THE DYNAMICS OF STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION IN MARINE PROTECTED AREA DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY IN BATANGAS, PHILIPPINES

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ABSTRACT

This case study examines the dynamics of stakeholder participation in the establishment, management, and sustainability of the marine sanctuaries in Balayan Bay covering the municipalities of Mabini and Tingloy in Batangas, Philippines. The study interviewed purposive samples of individuals who use Balayan Bay and who are therefore either directly or indirectly involved in or impacted by the establishment of the marine sanctuaries. For comparative analysis, the stakeholders are identified as locals, indirect brokers, direct brokers, and tourists. The result of the study showed that the extent of participation of the locals reflects the limited benefits they have derived from the marine sanctuaries, their perceived loss of control over the management of these marine sanctuaries, and their growing sense of alienation from them as a consequence of the takeover by the tourism sector. This paper argues that the identification of all stakeholders must be an ongoing process to cover all who have interest over the same marine space, including those who may not have been originally involved in the establishment of the marine sanctuaries. The participation of these stakeholders in the management should be encouraged and sustained through the equitable distribution of benefits in various forms. Among other recommendations, this study supports the pursuance of the plan for a common resource management program for the bay being the shared fishing ground and a tourist destination of the two municipalities.

Introduction

Developing a marine protected area is a complex process involving not only the meeting of technical requirements like data on biophysical condition of the area to be designated as restricted for any human activities, but also soliciting community recognition

and support of its objectives at all levels through education (Russ and Alcala, 1999, p. 308). The success of this program depends mainly on its ability to win the support and participation of all users of the coastal and marine resources whose interests are at stake with the closure of a portion of the marine space and the regulation of its use. Finally, to institutionalize its establishment, it must get the government to grant the legal basis for its existence (White, Courtney, and Salamanca, 2002).

Katon, Pomeroy, and Salamanca (1997, p. 22), however, noted that not all stakeholders are equally interested in resource conservation or willing to take active roles in resource management. Therefore, an initial activity essential for the successful establishment of a marine protected area is the identification and description of the stakeholders within as well as outside the community. This will result in a good understanding of their attributes, pre-occupations, interests, and attachment to the marine environment that have to be dealt with effectively in order for them to have significant participation in the marine protected area project.

Identification of Stakeholders

Stakeholders are individuals or groups who are affected by the outcomes, whether negatively or positively, of the marine protected areas. As well, they influence or affect the success or failure of the project and its sustainability. Karl (2000, p. 11) distinguished stakeholders of any resource management project into primary, secondary, and external. Primary stakeholders are directly and grossly affected by the project while the secondary stakeholders are intermediaries in the process of delivering aid or assistance to the primary stakeholders. The external stakeholders, on the other hand, are not directly involved in the project but may either impact or be impacted by the project. This non-inclusive description of stakeholders departs from the traditional notion of the term as referring only to those directly involved used by Katon, Pomeroy and Salamanca (1997, p. 22). To expand the concept of stakeholders, this study includes those not only indigenous to

the community where the marine protected areas are situated but all who are affected and have either negative or positive interests on them.

In recognition of the importance of the marine protected area not only to resource conservation for bio-diversity but also to fishery production and tourism, the distinction of stakeholders done by Miller and Auyong (1998) is considered more appropriate in the analysis of this paper. Their categorization is based on how the stakeholders are attached to the tourism sector as well as to the fishery sector. They include the tourism brokers (further categorized here as direct and indirect), locals, and tourists. In relation to the marine protected area development, the locals and the direct brokers are expected to earn direct economic benefits in the use (legal or not) of the marine space and its resources. Categorically, the indirect brokers and the tourists do not necessarily enjoy personal "economic interests" in marine protected areas unless they play multiple roles and go into the tourism or fishing businesses in the community.

The locals refer particularly to individuals who are solely engaged in fishing and do not directly derive income from the tourism business although they are affected by its consequences, economically, socio-culturally, and environmentally. Distinctively, community residents who spend more time working with the indirect and direct brokers to oversee the activities or serve the needs of the tourists, respectively, are considered as tourism brokers. The direct brokers, on the other hand, are private individuals including the resort and dive tour operators, boat operators, resort workers, and tourist guides. Also called as private sector brokers (Miller and Auyong , 1998, p. 3), they directly earn from the tourism business.

Meanwhile, the indirect brokers are considered as public individuals because of their work in the community. They include the officials of the local government units, non-government organizations, community organizations, and those involved in the actual enforcement of MPA regulations. The indirect brokers are,

therefore, not in the direct business of catering to the needs of the tourists but occupy intermediate social position between the tourism and fishery sectors. In the ideal sense, this allows them to enforce ordinances regulating the use of the marine protected areas in an effective and fair manner that is acceptable to all types of stakeholders. The indirect brokers also correspond to what Miller and Auyong (1998, p. 3) label as public sector brokers.

It should be recognized, however, that some stakeholders carry multiple roles and interests that may not be congruent to their socially identified status and roles. However, these roles are also not permanent and vary over time depending on the opportunities available to them (Oracion, 2001). For example, the report of Russ and Alcala (1999, p. 310) shows how prominent local officials who have interests both in fishing and tourism venture have jeopardized the sustainability of the marine reserve in Sumilon Island and brought the island back to its pre-MPA state. The dominant and popularly recognized social and economic activities that stakeholders in the marine protected areas currently pursue as brokers (direct or indirect), locals, or tourists constitute the basis for their inclusion in this paper.

Importance of Stakeholder Participation for Sustainability

Stakeholder participation has been recognized as a major factor for the sustainability of many development efforts, such as the marine protected areas, until desired results are achieved especially when external expertise and financial support are withdrawn. Moreover, the biological sustainability of a marine protected area is measured by its ability to meet the "needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 43). Its biological sustainability is also presumed to be positively dependent on the sociological sustainability it has earned, i.e. the long-term participation of stakeholders in its development.

Participation is perceived as a means to move the stakeholders to provide support, cooperate, or collaborate with

an existing project. As an end, it is used to empower them for greater self-reliance and self-management toward sustainable development (Karl, 2000, p. 1). However, participation is considered to be dynamic and changes over time in extent and quality. Therefore, when variations manifest in stakeholder participation within a given period of time, these should to be monitored and understood so that managers can introduce appropriate mitigating activities and policies.

The need to focus on stakeholder participation in any development project is anchored on the argument that if stakeholders invest more in participating but derive less benefit from the process, they cannot be expected to sustain their participation for long. Meanwhile, it is expected that those who benefit more will improve and sustain their participation although as a result they may marginalize the other stakeholders. In effect, when a significant number of stakeholders withdraw support from the project, this could undermine greater sustainability because they would become threats to the project. Hence, Karl (2000, p. 10) stresses the need to assess the costs and benefits of participation on the part of the stakeholders, which could be measured using both quantitative and qualitative indicators.

The foregoing discussion has implications in the establishment and management of a marine protected area. Since the sea is perceived as a common property where everyone has open access (National Research Council, 2001), an uninvolved community can hardly be expected to understand why external organizations or individuals impose restrictions on their rights to these resources (Russ and Alcala, 1999, p. 308). Similarly, a marine protected area could also not survive in a condition when only one sector supports it while another is indifferent to it.

Experts emphasize, therefore, that participation of all who have stakes or interests to protect and satisfy must be solicited and encouraged from the moment a project is conceived to its realization and maintenance. This is only possible through effective education and capability building (White, Courtney, and

Salamanca, 2002). However, this becomes more complicated in cases when new stakeholders, such as the tourism brokers and the tourists, appear and manifest interests over the marine protected area halfway in its development and particularly when it becomes successful (Crawford, Balgos, and Pagdilao, 2000, p. 8; Vogt, 1996, p. 16; Barreveld, 2001, p. 1000). They may either impair or contribute to its management or displace the locals altogether from the management of the marine protected area. To deal with this eventuality, proper mechanisms must be clearly reflected in the management plan.

The Focus and Conduct of the Study

Stakeholder participation relative to the marine protected area, therefore, has to be viewed as a dynamic which follows the phases of the project's development namely, establishment, management, and sustainability. It is assumed that the sustainability of stakeholders' support for the marine protected area is influenced by their participation during its establishment and management as well as by the benefits they experienced as a result of their involvement. However, there may be those who participate only during the management phase and not during the establishment. How the new stakeholders affect the early participants have to be examined relative to how this also determines the future of the marine protected area project.

As used in this study, the establishment phase is that period when decisions and plans are made and implemented, while the management phase covers the maintenance and protection of the marine protected area. Participation in the establishment could be measured by the rating the stakeholders give to their involvement in the decision and planning stage. Participation in management, on the other hand, is indicated by the self-rating of support in the maintenance, compliance, and enforcement of the regulations

of the marine protected area. Meanwhile, the sustainability phase refers to that period when the improved condition of the marine protected area has been achieved and now requires maintenance for a long-term impact. Stakeholder participation at this phase is measured by the continuance of their support of the project particularly when external expertise and financial assistance have been withdrawn.

Through a stakeholder analysis, this study examines the rating the various stakeholders gave their participation during the establishment and in the management of the marine protected areas. Rather than evaluating the success or failure of the marine protected areas, this analysis will examine the reasons behind the improved or limited participation of particular stakeholders relative to the extent of benefits they experienced in the process. In the succeeding discussion the term marine sanctuary or reserve will be used because this is what the case study site calls its marine protected area as contained in an ordinance regulating its management and use.

This case study was done in Mabini and Tingloy, Batangas, Philippines. A total of 160 interviews were conducted or 40 for each (25%) of the categories of stakeholders, using a semi-structured interview schedule. The respondents were initially stratified according to the four categories of stakeholders (i.e. locals, indirect brokers, direct brokers, and tourists) and purposively identified in the field through the snowball technique. Although there are four categories identified for comparative analysis, they are further specified into 11 sub-groups characterized by their current social and economic activities.

The locals are more specifically categorized as fishers from within the community (12.50%) and from outside (12.50%). The indirect brokers include the deputized sea warden or *Bantay dagat* (12.50%), *barangay* officials (5.62%), municipal officials (3.75%), and community workers of non-government

organizations like the Haribon Foundation, *Kabang Kalikasan ng Pilipinas* (KKP) and the Sulu Fund (3.12%). The boatmen (12.50%), resort and dive shop operators (6.25%), and resort workers (6.25%) are considered as the direct brokers. Meanwhile, the tourists are classified as local or domestic (15.63%) and foreign (9.38%).

It should be emphasized that the data discussed in this paper basically came from the perspectives of the different categories of respondents and not by any objective or standard indicators. These include the respondents' perception of the condition of the marine sanctuaries and how they relate to them, their involvement in their establishment, support for their maintenance and protection, the benefits they enjoyed, and sustainability of their support. The respondents were asked. to rate their experiences as well as the behavior of other stakeholders along these issues or variables. The emic ratings of respondents made use of a scale of one (lowest) to five (highest) in addition to their descriptive equivalents. In every rating they made, they were asked also to express their reasons in order to reinforce the analysis. These reasons have important bearing on the improvement of the management of the marine sanctuaries.

The data were analyzed according to the categories of stakeholders. These were then compared across categories in order to see how each differ or reinforce each other in their participation in the development and management of the marine sanctuaries. Differences in percentage distribution and mean scores were used to determine the variability of the responses of the different categories of stakeholders. Chi-square test and the Kruskal-Wallis Analysis of Variance measured the significance of difference of their responses or observations.

The Coastal and Marine Conservation Initiatives

This study covers specifically the *barangays* of Bagalangit and San Teodoro in Mabini (mainland town) and Santo Tomas in

Tingloy (island town), in Batangas (*see map in* Christie, et. al., *this issue*). All these communities have direct access to Balayan Bay for fishing and tourism. Fishers from both communities claimed to fish in each other's territorial waters. This sometimes results in tension when a group is accused of illegal fishing or intruding inside the marine sanctuaries. Similarly, tourist divers who stay in the resorts at Mabini also dive in the waters of Tingloy. Earthwatch (2001) considered the reefs in Balayan Bay as abundant in marine life, supplying tons of fish to local fishers and attracting thousands of scuba divers and snorkelers for their biodiversity and beauty. Because of these, resorts and dive shops occupy most of the available spaces of the coast facing Balayan Bay, particularly the part of Mabini that started dive tourism in the 1970s.

Several non-government organizations interested in marine environmental protection and conservation have been working in Mabini and Tingloy for more than a decade now. Foremost of these is the Haribon Foundation which helped in the establishment of the marine sanctuaries particularly in Bagalangit and San Teodoro. The Coastal Resource Management Program of the US Aid for International Development (CRMP-USAID) and the World Widelife Fund-*Kabang Kalikasan ng Pilipinas* (WWF-KKP) also expanded their projects in Mabini. The CRMP helps monitor the status of the marine sanctuaries and the surrounding areas necessary for the formulation of mitigating policies and actions for their management. The KKP is particularly known for its support for the enforcement of the marine sanctuary ordinance through the *Bantay dagat*. It is also currently developing mechanisms with the local government for the collection of user's fee for the marine sanctuaries, particularly from dive tourism (Christie, 2002, p. 3). Meanwhile, the Sulu Fund for Marine Conservation Foundation, Inc. (SFMCFI) works specifically in Santo Tomas and pursues a marine conservation program through the establishment of a marine sanctuary as one project component (Ocampo, n.d).

Section 1 of the amended Marine Sanctuary Ordinance

(1993) of Mabini declared the entire shoreline and reef of 700 meters offshore of the *barangays* of Bagalangit and San Teodoro as within the municipal marine reserve. Within the marine reserve area are the three fish or marine sanctuaries of Cathedral Rock, Arthur's Rock and Twin Rocks (Sec 2). Reports said that the first two marine sanctuaries were established principally through the initiative and involvement of the resort operators adjacent to them who are likewise in the forefront of their management. Meanwhile, the Twin Rocks Marine Sanctuary was established with community participation; however, the resort operators have allegedly taken over its management at present (Christie, 2002; Pomeroy, Oracion, Caballes, and Pollnac, this issue).

Originally declared a fish sanctuary in Mabini in the first ordinance of 1991, the White Sand is now part of the whole marine reserve area where traditional fishing is allowed (Sec. 3). This includes the use of hook and line, spear fishing without compressor and scuba, use of nets, *salok* for catching *dulong*, and use of traps (Sec. 5). Meanwhile, Section 4 of the ordinance considers it "*unlawful to catch fish* or to gather corals within the sanctuary" (*emphasis mine*). The amendment, however, says that "gathering of seashells at a maximum of knee depth level of water is allowed inside the sanctuary from the month of May, June, July, August, September, and October only". A sentence in Section 3 also reads that "*scuba diving/ snorkeling is absolutely prohibited* inside the sanctuary" (*emphasis mine*).

The Establishment of the Marine Sanctuaries

The marine sanctuaries of Mabini were established about 10 years ago (planning and deliberation started in 1991). Those originally involved are no longer connected with the local government units or environmental organizations working in the

community. New ones have replaced the pioneering non-government workers who worked with the community. Among local residents, those who used to work in the tourism business before now work elsewhere. These partly explain why a greater proportion of the stakeholders interviewed was not involved during the establishment of the marine sanctuaries.

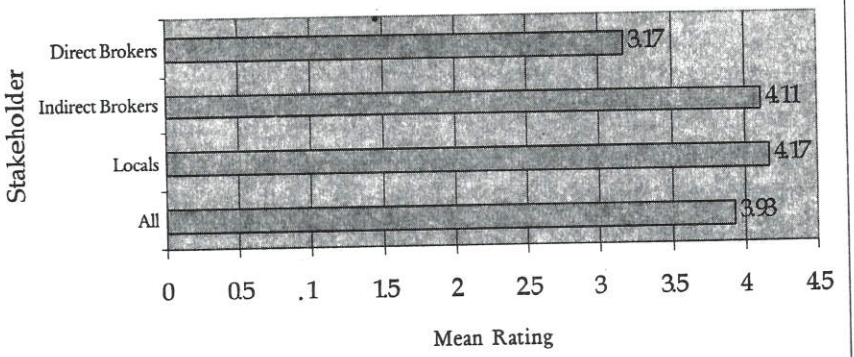
Only about 17 percent of all the stakeholders interviewed were involved in the decision making and planning during the establishment of the marine sanctuaries. The data show that 30 percent of the locals were involved compared to the indirect brokers (22.50%) and the direct brokers (15.00%). Meanwhile, none of the interviewed tourists were involved. The proportion of stakeholders who were involved differs significantly across categories.[1] This information will help ascertain if the variation in the participation of different stakeholders has also shifted or changed overtime relative to their support of the management and use of the marine sanctuaries at present.

Rating of involvement. Since only a few of the stakeholders interviewed have been involved in the decision-making and planning for the establishment of the marine sanctuaries, what is more important to pursue at this point is the rating of their involvement.

On the average, the self-rating of all stakeholders who were involved in making the decisions and plans for the establishment of the marine sanctuaries is 3.93. Although there is a slight variation in the rating of the locals and the indirect brokers (4.17 vs. 4.11), they still fall under the same descriptive rating of being *more involved*. Meanwhile, the average self-rating of the direct brokers is 3.17 or only *moderately involved* compared to the locals and the indirect brokers. However, two of the resort operators who have been in the community earlier than the rest and have taken some initiatives of establishing the marine sanctuaries like Cathedral

Rock and Arthur's Rock gave ratings above the mean.

Fig. 1. Mean Rating of Involvement



Rating Scale: 1.00- 1.79= least involved, 1.80- 2.59= less involved, 2.60- 3.39 = moderately involved, 3.40- 4.19= more ***involved, 4.20- 5.00= most involved***

Although it was shown earlier that the proportion across stakeholders involved in the establishment significantly differs, their involvement rating does not differ significantly.[2] Nonetheless, Fig. 1 shows that the involvement rating of the direct brokers is lower compared to the locals and the indirect brokers who shared almost equal ratings. The resort operators represented mostly the direct brokers who were involved compared to the other stakeholders in the same category.

Reasons for involvement. Those who were involved explained that they were active from the start particularly in the preparation, dissemination of information to the community, the actual planning itself, and the establishment of the marine sanctuaries. Specific responses from the non-government workers indicate that they were particularly responsible for the conduct of public hearings and in coordinating with the local government officials and community leaders for. The local officials and leaders who welcomed these non-government organizations confirmed

what the non-government workers have said. In fact, they helped them in the preparatory training for the establishment of the marine sanctuaries. Together with non-government workers, specifically from the Haribon Foundation and some academic research institutions, a number of stakeholders across categories also participated in the coral survey used in making the plan.

On the other hand, the direct brokers, in particular the resort operators, claimed that they were responsible for the establishment of the marine sanctuaries close to their respective resorts. A local reported that it was part of his duty as an official of the community association to cooperate in the establishment of a marine sanctuary (i.e. Twin Rocks). Three local government officials, including the non-government workers who participated in the deliberation of the ordinance that legalized the establishment of the marine sanctuaries, also gave the same reason. There were also those who said that they were involved because they recognized the importance of the marine sanctuaries amidst the deteriorating fishery and marine resources in the community. Absence from the community for sometime also explains the limited involvement of some fishers.

Table 1. Reasons of Stakeholders for their Involvement

Reasons for Involvement Ratings	Locals (%)	Indirect Brokers (%)	Direct Brokers (%)	Total (%)
Actively involved from start	7 (58.34)	4 (44.45)	6 (100.00)	17 (62.96)
Obligation as part of official functions	1 (8.33)	3 (33.33)		4 (14.82)
To improve fishery and marine resources	1(8.33)	1 (11.11)		2 (7.41)
Absence from the community for sometime	2 (16.67)			2 (7.41)
Occasionally involved	1 (8.33)			1 (3.70)
No response		1 (11.11)		1 (3.70)
Total	12 (100.00)	9 (100.00)	6 (100.00)	27 (100.00)

Reasons for non-involvement. Majority of the stakeholders pointed to their lack of attachment to the community (50.38%) as the reason for their non-involvement in the decision making and planning for the establishment of the marine sanctuaries. Of the stakeholders who gave this reason, (83.87%) were indirect brokers, (47.06%) were direct brokers followed by the tourists, particularly the foreigners (45.00%), and the locals (25.00%). The specific circumstances behind this reason differ across categories of stakeholders. The fishers from outside the community said that they were not part of the process of the marine sanctuary projects by virtue of their being non-residents. This is also consonant with the reason cited by the government officials from outside the community who claimed to have no jurisdiction over the matter. Moreover, there were indirect brokers who said they were not yet local government officials, B*antay dagat*, or community workers at the time of the establishment of the marine sanctuaries. Resort operators and boatmen who were not yet in the tourism business during that period gave the same reason. All of them had no direct interest to be involved.

The second reason given is lack of knowledge of the establishment or existence of the marine sanctuaries at that time (18.80%) and cited by a good number of the tourists (37.50%). Meanwhile, tourists who had knowledge of the existence of marine sanctuaries explained that as these were already in existence when they started diving in the community, they were not involved in their establishment. However, one tourist who had been in the community earlier lamented that he was not informed about this matter. Some of the direct brokers, particularly the boatmen and the resort workers, also cited this reason.

The absence of interest and pre-occupation with other important activities is third of all the cited reasons (11.28%). Tourists, primarily foreigners, said that they were interest only in diving and not in any other kind of involvement. Direct brokers like the boatmen or dive guides were simply

interested in their work of bringing the tourists to the dive sites. The same is true among some fishers from the community whose interest was more focused on making a living.

Being young at the time the decision and plan were made is the fourth reason for non-involvement (8.27%) and cited by some locals as well as by direct and indirect brokers. Meanwhile, the fifth reason cited only by the outside fishers states that they were not members of the community association. A number of resort workers and boatmen alleged that only the workers of a non-government organization, the local officials, the resort operators, and the members of the community association were involved in making the decision and the plan. One indirect broker further commented that only one prominent national government official made the decision with regards to the establishment of one of the marine sanctuaries in the community (i.e. Cathedral Rock). He said that the later handing over of management of the sanctuaries to one resort nearest to it was not a community decision.

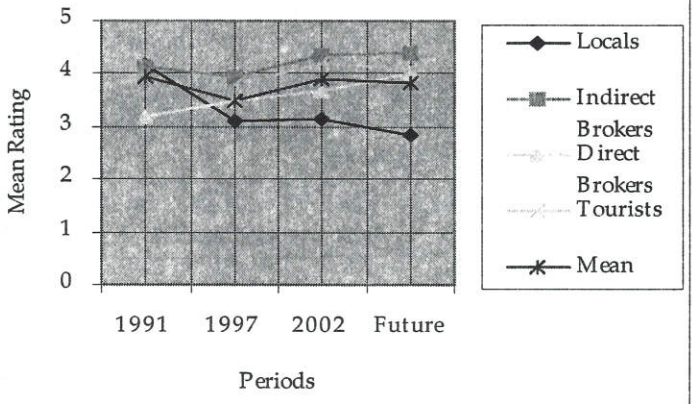
Table 2. Reasons of Stakeholders for their Non-involvement

Reasons for Non- involvement	Locals (%)	Indirect Brokers (%)	Direct Brokers (%)	Tourists (%)	Total (%)
Unattached with the community	7 (25.00)	26 (83.87)	16 (47.06)	18 (45.00)	67 (50.38)
No knowledge about them	3 (10.71)	1 (3.22)	6 (17.65)	15 (37.50)	25 (18.80)
Not interested and pre-occupied	5 (17.86)		3 (8.82)	7 (17.50)	15 (11.28)
Still young during that time	6 (21.43)	2 (6.45)	3 (8.82)		11 (8.27)
Not a member of the association	7 (25.00)				7 (5.26)
The plan was exclusively made		1 (3.23)	6 (17.65)		7 (5.26)
No response		1 (3.23)			1 (0.75)
Total	28 (100.00)	31 (100.00)	34	40	133 (100.00)

Synthesis and Discussion

It could be noticed that the participation of the locals declines dramatically when the ratings of stakeholder participation across categories are compared (Fig. 3) during the different phases of a marine protected area development from establishment, management to sustainability. This observation is alarming because the locals had originally demonstrated a significant amount of involvement in the project together with the indirect brokers. Even the sustainability of their support in the future is now doubtful having recorded the lowest mean rating compared to the other stakeholders.

Fig.3. Mean Ratings of Stakeholder Participation During Different Periods of the Marine Sanctuary Development



Comparatively speaking, the participation of the locals in the marine protected area development in the case study site is in contrast to the direct brokers and the tourists. The direct brokers demonstrated an improving trend in their participation as well as in its sustainability. They also rated high in terms of the benefits they experienced compared to the locals. Meanwhile, the tourists who had no participation in the establishment of the marine sanctuaries rated

themselves high in their support for their management. They are also perceived to have derived the highest benefits from the improved condition of the marine sanctuaries.

Although the tourists' rating for the sustainability of their support is lower than their rating for the management at present, this is expected because they are non-residents in the case study site. They are expected to stop coming anytime or return in the future depending on their desire and perhaps on the condition of the dive sites in the community, including the marine sanctuaries and such factors as the peace and order condition of the country in the case of the foreign tourists.

It should be recognized, however, that the benefits enjoyed by the different stakeholders are not comparatively the same because they inherently have different levels of utility and units of value. The tourists enjoyed the aesthetic and recreational values of the marine sanctuaries while the direct brokers and the locals have derived relative economic benefits. As the tourists seek more aesthetic and recreational satisfactions from the marine sanctuaries, more economic benefits accrue to the direct brokers but not for the locals. This may be the case when the locals are prohibited to fish near or within the protected areas. It is alleged that their extractive use of the marine resources threatens their beauty and bio-diversity causing a negative impact on the tourism business.

Meanwhile, the local government units represented by the indirect brokers have rating of benefits intermediate between the stakeholders of the fishery and tourism sectors. It is higher than the rating of benefits of the locals but lower than the rating given by the direct brokers and the tourists. They are also perceived to demonstrate moderate shift in their participation in the marine sanctuary project because of the instability of their tenure. This is particularly true among political leaders who have the tendency to undo the efforts of political rivals (Christie 2002: 5). Nonetheless, the participation ratings of indirect brokers are shown to be constantly above the mean ratings of all stakeholders.

Among all other possible explanations, it is believed that the limited benefits enjoyed by the locals, their growing sense of alienation from the marine sanctuaries, and their loss of control of the management of these sanctuaries have only added to their frustration and made them unwilling to actively participate in keeping the marine sanctuaries in excellent condition. If a good number of fishers continue to harbor this sentiment, they would become potential threats to the sustainability of the marine sanctuaries. The improved condition of the marine sanctuaries at present may be jeopardized when fishers no longer recognize and violate the "no-fishing inside the marine sanctuary" provision of the ordinance.

There is, therefore, a good reason to believe that the ineffective enforcement of marine sanctuary ordinance is one source of tension between the fishery and tourism sectors. For instance, although the ordinance specifically prohibits fishing a well as scuba diving and snorkeling inside the marine sanctuaries, this prohibition is not strictly enforced on diving activities, which are in fact tolerated. On the other hand, fishing is strongly prohibited especially by the resort operators. The selective enforcement of the marine sanctuary ordinance further contributes to the perception that those in the tourism sector enjoy more control and access over the marine sanctuaries (*also* Christie, 2002, p. 15).

Summary and Conclusion

This case study demonstrates the complex process of identifying all the stakeholders of a marine protected area development. They do not include only those who are directly involved, such as the officials and members of the local government units, non-government organizations, community associations, the resort operators, and resident fishers. They also include the tourists, outside fishers, the tourist brokers, and all who use Balayan Bay where the marine sanctuaries are located. These latter interest groups are also important elements to consider for the success or failure marine sanctuaries development.

Majority of the fishers and indirect brokers coming from another community included in this study may not be strictly considered as stakeholders because they either refused to be involved or their participation was not solicited in the marine protected area project. However, their participation is necessary because of the fact that Balayan Bay where the marine sanctuaries are located is their common fishing ground. Therefore, the outside community also becomes recipient of whatever results, favorable or otherwise, the marine sanctuaries create in the long run.

On the positive side, the outside community can contribute significantly to the maintenance and protection of marine sanctuaries if their participation is solicited and when they are made aware of the spillover effects of marine sanctuaries and the potential benefits they stand to gain when fishing in the adjacent waters of the protected areas. It has been widely observed that outside fishers who have taken no part in the establishment and protection of marine sanctuaries and are left out in the periphery, or who have been actively cut off from a potentially rich fishing ground are often the violators of the marine sanctuary ordinance. They may not have participated in the establishment of the marine sanctuaries but they could be encouraged to support in the management at present. The same is true to the indirect brokers of another local government unit.

Meanwhile, the study shows that majority of the stakeholders claimed that they were not involved in the decision making and planning during the establishment of the marine sanctuaries. But among those involved, the locals, particularly the fishers from within the community, claimed the greatest involvement because they are residents who make a living here. Nevertheless, it has become evident that a few years after the establishment of the marine sanctuaries, the relationships of the different categories of stakeholders to the marine sanctuaries have either shifted or changed. Although there was an improvement in the number of those who supported the management compared to the number of those who were originally involved in the establishment, the

proportion of the direct brokers who supported the management was more than one-third of the locals. In fact, only less than half of the locals were supportive of the present management and these mostly include fishers from within the community.

Only an insignificant number of outside fishers said that they supported the management of the marine sanctuaries at present although they fish close to these areas. This is in contrast to the significant increase in the proportion and the extent of the support of the indirect and direct brokers as well as the tourists although a majority of them were not originally involved in their establishment. This shows that the enthusiasm of all types of fishers to support the maintenance and protection of the marine sanctuaries has not improved after their establishment because the equitable distribution of benefits has not been realized.

The sustainability of the support of the locals for the marine sanctuaries in the future is also perceived to be only moderate compared to the rest of the stakeholders. This observation supports the findings of Pollnac, et. al. (this issue) on the factors influencing the sustainability of integrated coastal management projects in the Philippines. These findings noted the positive impact of tourism but underscored the negative impact of the involvement of tourist business interest on the participation of the locals, which consequently declined resulting from conflict of interest.

Recommendations

This study recommends first and foremost the forging of the agreement between the two local government units in the management and use of Balayan Bay. The past proposal for the creation of the Mabini and Tingloy Coastal Area Development Council (MaTingCADC) or the Coastal Resource Management Trust Fund Board and the adoption of a common resource management program for Balayan Bay that is representative of all types of stakeholders needs urgent attention. Because of its political implications, this proposal must be initiated by the two local government units. If realized, all marine sanctuaries in Balayan

Bay and those to be established in the future can form a network (e.g. Christie, White, and Deguit, 2002) within a broader bay development plan for more impact. When this materializes, financial and technical resources can be pooled and management efforts become well coordinated, eventually ensuring equitable and sustainable use by all stakeholders.

Another recommendation is the immediate amendment of the 1993 Marine Sanctuary Ordinance of Mabini. Unless the gray area in the marine sanctuary ordinance is corrected and its enforcement implemented, made transparent, and acceptable to all stakeholders (i.e. marine sanctuaries are open to dive tourism but regulated and for a fee), the fishers will insist on believing that they are being discriminated against, particularly when they see that outsiders who do not share the burden of developing and maintaining the sanctuaries end up deriving more benefits. The reaction of the locals is understandable coming from people whose high expectations in the beginning only ended in disappointments. The same observation is apparent in the study of Christie, White, and Deguit (2002) in the marine protected areas of the islands of Balicasag and Pamilacan in Bohol. The same loopholes must also be addressed in the proposed Marine Sanctuary Ordinance of Tingloy.

Finally, it is also recommended that the income derived from dive tourism in terms of taxes and fees for use of the marine sanctuaries (White and Cruz-Trinidad, 2000; White, Ross, and Flores, 2000) be converted into social benefits. The locals who do not seek tourism-related employment must be able to feel these in terms of services and infrastructures or development projects in the community. This will compensate for their loss of access to the currently protected areas which used to be their traditional fishing grounds. The more the locals benefit from dive tourism, directly or indirectly, the more likely they will support the efforts to keep the marine sanctuaries in excellent condition. A part of the money from this income must also be set aside as environmental funds to sustain the management of the marine sanctuaries at

Balayan Bay, perhaps to be managed by the CRM Trust Fund Board.

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Notes

[1] Chi-square = 11.03, df = 2, table value = 9.210, $p<0.01$.

[2] Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA= 2.77, df = 2, table value = 9.210, $p> 0.01$ level.

[3] The tourists who supported five years ago include 5 domestic and 4 foreigners out of the 40 interviewed.

[4] Chi-square = 23.68, df = 3, table value = 11.345, $p< 0.01$.

[5] The tourists who supported at present include 16 domestic and 9 foreigners out of the 40 interviewed.

[6] Cells are collapsed to 3 columns because there are cells that have frequencies of less than 5. Chi-square =

26.47, df= 2, table value = 9.210, p< 0.01.

[7] Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA = 3.58, df = 3, table value = 11.345, p> 0.01.

[8] Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA= 16.293, df = 3, table value =11.345, p< 0.01.

[9] Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA = 2.39, df = 3, table value = 11.345, p> 0.01.

[10] The tourists who reported enjoying some benefits include 17 domestic and 7 foreigners out of the 40 interviewed.

[11] Cells are collapsed to 3 columns because there are cells that have frequencies of less than 5. Chi-square = 18.30, df = 2, table = 9.210, p< 0.01.

[12] Thirteen are outside fishers while 3 are from the community. The omparative rating of benefits also in Table 12 shows that the outside fishers received the least benefits.

[13] Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA = 10.63, df = 3, table value = 7.815, p< 0.05.

[14] Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA = 22.132, table value = 11.345, p< 0.01.

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