when they perform for visitors with the wrong purpose. It is hard for the children to understand the performances for the visitors have another purpose than our traditional dances only for our own Batak members. The children will see the same dance and would not see they have a different purpose:

“I do not want to let my children think we dance for entertainment because that is wrong. Because we participate in tourism activities, our children in the future may forget the main purpose of our dances and that is a negative development because it does not preserve our cultural traditions” (Community member Kalakuan, 25 years old).

According to all respondents from Kalakuan their community asks a lot of money now when visitors want them to perform in their village. They explain they changed the prices because they do not like performing and putting on their traditional clothes. Some respondents even explained to feel a shame and naked without wearing their clothes during a performance. They explained their community developed a strategy by increasing the price of the performances so that more often visitors skip this activity during their visit. This would keep the main purpose of their dances alive.

Some respondents from Apiriran say that some of their traditions about how to make particular products are changing because of the BVC. They argue that even when the Batak have their own way of making these products and want to choose their own design, the BVC often tells them how they should make the products and according to which design. This leads to a production of Batak products that are not totally created by the Batak and indirectly influenced by the government. Because the BVC is developed by the City Tourism Office some respondents from especially Apiriran experience a feeling of dependency while making the handicrafts or performing. 8 out of 9 respondents in Apiriran say these cultural changes are caused by the BVC and not by the visitors. They think the visitors only buy the handicrafts or want to see a performance. They think the government is responsible for the development of tourism activities in combination with the maintenance of their culture. In Kalakusan the interviewees are more optimistic and only experience this dependency when they have to perform at the BVC which is only 3-5 times a year (table 4.2a).

Not only cultural traditions in both villages have changed after they built the BVC. According to all respondents their community roles have changed because of their participation in tourism activities, with more visible changes in Apiriran than in Kalakusan.

First, when the City Tourism Office decided to build the BVC in 2008, some Batak members in Apiriran were asked to live at the BVC for a couple of months or for a whole year. The BVC has some huts where the Batak members can sleep so it can be seen as a second house. The chieftain from Apiriran explains he had to live at the BVC for a whole year with some of his family members and argues this has led to a couple of problems. The most important problem was that the structure in their community changed because they did not have a leader anymore. All the responsibilities of the Chieftain had to be done by another Batak member. Some Batak members in Apiriran did not listen to the new chieftain who was in charge only for a year. All respondents from Apiriran agree with the fact that missing a chieftain for a whole year is problematic. According to most of the respondents from Apiriran, including the chieftain, the chieftain wanted to go back to his village after he lived at the BVC for a couple of months because he noticed some tensions in his own village. The BVC did not like this idea and when a key person from the City Tourism Office in PPC came to the BVC, the chieftain decided to finish his year and stay at the BVC. This shows a feeling of guilt from the chieftain towards his community. Also the contact between the Chieftain and other Batak members in Apiriran changed when he got back to his village after a year. As the Chieftain from Apiriran stated:

“I will never go back to the BVC and live there for more than 2 months because it felt wrong to leave my community while being responsible for them. Even when the BVC would give me a lot of money for it, I would not do it again because my contact with the other Batak members has changed as well” (Chieftain Apiriran, 31 years old).

The respondents from Apiriran explained that if they had any complaints, they had to go to the BVC to talk with their Chieftain. Because this is a long walk and the Batak did not want to spend less time on forest activities they decided not to spend their time by hiking to the BVC to visit their chieftain. Normally, the chieftain would go to NCIP or the City Tourism Office in PPC to report these complaints and find solutions for particular problems. Because the chieftain was too busy with tourism activities at the BVC there was not enough time to plan a visit to the City Tourism Office or NCIP in PPC. According to all respondents from Apiriran there were also some difficulties in responsibilities and social structures. Because there was no chief for almost a year they elected another member to

replace the chieftain during his absence. According to the Chieftain of Apiriran, when he turned back to his village after almost a year it was hard for the Batak members to adapt. So an increasing participation in tourism seems to have a negative impact on the communication between the chieftain and its members where there is less focus on community concerns.

Another change in community roles refers to the time schedule of daily activities. Especially respondents from Apiriran spend less time on traditional activities because of their participation in tourism activities. Most respondents of Apiriran argue they go to the BVC almost every day to make handicrafts or perform. The time they normally spend in the forest is decreasing. According to them, most of the women in Apiriran were always busy with collecting forest products which they could use for cooking in their village. Because of their participation in tourism and their increasing time spend on hiking to the BVC and interacting with visitors they do not have time to go into the forest as much as they want. They argue, the women will normally walk to the BVC with their children every morning around 6pm, bring their children to school and stay at the BVC till 4pm. When they arrive in their village it is already getting dark to go into the forest and the children are hungry. 3 out of 4 female respondents from Apiriran say they are busier nowadays because of tourism. One woman from Apiriran says the following:

“Sometimes I do not have enough time to hunt or collect forest products because of the BVC and their expectations. We are going to the forest less and less so hopefully the visitor numbers will not increase because that would mean bigger problems. If more and more visitors are coming to our village or if we have to go to the BVC more often I have no time left to hunt or collect forest products. This means I would participate more in tourism if the BVC asks me to come more often, I do not want to disappoint the government, the BVC or the visitors” (Mother of 3 children, BVC employee, 27 years old).

As a consequence of increasing tourism participation, other changes in Batak their behavior can be found according to most interviewees from Apiriran. One of these changes mentioned by the respondents was an increasing interest in drinking and smoking within their community. They argue that visitors sometimes bring goods instead of money so if the Batak will get cigarettes or rum, they will use it. The visitors are making a lot of noise and they smoke and drink and sometimes they ask the Batak to join them. This change in their community seems to be a result of the increasing tourism activities that take place in Apiriran. All respondents from Apiriran are developing a concern that their children will copy the behavior of the visitors by starting to smoke or drink alcoholic drinks too.

Visitors can change the social structure of the Batak community also by providing money to send an adult of the Batak community to school. For example one of the respondents in Kalakuan is following a bible study now in Santa Cruz by using the money he got from a Chinese visitor. From Monday till Saturday he is going to school and on Sundays he will stay in Kalakuan to organize some Christian meetings in their church. Before going to Bible school this Batak member was helping the men in his village with collecting almaciga and hunting in the forest. Because a visitor gave him a particular amount of money he can go to school now and learn his community members more about Catholicism. A side effect of this development is that there is less time to help the men in the village and therefore he has to find someone who can replace him when is is not in the village. A feeling of guilt towards other community members may develop.

“At the moment I study at the bible school in Santa Cruz so I have to miss my family and all the other members from our village for 6 days. If I come home on Sunday I am busy with the preparations of the ceremonies in the church. So I cannot spend as much time with my family as I want so sometimes that does not feel right. Especially not when the people in the village are getting more busy when I leave” (Student Bible school in San Rafael, community member of Kalakuasan, 35 years old)

Because the Batak participate more in tourism activities than a couple of years ago, there is a changing role for women. which is in line with the thoughts of respondents from both settlements. They argue that most tourism activities at the BVC are focusing on the women of Apiriran because every morning they bring their children to school and they will wait at the BVC to pick up their children around 4pm. Because of this development the female Batak members from Apiriran are making handicrafts almost every day. Some of the female respondents from Apiriran experience this as something negative whereas the men are satisfied because they do not have to make the handicrafts. A few respondents from Apiriran explain that if there is a request from the BVC to the chieftain in Apiriran or Kalakuasa, the men expect the women will go. Sometimes the women feel stressed because the men have no idea how to make handicrafts people expect from the women they would do it. When the men are busy with forest activities and the women go to the BVC to make the handicrafts and wait for their children, the village is almost empty. This is a concern of all respondents from Apiriran. In Kalakuasan only one out of the 4 female respondents experienced her participation in tourism activities as stressfull. Before the visitor were coming to their village, the Batak from Apiriran always stayed in their village but nowadays women are busier than before as being a mom who has to earning money in tourism. According to most of the respondents from Apiriran, a couple of years ago the women stayed in their village because there was no BVC but today women know how to make the handicrafts and how to perform where the men often have no idea or interest.

A woman from Kalakuasan explains she was the only one who works outside the community so she thinks in her community the women stay in their village as much as possible. She thinks it is not something that happens often compared to the situation in Apiriran, the only change is that her husband has to stay with the children when she is not at home. Therefore she tinks some men in the village have less time to spend on forest activities which may lead to less food or earnings as well.

Finally, all respondents from both Apiriran and Kalakuasan say there is a decreasing need for local guides from Batak communities because of the BVC. Before the BVC was built the respondents were working as a local guide for visitors who were coming to their village independently. When visitors were arriving in their village there was no interpreter or local guide so the visitors asked the Batak members if they could show them around in their village. At the moment visitors are not coming to Apiriran or Kalakuasan without a guide from the BVC. The money Batak members in Apiriran and Kalakusan earned by being a local guide, has dropped dramatically.

➤ **Feeling of 'irritation' and 'being observed'**

The Batak in both settlements experience a negative impact of their participation in tourism if visitors do not want to interact or communicate with them by using a guide and only take pictures:

“When the visitors are coming to our village they only take pictures and we have to stay in the village and have to serve them, the visitors do not talk with us but only look. Visitors can look at us like they

are in a zoo and that we are animals but we are normal human beings, we do not like the fact there is no further communication” (Village elder Apiriran, 64 years old).

In Apiriran more respondents than in Kalakuan experience a feeling of irritation towards visitors. They think the attitude of the members of their community towards tourism has changed in the last couple of years. When they build the BVC the government told them they would only have benefits from tourism. All respondents from Apiriran explain they believed the words of the government and tried to participate in tourism as much as possible. After a couple of years they noticed their participation also had side effects. One of these side effects relates to irritations against visitors. In Apiriran the irritation level is higher when visitors are coming to their villages than when they interact at the BVC. Most of the respondents think their irritation or negative attitude towards tourism started to develop in 2010 when they noticed that more and more visitors wanted to see ‘one of the last indigenous tribe of Palawan’ without the interest of getting to know the Batak culture. Most of the interviewees from Apiriran experienced a stronger feeling of being objectified when visitors are coming to their village. Most prefer to see the visitors at the BVC and think they can only maintain their culture by meeting the visitors outside their village.

Compared to the respondents in Apiriran, the interviewees from Kalakuan interact a lot with students or missionaries. A lot of students from a bible study are coming to their village because there is a church. Compared to other Batak villages, the Batak in Kalakuan still live at an isolated location in the forest which makes it interesting for students or researcher to visit them. Where in Apiriran most respondents argue visitors are coming to their village sometimes without having a purpose, the interviewees from Kalakuan argue that visitors are coming to their village when they really have a purpose and do not only want to observe their community by taking pictures. 8 out of 9 respondents from Kalakuan say the visitors want to understand how they think and live which increases the level of satisfaction in tourism participation.

Finally, it has to be mentioned that all respondents do not like performing. They argue that their traditional way of dancing is being abused or forgotten if they perform for visitors with the wrong purpose. Normally they would use these spiritual dances to heal community members and nowadays the visitors want to see a performance. When the Batak respondents perform they argue that 'it does not feel as the right thing to do'. The respondents in Kalakuan decided not to perform at the BVC and nowadays only perform if the visitors pay a lot of money (see disappointments towards visitors and government agencies). They argue they only perform 3-5 times a year. Respondents from Apiriran all argue they are still performing today and almost every day which is something they dislike.

So the feeling of ‘being observed’ and the feeling of ‘irritation’ seems to be stronger in Apiriran than in Kalakuan. But all members in Kalakuan think that *if* visitors are only coming to their village to take picture they feel irritated. According to all respondents in Apiriran the members experience this phenomenon 2-4 times a week and in Kalkuasan they only feel irritated 3 times a year.

➤ **Feeling of dependency towards government agencies**

“Because of decisions made by the government, visitors are coming to our village because the government was promoting our community by building the Batak Visitor Centre our community has

changed. It is because of the government and the visitors we are changing” (Health worker PPC, Community member Kalukuasan, 28 years old).

First of all, because of the increasing visitor numbers the City Tourism Office asked the members of Apiriran if they could stay at one fixed location. In 2008 the government started to build the BVC and wanted to attract visitors and show them how the Batak in the forest live. Therefore, the government planned a meeting with the chieftain of Apiriran to tell him not to move anymore or relocate their village. Normally, the Batak relocate their village constantly and they do not have a fixed location because their location depends on the seasons. In each season they collect different types of forest products which can be found in different parts of the forest.

“The City Tourism in PPC asked us if we could live here in Apiriran without moving anymore, they gave us some money as compensation and said it would have a positive impact on our earnings because of all the visitors that would come to our village”(Community member Apiriran, mother of 3 children, employee BVC).

Most of the respondents from Apiriran did not know what the consequences would be for their village if more and more visitors would come. 8 out of 10 respondents from Apiriran feel dominated by government decisions sometimes. The biggest change for them because of tourism is not only their fixed location in the forest. Because they had to stay at a particular location to wait for the visitors they also had less time to go into the forest for hunting or gathering forest products. Therefore the government gave them a lot of seeds and taught them how to produce their own food in their village. One of the respondents in Apiriran thinks this is a strategy of the government to earn more money for themselves:

“Out of sudden there was a lot of interest from the government in our village and in the Batak culture. Before they build the BVC I really thought they wanted to help us but now I understand that getting help from governmental agencies sometimes has other purposes. They only give us the seeds so that we spend more time in our village and they can send more visitors” (4).

Furthermore, the BVC is making the schedule when visitors are coming to Apiriran. According to all respondents from Apiriran they will never see this schedule and their chieftain will sometimes get a text message from the BVC that visitors are coming or that some members of their village have to come to the BVC. Most respondents in Apiriran think they are getting too dependent on tourism activities and the government and think the schedule of the BVC has changed their community rapidly. According to all respondents in Apiriran, the schedule of hunting, collecting products in the forest is changing and decreasing and when they are in their village to relax most of the time they have visitors. They argue that the time for fun among the members of their village has changed as well because they have to serve the visitors and entertain them instead of have leisure time for themselves. Most respondents from Apiriran feel a pressure they cannot reject a request from the BVC.

The government informed the Batak in Apiriran in 2008 they wanted to build a Batak Visitor Centre and what the role of their community would be in several tourism activities. In the beginning respondents from Apiriran were thankful because they got the possibility to earn money in the tourism sector. The respondents argue they did not know how their life would change because of

these tourism activities so they accepted the plans of the government. According to them, they did not exactly know what was going on at that time.

“I was so shy when they start building the BVC so we just let it happen and we were getting more and more involved in tourism activities. The government told me tourism would be positive for my family and my community. I believed them and did not think about its negative impacts. We thought the BVC was important to keep our traditions alive so we decided to perform and make handicrafts for visitors” (Community member Apiriran, mother of 4 children, employee BVC, 37 years old).

The respondents from both Kalakuasan and Apiriran think the government and the BVC do not communicate with them enough. All respondents in Apiriran explained the BVC and City Tourism Office in PPC have never asked them if they like performing or making handicrafts.

Even when the earnings from handicrafts can be seen as an additional income, all respondents from Apiriran and Kalakuasan feel a pressure of making more handicrafts and earn more money. In Apiriran they already sell some handicrafts and local products to the local market in PPC so they feel the opportunity of increasing their earnings in tourism. They also experience a pressure sometimes when the BVC sends them a request to make more handicrafts within a particular time frame but the without having enough time. Sometimes the Batak in Apiriran are too busy with forest activities in their own village and want to reject the request from the BVC. Even when they want to reject these requests sometimes the Batak will spend less time on forest activities and hike to the BVC to keep the government agencies satisfied. They do not always want to go to the BVC but if they get a request from the BVC they will never reject it because they are afraid this will have consequences on the visitor numbers and their earnings. One respondent from Apiriran says the following:

“Visitors and the government will always find us wherever we are. We have to stay involved in tourism activities because this is the easiest way of earning a lot of money. Within a couple of years almost everyone from our village will go to school or work close to the highway and our village will be empty” (Community member Apiriran, father of 3 kids).

The respondents in Kalakuasan feel less pressure from the BVC to make the handicrafts within a particular time frame but experience a pressure from within the community sometimes. Especially the female respondents from Kalakuasan say it is not the BVC that is pushing them to make more handicrafts. Sometimes their husbands or family members expect them to earn more by making more handicrafts. Another reason why some respondents from both Kalakuasan and Apiriran are stressed sometimes is because of the fact they want to sell more products sometimes but the BVC does not want that much handicraft in their shop. Because their little shop for visitors is small there is not that much space at the BVC to store all the handicrafts.

➤ **Disappointments towards visitors and government agencies**

Most visitors that are planning a visit to one of the two barangays Tanabag or Concepcion will plan a visit to the BVC with the purpose of seeing a performance of the Batak or hiking to a Batak village. According to the respondents from Apiriran, the BVC does not always text before the visitors arrive in their village. So sometimes the Batak members are surprised and still busy with forest activities when visitors arrive. Another disappointment is about the fact the BVC will sometimes send a request to the chieftain of Apiriran to perform at the BVC only one hour before the visitors will arrive. Because it

is a 2 hours walk from Apiriran to the BVC the Batak are disappointed they cannot be there on time while the visitors are waiting. Besides that respondents from Apiriran say they always want to be at the BVC almost 45 minutes before the visitors arrive but because of this miscommunication it is almost impossible to keep the visitors satisfied. Tourism participation of the Batak in Apiriran seems to create disappointments and irritations because they almost need a whole day if they only have to perform for 2 hours at the BVC. In this way, participating in tourism does not generate additional income but is a waste of time.

So even when the respondents from Apiriran only have to perform for an hour at the BVC they need the whole morning or afternoon which means less time can be spend on forest activities. 8 out of 9 respondents from Apiriran think tourism, and especially performing at the BVC, is a waste of time if they cannot combine it with other activities close to the highway. Therefore they prefer activities that take place in their own village.

“Because of tourism we spend less time in our community now. Because sometimes we go to the BVC and the visitors do not show up or we have to wait for an hour because the visitors are running late. We are tired of waiting sometimes because we can spend our time better in our village instead of waiting” (Community member Apiriran, mother of 4 children, employee BVC, 37 years old).

Especially the female respondents from Apiriran say their younger children are bored sometimes when their mother is making handicrafts at the BVC. Children below the age of 11 cannot stay alone in the village and will walk with their mother to the BVC if she received a request from to perform or make handicrafts. 3 out of the 4 respondents from Apiriran think this is problematic sometimes because they are busy with performing or making the handicrafts and nobody is spending time with their younger kids. They experience it as stressful sometimes. This is another reason why the Batak from Apiriran prefer to stay in their own village while performing or making the handicrafts.

If the respondents in Apiriran perform in their own village instead of going to the BVC they may increase their profits from tourism. The BVC will set the price for a performance and will give the Batak part of this money. When the interviewees from Apiriran are performing for visitors in their own village they can set their own price because nobody from the BVC or City Tourism Office will control this. According to 3 out of 9 respondents from Apiriran, they could keep all the money from performances before they built the BVC. At that time they earned more money because they did not have to share the earnings with the BVC but shared all the money with their community members. The BVC has less control if the visitors are coming to Apiriran for a performance and that is what all respondents prefer.

According to all respondents from Kalakuan, the strategy of their own community is about attracting more visitors to their village, keeping all the money for their selves without sharing it with the BVC. The chieftain of Kalakuan has raised the prices of performances in their village. According to the chieftain nobody in his community likes to perform so by keeping the prices high the frequency of these activities will not increase. If visitors are coming to their village now and they want to see a performance they have to pay a minimum amount of 4000 peso. Before 2008 performances in Kalakuan were free or the visitors only gave some gifts or a little bit of money as a donation. From 2008 till 2010 the chieftain asked 3000 peso per performance but today visitors have to pay 5000 peso. The performances are more expensive for visitors now because a lot of members don't want to perform anymore in traditional clothes and they feel ashamed. Another reason why

the chieftain decided to raise the price of this tourism activity is because of the fact the Batak are getting tired from performing. After performing they have to hike back to their village and sometimes do not have the energy of spending time on forest activities.

“I think it is a paradox, on the one hand we want to meet the visitors in our own village to show them our culture and to give them the opportunity to experience the life of an indigenous tribe in Palawan. We also want to meet the visitors in our village because that will save time. On the other hand we prefer meeting visitors at the BVC so that our village and culture will have the lowest negative impact of tourism, we just do not know what to choose” (Community member Apiriran, mother of 2 children, BVC employee, 52 years old).

Another disappointment of most of the respondents in both Apiriran and Kalakuasan is about payments, funding or budget problems. They argue they sometimes have to wait for months till they will get their money for their handicrafts or performances at the BVC. This means the Batak sometimes need the tourism activities as an additional income but will only get paid a couple of times per year instead of getting a monthly payment. According to both respondents from Apiriran and Kalakuasan traditional activities are better sometimes than tourism activities. If the Batak sell these traditional or forest products to Filipinos at the highway they will never have problems with payments and will get direct earnings. Their salaries have often been delayed and therefore they sometimes have the tendency to focus more on the products they gather in the forest than on tourism activities so that they will get the money directly without experiencing any delays. According to most respondents from both settlements, if they have to wait too long for the budget from the BVC they stop making handicrafts in their village. Sometimes, the BVC cannot buy the handicrafts the respondents make in their village because of the fact it is waiting for the budget from the government). When the BVC gets the budget from the City Tourism Office the BVC will text the chieftain from both Kalakuasan and Apiriran to let them know they can start making handicrafts again or sell their products. Most respondents in both settlements experience disappointments regarding funding and time efficiency as the most important barriers in tourism participation.

➤ **Miscommunications: lack of interaction and personal growth**

First, the majority of the respondents in Apiriran think miscommunications between visitors, the BVC and the City Tourism Office has a negative impact on their community. They think because of language differences there will always be a lack of interaction with visitors. Because of a lack of interaction, Batak members do not know what the visitors expect from them and in the end the visitors may get disappointed. One respondent from Apiriran mentioned an example where the visitors did not know they had to pay for the performances. In vain, all members from Apiriran were waiting for money or gifts from the visitors as a compensation for their performance. This also shows the miscommunications between visitors and the BVC. Before the visitors are going to one of the two Batak villages it is the task of the BVC to provide more information about the Batak culture and what they can expect on site. It is also the task of the BVC to inform the visitors they have to bring some gifts or money as a compensation for the performances. Only a few of the respondents from Apiriran think it is the responsibility of the BVC to inform the visitors about what to expect in the Batak village. They think it is the job of the community to inform the visitors what they can expect when they visit their village.

Second, according to a majority of respondents in both Apiriran and Kalakuan, the government of PPC should stimulate knowledge exchange between the Batak and its visitors but also among Batak members from different settlements.

Because some Batak prefer to participate more in tourism and others want to focus on the forest activities instead of being involved in tourism, some tensions among the Batak members are being created according to most respondents from both settlements. Before 2008 there were not that many complains among Batak members towards tourism. After the City Tourism Office built the BVC in 2008 more and more complains developed caused by visitors or irritations among the villagers towards tourism activities. Especially in Apirian there are some complains of respondents about the *freedom of choic* which means they sometimes feel pushed to attend these activities but do not want to say no or disappoint the visitors. The interviewees from Kalakuan explain there are less complains towards visitors or other Batak members. The last time they complained was in 1996 when a Batak member hit his daughter and had to pay a 10.000 peso fine as a compensation for his bad behavior.

Furthermore, 7 respondents from Apiriran and 6 respondents from Kalakuan think the interaction between them and the visitors does not stimulate personal growth of their community members at the moment. They think visitors can learn from their culture but that their community does not learn a lot from the visitors. They experience a low level of knowledge exchange between visitors and locals because visitors are only staying for one or 2 nights. Often the visitors are only passing their village or stop for one or two hours. The respondents in Apiriran experience less personal development because of the visitors than the respondents from Kalakuan. At the moment personal development for the community in Apiriran does not seem to be a purpose from the BVC or City Tourism Office.

In 2009, the Government of PPC told the Batak members of both settlements they are organizing English lessons in PPC so that they could improve their English. The City Tourism Office started with these lessons in PPC but nobody from both Apiriran and Kalakuan was present. Because of miscommunications, the City Tourism Office did not understand why the Batak were not coming. In total the Batak had to travel for 10 hours for a course that took one hour. The City Tourism Office did not tell the Batak members in both settlements they had to pay 600 peso per lesson. So most of the respondents from Apiriran want to learn how to speak and write in English but the City Tourism Office and the BVC is not organizing these activities in a proper way. They think the BVC should start talking to them and should try to understand how they think and what they would like to change in their tourism activities. Learning more at the BVC and work on personal development instead of only focusing on what the visitors want is their main goal. The respondents do not only want to perform or make handicrafts but also want something in return. The majority of respondents in both Apiriran and Kalakuan say they want to learn more about their livelihood and how they can improve their crop production and protect their plantations. They think the BVC should focus more on education and knowledge exchange than it does now:

“At the moment the Batak Centre for us is only a place to perform for the visitors and sell our products, it is not really a place where we can learn from the visitors or from other Batak Members and I think that is a missing element. I also think we can learn the Batak from Apiriran a lot. At the moment it is a one way direction of learning; the visitors only see how we live and learn how a tribe in

the forest survives but we want to learn from them as well” (Community member Kalakuasan, father of 3 children, hunter, 24 years old).

4.4 Sub question 3: Perceptions government agencies tourism participation

In this section the findings related to the third sub question of this study will be provided:

‘What are the perceptions of governmental organizations (NCIP, BVC and City tourism office and Provincial Tourism Office) about Batak their participation in tourism activities and how do they involve Batak needs and interests in their projects?’

Before the involvement of Batak members in government agencies’ plans will be discussed their perceptions regarding the impact of tourism on the two Batak villages has to be discussed (table 4.4.1, appendix III). By looking at their perceptions, there are some similarities with the perceptions from the Batak members (§4.3.1/§4.3.2) and some differences.

All government agencies experience the adaptation of western products and communication and the role of the BVC as an actor that maintains the Batak culture as something positive, which is in line with the thoughts of several interviewees from both Kalakuasan and Apiriran (§4.3.1). They think that providing educational workshops at the BVC for Batak members from Apiriran, cultural traditions from their tribe will be maintained. If they organise these workshops for Batak members they think the concerns of the Batak that their culture is changing will be minimalized. Some government agencies think that when the Batak from Apiriran get in touch with visitors and new products they want to participate more in tourism more. They argue Batak from Apiriran are sensitive for new products:

"A couple of years ago we found out that some visitors have brought flash lighters to Apiriran. We noticed that more Batak members wanted to perform at the BVC with the expectation to get the same gifts from visitors as a compensation for their traditional dances" (BVC, Concepcion).

The other positive elements according to the government agencies do not confirm the perceptions of interviewees from both Apiriran and Kalakuasan. It is remarkable that the positive impacts perceived by the government agencies are mentioned as negative impacts by most of the interviewees from both Batak settlements. For example in general the government agencies think the BVC is stimulating knowledge exchange between visitors and Batak members but also among Batak members from the two different settlements. This is in contrast with the perceptions of the Batak members from both settlements who think the BVC lacks a stimulation of knowledge exchange and personal growth of Batak members (4.3.2). As mentioned before most Batak members develop more concerns because of their participation in tourism (4) and have the feeling the BVC is changing instead of maintaining their culture (5). The negative impacts according 3 out of 4 government agencies are similar to the perceptions of the Batak members. Both government agencies and the Batak members from the two settlements mentioned 'dependence on government payments', 'changing lifestyles and less time for traditional activities', and 'the feeling of being observed' as a negative impact of tourism participation. None of the government agencies mentioned the delays of payments which was one of the negative impacts of tourism participation according to most of the respondents from both Apiriran and Kalakuasan (4.3.2). It seems government agencies are aware of the negative impacts of Batak their participation in tourism activities but try to believe in the effectiveness of the BVC that it is stimulating sustainable tourism development. If the positive impacts provided by the government

agencies are not experienced as a positive impact by the Batak members from both Apiriran and Kalakuan it seems the main purpose of the BVC and community-based initiatives in their region may not be effective on site.

Table 4.4.1: Positive and negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the Batak community according to government agencies in Palawan (NCIP, BVC, City Tourism Office, Provincial Office PPC)

Positive socio-cultural impacts	Negative Socio-cultural impacts
BVC stimulates knowledge exchange and personal growth of Batak members	Dependent on government payments
BVC as a family house or platform for interaction Batak members	Changing lifestyle and less time for traditional activities
BVC will maintain the Batak culture by providing lessons to Batak members	Commercialization of culture
Adaptation Western products and communication, less tensions and misunderstandings	“feeling a shame while performing”

(Fleur Bonekamp, 2012).

According to all government agencies, it seems the Batak in Apiriran would not have reached the same level of participation in tourism activities without the presence of the BVC. The main purpose of the Provincial Government and the City Tourism office was to involve the Batak in tourism activities by building the BVC close to the Batak communities. In 2008 the City tourism office consulted the Batak tribes in both Apiriran and Kalakuan if they would agree with building the Batak Centre here in Concepcion. They wanted to build the Centre in Tanabag but the Barangay Captain at that time and several land owners did not agree (19). The government seems to look for a strategic location to develop tourism activities and decided to build the BVC next to the highway in Concepcion. They decided to focus on Apiriran because of the fact Kalakuan was situated almost four hours hiking from the new location. The decisions of the government in 2008 seem to be the cause for a contrast between both settlements by looking at their level of participation in tourism activities. When talking with the government agencies it seems they are not making a distinction between both settlements and they treat both communities in the same way. In reality the BVC is sending its visitors mainly to the Batak members in Apiriran or they will send a request to its chieftain to inform when the visitors are arriving in their village (21). It seems the perceptions of the government agencies are not in line with the actual situation on site and with the perceptions of the Batak members. There is a difference in tourism participation in both settlements and these changes may increase in the future. The Batak from both Kalakuan and Apiriran were asked to join a meeting organized by the City Tourism Office in PPC with the purpose to involve the Batak in decision-making in their tourism plans (19). According to the interviewees from government agencies, they informed the Batak during these meetings about the importance of making handicrafts and performing. Participating in tourism for them would have a positive impact on their

community and increase their profits. Again, government agencies seem to involve the Batak in decision making but according to 15 out of 19 respondents from both settlements this is not the case. Only the chieftain joined one meeting with a member from the City Tourism Office and during this meeting the chieftain did not have the time to ask questions or to give their opinion. It looks like there was a one-way direction of knowledge exchange during the meetings between government agencies and Batak members. This is not the optimal way of involving communities in decision-making. It seems the government wanted to develop tourism activities close to the location of the BVC and they wanted the Batak in Apiriran to participate no matter what. The chieftain from Kalkuasan was not present during this meeting which confirms the thought the government wanted to focus mainly on tourism activities in Apiriran. The chieftain from Kalakuan says not to be invited for this meeting. Government agencies are focusing on Apiriran and prefer all their visitors that arrive at the BVC will plan a visit to this village instead of hiking to Kalakuan. This is in line with the thoughts of most respondents from Kalakuan where they argue the BVC is most of the time contacting Batak members from Apiriran instead of involving their community in tourism activities. The interviewees from Kalakuan did not experience this as a problem because they do not want to participate that much in tourism as the members in Apiriran.

“We have seen how the community in Apiriran has changed because of their participation in tourism activities and the BVC. The BVC has chosen Apiriran as their main focus; hopefully they will stay away from our village. We try to avoid an increasing participation in tourism activities but want to be involved in decision-making when they are deciding what to do in our barangay” (Chieftain Kalakuan, 42 years old).

The City tourism Office seems to explain the Batak members in both settlements they needed the tourism activities to increase their income and to preserve their culture. They told the Batak members making handicrafts and performing at the BVC would keep their cultural traditions alive. The BVC was promoted as a place of education and as a place for interaction with Batak from other settlements. But this purpose does not seem to be present at the moment according to several interviewees of both Apiriran and Kalakuan. As discussed earlier the main purpose of performing has changed because of the BVC and also the time they spend on traditional activities in their own village or in the forest has decreased (3.6). There seem to be a paradox in the purpose of the BVC. Where the BVC is promoting itself as a government institution that stands for the preservation of the Batak culture, it is stimulating socio-cultural changes in both Apiriran and Kalakuan.

Furthermore, the BVC argues not to create any pressure for the Batak members to participate in tourism activities they organize. They mentioned if Batak members do not want to be involved they can stay in their village and can make their own time schedule. Also these perceptions are not in line with the thoughts of most interviewees in Apiriran. The Batak from Apiriran explained to feel some pressure of the BVC because they do not want to disappoint the visitors by saying ‘no’ even if they prefer not to perform or show the visitors around in their village. So it seems the Batak members are not always want to participate but do not communicate this with the BVC. The main reason not to share this information is because they are afraid of an decreasing amount of visitors at the same time.

“We want to make the handicrafts and show visitors around but we do not want to focus on these activities all the time. This is hard because the BVC is texting us more and more, we spend more time

at the BVC than we spend in our own village” (Community member Apiriran, mother of 2 children, 23 years old).

The BVC is promoting their organization as a sustainable location for the preservation of the Batak culture while focusing on tourism activities that lead to profits for the Batak on both short and long term). Some government agencies also argue the Batak will gain from the tourism activities in the end and they involve Batak members from different settlements in tourism activities to stimulate interaction between different Batak villages. According to the City Tourism Office they focus on knowledge exchange between different settlements so that they can learn from each other. Surprisingly, 15 out of 19 interviewees from both Apirian and Kalakuasan say they experience a lack of interaction with Batak from other settlements at the BVC and want to work more on their personal development when they attend in tourism activities. A few Batak respondents say they are afraid of losing their identity and unique appearance. So the perceptions of government agencies about the socio-cultural impact of tourism on the Batak settlements, and the role of the BVC in specific, seem to be in contradiction with the perceptions of the Batak respondents. Where the government argues to focus on tourism activities outside the Batak villages, most respondents from Apiriran experience an increasing amount of visitors that are coming to their settlements. Both the BVC and the City Tourism Office try to maintain the cultural traditions of the Batak culture by focusing on tourism activities like making handicrafts and performing. Government agencies think these tourism activities will help the community to keep remember their cultural traditions. It seems the BVC thinks their main purpose it to maintain the Batak culture by focusing on particular tourism activities at the BCV. This is not in line with the perspectives of most respondents from Apiriran and Kalakuasan. They do not think these activities are maintaining their cultural traditions. As discussed earlier the Batak respondents think that performing at the BVC is an abuse for their culture. The main purpose of the Batak traditional dances has changes because of the BVC. First, these traditional dances were used to heal community members, nowadays these traditional and spiritual dances are used to entertain the visitors. Government agencies should take the perspectives of both visitors and the Batak members into account. It seems the BVC does not always communicate with the Batak in Apiriran properly. This may leads to a lack of understanding of and new tourism activities, developed by the City Tourism Office, that are not in line with Batak their perceptions.

One of the government agencies focuses on IEC (information education consultation) and informs barangay councils, about new education programs. According to BVC, the main purpose of the National Commission for Indigenous People (NCIP) is about stimulating interaction between governmental parties in PPC, Tanabag and Concepcion, indigenous people and non-indigenous people. They are focusing on IEC (information about education and consultation) and is developing education programs to minimize tensions between different stakeholders. They say to involve the leader of different Batak settlements in each meeting and plan several visits to the villages once in a while to stimulate community involvement. This is in line with the perceptions of most interviewees from both Kalakkuasan and Apiriran who think the NCIP is the only government agency who will take their concerns seriously and will help them with problems regarding tourism activities. They experience an interest from the NCIP in their health but also in problems in their villages. The NCIP often plans visits to the Batak settlements and offers help where necessary. For example last year the chieftain from Apiriran contacted NCIP and complained about abuse in their village because of some visitors. According to all interviewees from Apiriran within a couple of hours after this phone call, someone from NCIP arrived in their village to find out what was going on. It is important to mention

that the NCIP can act without any permission of the City Tourism Office or other government agencies. Last time the NCIP and the Batak from both Apiriran and Kalakuan met was during a meeting in December 2011. According to NCIP and all Batak interviewees an invitation was sent from NCIP to the chieftains of both settlements. During these meeting the chieftain had the time to share his opinions and to discuss his concern regarding the participation of his community in tourism activities. The chieftains explain they enjoy the meeting and felt the NCIP was not pushing but listened to what they were saying. It seems the NCIP is involving Batak members in decision-making by asking what they like and dislike in tourism related activities. For example, during this meeting a member from NCIP asked the chieftain of Apiriran what his biggest concern was in tourism participation (8). It seems that the NCIP plays a crucial role for the Batak, when there is a problem they can send a text message to the NCIP office in PPC and if necessary someone will plan a visit to one of the Batak villages. According to the NCIP, sometimes they experience time pressure because they are only with members at the office in PPC. Sometimes they got complains from a chieftain in Kalakuan or Apiriran but do not have the time and the people to plan a visit. So the involvement of Batak in decision making seems to have some constraints which have a negative impact on Batak their participation in tourism activities. According to the chieftain of Kalakuan another constraint is about the expensive tickets from the highway in Tanabag to the NCIP office in PPC. When the Batak in Kalakuan or Apiriran have complains they will contact NCIP and sometimes the chieftain has to travel all the way to PPC to discuss his problems.

Finally, when looking at the involvement of Batak their perceptions in tourism activities some miscommunications between the City Tourism Office and the BVC can be found. The woman who is in charge at the BVC in Concepcion hardly talks with government agencies and only knows she has to show the visitors around at the BVC and provide a guide if they want to go to Apiriran or Kalakuan. She would like to be more involved in tourism activities and especially wants to know what the Batak want and prefer. She also explained Batak from both Apiriran and Kalakuan are coming to the BVC sometimes to complain but will not get the service they deserve. It seems the City Tourism Office has given her the task not to contact them for every single concern or complain. This is one of the reasons why the BVC is not registering the concerns or complains of the Batak members regarding their participation in tourism activities. It seems the BVC does not want to improve the satisfaction levels of the Batak because without taking their concerns seriously, the irritations from the Batak may increase in the future.

4.4.1 Towards sustainable tourism development?

At the moment the BVC wants to change some activities in the future and wants to find out what the impact of the increasing visitor numbers may be on the Batak communities. For example, the BVC wants to find out how many visitors are only going to the BVC and how many visitors are going to one of the two Batak settlements. They want to work on elements like registration and administration. The City Tourism Office mentioned the need for sustainable tourism development in both Batak settlements. They defined the concept as follows:

“Stimulating interaction between visitors and the Batak, preserving the Batak culture in such a way that all stakeholders are satisfied without harming the environment” (City Tourism Office)

They argued when they are concerned about the development of the Batak settlements the BVC should know how many visitors are visiting these locations and if these numbers are increasing or

not. The main goal of the City Tourism office is about to address the needs of the locals and base their tourism projects on the needs of the Batak while improving the economic development of both barangays. A pitfall for Batak community development may be created when the City Tourism Office or BVC will focus more on economic benefits from tourism than on socio-cultural ones.

In the future the BVC wants to focus more on off the beaten tracks for visitors where they will hike around 6 hours a day and only make a stop in Apiriran and Kalakuan for one night. The BVC and the City Tourism Office think this will minimize the negative impacts of visitors on their community. But again this statement is not based on the perceptions of the Batak members in Apiriran or Kalakuan and this new plan has not been discussed with the chieftain from both villages. Again, this is an example of developing tourism activities that are not based on local needs. Government agencies seem to think what the best solution will be for the communities without talking with the Batak members. According to 12 out of 18 interviewees from Apiriran and Kalakuan, they do not like the lack of interaction with visitors and exchange of knowledge. They mentioned the duration of visitors' stay in their village as one of the main problems. So if visitors are only staying for one night with Batak members it will not stimulate the level of knowledge exchange or interaction. Batak members explained they need some time to get to know the visitors which is impossible if they leave after one night.

Future plans of the BVC relate to developing new 'off the beaten tracks' to Apiriran or Kalakuan, promote the Batak villages by improving the website of Apiriran and creating new one for Kalakuan. The main purpose of the BVC is to attract more visitors to both villages. At the moment there is a tendency among government agencies to shift from a focus on Apiriran to Kalakuan which may lead to a lot of changes in the Batak villages in the future. It seems the government agencies should look at Apiriran to see what impact tourism can have on indigenous tribes. Other plans for the future are developing more workshops at the BVC where the Batak will get training about how to make handicrafts and how to collect honey in the forest in a sustainable way.

In general, all government agencies want to increase Batak participation in tourism activities and are looking for strategies to develop new activities that will attract more visitors.

5 Conclusion and discussion

The objective of this research was to investigate the participation of Batak members in tourism, how they experience its impact on their daily lives and to what extent their perceptions are in line with the perspectives of government agencies. This study was following a case study approach and brought together perspectives from both Batak members and government agencies (BVC, City Tourism Office, NCIP and Provincial Government). To achieve this type of information, the research findings related to one of the three sub questions have been presented and will be discussed in this chapter to finally find answers to the main question:

'How do the Batak members in Apiriran and Kalakuasan (Palawan, The Philippines) experience their participation in tourism activities and its socio-cultural impact on their tribe and to what extent are their perceptions in line with government agencies' perspectives?

This study focused on the concepts community participation in tourism and community involvement in decision-making and how this all contributes to sustainable tourism development of both settlements.

5.1 Conclusion

'No matter how far we go, outsiders will show up unexpectedly and say they want to help us, even if they have other goals' (mother of 3 kids, BVC employee, member Apiriran settlement).

Unequal distribution of sharing benefits

First of all, the first sub question of this study looked at a description of Batak their participation in tourism. The findings indicate the main tourism activities for the Batak respondents in Apiriran are handicrafts making and performing which most of the time take place at the Batak Visitor Centre daily. They mainly interact with other members from Apiriran and with domestic and international visitors. In Kalakuasan respondents make handicrafts and sell forest products to visitors on average once a month and perform only once or twice a year in their own village. They only go to the Batak Visitor Centre when they want to sell their handicrafts. Batak respondents from Apiriran see tourism activities as an crucial part of their income, in Kalakuasan respondents experience participation in tourism as an additional income. There seem to be a contrast in tourism participation between respondents living in Kalakuasan and Apiriran and that the benefits are unequal distributed among Batak members. Again, some respondents experience these benefits as something positive, others think the benefits received from tourism have too much side effects.

In Apiriran, interviewees experienced rapid changes in their community. The booming tourism industry has evidently transformed their social lives where not every respondent is realizing today what happened in the past. It seems participation in tourism is a better alternative for Batak respondents from Kalakusan because they participate in tourism without experiencing too much negative impacts. This may be due to the fact respondents from Apiriran are busy with tourism activities every day and in Kalakusan only once or twice a month. This lower level of participation in Kalakuasan may be due to the relatively long walking distance to the Batak Visitor Centre. The Batak Visitor Centre is located on a 4 hours walk from Kalakuasan and on a 2 hours walk from Apiriran which leads to more tourism participation in Apiriran.

The second sub question of this study looked at the perceptions of Batak respondents in both Kalakuan and Apiriran towards their participation in tourism and its socio-cultural impacts on their daily lives. According to respondents in both settlements, tourism activities are perceived to have both positive and negative effects on their tribe with a remarkable contrast between both settlements regarding the level of participation and the impact of tourism participation on their daily lives.

According to the respondents in Apiriran and Kalakuan positive impacts of tourism on their community are diverse. First, they experienced a change in their communication and behaviour where all respondents have learned how to speak Tagalog and some English words from visitors. They explained to feel less shy and afraid while interacting with people from outside their village. All respondents say they dare to go to a doctor and to elementary school now because of their change in communication and behaviour. They also explained to experience less robbery, crime and abuse in their village because they dare to go to the Barangay Hall to complain. Most respondents from especially Kalakuan also experience a 'freedom of choice' because of their participation in tourism once in a while. They argued they can leave their village sometimes for tourism activities and feel less dominated by their husbands. Especially female respondents in Kalakuan have created a feeling of independency where they earn money in tourism without the help of other family members; they also argue that going outside their village minimized the feeling of being bored sometimes. Respondents from Apiriran do not experience the same feeling of independency because the BVC has more influence on their participation than on the participation from the members in Kalakuan. Respondents from Apiriran are going to the BVC every day and respondents in Kalakuan only once or twice a month. The BVC also stimulates 'working at home' tourism activities for members in Kalakuan, because of its long distance to the BVC they are allowed to make the handicrafts they want to sell in their own village and bring it to the BVC when they are ready. This is not the case in Apiriran where all respondents are involved in tourism activities at the BVC every day. Sharing benefits seem to be unequally distributed among Batak members from Apiriran and Kalakuan. Second, other positive impacts of tourism participation are the stimulation of the feeling 'self-reliance' where respondents from only Apiriran make handicrafts for the local market in PPC sometimes. According to these respondents this was possible because of their participation in tourism activities. Third, a few respondents from both settlements explained to experience an increasing level of knowledge exchange between their community and people from outside their own village. They argue they developed more knowledge about geographics because of the stories from foreign visitors. A few argued they learn new things about their own culture like making new types of handicrafts at the BVC. Finally, the last positive impact according to the respondents from both settlements relate to an increase access to social facilities. Because of their participation their children go to school, some adults go to school by using donations from visitors; they have a generator in their village that provides them electricity.

Even when the respondents from especially Apiriran explained to experience positive impacts of tourism it has to be mentioned that these positive outcomes do not seem to outweigh the negative impacts on their community. It can be concluded that the perceived negative impacts of tourism participation are often due to the fact that the respondents in both settlements have no control over tourism development. Respondents from both settlements experience the negative sides of tourism participation but these negative impacts seem to change the daily lives of the respondents in Apiriran more rapidly than in Kalakuan. First, negative impacts of tourism participation according to all

respondents are the changing socio-cultural structures in their village. Tensions in Apiriran have occurred because the BVC asked their chieftain to stay at the BVC for a whole year. The chieftain was replaced by another member from their village. When the members of Apiriran wanted to complain, the chieftain did not have the chance to go to PPC by local transport and report these problems. He was too busy with its tourism activities at the BVC. Furthermore, when he returned to his village after a year he found it hard to let everyone listen to him and explained his village was falling apart because of tourism. Most respondents argue there is a changing role for women in both Batak settlements because of tourism. The female respondents explained to feel stressed sometimes because they are busier than before and try to combine traditional activities in the forest with tourism activities. In the meantime the women in Apiriran also have to bring their children to elementary school and hike between their village and the highway. They argue the men are only focusing on hunting but the women have to take care of the children as well and participate more in tourism than the men. Again it seems the benefits of tourism participation are not being shared equally among Batak respondents. The level of irritation and the feeling of 'being observed' among Batak respondents are much higher in Apiriran where they welcome visitors almost every day. All respondents dislike performing to visitors because it feels as abusing their culture and perform with the wrong purpose. Instead of using spiritual and traditional dances to heal a community member or to ask help from the Gods to stimulate their crop production, they use the same dance for entertainment. The respondents in Apiriran are performing almost every day, the respondents in Kalakuan do not want to perform and only make handicrafts. Another negative impact relates to a higher level of dependency towards government agencies. All respondents think this level of dependency has increased after they started to participate in tourism. They developed a more suspicious attitude towards government agencies and question themselves if tourism only brings benefits. Especially in Apiriran the BVC is deciding when the respondents have to come to the centre, what kind of tourism activities they expect them to do and even decide the design of the handicrafts they are making. In Kalakuan respondents argue they experience a higher level of dependency due to their participation in tourism but it is not the same level as in Apiriran. Other negative impacts relate to disappointments about funding delays by the BVC, visitors that do not show up or forget to pay and miscommunications about the type of tourism activities the respondents want to do. Respondents from both settlements agree that the main purpose of the BVC is not in line with their perceptions and expectations. They do not experience personal growth when they participate and have the feeling only the visitors are learning from them instead of the other way around.

Finally, the following sections will summarize the conclusions regarding the third sub question of this study that looked at the perceptions of government agencies and the involvement of Batak perceptions in tourism development.

Government agencies' and Batak respondents' perspectives

By looking at the elements of community participation and involvement of Batak members in tourism, it seems government agencies perspectives are in contrast with the perceptions of the Batak respondents regarding the impacts of tourism participation and the involvement of Batak members in decision-making. To some extent, government agencies agreed with Batak their perceptions about the socio-cultural impacts of Batak participation in tourism activities. But the agencies mentioned positive socio-cultural impacts like the role of the BVC as a family house for interaction between Batak members and its purpose of preserving the Batak culture. So it seems that especially the BVC

and the City Tourism Office are aware of the negative impacts of Batak their participation in tourism but have another idea of what it will bring to the Batak communities. If the perceptions of both government agencies and Batak members regarding the negative impacts of their participation in tourism are overlapping, why is it so hard to turn these negative impacts into positive ones? Government agencies have the idea Batak participation in tourism activities can minimize community concerns. They think if Batak members are participating in tourism the benefits will reach the communities no matter what and they will have less concerns or complains because they earn money in tourism. This research concludes, the Batak members from both Apiriran and Kalakuanan are not involved in tourism development decision-making as they prefer. The research findings established that local people wish to play a role in tourism activities only when they are getting more involved in the tourism development decision-making process; they experience a lack of involvement from the beginning of their participation in tourism when the City Tourism Office built the BVC. It seems the perceptions of the government agencies are not in line with the actual situation on site and with the perceptions of the Batak members.

Lack of effective stakeholder collaboration and community involvement

From the beginning tourism development was managed without any help from or communication with both Batak communities. This development will make it hard for government agencies to increase the involvement of Batak members in decision making, the communities were left aside without having any control, influence and awareness.

The actions taken by government agencies seem to be fundamentally undemocratic and anti-participatory, especially when looking at the situation in Apiriran. First, because of the increasing visitor numbers the City Tourism Office said the members of Apiriran had to stay at one fixed location. As compensation, the City Tourism Office promised the community that their participation in tourism would lead to benefits for their village. Staying at one location has led to a lot of changes in their village as discussed in this research and tourism seems to be the reason why the Batak community in Apiriran does not move around anymore. Another example that showed the communication and collaboration between the government and several Batak members is not based on ethical grounds, is the fact the government started to build the BVC in 2008 to attract visitors and show them how the Batak in the forest live. Without explaining the Batak in both Kalakuanan and Apiriran what they could expect they did not let the members a choice. This can be seen as a lack of clear communication and involvement of Batak members in decision-making. In the beginning respondents from Apiriran were thankful because they got the possibility to earn money in the tourism sector. The respondents argue they did not know how their life would change because of these tourism activities so they accepted the plans of the government. This participation of the Batak respondents in decision-making does not reflect the decentralization developments in The Philippines and is more top-down approach than a bottom-up approach. Tourism development in both settlements does not start at the local level by asking what the communities prefer, but starts in the Office of the government of PPC. Tourism activities are mainly organized by the BVC and are not based on the desires of the Batak community. It seems as though the whole process is utterly outside the control of the community members. Community-Based initiatives in the research area of this study seem not to take an optimal participation of communities into account and at the moment personal development of the Batak community or focusing knowledge exchange between several stakeholders, seems not to be the main purpose of the BVC At the moment personal development

for the community in Apiriran does not seem to be a purpose of the BVC or The City Tourism Office. The Batak respondents feel betrayed because the reason why they agreed with their participation in tourism was because of their interest in learning about their livelihood and culture, how they could live in the forest on a sustainable way without harming their environment. They thought the BVC would be a place where they could focus on inner growth. According to most of the respondents from both settlements the government seems to make promises like stimulating personal growth for the Batak at the BVC. Nowadays respondents seem to understand they cannot believe the words of government agencies anymore but they also have no idea which side to choose. In Apiriran the respondents on the one hand want to focus on tourism activities in their own village because that saves time, on the other hand they want to meet the visitors at the BVC so that their village and culture will experience the lowest negative impact of tourism. It is a paradox and the Batak have no idea what to do and a feeling of hopeless can be remarked.

As a reaction Batak respondents from both settlements try to develop strategies that stimulate a feeling of self-reliance so that they do not depend mainly on the tourism activities at the BVC. Kalakuan is creating strategies like raising prices of performances in their own village. The chieftain explained visitors are coming less often to their village now. In Apiriran most of the respondents said they are looking for new markets in PPC so that they do not depend only on the request and desires from the BVC. This study showed the Batak in Apiriran are looking for new stakeholders to create a new market of small enterprises in their own village and stimulate collaboration for example souvenir shops in PPC. So in Apiriran there is a desire for creating opportunities that stimulate local capacity building and self-sufficiency, members want to sell their handicrafts to a bigger market instead of focusing only on the BVC. When talking to government agencies a totally different perspective from Batak their participation in tourism showed up.

Because of decentralization there has been a reorganisation of local government units like barangays, municipalities, cities and provinces and a shift from central to local government authorities (Courtney et al., 2002). The local government authorities should get more power with the tendency to involve local communities as much as possible in decision-making but at the moment the Batak want to be better integrated in processes of consultation and want to get more involved in decision-making in tourism. Better collaboration between various stakeholders seems a crucial point in stimulating sustainable tourism development in both settlements.

Towards sustainable tourism development?

It would be too simplistic to see participation in tourism only as a positive force of development or change, this study showed perceptions can have positive and negative elements but still can be a constrain in sustainable tourism development. Participation as a concept seems to be more complex than sometimes has been promoted. This study shows that the willingness of communities to participate in tourism varies because even within the Batak tribe, that is spread out over different villages, different perceptions can be found. Not all members of a community are willing and able to participate in tourism. So this study shows a contrast in the willingness to participate in tourism activities even within one village. Batak members in Apiriran are already so much integrated in the tourism system they experience both positive and negative impacts of tourism but do not want to be excluded from the tourism network. They want to focus on different type of tourism activities like selling their handicrafts to a bigger market as discussed earlier. In contrast, the members in

Kalakuasan are more careful and try to keep on living in the forest without too much interaction with visitors and government agencies. They want to sell some handicrafts to the BVC and welcome a couple of visitors per month but do not want to change a lot. In Kalakusan Batak members have experienced the impact of tourism on the Apiriran village when talking with its members. The members of Kalakuasan want to prevent their participation in tourism will increase in the future. Again, this shows the importance of the involvement of local communities in decision making because what if government agencies are creating community development initiatives in tourism but the Batak members do not want to fully participate in tourism? As discussed, BVC wants to create more tourism activities like 'off the beaten tracks' in the future that focuses on Kalakuasan, this study shows all respondents from Kalakuasan do not want to participate more in tourism activities and want to live as isolated as possible. Respondents explained they need some time before they feel comfortable with new visitors so stimulating "off the beaten" tracks do not seem to be effective because visitors will only stay in the villages for a maximum of one night. There is a strong need to involve the Batak members from both Apiriran and Kalakuasan in decision-making so that tourism activities can be developed that are in line with their perceptions. The government should start to implement the core principles of SEP instead of ignoring them. On paper they stimulate sustainable development in both Tanabag and Concepcion with a focus on the long term development of the area and on sharing benefits between different type of stakeholders. The BVC reflects the main aim of SEP but in reality most principles of sustainable tourism development in especially Apiriran cannot be found.

So summarizing, it looks like Batak members in Apiriran did not choose tourism, tourism chose them, they want to participate but prefer new tourism activities with less dependency of government agencies and more possibilities for personal development. It seems that the positive impacts of tourism participation in Apiriran have too much side effects for their members in the end, even when some members are hopeful towards this participation, in the end Apiriran seem to lose their traditional way of living. In Kalakusan the Batak members do not want to change their lifestyle so that their village and way of living will look like Apiriran in the future.

5.2 Discussion

Claiborne (2010) has argued that communities are not homogeneous groups of like-minded people, but instead a collection of individuals with ambivalent or mixed feelings in relation to the perceived impacts they have of tourism. As presented in this study, participation in tourism can occur in various ways with a higher level of participation of tourism perceived by the respondents from Apiriran than from Kalakuasan..

➤ Sharing benefits in tourism participation

All respondents from Apiriran explained they started to participate in tourism because the City Tourism Office wanted them to participate. They thought this opportunity would only bring economic benefits without experiencing its negative effects. This is in line with Shrivastava and Bihari (2010) who mention that aspirations of community members for participation in tourism are often high and employment in tourism has been seen as a good way of earning a lot of money compared to their traditional activities. According to most respondents from Apiriran participation in tourism is an important part of their and do not want to live without these earnings anymore. They argue that they could live with less if they had to. All respondents want to keep on participating in tourism

because they do not want to live without these earnings anymore. Their earnings are higher now than when they stop participating, they do not want to live without the extras they receive from the visitors like money, food, gifts and donations. Shrivastava and Bihari (2010) argue that preferences of residents may vary between cultures and even between communities which also reflect some contrasts between the two villages of this study.

According to a research of Rátz (2000), positive socio-cultural impacts on communities because of their participation in tourism initiatives relate to increasing mobility of the host (especially women and children), meeting new people and making new contacts, developing language skills, improvements in residents' attitudes and politeness, changing in housing conditions and the transformation of behaviour. This is in line with the findings of this study where most of the respondents speak Tagalog now and some English words because of their participation in tourism. Female respondents from both Apiriran and Kalakuan explained they like to be outside their village sometimes and like the feeling of earning their own money and being independent. This relates to the increasing mobility of the host discussed by Rátz (2000). Also the element of 'improvements in behaviour and politeness' reflect the findings of this case study because in both settlements respondents argue they are less shy now because of their participation in tourism are dare to speak when someone from outside their village is talking to them. Rátz (2002) also thinks that the negative impacts of community participation in tourism are related to the disruption of social networks within the community, suppressed local language and the disappearance of local habits or cultural traditions. The disruption of social networks reflects the Apiriran case and the changing social structures in their village. The chieftain from Apiriran explained he experienced less contact with his community members because of the BVC. Furthermore, the female respondents from both Apiriran and Kalakuan said they were at the BVC most of their time. Therefore, they can spend less time with their husband and other community members in their village.

All respondents want to be involved in tourism activities but prefer to make handicrafts instead of performing. Respondents from Apiriran explained they want to make more handicrafts in the future so that they can sell it to the local market in PPC. They want to create a new market where they are less dependent from government agencies. They see this as a contribution to personal growth and self-reliance. Most of the respondents from both Batak settlements agree there is no level of personal growth at the moment but if the BVC would provide some workshops they are happy to attend. Paul (1987) argues participation and involvement in decision-making will enhance well-being not only in terms of income but also in terms of personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish but at the moment it does not seem to be present in both Apiriran and Kalakuan. and Connell (1999) who thinks community participation is not only about getting more material resources but also about the process of learning, self-development and sharing knowledge which can be a long term socio-cultural impact on communities (Connell, 1997). Especially the female respondents in Kalakuan experience a feeling of being independent and free. This was one of the reasons why they started to participate in tourism activities, even when it did not lead to higher earnings. This is in line with the thoughts of Mowforth & Munt (2009) who argue community participation can create a sense of ownership, feeling of responsibility and practical involvement in tourism. For Kalakuan the female respondents participate more in tourism activities than men which can be due to the fact that particular members of a community will take a degree of control and exercise power over tourism developments in their localities.

Nowadays Batak respondents experience its negative socio-cultural effects, especially in Apiriran. According to Simmons (1994) residents start to change their mind and they begin to take negative actions against tourism after a considerable tourism development and it seems some respondents from Kalukuasan have started with these actions. The chieftain from Kalukuasan has decided to increase the prices of performances in their village. He took this action to minimize the amount of visitors that are coming to his village and to keep his community satisfied because they do not like performing. Even when the respondents from Kalukuasan experienced the negative impacts of tourism to lower extent, it seems their chieftain is precautious and wants to take actions before it is too late. In Apiriran the respondents explained they experience a lot of negative impacts from their participation but have not taken any actions. These respondents explained they are afraid they will disappoint the BVC or the visitors.

Elements like language and understanding the tourism market are reasons to participate in tourism activities (DFID, 1999). All respondents speak Tagalog now because of their participation of in tourism but have no idea how the tourism market works which seems a crucial factor in understanding their own participation. In general, a community with a wide variety of assets has a better chance to make the right choices in improving their livelihood if they have more options to choose from and are not forced (DIFD, 1999). It seems that the respondents from Apiriran are more forced to participate in tourism activities at the BVC than the respondents from Kalukuasan who decide by themselves if they participate or not. This is in line with the thoughts of Erenstein (2010) who explains that participation in tourism activities of a particular member of a community can be called positive but can disadvantage others. So in the case of Apiriran and Kalukuasan participation in tourism seems to be positive for respondents in Kalukuasan and has more disadvantages for interviewees from Apiriran. Again, the disadvantages the Batak members in Apiriran experience do not directly mean they want to stop participating. As discussed earlier the Batak in Apiriran want to change their participation in tourism by focusing on new markets and self-reliance but feel helpless sometimes because they do not know how to make it happen. This is in line with the thoughts of Joppe (1996) who pointed out that residents or communities are often do not know how to find the access for tourism participation or involvement in decision-making because they do not even know where to begin and who to contact. Most of the respondents from Apiriran are not able to develop contacts with external institutions for the resources or technical advice. They need to improve their access to the local and tourism market in PPC but have no idea who can help them and if their ideas are realistic. Sometimes it is hard to achieve sustainability because of communities themselves, they can participate in tourism activities without understanding fully its implications (McKercher, 2003). This is the case in both Batak settlements where the Batak members explained to be involved in tourism decision-making and they have no idea what to expect from tourism in the future. But I have to argue that even when Batak respondents from Kalukuasan or Apiriran would know how to participate in the tourism activities they prefer or know how to be involved in decision-making, they sometimes are just not interested. This is the case in Kalukuasan where the Batak respondents said they want to live their life as isolated as possible with a low level of participation in tourism. These thoughts are in line with Marzuki (2009) who argued that even when a community is being encouraged to involve in tourism activities or decision-making, it does not always lead to positive reaction from its members. This can be due to a weak non-enthusiastic respond of the community caused by a lack of awareness, a lack of expertise or lack of interest, even though the community was invited (Marzuki, 2009). But again I would like to argue that a lack of interest of Batak members in

both settlements can also be caused by a lack of access to the information about tourism projects and how community may benefit. So in this research Boyle (2004) is right when he argued that communities should not be blamed if they do not want to participate in tourism activities, most of the time the access for information about tourism projects and their socio-cultural consequences can be very limited and governmental agencies should be blamed for not informing the communities. This again relates to the four categories of community participation discussed by Wilson and Wilde (2003) who argue that sharing information with local communities is essential for optimal community participation (will be later discussed in this section).

According to Lesego (2005), participation in tourism activities can only be effective when the community is involved from the beginning and when there is a possibility for the community to create small scale, locally owned businesses and if the benefits are to be spread to a large proportion of the community. But in both settlements the respondents explain they were not be involved in decision-making regarding tourism activities, even not when they had to start to build the BVC. In Palawan not all communities have a voice in decision making or not in the way it should be (Boissiere and Laswanti, 2006). Dominant actors can impose tourism on communities without having any influence in tourism development and decision-making where there is no effective interaction and communication between different stakeholders and some actors may have the tendency to take over control without developing a balanced collaboration (McKercher, 2003).

When looking at the debate regarding different typologies of participation in tourism, a framework by Bjorklund and Philbrick (1975) was used to categorize the social-cultural impacts on a group of people which demonstrates socio-cultural impacts change through time. They argue that residents can actively or passively support or oppose the presence of tourists and tourism development (Bjorklund and Philbrick, 1975). This study showed that respondents from both Batak settlements started with a passive attitude towards tourism participation with a slight acceptance of and support for tourist activity while experiencing a positive behaviour towards tourism activities. They were not involved in decision-making. When Batak respondents from Apiriran started to work for the BVC, their participation in tourism activities increased and they started to experience the negative sides of community-based initiatives on their daily lives and their village. On the other hand, these respondents want to participate more in tourism but only want to focus on the handicrafts instead of performing. As said before, they want to focus on new markets in PPC instead of selling their products only to the BVC. So participation of Batak respondents in tourism has led to positive and negative changes in the community where they experience the negative impacts of tourism on their daily lives as subordinated to the positive elements. Linking this to the Bjorklund and Philbrick model (1975), when tourism started to develop in or close Apiriran there was a slight acceptance with a passive negative attitude towards tourism. Nowadays, in general its members experience a promotion and support of tourism activity with a more active attitude towards tourism activities. It should be mentioned that an optimal acceptance and support for tourist activity has not been reached yet. Respondents from Apiriran have a more active attitude towards tourism now because they see opportunities to sell more handicrafts without the help of the BVC. So this active attitude only reflects their desire to participate in tourism activities they like the most. When the City Tourism Office started to build the BVC in 2008, Batak respondents from Kalakuasan started to participate in tourism activities with a silent acceptance. According to their perceptions this attitude has changed almost to the opposition of participating in tourism activities which relate to the unfavourable attitudes of residents in the model by Bjorklund and Philbrick (1975). The respondents from

Kalakuasan have seen how tourism can change tribes in the forest by looking at the Apiriran case. They are afraid the same will happen with their village. These thoughts are in line with a problem discussed by the DFID (1999). DFID (1999) explained that projects while favouring some people can disadvantage others. But it has to be mentioned the Batak respondents from both Apiriran and Kalakuasan did not develop a negative attitude towards visitors or government agencies yet and have not reached the stage of antagonism which was described by Doxey (1975). It seems that the development of residents' attitudes towards participation has reached the third phase of Doxey's irridex-model (1975), the level of irritation. This level of 'irritation' has reached a high level according to the respondents from Apiriran. In Kalakuasan there seem to be some frustration but the level of irritation is much lower than in Apiriran.

Related to different models of community participation and community typologies (Pretty 1995, Arnstein 1971, Tosun 1999, Wilson and Wilde 2003), the participation of Batak respondents from both settlements have been characterized by being passive, following a top-down system even after introducing the SEP in 1992 (Courtney et al, 2002). It seems there is a presence of manipulative tendencies towards community members and a high level of indirect and formal interaction or correspondence. So I would argue that even with alternative forms of development like community-based tourism initiatives (especially Apiriran and to a less extent in Kalakuasan) the core principles of these initiatives like being human-centered and locally oriented have not been met. This is in contrast with the arguments of Daniels et al. (2005) who argues that communities should be able to absorb selectively from these community-based initiatives to their own advantages with a focus on bottom-up development or 'development from below' (Daniels et al, 2005). So there is a strong need for Batak respondents to follow a community approach that is a bottom-up form of planning with a focus on the development *in* the community rather than development *of* the community (Tosun, 2000). Some respondents (Apiriran) want to be involved so that they can increase their participation in making handicrafts others (Kalakuasan) want to decide to stay isolated from most tourism activity that take place close their village.

The participation of the Batak respondents of this case study seems to fit in the category "Coercive participation" developed by Tosun (1999). There seems to be a high desire for improvements related to communication and capacity building which are two out of the four categories of the 'community participation model' by Wilson and Wilde (2003).

Even when all Batak respondents could participate in tourism activities at the BVC there is no meaningful community representation on decision-making bodies from initiation which is a crucial part of successful community participation according to Wilson and Wilde (2003). Tourism activities focusing on the Batak tribe take place especially in the northeastern part of PPC where at the moment especially Batak respondents from Apiriran are participating. I would argue the diversity of the Batak tribe and their interests is not optimal reflected at all levels of the regeneration process in tourism activities which was, as debated by Wilson and Wilde (2003) an important element of the second dimension of community participation 'inclusivity'. In my personal opinion, participation of Batak respondents in tourism activities has contributed to the unequal distribution of tourism benefits among the Batak members in Apiriran on the one hand and respondents from Kalakuasan on the other hand. There seem to be a crucial role for the BVC to develop or provide tourism activities for visitors in such a way all Batak members in both Apiriran and Kalakuasan will benefit. This does not mean the BVC has to increase the participation of Batak members in Kalakuasan who

argued to be excluded from tourism activity as much as possible. The question rises if Batak members in Kalakuanan will experience the same pressure from the BVC or other government agencies in the future as the respondents from Apiriran. I would argue community members in both settlements should strive for self-mobilisation which is discussed by Liu (2003) and developed with the typology of Pretty (1995).

Involvement in decision-making

When looking at the involvement of Batak respondents in the implementation of tourism plans and projects by the City tourism Office and NGO's, no direct involvement of the Batak in meetings or during discussions can be found. When a chieftain from one of the two settlements was invited, they did not have the chance to share their opinions with other stakeholders and only had to listen. So respondents from both Apiriran and Kalakuanan seem not to be directly involved in decision-making or plans regarding tourism activities. When asking how they would describe their relationship with NGO's and the City Tourism Office, all respondents said they have only seen them once. Therefore these findings are in contrast with the thoughts of Rustema et al. (2007) who argued there is an active relationship or participation between in Palawan between community members and NGO's. The only contact the Batak respondents had in the past was with The Haribon, a NGO developed with the aim to socialize and discuss problems the Batak faced. After the BVC was built and visitor numbers to the Batak settlements increased, this NGO did not have the capacity to keep the process going. So at the moment, there is no interactive contact between the Batak respondents and NGO's which shows a crucial point in using the community approach as an effective tool in stimulating sustainable tourism development. No direct involvement and no interactive participation between the Batak and any other stakeholder discussed by Rustema et al. (2007) seem to be problematic if PPC is promoting itself as a 'sustainable city'. So even with the development of the SEP in the Philippines (Sagun, 2011) and even when this plan should enhance sustainable development no interactive participation of local communities in project implementation by government agencies can be found, which seems to be one of the crucial principles of sustainable tourism development (WTO, 2004). I would like to argue that the perceptions of the Batak respondents will hardly reach the level of the City Government or City Tourism Office in PPC via or the Barangays or the Church.

Even when government agencies want to involve the Batak respondents in decision-making, they fail in the transfer of information and knowledge to make their interactive relationship work in the future. At the moment a lack of knowledge exchange between different actors in the tourism industry, including the Batak respondents, has been experienced as problematic. There seem to be a high level of misunderstandings and miscommunications among all Batak respondents and government agencies. According to Simmons (1994) community involvement is crucial to avoid elements like uncertainties and misunderstandings about tourism development. For example the Annual Work Plan (AWP) that has to be sent from the Community Resource Management Framework (CRMF) to the Community Environment and Natural Resources Office (CENRO) (ICCA, 2008) and has to be written mainly by Batak community members. As discussed earlier in this report (1.4), a problem is that most Batak members have no idea where they are signing for. Another problem relates to the fact that only the chieftain has to sign and will represent the perceptions of all the members in his village. In Apiriran and Kalakuanan the perceptions of the Batak members are sometimes so diverse that only the signature of the chieftain does not mean the whole community agrees. According to the chieftains of both villages they sometimes have no idea where they are signing for.

So government agencies should start changing their approach by moving towards a more environment-led approach with a focus on the Batak culture and their environment. They should feel responsible for the future of the Batak tribe. As Goodwill and Santilli (2000) argue that the main causes of collapse of a community was related to poor market access and poor governance. Especially in Apiriran, participation in tourism has led to the commoditization of the Batak culture which is in line with the thoughts of Cohen (1988) who argues communities are the victim of a process that involves the conversion of phenomena into saleable items (or 'commodities'). In Kalakusan this effect is less visible. So getting back to the situation of Apiriran before its members started to participate in tourism is unrealistic, they seem to be part of a tourism product that has changed their community and culture forever (ICCA, 2008). For all Batak respondents, their culture has changed because of their participation in tourism activities and they have copied particular behaviour or attitudes from visitors. Besides copying behavior and attitudes from visitors, Batak members were exposed to a new level of consumerism where a need for western products and lifestyle has been developed (Verner, 2009). The main aim of community-based initiatives is to build a tourism product which belongs to the community so that cultural values and the living environment of its members will not change (Rest, 2000). Even when Batak respondents explained to experience an uncomfortable feeling of being observed by visitors, this aim of community-based initiatives and tourism strategies created by government organisations seems to be subordinate to economic benefits. I would like to argue that the main principles of community-based initiatives in especially Apiriran do not contribute to sustainable tourism development. The sustainable approach regarding product-led tourism activities discussed by Hunter (1997) can be found in the Apiriran case. The focus of the product-led approach was on increasing visitor numbers and prioritizing marketing opportunities over environmental opportunities. The tourism activities mainly organized by the BVC are not based on the desires or views of the Batak community where environmental and cultural concerns are not being prioritized over marketing opportunities. The focus of the BVC is too much on the demand side of the tourism chain, they want to stimulate growth in the tourism sector and want to meet the desires of their visitors. Instead of focusing on the needs of the visitors, government agencies should focus more on the desires of the Batak community. If the BVC is changing its tourism activities a little bit (see recommendations) tourism activities could be more organised along more eco-centric lines. The BVC should also focus on the behaviour of both visitors and tourism operators by starting with education programs to raise awareness about the relevance of cultural and environmental maintenance. These programs should be provided for both visitors and Batak respondents.

Sustainable tourism development

According to Hunter (1997) shifting to a more environment-led approach of sustainable tourism may be most applicable at locations where tourism is relatively new or non-existent. In Apiriran tourism participation is a relatively new phenomenon and in Kalakusan tourism participation is minimal. If there will be a shift to a more environment-led approach I would argue this may stimulate sustainable tourism development for the Batak in the future. Considering the environmental aspect, the increasing tourism numbers in Apiriran might result in exceeding its carrying capacity. As the case study of this thesis discussed, the impacts and effects of sustainable tourism will not be the same in every Batak community and will vary in type, location and significance.

The focus of sustainable tourism development should be more on satisfaction levels of local communities which is in line with UNDP (2001) who argue that people and communities should be free to exercise their choices and to participate in decision-making that affects their lives. Furthermore, the idea of UNDP is in line with my own perspective that it is about the satisfaction of local communities rather than a focus on economic profits (UNDP, 2001, 9). I would argue that by focusing on what the Batak members want a lot of tensions at various levels (1.5) could be minimized which will contribute to the idea of looking at the responsibilities of communities at the grass-root level (McKercher, 2003).

The Palawan Network of NGO's is facilitating sustainable tourism development by developing eco-tourism initiatives but Batak respondents are excluded from decision-making. Even when the WTO (2001) is focusing on sustainable tourism with the maintenance of cultural integrity, there is a lack of interaction between stakeholders from different levels. Government agencies that were included in this study seem to have no clear strategies for Batak their participation and involvement in tourism. Only NCIP has tried to involve Batak respondents in decision-making but did not have the opportunity to keep on going. We can ask ourselves if the tourism activities in both settlements that are promoted as community-based initiatives or eco-tourism, deserve their name if they do not meet all principles of sustainable tourism. At the moment especially in Apiriran there is a lack of respect for cultural values where tourism initiatives do not seem to reflect Batak community values. As discussed earlier, there is a request from Batak respondents from Apiriran for more capacity building and a focus on self-sufficiency. Again this principle of sustainable tourism according to the WTO (2004) has not been implemented yet. Cater (1993) identified three key objectives for sustainable tourism which one relates to meeting the needs of host communities in terms of improved living standards. It can be argued participation of Batak members in both Kalakusan and Apiriran has improved their living standards by increasing their access to social services (e.g education opportunities, church and health care). Still the question rises if all these positive impacts of tourism participation will outweigh its negative impacts. I would like to argue that this is not the case in Apiriran and that it is up to the government agencies to start listening to Batak members before realizing any tourism project in the future. Apiriran is an example where community members do not seem to reap the benefits from tourism participation, other Batak settlements should learn from them.

So even when participation can essentially be seen as a morally good thing to do, as we have seen in the Apiriran case, it can also have long lasting negative effects and influence stakeholder relations. Government agencies should be aware of the fact that when participation of Batak members has failed, this can increase suspicion among members of other settlements as well which can opt for non-participation of other Batak members in tourism activities the end. This seems to be the case in Kalakusan. So even when The City Tourism government is active in Puerto Princesa in order to increase the number of tourists with approximately 10% each year, a community approach seems to be essential.

6 Recommendations

Because the BVC plays an crucial role in the tourism activities in Apiriran and Kalakuasan, it should change its attitude towards the Batak members in both settlements. Recommending that Batak respondents should stop participating at the BVC seems not to be he most effective thing to do. The following list will provide some recommendation how the BVC can try to meet the desires of the Batak respondents. If the BVC tries to focus on these elements, it seems batak respondents would create a more positive attitude towards tourism participation. Of course this list will not change the lives from all Batak members, it can be a start towards a more sustainable approach where local needs are included and being heard.

✓ Stimulate Coordination and Collaboration, interaction and minimize miscommunications

As discussed, for the Batak respondents miscommunications are a barrier for the effectiveness of their participation in tourism. At the moment there is hardly any communication between the BVC and the Batak communities about what they expect from the Batak, why and when. Miscommunication at different levels will now be discussed:

BVC - City Tourism Office

The BVC should communicate more intensive with the City Tourism Office in Puerto Princesa about the number of visitors that are coming to the BVC and about any concerns or problems in one of the Batak villages. More research is needed after a couple of years when it is possible to see a development in visitor numbers and in the purpose of their visit. Hereby it is also necessary to plan more meetings with the BVC and the City Tourism Office in PPC where a member of one of the two settlements should always be present. Only then the Batak members are aware of the recent plans and developments in their region. It is also good to plan more meetings to prevent or minimize new miscommunications in the future. Nowadays (2012), visitors need a permit of NCIP first before planning a visit to one of the Batak settlements. When talking to the woman in charge at the BVC she had no idea what do do exactly when visitors arrive at the BVC. According to the City Tourism Office she had to check if the visitors had a permit form NCIP. Because of this miscommunication, visitors can go to one of the two Batak villages without having a permit. The BVC should know what the formal rules are and it is the responsibility of the City Tourism Office to inform her, otherwise the legislation procedure will not be effective. This also means the City Tourism Office has to communicate better with NCIP. More meetings are needed to keep every stakeholder up to date about the development in the tourism industry and the involvement of the Batak.

BVC - Batak

Also the communication between the Batak and the BVC can be improved. At the moment the Batak will get a text message from the woman who is in charge at the BVC with a request for performing or making handicrafts. The only problem is that the Batak in Apiriran don't have service in their village only if they climb in a particular coconut tree that is high enough to have access to a mobile service. In Kakaluasan there is one location in the village (at the end of their basketball field) where they do have service and can text or make a phone call. Still if the BVC wants to reach one of the Batak members to ask if they want to come, the Batak do not always receive or read the message in time. And only the chieftain has a mobile phone which makes it even harder to reach the community

before the visitors are already arriving at the BVC or in the Batak village. So improving the service is an important element to minimize miscommunication. Again, it is the question if the Batak from both villages want to improve the service in their village. The BVC has to talk with the chieftain from both Apiriran and Kalakuanan.

Furthermore, the BVC should focus more on the needs and concerns of the Batak and should ask more often if there is something wrong or if something bothers them regarding tourism participation. As explained in this study, the Batak will not communicate their concerns or problems with the BVC because they are afraid of being ignored. They are afraid that if they do talk about their problems, the BVC will exclude them from tourism activity. Besides that they are afraid the BVC will start texting and asking Batak members from another settlement if they complain. At the moment the BVC does not put the concerns of the Batak members on paper and does not communicate these problems with the City Tourism Office. It would be a good idea to register these concerns to see if problems may disappear in the future and if some problems are still present after a particular amount of time. It is the task of the BVC to solve the problems if they are caused by tourism activities.

Batak – Visitors

Sometimes visitors come to the Batak settlements without a guide and to minimize the feeling of “being observed without having any contact with the visitors, the BVC should only allow visitors to go to one of the settlements by getting a local guide who speaks their language, Tagalog. Only then miscommunications between the Batak and the visitors in their village can be minimized. Visitors should have one guide who can stimulate and increase the communication with the Batak. On the one hand it is a good idea to provide more information to the Batak about what the visitors expect from their visit and on the other hand also the visitor should know what the Batak expect from them. Irene who is in charge of the BVC now should take more responsibility for these elements.

Batak – Batak

Finally according to the respondents from both Apiriran and Kalakuanan, knowledge exchange between both settlements could be developed to increase a feeling of excitement in tourism participation. Batak members from Kalakuanan can teach Batak from Apiriran a lot about Batak traditions. Because Apiriran is changing faster because of their participation in tourism activities, it is relevant to especially teach the younger members of this village more about their culture. This can be implemented by stimulating interaction between both Batak settlements. This study has showed that all respondents want to see more interaction with other Batak settlements. The BVC may act as a platform where both communities can interact and learn from each other by sharing stories or traditions. Even without the presence of the visitors these activities should be organized. Especially the women in Apiriran will be at the BVC most of the time because they bring their children to school. So the BVC should not only be used as a location to perform for visitors and make handicrafts, it can also be a location where the Batak gather together. Once a year there is the Batak festival where all Batak communities in the region are invited. Both Apiriran and Kalakuanan members would like to see more festivals on a small scale to meet other Batak members.

✓ Changing tourism activities and sharing benefits

Focus on handicrafts instead of performing, 'working-at-home' and work for a bigger market

The Batak respondents from especially Apiriran want to participate more in tourism activities but would like to make more handicrafts and sell these products to the BVC or to local souvenir shops in PPC. When the BVC communicates this request with the City tourism Office in Puerto Princesa and local shops in the city, the Batak will have the opportunity to earn more money without having the negative impacts of showing the visitors around in their village and performing at the BVC. Hereby, the City Tourism Office and the BVC should respect and stimulate the 'work-at-home' request of the Batak by making more handicrafts. The time they normally spend on hiking to the BVC can be used to make more handicrafts which will increase their income. So the BVC should focus more on the handicraft business because the Batak like it more than performing for visitors. The money they earn with handicrafts is higher than performing. When the BVC has enough handicrafts to sell to the visitors they should help the Batak members from Apiriran to sell it to PPC. Therefore, the City Tourism Office in Puerto Princesa should encourage the Batak to open their business in tourism even if this is on small scale. This can be realized for example by giving them a special loan to start their small tourism enterprise and sell it to the bigger market in Puerto instead of keep on focusing on the BVC. The City Tourism Office should improve its performance by showing the Batak they want to help them instead of prioritizing marketing benefits over socio-cultural benefits. This can be reached by developing effective coordination and collaboration with other departments. This coordination relates to other stakeholders in the tourism field like local shop owners in Puerto Princesa City who would like to sell the products. This can only be effective when the City Tourism Office and the BVC adopt appropriate strategies to show the Batak they respect their culture..

Music & English lessons and Livelihood workshops at BVC

Where some Batak respondents have already learned from visitors how to play guitar, they want to learn more and if possible they want to learn it at the BVC. The BVC could become a platform or a place where the Batak from a lot of different Batak settlements can interact but also can make music. If only one Batak member knows how to play guitar or piano, he or she can teach other Batak members the same.

At the moment the BVC is focusing too much on an one-way knowledge exchange where only visitors will get a nice experience and learn from the Batak culture. The BVC should focus on small lessons for Batak members as well (English or music lessons). If visitors know there are music or English lessons taught by Batak at the BVC they could add their knowledge as well during their visit which can lead to an extra dimension of knowledge exchange. This will change the BVC in a place that may feel more comfortable than it does now. It does not have to cost a lot of money to teach the Batak members English at the BVC. Most of the local guides who work for the BVC and live really close to this centre can speak English very well. They could give English lessons for example once a week at the BVC. This is a cheap way to teach the Batak some English.

Furthermore, Batak respondents from both villages would like to see more education workshops organized by the BVC. Workshops where Batak members can learn more about sustainable livelihood strategies may be useful and a lot of respondents from both settlements miss these type of activities at the BVC. These workshops should raise awareness among the Batak

members about environmental and cultural issues in a world that is changing because of increasing visitor numbers.

✓ **Involving more tourism stakeholders and increase community involvement**

The City Tourism Office in PPC should increase the tourism stakeholder network so that the Batak Community can interact with other Batak communities, tourism organisations, NGO's and small/medium enterprises in Puerto Princesa to discuss the selling of handicrafts and other forests products. The Batak respondents said they like making handicrafts the most because they earn a lot of money with it.

At the moment there is some contact between the City Tourism office and the BVC but most of the time only by sending text messages. If they have a meeting, there is not a lot of time to talk about other things than the City Tourism Office has put on the agenda. It is good to include an extra agenda point to discuss problems according to Batak their perceptions. it could be a good idea to invite the chieftain to these meetings and make sure the meetings are not too far located from his own village. This is why the woman who is in charge at the BVC plays an important role. She should be more responsible for the information she gets from the Batak and communicate this better with the City Tourism Office by planning more face to face meetings. It is therefore the role of both the BVC and the City Tourism Office to let them feel more comfortable and less afraid to speak during meetings. At the moment the City Tourism Office plans some meetings with the BVC where they sometimes visit the Batak settlements. Again, they only inform the Batak what will change or how they should act in front of the visitors rather than asking the Batak what THEY want. This one way communication should change to multidirectional conversations where every stakeholder has the same rights and the same chance to speak.

This may lead to a better position and integration of the Batak in decision-making where the City Tourism Office in PPC is responsible for inviting Batak Captains of several Batak settlements to their meetings whenever possible. This study showed the importance of including the perceptions of indigenous tribes which cannot be missed in decision-making. By developing strong bonding social networks, meetings, groups or associations, Batak members from both settlements will have a better chance of becoming more engaged and informed.

✓ **Minimalize funding delays and disappointments**

The City Tourism Office has a particular funding for the Batak visitor which is most of the time a monthly payment. With this funding the BVC can buy the handicrafts the Batak would like to sell. Sometimes the Batak got a message from the BVC with the announcement they have to stop making the handicrafts because of funding problems. If the BVC is waiting too long for the funding of the government, the Batak stop making handicrafts at home or at the BVC. Sometimes the Batak wait for their money for months. If these 'funding problems' can be reduced, more handicrafts can be made. Or when the Batak in APiriran can also make handicrafts for the local market in PPC, they do not have to stop making handicrafts anymore when funds are not yet available at the BVC. Furthermore, sometimes visitors don't know they have to bring some money or gifts to the Batak settlements if they decide to visit them. When this happens, the Batak should report these disappointments at the BVC so that it will not happen again in the future. The visitors should know what to expect if they go

to one of the settlements and it is the task of the BVC to inform them. By improving this, the visitors will know what to bring and the Batak may be more satisfied.

✓ **BVC and its role of regulating, monitoring and registration**

At the moment, the BVC is a place where visitors and the Batak meet but it can be more than that. As mentioned earlier the BVC could be a place of multidimensional learning as well where not only the visitors can learn from the Batak but the Batak can also learn from the visitors and other Batak members. Besides that the BVC can fulfill another important job related to regulating, monitoring and registering.

The City Tourism Office in PPC should allow the BVC to *change their logbook* by adding some more questions for the visitors. In this logbook all visitors that are coming to the BVC have to register by mentioning their name, ethnicity and origin but it would be a good idea if they also have to mention the purpose of their visit. It is interesting to report if visitors want to go to one of the Batak settlements or not. Only by improving the registration of the visitors it is possible to see if there is an increasing interest of visitors to go to Apiriran or Kalukuasan. The existing logbook at the BVC has to be changed so that the purpose of the visitors will be put on paper. Another logbook can be created to register Batak community concerns, minimize concerns in the future and stimulate community satisfaction in tourism participation.

The BVC is located close to the highway in Concepcion and a 2 hours walk from Apiriran and a 4 hours hike from Kalukuasan. If visitors want to visit the Batak in Apiriran they will pass the BVC first. Therefore the BVC should be responsible for visitors that are passing the BVC before going into the forest. At the moment, all visitors that want to walk on the road that is leading them to Apiriran, will pass the BVC. Therefore the City Tourism Office should allow the BVC to make a more formal entrance which can be the door to the Batak village Apiriran and their BVC. They should only allow the few locals that live at this road or visitors with a permit from NCIP, to enter without any problems and visit Apiriran.

✓ **Stimulating self-sufficiency and capacity building in Apiriran**

The BVC should help the Batak members from Apiriran to start their own small business in making handicrafts. The BVC can help in creating a network and develop contacts with external institutions for the resources and the (technical) advice. They need to improve their access to the local and tourism market in PPC and give the Batak members from Apiriran the chance to make their own time schedules instead of being dependent from the BVC. This will stimulate a feeling of independency which was an important wish of the Batak respondents from Apiriran.

✓ **Stop promoting Batak settlements**

According to the City Tourism Office in Puerto Princesa City (2012) the promotion of both Batak settlements is necessary to attract more visitors to their villages and stimulate tourism in Apiriran and Kalukuasan. But at the moment more promotion for the Batak in Apiriran is not necessary because it is not according to the perceptions of the Batak. Even when the Batak respondents from Apiriran said they want to make handicrafts for the local market in PPC, they did not mean government agencies have to promote them. This will attract new visitors to the region which is not in line with the desires of all respondents. At the moment, there is a website to promote the "Batak

village” in Apiriran. But this is not what the Batak members prefer. When government agencies start promoting Kalakuan as a Batak village for visitors, its members will get too much involved in the tourism industry against their will. If that happens, the Batak from Kalakuan would be disappointed. Then negative impacts of tourism activities may increase and Kalakuan will look like Apiriran in the future. Apiriran is promoted as a Batak village online and this is not the case for Kalakuan yet. This study would like to recommend not promoting Kalakuan as a Batak village online, the respondents in this study explained not to be interested in these developments. Before the City Tourism Office is taking any decision, they have to *involve* the Batak and really *listen* to what they have to say.

✓ Future research

Because tourism development is arriving everywhere in the world and visitors are travelling to the most remote destinations, participation of local communities is an element that should get more attention. Palawan is focusing more and more on eco-tourism and community-based tourism initiatives (Sagun, 2011). Because local participation is a core principle of these two, Puerto Princesa should increase Batak participation in decision-making. More research is needed to give a better and more in-depth understanding of the perceptions of the Batak. Furthermore, more research about the economic impact of tourism activities on the Batak community is needed to see what part of their income can be related to tourism activities and to what extent the Batak members are financial dependent on tourism. Also, further research about the role of NGO's and tourism agencies should be addressed to get a better understanding of other stakeholders that are important for the involvement of Batak members in decision-making. Besides government agencies, tourism agencies play a crucial role, they will try to develop or implement tourism strategies to attract more visitors to the Batak settlements or may organise new or more tribal tours in the future.

As discussed earlier in this research (5.2) all tourism activities for Batak members in both settlements are organized by the BVC, are not based on the desires or perceptions of the Batak communities. Batak respondents from Airiran have explained they prefer to be less dependent from the BVC and its tourism activities. So only when the BVC will listen to the perceptions of the Batak in both settlements, these recommendations can be implemented.

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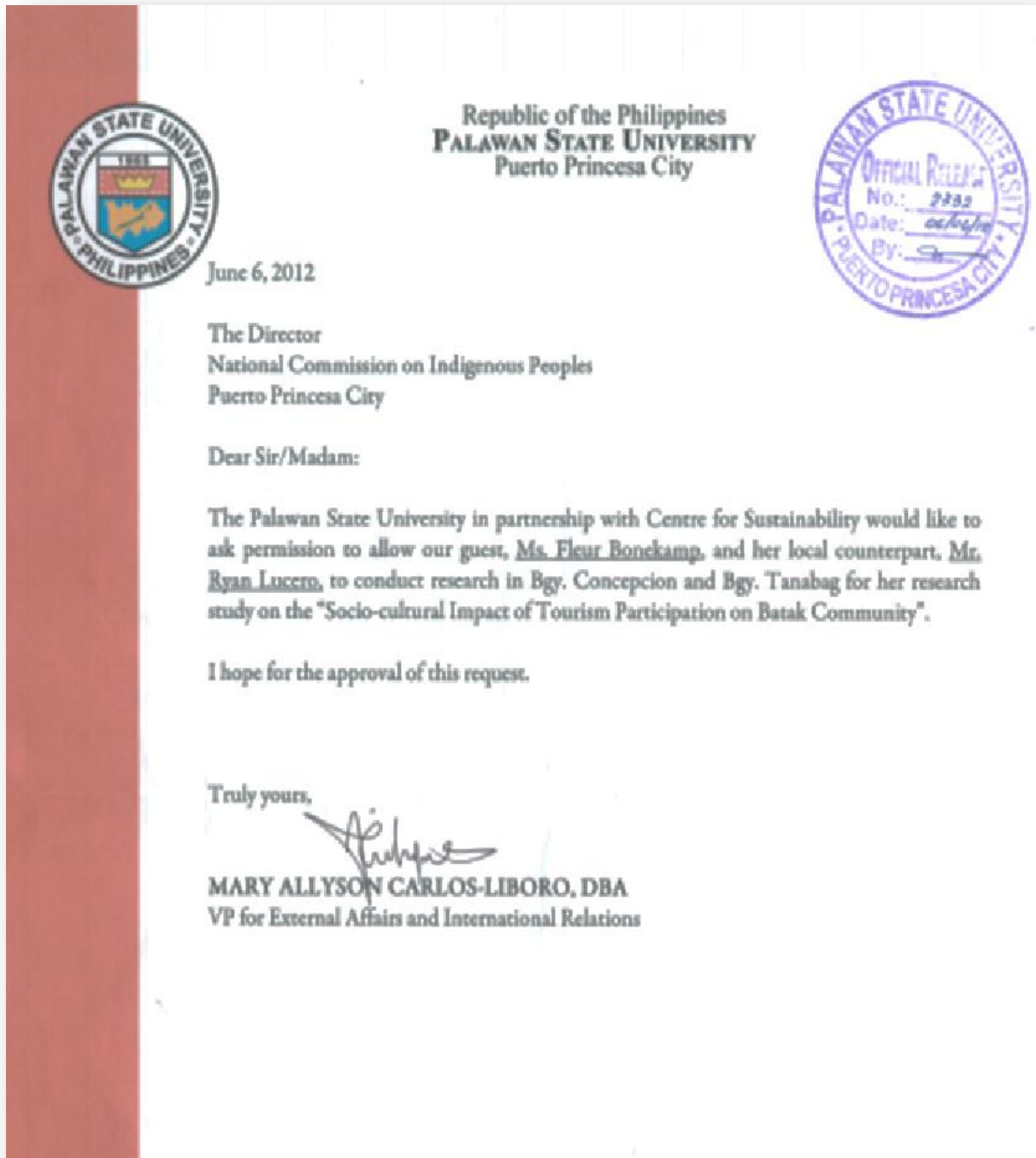
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8. Appendices

✓ Appendix I Permission letters

Permission letter Batak research from Palawan State University for NCIP



Permission letter chief Batak Kalakuasan

May 27, 2012

TEODORICO VILLANUEVA
Tribal Chief
Sitio Kalakuasan

Ato po si Fleur Bonkamp mula holland
ay humihingi ng permiso na magkagawa ng
pagsusuri sa inyong kumunidad para po sa ating
pag-aaral, ang launing po ng ating pag-aaral
ay patnugol sa epekto ng turismo sa inyong
buhay at kumunidad.

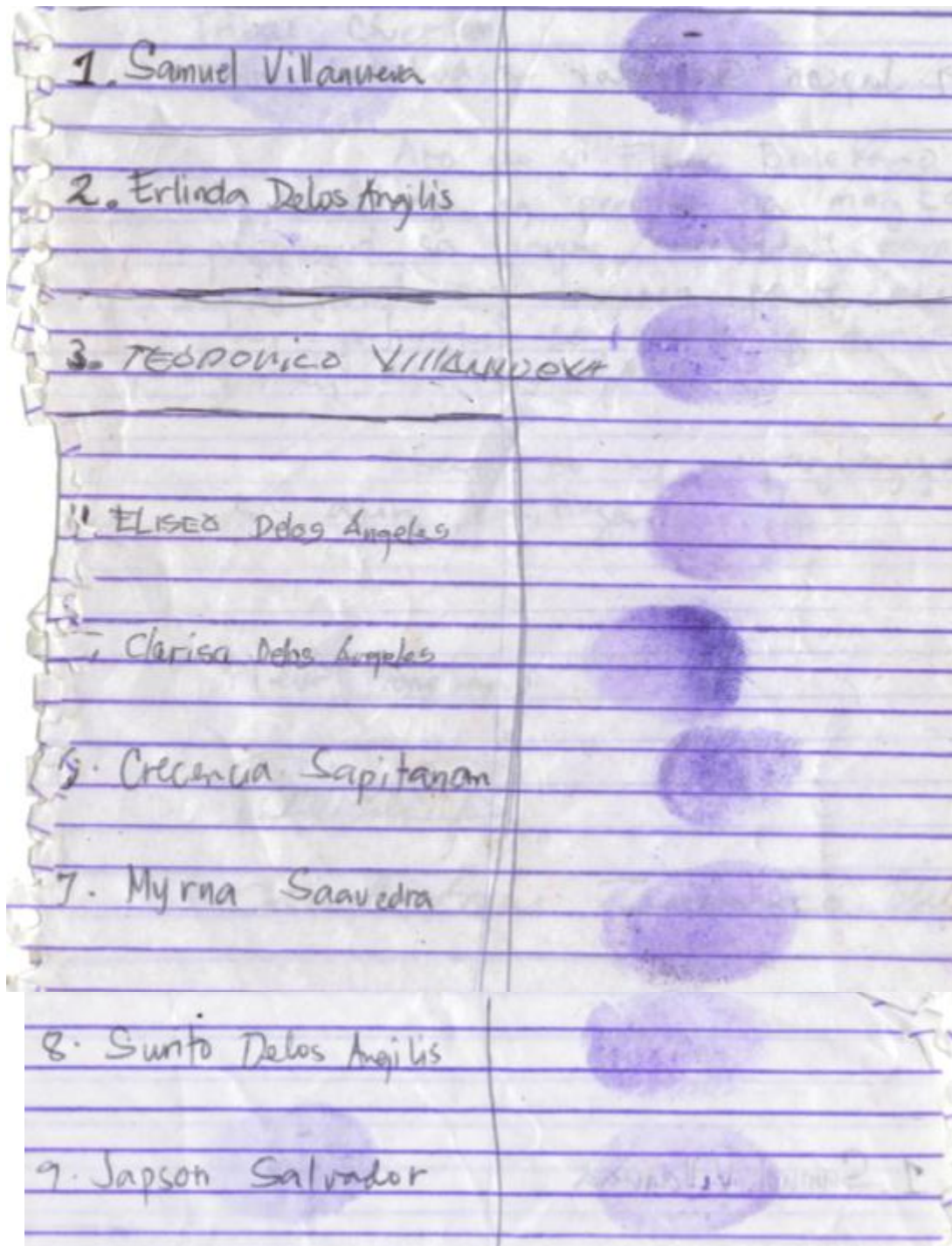
Sana po ay magaybigyan ninyo po ako
sa ating kahilingan.

Fleur Bonkamp

~~Fleur Bonkamp~~

Chief Tain Teodorico Villanueva

Permission Batak members Kalakuan



A photograph of a piece of lined paper with handwritten names in blue ink. The paper has several large, circular purple ink smudges on the right side. The names are numbered 1 through 9. The paper is slightly wrinkled and has a white spiral binding on the left edge.

1. Samuel Villanueva	
2. Erlinda Delos Angeles	
3. TEODONICO VILLANUEVA	
4. ELISEO Delos Angeles	
5. Clarisa Delos Angeles	
6. Crecencia Sapitanan	
7. Myrna Saavedra	
8. Swito Delos Angeles	
9. Japson Salvador	

Permission Batak Members Apiriran

May 24, 2012

Ako po si Martin Gupo, Chief of Batak sa sitio Apiriran kasama ang aking mga nasasakpan pinakihintulutan ko po si Fleur Borekamp na nagsagawa ng pag-aaral sa aking komunidad.

Local guide Pablo

Martin Gupo

Martin Gupo

Rustico Mauricio

Rico Bulontong

Ramon Gupo

Leonardo Nalica

Felisciana Bulontong

Mary Jane Ramirez

Jonneor Bulontong

Rica Gupo

Wenceslao Ramirez

✓ **Appendix II: Topic list and an example of questions that have been asked in the field English/tagalog**

Topic List Batak members:

General (pangkabuoan)

Name (pangalan)
Age (edad)
Gender (kasarian)
Ethnic background (tribung kinasasakupan)
Main role within community (katungkulan sa kumunidad)
Main source of income (pinagkukunan ng kita)
Reason for location settlement (rason sa lugar na pinaninirahan)

Content

- Description of their village, history of village, history of participation
- Roles within community
- Type of tourism activities
- Changes in village and community because of tourism activities
- Interaction visitors (related to tourism activities)
- Interaction Government agencies (related to tourism activities)
- Interaction locals Actors in tourism network (related to tourism activities)
- Problems in village because of visitors, tensions?
- Negative effects of participation in tourism activities
- Positive effects of participation in tourism activities
- Impact on their culture and traditional activities
- Concerns regarding tourism activities
- Stimulate participation or decrease?

Notes interviewer:

Q1: How can participation in tourism activities of the Batak be described? (paano maipapaliwanag ang partisipasyon ng mga batak sa actibidadis ng turismo?)

“What” (anu)

1. What are the three main daily activities within your community? (anu ang tatlong pangunahing ginagawa sa iyung kumunidad?)
2. What is your main source of income? (anu ang iyung pangunahing pinagkakakitaan?)
3. How do you earn money through tourism? (paano ka kumikita sa turismo?)
4. What type of tourism activities are you involved in? (anung uri ng gawain sa turismo ka nabibilang?)
5. How important is earning money through tourism for you? (gaano kahalaga sayo ang kumita ng pera sa pamamagitan ng turismo?)
6. How did you get involved in these activities? (paano ka napabilang sa ganitong Gawain?)
7. For how long have you participated in these activities? (gaano na katagal ang iyong partisipasyon sa ganitong Gawain?)
8. To what extent has your participation in tourism activities changed over the past few years? (sa anung antas meron ang iyung partisipasyon sa turismo na nabago sa mga nakaraang taon)
9. How often do you participate in tourism activities? (gaano kadalas ang iyong partisipasyon sa gawaing panturismo?)

10. Are you being paid for these activities, if so by whom? (binabayaran kaba sa ganitong Gawain? Kung oo, sino?)

“Where” (saan)

11. Where do these tourism activities take place? Saan ginagawa ang mga gawaing panturismo?)
12. To what extent has the location of these activities changed over the last few years? (sa anung antas ng pagbabago ang lugar na tinatanghalan sa mga nakaraang taon?)

“Who” (sino?)

13. With who outside your community do you have contact with and why? (sinu-sino ang mga taong nakakasalamuha niyo sa labas ng inyong kumunidad at bakit?)
14. How often do you see these people? (gaano kadalas niyong nakikita ang mga taong ito?)
15. Who do you see from outside your community that are important for you when you attend tourism activities or when you earn money from tourism? (sino ang nakikita mo sa labas ng inyong kumunidad na mahalaga sayo sa pagdalo mo sa gawaing panturismo para kumita.)
16. Where do these people live? (saan nakatira ang mga taong ito?)
17. Which members of your community are involved in these activities? (saang meyembro ng inyong kumunidad ang nabibilang sa ganitong Gawain?)
18. To what extent are these other people involved in these tourism activities from outside your community? (sa anung antas ng partisipasyon nabibilang sa gawaing panturismo ang mga taong ito sa labas ng inyong kumunidad?)
19. Where do the people in your tourism network come from or live? (saan nagmumula ang mga taong nagpapatakbo ng gawaing panturismo?)
20. How often do you see the people that play an important role in this network? (gaano mo kadalas makita ang mga taong nagpapatakbo sa gawaing ito?)
21. When did this network develop and how? (kailan nagsimula ang ganitong Gawain at paano?)

Q2: How do Batak experience and interpret their participation in tourism activities, especially with regard to its impacts on their daily lives? (paano maipapaliwanag ang karanasan ng mga batak sa kanilang partisipasyon sa gawaing panturismo lalo't higit sa epekto nito sa kanilang pang araw araw na buhay?)

“Why” (bakit)

1. Why do you participate in these tourism activities? (bakit ka nakikibahagi sa ganitong Gawain?)
2. Why do you live on this location and what role did tourism play in this decision? (bakit ka nakatira sa ganitong lugar at ano ang tungkulin ng turismo sa disisyong ito)
3. How important is your participation in tourism activities in your daily life? (gaano kahalaga ang iyong partisipasyon sa gawaing panturismo?)
4. To what extent do you enjoy being involved in tourism activities? Why? (sa anung antas ng kasayahan sa iyong sarili sa pakikisali sa gawaing panturismo? At bakit?)
5. What are the positive sides of your participation in tourism activities? (anu ang mga positibong nakikita mo sa iyong partisipasyon sa gawaing panturismo?)
6. What are the negative sides of your participation in tourism activities? (anu-anu ang mga negatibong sanhi sa iyong partisipasyon sa gawaing panturismo?)
7. How do you deal with these negative sides of tourism? (paano mo hinaharap ang mga negatibong sanhi nito?)
8. If you participate in tourism activities do you leave your community, if so why? (kapag dumadalo ka sa gawaing panturismo iniiwan mo ba ang iyung kumunidad? Kung oo bakit?)
9. To what extent do you participate because other community members expect you to do so? (hangang kailan ang iyong partisipasyon dahil ba ang ibang meyembro ng ibang kumunidad ay umaasa sayo na gagawin mo ito?)
10. How has tourism changed your community? (paano nabago ng turismo ang iyong kumunidad?)
11. How do you feel about these changes? (anu ang naramdaman mo sa pagbabagong ito?)
12. Has working in tourism affected your home life or relationships in your family? (ang pagtatrabaho ba sa turismo ay nakakaapekto sa iyong buhay at relasyon sa iyong pamilya?)

13. What has changed in your community after members started to get involved in tourism activities and what do you think about this change?(anu naba ang nabago sa iyong kumunidad matapos magsimulang makisali ang bawat meyembro sa gawaing ito at anu sa iyong palagay ang ganitong pagbabago?)
14. What has changed in your daily life because of tourism activities? (anu ang nabago sa iyong pang araw araw na buhay dahil sa turismo?)
15. How do you experience your contact with members that are important for you when you are working in tourism related work? (paano ang iyong mga karanasan kasama ang iba pang mga meyembro sa mga gawaing may kinalaman sa turismo?)
16. If you would have any concerns about these tourism activities whom would you talk to and why? Kung mayroon kang nais gawin patungkol sa gawaing ito sino ang nakakausap mo at bakit?)
17. How and how often do you communicate your thoughts (concerns and needs) about tourism with people from outside your village? (paano at gaano kadalas ang iyong pakikipagkita at komunikasyon sa mga taong nasa labas ng iyong kumunidad patungkol sa gawaing panturismo?)
18. When was the last time you had a concern? (kailan ang huling araw na mayroon kang ipinabatid?)
19. Who did you contact and where? (sino ang iyong nilalapitan at saan?)
20. What is your opinion about the communication between your community and (non) governmental organizations? (anu ang iyong opinyon sa pakikipagugnayan ng iyong kumunidad sa mga pribadong organisasyon?)
21. If you could decide anything you want, what would you change about the tourism activities? Kung ikaw ang magdedesisyon anu ang nais mong mabago sa mga gawaing panturismo?)
22. Can you decide by yourself which tourism activities you want to participate in, why? (may kakayahan kabang magdesisyon sa iyong sarili kung anu ang nais mong gawin bilang partisipasyon at bakit?)
23. Why do you want to stay in your village or move and what role does tourism play in this sense? (bakit gusto mong manatili sa iyong kumunidad o lumipat sa ibang lugar at anu ang tungkulin/kinalaman ng turismo sa ganitong sitwasyon?)
24. Which factors would change your participation in tourism activities? (saang bahagi
25. When will you stop earning money through tourism? (kailan ka hihinto sa pagkita ng pera mula sa turismo?)
26. What are your concerns about visitors visiting your village? (anu ang iyong masasabi sa iba pang bisita na pumupunta sa iyong kumunidad?)
27. What are your concerns about working in tourism activities? (anu ang iyong mga reklamo patungkol sa trabahong turismo?)
28. What do you know about new plans/projects/activities organized by (non) governmental organizations regarding tourism and your community?anu ang alam mo sa mga bagong plano/proyekto/Gawain na inoorganisa ng gobyerno o pribado man na may kinalaman sa turismo?)
29. How often do you talk with governmental organisations or NGO's and why?(gaano kadalas ang iyong pakikipagusap o pakikipagugnayan sa gobyerno o pribadong man?)
30. Why are some members not participating in tourism activities? (bakit ang ilan sa mga meyembro ng kumunidad ay hindi nakikipagugnayan sa ganitong Gawain?)
31. Do you want to move to another Batak settlement and why? (gusto mo bang lumipat sa iba pang grupo ng mga batak at bakit?)

Appendix III: Interview questions government agencies English/Tagalog

Q3: What are governmental organizations perceptions of the impact of Bataks tourism participation on their daily lives and how do they involve Batak needs and interests in their projects? (anu-anu ang pananaw ng gobyerno sa epekto sa pakikipagugnayan sa turismo ng mga batak sa kanilang pang araw-araw ng buhay at kung paano nila inuugnay ang mga batak sa kanilang pangangailangan at interes.)

Topic list government agencies

- Description government agencies and function
- Role of government agency in tourism
- Reason for tourism plans
- Reason for Batak participation in tourism
- Reason BVC
- Tourism network and government agencies
- Aware of community perceptions?
- Perceptions about changing village Apiriran and Kalakuan
- Perceptions about the involvement of Batak members in tourism plans
- Future plans (increasing participation Batak, sustainable approach?)

Notes from the researcher before field work took place:

Some of the questions asked in the field:

1. What is the main vision of your organization ? (anu ang bisyon ng inyong organisasyon?)
2. In your understanding, how and to what extent are Bataks involved in the tourism sector? (sa inyong pangunawa, gaano at hanggang kailan ang pakikipagugnayan ng mga batak sa turismo?)
3. Do you think Bataks participation in tourism activities has a positive or negative impact on their daily lives and future? (sa iyong palagay ang pakikipagugnayan ba ng mga batak sa turismo ay may positibo at negatibong epekto sa kanilang pang araw-araw na buhay at sa hinaharap?)
4. What do you think about Batak's participation in tourism activities? (anu sa palagay mo ang partisipasyon ng mga batak sa turismo?)
5. What has changed in the last few years in these batak villages because of tourism? (anu ang mga pagbabagong naganap nitong mga nakaraang taon sa kumunidad ng mga batak dahil sa turismo?)
6. What kind of projects or activities do you organize related to the Batak and can you give a short description? (anung uri ng proyekto o Gawain ang inyong ginagawa alinsunod sa mga batak, maari mo bang ibahagi ng kaunti?)
7. What is the main goal or objective of these activities or projects and why? (anu ang layunin ng Gawain at proyektong ito at bakit?)
8. How did these projects or activities related to the Batak develop and what differences can be found today compared to a couple of years ago? (gaano kahalaga sa mga batak ang gawaing ito para lalo silang mapaunlad at anu na ang makikitang pagkakaiba ngaun kumpara sa mga nakaraang taon?)
9. What in your mind constitutes improvement for the Batak? (anu ang nasa isip mong kaunlaran ng mga batak?)
10. Can you describe the relationship between your org and the Batak community(ies). (maari mo bang ipaliwanag ang relasyon ng iyong organisasyon sa tribu ng mga batak?)
11. Who are involved in these projects or activities? (sinu-sinu ang mga nauugnay sa ganitong Gawain?)
12. To what extent do you involve all the Batak settlements in your activities or projects (or do you focus on particular areas)? (hanggang kailan mo isasangkot ang lahat ng tribu ng batak sa inyong proyekto o gawain (o mayroon lamang ba kayong lugar na tinututukan)?)
13. How would you describe Batak's participation in your projects or activities? (Paano mo maipapaliwanag ang partisipasyon ng mga batak sa inyong proyekto?)

14. How important are Batak's needs and interests for the development of your activities or projects? (Gaano kahalaga ang mga pangangailangan at interes ng mga batak para sa pagunlad ng inyong proyekto?)
15. How is this information incorporated into your projects? (paano nakasali ang impormasyong ito sa inyong proyekto?)
16. How do you know what the thoughts and ideas of the Batak are related to these activities or projects? (paano mo nalaman kung anu ang nasa isip at ideya ng mga batak na may relasyon sa ganitong Gawain?)
17. To what extent do you want to change Batak's participation and why? (hanggang saan gusto mong mabago ang partisipasyon ng mga batak at bakit?)
18. To what extent do you want to attract more tourists to their village and why? (hanggang saan gusto mong maingganyo ang mas marami pang turista na pumunta sa kanilang kumunidad at bakit?)
19. What are the newest activities or projects you organize related to the Batak? (anu ang mga bagong gawaing inyong isasagawa na may kinalaman sa mga batak?)
20. To what extent are the Batak aware of these new projects or activities? (sa anung antas ng kaalaman ng mga batak ang tungkol sa bagong gawaing ito?)
21. In what stage of the process do you inform the Batak that you are creating new projects or activities where they are involved in? (anung antas ng proseso mo ipinapaalam sa mga batak na may mga bago kayong proyekto na kung saan sila ay kasangkot dito.)
22. To what extent are there struggles for your organization regarding the involvement of the Batak in the development of the projects and activities and why? (hanggang saan na ang mga pagsubok na kinakaharap ng iyong organisasyon sa pakikisangkot ng mga batak tungo sa pagunlad ng nasabing proyekto o Gawain at bakit?)
23. How would you describe the communication between your organization and the Batak and how often do you interact (face to face or via letters etc)?(paano mo maipapaliwanag ang komunikasyon sa pagitan ng inyong organisasyon at ng mga batak at gaano kadalas ang inyong pagkikita (harapan o sulat lamang at kung anu pa.)
24. What's the number of visitors that are interacting with the Batak in Tanabag or Concepcion and what is hereby the role of your organisation? (anu ang bilang ng mga bisitang tumutungo sa tanabag o conception at anu ang tungkulin ng inyong organisasyon ukol ditto?)

Appendix § 5.4.1 **agencies**

Positive impacts batak participation in tourism by government

Sometimes the visitors are coming to the region and visit the Batak settlements for their studies or research. Without their visits some concerns or treats for their community may not be recognized (Batak Visitor Centre, 2012).

➤ **BVC as a family house or platform for interaction**

According to the City Tourism Office the BVC has been built for Batak members to function as a family house. The function of this house is to act as a place where they can interact with Batak members from other villages and where they can sleep if they want. When the Batak members bring their children to school close to the highway the parents can stay at the BVC and wait till they can pick them up again. It is a place for the Batak members to feel safe (20). As discussed earlier, not for all Batak members the BVC feels as a place where they can interact with Batak members from other settlements (4).

➤ **Preservation of the Batak culture**

According to both the City Tourism Office and the BVC, another positive impact of tourism on both settlements is the preservation of the Batak culture and to pass on its cultural traditions to the next generation. Some Batak are married to other Filipinos and when that happens cultural traditions may get lost. This is in line with the thoughts of one interviewee from Apiriran (4) who argued the children in their village will learn how to make the handicrafts and how to perform because of the tourism activities that take place at the BVC. These findings do not directly mean that without the BVC the Batak culture will disappear in the future. It also has to be mentioned that only one interviewee agrees with this perception of the government agencies.

“Their participation in tourism activities will be good for their community because we have identified those who have the skills for making the local products for the tourists. We give them trainings as basic as possible. So we know among the Batak who can make the products, do the dances or perform. We want to transfer the skills of the elderly to their next generation by explaining both generations how important their culture is. In this way we try to make our tourism activities as sustainable as possible and preserve the Batak culture” (City Tourism Office, 2012).

➤ **Communication and behavior**

The second positive element because of Batak their participation in tourism reflects their changing behavior and communication skills. Learn how to speak Tagalog so that they can speak with locals now and now how to behave and interact with people from outside their village without being shy or afraid.

Sometimes visitors go to the village but we cannot measure economic or social impact so we are concerned about the negative impacts. They should have a proper perspective and give them a better understanding how tourism works. We want to minimize the intrusion of visitors in that sense. We want to keep them away from exploitation of their culture (City Tourism, Office, 2012).

“Apiriran is getting more civilized but actually we have no idea what the Batak members in Apiriran think about this development because they are buying western products and wearing close now, they are not forced to do so” (City Tourism Office, 2012).

A positive thing is that there are educational programs to teach the Batak how to profit from the tourism participation but also how to maintain their culture. But it is possible Batak members are participating in tourism now but their next generation doesn't want to follow the traditional way of living. But that is something we do not know. We have to tell the Batak that it is important to keep their culture alive. But positive effects are also related to the location of the interaction between the Batak and the visitors. Most of the time the Batak are part of a side trip where visitors want to see the culture. The visitors want to interact with the Batak mainly outside their community and that will conditions as well. So even when some Batak interact with the visitors outside their community the locals that stay behind in the village can live the life they want and if they do not want to participate in the tourism activities that is ok. But still in general I think that the cultural change will further develop because the Batak that do participate in tourism activities will go back to the community and tell the others how to earn money in the tourism sector. If they see the gifts from visitors and the money they earn by participation in tourism activities at the highway they will be curious as well.

I do not think that the interaction between the visitors and the Batak has a lot of negative effect. The underground river tour is most important and main attraction but this activity attracts too much visitors. So the government wants to create new activities and tourism destination to attract visitors to other locations. They cannot accommodate all the guests now. So they will create new destinations like the tribal tours. But we mainly promote El Nido or Coron now, activities outside the city Puerto Princesa. In Puerto they cannot be accommodated in the Underground River so we have to find other destinations. The underground river is one of the 7 wonders of the world so we are helping to promote other places (Provincial Tourism Office, 2012).

§ 5.4.2 Negative elements

➤ Depending on government payments

At the moment the City Tourism Office and the NCIP and the government and the DSWD are the main sponsors or funders. It is not regular payments but everything the Centre has a program for the children or so then we go to the DSWD and we will explain our plans. We will tell them how much money we need and we hope they will support us and sponsor us. Last year September the DSWD helped us with sponsoring. But that was a big amount of money and today we still use parts of this funding. We will send the handicrafts and bring the money to the bank but when we will get more funding or money we can buy new handicrafts from the Batak again. So it is a circulation of money you understand?

So the money or funding will always come from the government because all the agencies are from government (DSWD, Visitor Centre or City Tourism office). DSWD is governmental organization and the NCIP as well. But they all have different budgets but all the money is coming from the government in the end. We are now requesting money from the NCIP because we are working on our proposal. We do that now for the first time because we didn't know we could apply for it. We know now that we can get money from them but we didn't know before.

It is always a long process to get money from them. The main building is created by the City Tourism Office. We involved the Batak also while we were building the buildings. But this is made by an architect but in the style of the Batak. So we got the permission of the Batak to build the Batak Centre but we didn't ask the Batak what kind of activities they wanted to do here: we told them what they had to do.

Only the head of the offices of NCIP can tell us how it works so in the Philippines it is a long process. Even if some members of the NCIP visit the Visitor Centre sometimes they do not know anything about funding. So it is hard for us here at the Batak Centre to know what to do exactly and even if we applied for funding it can take such a long time before we SEE the money. So the land of this Visitor Centre is owned by a local and the main building is build and created by the City Tourism Office.

Because of this dependence the money the Batak members earn by making and selling the handicrafts does not always directly go to the Batak. When the Batak make handicrafts they can sell it at the Batak Visitor Centre and if the BVC has enough money they will pay the Batak and try to sell the products in their shop to visitors. When they sell it to the visitors the money is not 100% for the Batak. The BVC will keep part of the money for renovation at the BVC or to pay its employees. So the

question sometimes arises: if the tourism activities in both Batak settlements are sustainable why does not all the profit go to the Batak communities directly?

➤ **Changing lifestyle and less time for traditional activities**

For that you have to ask the priest or the Kaptain of the community but that is a male. They went to the centre and he has nothing against the centre but he does not want to be involved. And we respect that because if he does not want to be involved that is ok. We try to look into the social impact as well. But the Batak also do the agriculture. We can not force them to go to the centre and sometimes those who are not directly involved in the farm they can go to the centre. But their willingness to participate there is no problem. SO when we ask them if they want to get subsidy for their participation in tourism activities we are trying to tell them they also have to do the production of their crafts etc. We do not want to pull them out of their traditional activities. We try to set up groups so that they come in groups so that the activities are being scheduled. Some of the members want to make the products at home and do not want to be involved that much so they will only bring their products to the BVC (City Tourism Office, 2012).

➤ **Commercialization of culture**

So why are they focusing on the ritual dancing and not on the dances for healing? Now they dance for healing but is that the same dance?

Yes that is the same dance, for healing and for rituals. So it is the same dance but with another purpose. When they dance here at the Centre the purpose it to earn money, when they dance in March the purpose is for the plants and the flowers, when they dance for healing the purpose is to talk with ancient spirits and heal members of their tribe. So when they have to perform for the visitors they will pick that dance with the purpose to earn money. So they will always perform the same dance but will forget the purpose related to healing and stimulating the growth of the plants and flowers. Its strange because the Batak sometimes do not want to dance but they will because they have to even if they have to dance with the wrong purposes sometimes. Because they use a dance now for excitement that was once used for healing. The visitors came in and we asked the Batak to perform and they were ok with that. Because the Batak wanted to attend these activities but only because of the money.

“But sometimes the BVC does not know how to handle the requests from the tourists. The department of tourism almost gave up because we had a difficult time so we want to focus more on sustainable tourism activities and how we can preserve or protect the Batak culture from negative tourism impacts but at the moment we are too busy with other things” (City Tourism Office, 2012).

➤ **Observing and “feeling a shame while performing”**

Before some foreigners went to the Batak Village and only took pictures and observed the Batak without having contact with them (even not with a local guide)

Sometimes the Batak had to perform without clothes or only in a G-string in their own village. The Batak feel the visitors are making a fool of them or are laughing at them. They feel stupid sometimes because some visitors don’t want to learn but only want to observe and have fun. The Batak feel abused or horrible if the visitors only want to record a movie so that they can show it to their friends

and can laugh at them. So if the Batak have that feeling in the village they can also have that feeling when they perform for visitors at the Batak Centre (Batak Visitor Centre, 2012).

One of our concerns is we are not able to monitor what is really going on in the region and what the Batak members think or want. Of course we do not want any negative impacts to the community because of activities that take place at or because of the BVC. At the moment we do not know what is going on in the villages because there is less interaction between stakeholders like the City tourism office, the Batak Visitor Centre and the Batak communities. Some would say that they are forced to dances and performances (City Tourism Office, 2012).

Sometimes the children are already ashamed of wearing no clothes. They are no longer proud of their traditions or culture. SO we try to tell and teach them they should be proud. The school for living traditions, national program of the national commission for culture and art, they want to bring it on a national level. The children will learn how to make baskets as well etc. This school is formal with a concept of teaching the younger generation. They learn what the traditions are of the Batak in order to preserve the local culture (City Tourism Office, 2012).

If you saw them most of them are already wearing clothes. They will ask the visitors if they have cigarettes or gifts or other things. If you go there as a visitor you have to offer them something if you go there. That can be a negative effect and also that they spend more and more time in tourism activities and have less time to focus on the traditional activities like hunting etc. I think it is not bad if they get the presents but the culture can disappear. If you compare it with the Tagbuna tribe you will see that they are more and more integrated and that the traditional elements of the culture can disappear. For example wearing the traditional clothes will disappear and even little children are ashamed now that they do not wear clothes if visitors are coming. So they feel not comfortable sometimes if visitors see them without clothes. So that is already changing and we have to learn them they have to be proud of their culture and maintain their traditions.