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MASTER'S THESIS UNDERSTANDING OVERTOURISM IN A DEVELOPING ISLAND CONTEXT: THE CASE OF PANGLAO, PHILIPPINES

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, overtourism has become an increasingly prevalent phenomenon afflicting popular destinations around the globe. However, few academic studies have scrutinized overtourism outside of developed, urban European destinations. The purpose of this study is to provide a contextualized understanding of overtourism in the developing island destination of Panglao, Philippines using a single exploratory case study approach. Using the sustainable-responsible tourism model as a basis for research, resident perceptions. researcher observation, and archival data were qualitatively gathered and analyzed to identify the precursors and effects of overtourism in the specific destination. The findings showed overtourism effects in economic, sociocultural, and environmental dimensions, yet residents were more concerned and dissatisfied with destination governance and the political environment and especially with their management of environmental issues. Precursors of overtourism were also linked to longstanding societal issues that may not be directly related to tourism. Regardless, residents were found to have positive attitudes towards tourists and tourism in the destination. Based on these findings, this study suggests the influence of local factors on the precursors and effects of overtourism and supports existing propositions for destination governance and political environment to be incorporated into studies on overtourism. Further research is warranted to investigate overtourism in similar contexts and to find viable solutions to overtourism issues tailored for each destination.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism has become one of the most important and fastest growing industries globally. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), there were only 25.3 million total international tourist arrivals in 1950 (UNWTO, 1980). By 1980, this figure surpassed 279 million (UNWTO, 1981) and reached 696.8 million by 2000 (UNWTO, 2002). In 2019, 1.5 billion overnight visits were recorded worldwide (UNWTO, 2020a). Today, tourism (3.5%) is the third fastest growing sector after information and communication (4.8%) and financial services (3.7%) (WTTC, 2020), and it is forecasted to continue growing at an annual rate of 3.3% to exceed 1.8 billion arrivals by 2030 (UNWTO, 2017).

One of the reasons for the sector's huge success is the widespread recognition of tourism's contribution to economic advancement. In 2019, tourism accounted for 10.3% of to the world's GDP, bringing US \$8.9 trillion to the global economy (WTTC, 2020). While traditional destinations such as North America (\$2.1 Trillion) and Europe (\$2 Trillion) continue to have the largest economic impact around the globe, emerging regions are also fast expanding, with the example of Southeast Asia contributing USD \$380 billion to total GDP (WTTC, 2020). Tourism is also an important employer around the world, hiring one in every ten jobs that total to 330 million people globally (WTTC, 2020). This is expected to further increase alongside tourism growth.

The persistent demand for travel and tourism is indisputable. From the purchasing side, tourism growth can often be attributed to travelers' increasing leisure time and disposable income (Bishop, Westmore, Parkin, & Chebli, 2019; UNWTO, 1999), the growing desire to travel and explore fueled by the media and social media in particular (Bishop et al., 2019; Hudson, Wang, & Moreno-Gil, 2010), and consumers' preference for creating memorable experiences over material purchases, which is especially visible among the Millennial generation (Morrison, 2015; Seligman, 2019). Tourism suppliers have also addressed these trends, enabling and further perpetuating growth by providing myriads of travel experiences, improving connectivity, and making travel more affordable for consumers (EasyJet, n.d.; Leff, 2020).

Yet with the tourism boom also comes a broadening recognition that tourists and the tourism industry can bring significant, negative impacts to the destination on a local level, and also to the world on a global scale. Such concerns have given rise to the concept of sustaniable tourism. At the start of the sustainability movement, particular attention was given to how tourism affects the natural environment. Tourists and tourism providers alike are contributing to the rise of green tourism, which is often associated with nature-based tourism, ecotourism, and rural tourism (Pintassilgo, 2016). As more and more travelers are beginning to grasp the extent to which their touristic activities affect the environment, they also have higher intention to make environmentally-friendly decisions during their holidays, such as choosing to stay in green accommodation (Booking.com, 2019). Tourism

suppliers have also begun to acknowledge and tackle environmental issues. One of the most widely available ways for travelers to practice sustainability today is the option for airline passengers to offset aviation carbon emissions through funding carbon-reduction projects (Gibbens, 2019). Hotels have also adopted laundry-focused programs encouraging guests to reuse towels and bed linens during their stay to lower energy and water consumption (Nuwer, 2014). Nevertheless, simply minimizing the negative impacts of tourism on nature is insufficient for sustainability. UNWTO defines sustainable tourism development as "Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (UNWTO, n.d.). Clearly, sustainability is multidimensional, encompassing different areas of focus that involve a multitude of stakeholders. Sustainable tourism involving multiple aspects has become a priority area of investment and development for destinations across the globe. The United Nations dedicated 2017 as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development, highlighting tourism's potential to contribute to the world in economic, social, environmental, and cultural dimensions as well as its ability to encourage mutual understanding and peace between different nations (United Nations, 2017).

While some tourism enterprises are steering towards sustainability by being informed about sustainability principles and revising their business models, the overall industry still dwells on sustainable development superficially, lacking true commitment to their vision. Greenwashing and using misleading and inflated claims of economic and sociocultural contributions to the host community for marketing and publicity purposes are highly prevalent in tourism (Earth Changers, 2018; Foster, 2016; Saadia Organics, 2013). Similarly, destinations assert their devotion to sustainable development but fail to implement policies that bespeak real dedication.

It is also apparent that governments and tourism providers continue to capitalize on revenue generated by tourism activities over considerations of other benefits and costs the sector brings to the host country and its society (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2017). Consequently, the sector today remains growth-centric albeit increasing recognition of the importance of balancing growth with resource consumption and tourism impacts (Mullis, 2017). Particularly, such fast-paced growth has put overwhelming pressures on destinations frequented by masses. While mass tourism in its traditional sense is slowing with the rising awareness of sustainability, emergence of alternative forms of tourism and more ecofriendly travel practices (Escrich, 2019; International Labour Organization, n.d.), the continued growth of tourist numbers and expansion of visits to include a larger range of destinations have undeniably led to more noticeable and increasingly complex tourism impacts (Milano, Cheer, & Novelli, 2018). This has sparked controversy surrounding sustainable development in tourism, as the term seems to refer predominantly to sustainable growth, which is still profit-oriented. Some have even raised the question of

whether tourism and sustainability are in fact mutually exclusive (Akyuz, 2019; Lansing & De Vries, 2007).

As a matter of fact, excessive tourism growth has plagued destinations around the globe in recent years, leading to the surfacing of overtourism on the world stage. Overtourism is commonly understood as a consequence of unsustainable tourism (Mihalič, 2020). A number of mature destinations like Barcelona and Venice have become prime examples of 'overloved' destinations, dominating international headlines for being 'ruined' by unstopped tourism growth. Within mainstream media, the term 'overtourism' generally refers to the collective impact of extreme stress in destinations caused by tourism, causing overcapacity issues such as tourist saturation, congestion, and overcrowding (Morse, 2017). The plethora of such impacts has sparked resident outcry over tourist 'invasion' of popular cities and ignited 'tourists go home' protests across European destinations (Millar, 2017). Aside from the journalism domain, there has also been much recent research on overtourism in these destinations within tourism academia (Bertocchi, Camatti, Giove, & van der Borg, 2020; Bourliataux-Lajoinie, Dosquet, & del Olmo Arriaga, 2019; González, 2018; María-del-Mar, Borrajo-Millán, & Liu, 2019). Based on existing studies, it seems that overtourism ramifications are especially apparent in destinations where local wellbeing is directly hampered by tourism-induced issues or even sacrificed over tourism and economic growth (Zucco, Flores Limberger, de Souza Farias, Foletto Fiuza, & Morgana Boos de Quadros, 2020). In many cases, overtourism has been found to cause a range of issues, among which are the common themes of rising cost of living and gentrification, alienation of local residents, degradation in tourist experiences, loss of authenticity, overloaded infrastructure, overcrowding, and congestion, damage to nature, and threats to culture and heritage (Benner, 2019; McKinsey & Company (McKinsey & Co.) & World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), 2017).

Nevertheless, such issues may be absent, or vary depending on the destination in question. The existing understanding of overtourism is also mostly founded on mature, European destinations. Whereas overtourism crises in non-European destinations, such as Bali (Speirs, 2019), Boracay (Thiessen, 2019), Maya Bay (Zhou, 2019), Machu Picchu (West, 2019), and even Mount Everest (Bainbridge, 2019; Fyall, 2019) have also been well documented by the media, there has been little to no prior academic studies investigating overtourism in these destinations. A comprehensive conceptualization of overtourism remains elusive due to its complexity and the scope of issues involved. In fact, researchers have acknowledged the need for contextualized understandings of overtourism, as the phenomenon could manifest variously in each locale according to its unique developmental challenges (Weber, 2017). These challenges could also include wider societal issues outside of the tourism sphere (Koens, Postma, & Papp, 2018). Therefore, to gain an indepth understanding of how overtourism emerges and affects the local community of a destination, it is necessary to conduct an individual investigation on overtourism within the specific context of the destination.

In spite of the overtourism phenomenon and seemingly unhinged industry growth, tourism growth is not unchallenged. In recent years, a multitude of factors, including trade barriers, notably the China-United States trade war, geopolitical tensions, and low manufacturing activity in a number of countries have posed direct threats to world economic growth, leading to global economic slowdown (International Monetary Fund, 2019). The tourism sector itself has also been a victim of financial uncertainties. Nonetheless, demand for travel has continued to rise despite these challenges, driving the tourism sector's growth to outpace the global economy (UNWTO, 2020a). Moreover, at the time of writing the current research, the global tourism industry was significantly disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, causing a reduction of 67 million international arrivals and loss of US \$80 billion in tourism receipts in the first quarter of 2020 alone (UNWTO, 2020b). Yet even with this unprecedented blow to tourism, the sector is expected to make a strong recovery. Given the resilience of the tourism sector, if current neoliberal mechanisms of the tourism sector remain and tourist volume and economic growth continue to guide destination management when tourism returns to its phenomenal growth trends, pervasive unsustainable tourism development is likely to threaten a new global overtourism 'outbreak'. Local communities would shoulder grave consequences of overtourism issues, while tourists would also turn away from the overtoured locales, also causing businesses to suffer financially. If managed properly, however, destinations could offer quality travel experiences for tourists while also supporting local development in various aspects. While the recent coronavirus crisis has brought world tourism to a standstill, it is a timely opportunity for tourism providers and management organizations to review their tourism strategy, since destinations rarely get timeouts from tourist arrivals. Without the pressures they would typically have to face in a regular situation, this is a time for stakeholders, especially destination governments, to take responsibility in sustainability implementation at their destination.

To do so, they must first gather resident perceptions on the benefits and costs of tourism in their specific context and identify risk factors for overtourism to understand the areas of management to focus on in their tourism strategy. Because tourism operates as a dynamic system, sustainable tourism development warrants continuous assessment of resident opinions, which should be consistent with the local culture and values (Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001). The host community are long-term inhabitants of the destination, who comprise the most important position among stakeholders of a destination. This justifies the need for identifying tourism impacts from the residents' perspectives. The knowledge and data collected would be useful not only in addressing overtourism issues, but also to devise forward-thinking policies geared for long-term success rather than simply touching upon sustainability on the surface. In fact, findings on resident perceptions should be incorporated into the tourism policy and planning process (Gunce, 2003).

Evidently, overtourism encompasses a series of time-sensitive issues that should be a top priority in destination management. It appears that all destinations, regardless of their

location or development progress, should be responsible and proactive in sustainability implementation. Since previous overtourism research has mostly focused on mature urban destinations within developed countries in Europe, the present study has chosen to address overtourism in a different type of destination. The purpose of this study is to examine overtourism within a small, developing island context using a single exploratory case study approach to provide a better understanding of the precursors and effects of overtourism in the specific destination. Conducting a case study enables the in-depth exploration and explanation of a complex issue in its natural setting (Crowe et al., 2011). Panglao, Bohol, Philippines was the destination chosen for the present research due to three main reasons. Firstly, there are a number of geographical and cultural similarities between Panglao and Boracay, a destination known to have suffered from overtourism. Secondly, Panglao has seen rapid tourism growth in recent years, especially after the closure of Boracay, which has diverted tourists to visit Panglao as an alternative. Thirdly, as access is a crucial consideration in case study research, the researcher should have some degree of familiarity with the case study site (Crowe et al., 2011). In this case, the researcher has spent an accumulated total of four months in Bohol from 2017-2020 and possesses a high level of familiarity with the destination.

In order to fulfill the aim of this study, three main objectives are proposed. The first objective is to examine how overtourism affects the local community in the developing island destination, which is addressed by the first research question, *What are the perceived effects of overtourism in Panglao?*

The second objective is to investigate the precursors of overtourism and the risk factors contributing to overtourism in the destination in relation to the impacts perceived, which is addressed by the second research question, *What are the precursors and risk factors for overtourism in Panglao?*

The third objective is to offer recommendations for destination management to tackle overtourism issues in the destination, which is addressed by the third research question, Based on the findings on the precursors and effects of overtourism, what are some actions that may be taken to prevent/tackle overtourism issues in Panglao? addressed by the following research questions.

As the first to explore overtourism in Panglao, this research attempts to scrutinize the current status of overtourism in the destination to offer insights for sustainable tourism development. Within tourism academia, this study adds to the existing body of knowledge on overtourism by extending its current, urban-based conceptualization to the context of an island destination in a developing country. Furthermore, as the present study is limited in generalizability due to its single case study approach, the findings demonstrate a need for further research in similar locales for more clarity as to how overtourism emerges and manifests in each of the individual destinations.

The structure of the thesis is organized as follows. In section two, a literature review on revelant concepts is conducted to provide theoretical background and establish a theoretical framework for this research. Section three introduces methodology used for this research, while section four provides the contextual basis of this study by presenting information regarding the destination chosen for this case study. Section five reports on the findings on resident perceptions, and section six explores the precursors/risk factors of overtourism in the destination. Section seven then discusses the findings on resident perceptions and the identified risk factors to provide an overall understanding of overtourism in the destination and offer recommendations for destination management. Finally, section eight presents research limitations and wraps up the study with a conclusion and suggestions for future research.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter consists of a literature review that explains the study's theoretical background. It begins with a brief overview of research development and existing findings on tourism impacts. Then, carrying capacity models and sustainability models will be examined before the importance of local perceptions of tourism impact is highlighted. This is followed by a discussion of literature on overtourism and an overview of the phenomenon within island contexts. Lastly, two specific examples of island overtourism are scrutinized.

2.1 Tourism Impacts

2.1.1 Research Development on Tourism Impacts

Effects of tourism on destinations is ranked among the most popular topics for research not only in tourism academia, but also in business and sustainability spheres. Indeed, there have been countless studies scrutinizing tourism impacts since the 1960s. According to Jafari (2001), writings of tourism in this time period held an 'Advocacy' position of thinking, focusing mainly on the benefits brought to destinations by tourism. In the 1970s, however, the focus of tourism research shifted to a 'Cautionary' platform, detailing the undesirable costs of tourism. These polarized viewpoints remained highly critical of the opposing side until a decade later, during which both positive and negative consequences of tourism were analyzed, forming the 'Adaptancy' position. Encompassing all three of these platforms to gather a scientific body of knowledge on tourism, the 'Knowledge-based' position has become the most prominent in the research community from the 1990's onwards. This platform views tourism holistically as a system, reflecting on interdependencies and the relationship between costs and benefits rather than simply observing its impacts (Jafari, 2001).

Today, the majority of literature exploring tourism impacts examine how the sector has shaped the destination in economic, sociocultural, and environmental aspects (Mason, 2008), Certainly, research on impact provides valuable information for both public and private stakeholders on the current state of tourism in their region as well as insights on how to improve their tourism strategy and planning to increase destination attractiveness and competitiveness. Understanding tourism impacts wholly is also an integral part of implementation and evaluation of sustainability practices at the destination (OECD, 2010).

2.1.2 Research Findings on Tourism Impacts

Some commonly cited economic benefits that tourism brings to destinations are direct contribution to tourism-related businesses and GDP, generation of tax receipts, stimulation of local production and output, foreign exchange earnings, increased investment opportunities, and job creation (Dwyer, Forsyth, & Dwyer, 2020). However, tourism can also create undesirable economic outcomes such as seasonality, inflation, leakages, overdependence on tourism receipts, and creation of tourism enclaves (Icoz & Icoz, 2019).

In terms of sociocultural impacts, a major benefit that tourism brings to a destination is the improvement of infrastructure (Aram & Darioosh, 2013; Panasiuk, 2007), which brings convenience by increased transportation options and mobility and expands amenities for the local inhabitants as well. In fact, research has found that local residents may enjoy a higher standard of living as a result of tourism development (Kim, Uysal, & Sirgy, 2013). In the cultural aspect, tourism draws attention to culture and heritage protection and secures funding for these sites (Yang, 2012). Host and guest interactions facilitated by tourism also foster mutual understanding and respect as well as stimulate pride in local identity (Dwyer, Forsyth, & Dwyer, 2020). However, tourism can also be harmful to the social and cultural domains of a destination. For one, the cost of living and housing prices may increase alongside the influx of tourists. Tourism can also lead to proliferation of crime, prostitution, congestion, competition for limited resources, demonstration effect, host-guest conflict, culture commodification, damage to heritage sites, and loss of local identity and values (Mason, 2008).

As evidenced in economic and sociocultural arenas, tourism can be a double-edged sword, and environmental impacts are no exception. On one hand, tourism is an important source of funding and awareness-raising for nature conservation and wildlife protection. It can also influence environmental protection laws and inspire the founding of nature reserves (Filloy, 2018). One the other hand, tourism is a major contributor to pollution, waste, and climate change. It is estimated that the sector's transport-related emissions alone accounts for over 5% of anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions (UNWTO, 2019). Tourist activity also threatens biodiversity loss and destruction of natural habitats. With the emergence of unique experiences like shark-cage diving and trophy hunting in modern tourism, there have also been environmental and ethical concerns arising from tourist interaction with

animals (Evans, 2013; Flynn, 2019), especially due to disruption of the ecosystem. Other increasingly pressing issues in tourism concerning health and the environment include the role of global tourist flows in disease transmission and introduction of invasive species (Albattat, 2017; Anderson, Rocliffe, Haddaway, & Dunn, 2015; National Academies Press, 2010; Toral-Granda & Garnett, 2017).

In impact research, it is common practice to gather local resident opinions on tourism. As Jurowski, Uysal, and Williams (1997) said, the lives of local residents are affected as soon as a community becomes a tourist destination. As a matter of fact, local residents are the stakeholders whose lives are most directly influenced by tourism development (Li & Wan, 2017). Existing literature has demonstrated that local community views of economic, sociocultural, and environmental benefits and costs of tourism directly relate to their support for tourism development (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Stylidis, Biran, Sit., & Szivas, 2014; Vieira et al., 2016), and the level of local support predicts tourism success of a destination (Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2012). It is apparent that tourism impact measures must include local stakeholders rather than solely targeting tourist arrivals and behavior in order to capture and understand the concerns and grievances of residents. Only by incorporating the host community into the tourism agenda can a destination ensure the positive impact of tourism to reach the local residents and guarantee their support for future tourism development (UNWTO, 2018).

2.1.3 Social Exchange Theory

Still, for destinations to fully engage in sustainable tourism development, it is crucial to not only gather resident perceptions on tourism impacts, but also to identify the factors modifying such attitudes (Tichaawa and Makoni, 2018). Research has demonstrated that resident perceptions could be largely heterogeneous with a wide range of potential determinants affecting resident such views (Nunkoo and Ramkissoon, 2012). These include demographic, socioeconomic, sociopsychological and sociocultural, and tourism-specific characteristics (Postma & Schmuecker, 2017). Although there have been countless studies exploring these characteristics, findings across all categories have been inconsistent.

Perceived benefits from tourism is perhaps the most widely acknowledged variable affecting resident attitudes towards tourism impacts and development, which is well elucidated by the Social Exchange Theory (SET). The SET stipulates that social behavior can be evaluated based on costs, benefits, and exchanges, with comparison being a key component in social exchanges (Ward & Berno, 2011). Individuals act in ways to maximize personal benefits at the lowest costs in pursuit of the greatest gain (Redmond, 2015). Applying this theory to research on tourism impacts, residents are more likely to support tourism development if they perceive greater personal benefits from tourism than the associated costs (Ap, 1992).

A significant number of studies have used the SET as a framework for studying resident perceptions of tourism impacts. Most of the existing research has reached results corroborating the theory (e.g. Campón-Cerro, Folgado-Fernández, & Hernández-Mogollón, 2017; Jani, 2018), finding that those with personal economic reliance or receiving apparent benefits from tourism have more positive perceptions of tourism in all aspects. Dai, Wang, Xu, Wan, and Wu (2017) highlighted that residents employed in the tourism industry also view interaction with tourists as a more positive experience than those not employed in tourism and believe that such interactions foster cultural exchange and enhance local cultural traditions. Still, benefits may also include more than economic gains. For example, Huong and Lee (2017) noted that in Vietnam's Ba Be National Park, only local residents who saw benefits in the social and environmental aspects supported additional tourism development. This far outweighed any perception of economic impact on the community, as they did not consider tourism to have visible economic impacts.

However, the SET is not absolute. As demonstrated in Moayad, Almeida-García, & Cortés-Macías (2019), residents working in tourism do not always have more favorable perceptions of tourism impacts than those who are not working in tourism. It is also important to recognize that resident perceptions do not necessarily correspond to their attitudes toward tourism development (Kayat et al., 2013), as residents who perceive negative impacts may still support tourism development (Lee, Li, & Kim, 2007; Yoopetch, 2019). Even in instances where research findings support the basic principles of the SET, many scholars have argued that the SET is not adequate on its own to explain resident perceptions and attitudes toward tourists and tourism (Ward & Berno, 2011; MacLaren, McKenzie, & O'Gorman, 2014).

Another challenge to this theory relates to the method in which the benefits reach individuals. Whereas the majority of studies investigating resident perceptions tends to categorize impacts into different dimensions, they do not specify as to the way an impact affects the residents. Kayat, Sharif and Karnchanan (2013) proposed two ways in which benefits reach the residents, either directly to the individual or to the community in which the individual is residing. In studying how personal and collective impacts of tourism affected local perceptions of tourism in Hat Yai, Thailand, the authors found that individual benefits contributed more than communal benefits to residents' positive views of tourism. However, findings from studies carried out in individualist and collectivist societies may differ. Further analysis of how individuals perceive tourism impacts at different levels are warranted to gain further insights into factors that may modify individual perceptions of tourism impacts. Nevertheless, there may be challenges associated with this research direction, especially in classifying the impacts. Findings of Chuang (2010) demonstrated that residents who had family members employed in tourism expressed more positive attitudes towards tourism development in rural destinations. In this case, it would be difficult to decide whether financial gain of close family members can be interpreted as personal benefits.

2.2 Principles in Tourism Management

From the myriads of tourism impacts mentioned, it is evident that tourism brings both benefits and costs to a destination that must be managed to maximize the positive impacts while mitigating the negative. Ideally, tourism that is properly managed can improve the standard of living and welfare for the host population, promote cultural pride, and conserve the natural environment. In a sector dominated by rapid growth and mass developments, effective management of a destination requires continuous appraisal of tourism impacts and a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing resident perceptions of such impacts. In fact, stakeholders from all sides must be familiar with the sector's performance and impacts on the host population and environment in order to obtain the knowledge necessary for sustainable tourism policy and planning (PwC & The Travel Foundation, 2015).

2.2.1 Carrying Capacity Models

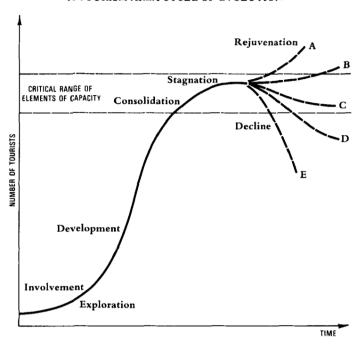
Several theories have long served as guiding principles for destination management. One of the most commonly adopted concepts is carrying capacity. Carrying capacity was one of the first concepts used in determining limits of tourism growth. Originating from ecology, the concept defines an acceptable level of presence a given area can support within its resource limits. In tourism, carrying capacity is defined as "the maximum number of people that may visit a tourist destination at the same time, without causing destruction of the physical, economic and sociocultural environment and an unacceptable decrease in the quality of visitors' satisfaction" (UNWTO, 1981). Carrying capacity encompasses an array of components, such as physical, social, economic, ecological, perceptual, and political measures as suggested by Getz (1983). Understanding the carrying capacity of an attraction or destination is important for policy intervention and managing impacts effectively. Past research has suggested several theoretical models for measuring growth, development, and impacts of tourism, which can be useful tools for the strategic planning of a destination. Some of frameworks that are most relevant to tourism and overtourism discourse include the Tourism Area Life Cycle Model, Doxey's Irritation Index, and Limits of Acceptable Change.

Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle Model (TALC) (1980) provides a conceptual framework to guide tourism researchers and planners in evaluating the development status of a destination and devising strategies for further development.

The theory proposes that tourism areas will undergo a life span characterized by the six stages of 'exploration', 'involvement', 'development', 'consolidation', 'stagnation' and either 'decline' or 'rejuvenation' as shown in the following figure.

Figure 1: Hypothetical evolution of a tourist area

A TOURISM AREA CYCLE OF EVOLUTION

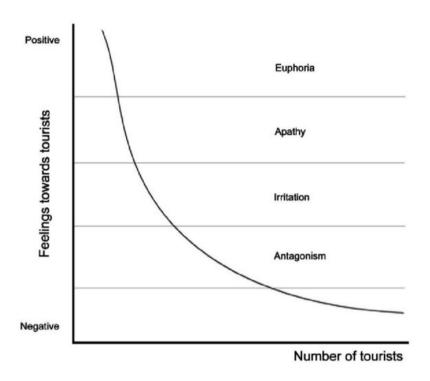


Source: Butler (1980)

Although initially conceptualized for resort development, this model has been applied extensively in the wider tourism context since. Yet the versatile model also has its criticisms, such as treating all destinations homogeneously and deeming decline an inevitable process of every destination, having a descriptive nature rather than an analytical one, and neglecting the complex interaction of internal and external factors affecting a destination (Chapman & Light, 2016). This has led scholars to propose revised models that are more applicable to certain destinations, such as one evolving from Development to decline to consolidation (Yang & Lu, 2004). Nevertheless, the TALC remains an important model for understanding carrying capacity and a useful tool for planning.

Alongside TALC, Doxey's Irritation Index, or 'Irridex' (1975) is also one of the most influential models in tourism academia. The Irridex serves as a theoretical premise that allows destinations to gauge resident perceptions and attitudes toward tourism and its impacts. The index suggests that local perceptions shift from welcoming to hostile alongside tourism development in a destination, which is characterized by the four sequential levels of irritation, 'euphoria', 'apathy', 'annoyance', and 'antagonism', as shown in the following figure.

Figure 2: Doxey's Irritation Index Model



Source: Scholtz (2014)

Yet the model also has limitations. The Irridex surmises that local attitudes develop in a unidirectional way. It also fails to represent different demographics and values through assuming uniformity in opinions and neglecting individual perceptions within a community (Pavlić & Portolan, 2015).

Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) is a four-component, nine-step resource management framework that assists in establishing a middle ground between the conflicting goals of resource/visitor experience protection and access to recreational opportunities (Cole & Stankey, 1997). LAC is commonly used in wilderness settings and protected areas like national parks (Stankey, Cole, Lucas, Petersen, & Frissell, 1985), but it is applicable in other domains like tourism. LAC in tourism surveys the extent to which the impacts of tourism are tolerable for the destination and its stakeholders in view of tourist activity and tourism development. Specifically, the LAC serves as a guide for setting measurable limits to human-induced changes in the natural and social settings of tourism areas and assists in identifying appropriate management strategies using quantitative indicators (Goodwin, 2019). As a solid framework for managing conditions, the LAC is particularly prized for its responsiveness to local situations, setting explicitly measurable and achievable standards, and encouraging public involvement (Cole & Stankey, 1997; Goodwin 2019).

STEP 5 SPECIFY STANDARDS STEP 4 FOR RESOURCE & STEP 6 INVENTORY SOCIAL RESOURCE & IDENTIFY INDICATORS BOCIAL ALTERNATIVE CONDITIONS PORTUNITY CLASS ALLOCATIONS STEP 3 SELECT INDICATORS STEP 7 OF RESOURCE A LAC IDENTIFY MONT. SOCIAL CONDITIONS CTIONS FOR EACH **PLANNING** ALTERNATIVE STEP 2 **SYSTEM** DEFINE & DESCRIBE OPPORTUNITY CLASSES STEP 8 EVALUATION & SELECTION OF AN STEP 1 IDENTIFY AREA CONCERNS & ISSUES STEP 9 IMPLEMENT ACTIONS A MONITOR CONDITIONS

Figure 3: Limits of Acceptable Change Planning System

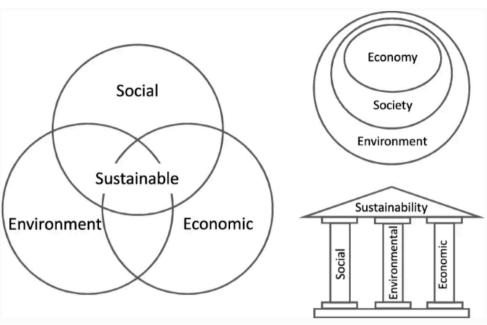
Source: Stankey, Cole, Lucas, Petersen, & Frissell (1985)

Although carrying capacity continues to be an important concept in tourism impact management, it has been eclipsed by sustainability and related concepts. In today's world where tourism thrives on a global scale, carrying capacity, as a concept that focuses on local factors, is diminishing in applicability. Further, as Namberger, Jackisch, Schmude, and Karl (2019) suggest, it is difficult and impractical to derive carrying capacity thresholds that are purely numerical, since they often disregard complex relationships in tourism and the wide range of factors that could change the number of visitors. On the contrary, sustainability concepts are more comprehensive and address tourism issues from both local and global perspectives, as well as the links between the two (Kennell, 2015), making them the preferred theoretical basis for destination management.

2.2.2 Sustainability Models

While several sustainability models have been proposed, most of them revolve around the three pillars concept, which includes social, environmental, and economic dimensions. This paradigm, whether presented as literally three pillars or in other forms like three nested dependencies and three overlapping circles, has become the mainstream approach to sustainability.

Figure 4: Representations of Sustainability

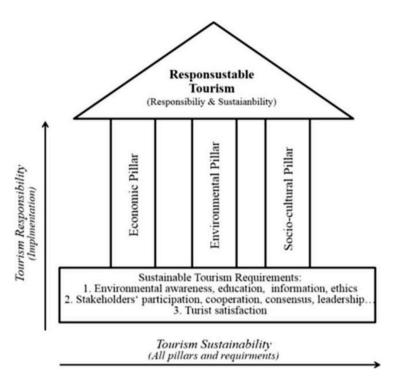


Source: Purvis, Mao, & Robinson (2019)

It has also been credited as the concept inspiring the creation of other important frameworks, most notably the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Purvis, Mao, & Robinson, 2019). In tourism, it is commonplace to adopt the three pillars concept in studying destination sustainability in terms of tourism impacts categorized into economic, sociocultural, and environmental domains. The concept is useful as a criteria in sustainable development of tourism regions as well.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that sustainability only serves as a theory demonstrating what a destination should look like. While many destinations today have seemingly pledged themselves to sustainable development, it is inadequate to simply consult the three pillars only to remain affixed to growth-oriented actions regardless. The actual implementation of policies leading to sustainability requires destinations to be responsible, which refers to the real practice of responsible behavior and action (Mihalič, 2016; OECD, 2020). To enhance the clarity of sustainability and responsibility, Mihalič (2016) proposed the Sustainable-Responsible Tourism Model (SRTM) integrating both concepts into a single framework. From this model, the sustainability concept encompassing tourism impacts in economic, sociocultural, and natural aspects only constitute one branch of sustainable-responsible tourism. The other branch consists of responsibility enablers, namely, sustainability ethics, stakeholder cooperation and satisfaction, and visitor satisfaction. Sustainability ethics illustrates the need for stakeholders on both the supply and demand sides to have an acute awareness of sustainability issues and ethics. This should be driven by education, information, and values (Mihalič, 2016).

Figure 5: Sustainable-Responsible Tourism Model



Source: Mihalič (2016)

The stakeholder cooperation and satisfaction dimension refers to multi-stakeholder involvement, as the success of sustainability implementation requires the participation of all relevant stakeholders at the destination (Kuščer & Mihalič, 2019; Mihalič, 2016). Oftentimes, destination governance and leadership are key considerations in this dimension, as the political environment possesses a strong power of influence over the cooperation of other stakeholders in developing policies for sustainable tourism (Mihalič, Šegota, Knežević Cvelbar, & Kuščer, 2016; Vieira, Rodrigues, Fernandes, & Pires, 2016). Local residents also compose a prominent role among stakeholders, as discussed in a previous section. The third enabler of sustainability implementation is visitor satisfaction. The perceived value and quality of travel experience affect a range of factors like customer loyalty, length of stay, and expenditure (European Union, 2013). Undoubtedly, keeping high levels of visitor satisfaction is paramount to the economic sustainability of a destination.

2.3 Overtourism

Although many destinations around the world have incorporated carrying capacity and sustainability approaches into their management strategy, an increasing number of destinations are being labeled as 'exceeding capacity' and 'unsustainable' by residents, tourists, and the media alike. Rapid global tourism growth alongside the increasing demand to travel have given rise to what is known as the overtourism phenomenon. At first glance,

many similarities can be drawn between overtourism and mass tourism in terms of scale and the negative connotation associated with both phenomena. However, mass tourism is generally perceived as controlled large-scale tourism flows, while overtourism refers to giant-scale tourism flows that exceed the carrying capacity (Abbasian, Onn, & Arnautovic, 2020). Overtourism is often a consequence of poor destination management failing to strike a balance between benefits and costs, where costs largely outweigh the positive impacts brought to destinations.

Although overtourism is not a new occurrence (Capocchi, Vallone, Amaduzzi, & Pierotti, 2019), the new term has been brought to global attention recently with the scale and rapid development of tourism today, attracting wide media coverage and generating profound interest among academic researchers. Despite its growing recognition, overtourism is still considered to be a fuzzy concept that has been understood variously. While much of the popular media has depicted overtourism simply as an excessive number of tourists in a destination (e.g. Lowrey, 2019; McCluskey, 2019), academics have elaborated on this matter. Milano, Novelli, and Cheer (2019) describes overtourism with reference to its impact on residents, "The excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have caused permanent changes to their lifestyles, denied access to amenities and damaged their general well-being" (Milano et al., 2019, p.354). Similarly, Goodwin (2017) explains that overtourism as the opposite of responsible tourism observed in "Destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably" (Goodwin, 2017, p.1). UNWTO also elucidates the phenomenon with a visitor satisfaction component, defining overtourism as "The impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors experiences in a negative way" (UNWTO, 2018).

While these definitions expound the general foundations of overtourism, the following sections will reveal that overtourism is a highly complex issue that cannot be captured by a single definition. In fact, overtourism extends far beyond tourist flows and the resulting negative impacts. It encompasses a whole web of supply and demand relationships, resident and visitor interactions, stakeholder actions, and broader societal and city developments of a destination (Koens et al., 2018).

2.3.1 Overtourism Research

Overtourism has invited two main streams of research. One approach evaluates the risk of overtourism, or more appropriately, overcrowding, through an indicator framework comparing tourism statistics and destination data. Meanwhile, the other approach tackles overtourism with sustainability as a basis, involving stakeholder perceptions with a particular focus on residents. In the first stream, McKinsey & Co. and WTTC (2017)

provided indicators of overcrowding and proposed ways to mitigate problems associated with such. Although there is no mention of the term overtourism in this publication, named "Coping with Success: Managing Overcrowding in Tourism Destinations", the authors explored five challenges related to overcrowding deemed as an outcome of excessive tourist numbers and concentration in tourism destinations. These include alienation of local residents, degradation in tourist experiences, overloaded infrastructure, damage to nature, and threats to culture and heritage. Below is an example diagnostic of overtourism in Barcelona using these indicators.

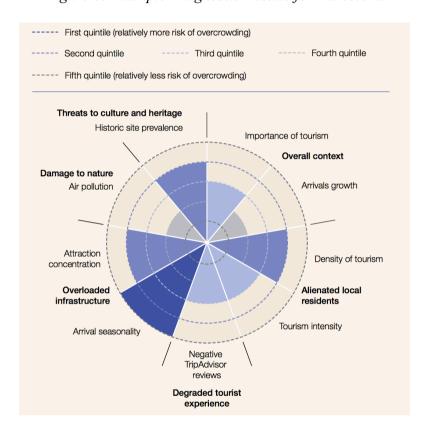


Figure 6: Example Diagnostic Results for Barcelona

Source: McKinsey & Company & World Travel & Tourism Council (2017)

The main issue with these indicators is their reliance on statistical data. For instance, the model assesses alienation of local residents from tourism density and intensity, which are purely measured by number of visitors per square kilometer, and number of visitors per resident, respectively. The absence of stakeholder views, especially resident perceptions in these indicators, preclude a deeper understanding of the actual happenings in the destination. Another shortcoming of this approach is its focus on tourism as the sole cause of overtourism issues without considering other factors that may contribute to such phenomenon, such as growth-directed management practices.

Similarly, in a report written for the EU's Committee on Transport and Tourism (TRAN), Peeters et al. (2018) proposed indicators designed at the NUTS 2 (second level of the

Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) level to determine the risk of overtourism in regions. The most important indicators were identified to be tourism density (tourist nights per square kilometer) and tourism intensity (tourist nights per resident), air transport intensity (air arrivals per resident), proximity to airport, cruise ports, and UNESCO sites, share of Airbnb capacity and booking.com capacity, and tourism's contribution to GDP. Still, the authors stated that it was not possible to develop an early warning tool for overtourism due to significant variations across the categories in different locales. Amore, Falk, and Adie (2020) also created a composite overtourism indicator for urban areas, deeming the following as important considerations: total number of overnight stays per relevant tourist area in square kilometer; number of museum visitors per population; average annual change in total nights between 2009 and 2017, and foreign nights per population. However, the authors noted that these indicators should only serve as a starting point for understanding overtourism.

Although quantitative comparisons provide a quick and objective diagnosis of a destination's overtourism situation, overtourism is indeed not a phenomenon that can be objectively measured (Koens et al., 2018). In identifying the main challenges of 11 destinations around the world with high tourism intensities, Weber (2017) found that many challenges depend on the individual, local context. One of the flaws of the indicator approach lies in its inability to reveal the unique problems and challenges that individual destinations face, since data cannot accurately demonstrate how these indicators are linked to actual tourism impacts (Weber, 2019). This is true even on a community level. There can be diverging views on tourism impacts depending on the individual value position, and data does not always capture an accurate picture of the situation. For example, Usher and Kerstetter (2014) noted that tourism introduced new areas of work to a community that was traditionally reliant on agriculture. Regardless, residents were unhappy with the limited number of available jobs, which was exacerbated by seasonality. Therefore, even when data may indicate tourism's contribution to increased employment opportunities, it does not show the implications and perceptions of such impact. The same principle can be applied to the evaluation of overtourism risk. Soaring tourist arrivals does not necessary imply resident dissatisfaction with tourism, as destinations may be able to handle tourist surges well. Another issue with this research method is data availability and reliability (Peeters et al, 2018; Weber, 2019). Tourist arrivals, host population statistics, and other types of data are subject to constant change in a dynamic tourism system, and responsible agencies may not be able to provide the most updated statistics for measurements of overtourism.

In light of the numerous issues associated with this approach, Weber (2019) suggested improvements by the use of disaggregated data of relative indicators consisting of spatial distribution of visitors and temporal distribution of visitors and all tourists, including day visitors. In addition, research must take resident perceptions into consideration, because

indicators do not have real meaning until they are put into relation with actual problems occurring in the destination as perceived by the local population.

In fact, the second stream of overtourism research inspects the issue precisely from the lens of those most affected by tourism, which often is the local population. This type of research usually involves gathering resident perceptions of overtourism issues through questionnaires and connecting the findings to the local context. Some existing studies have examined specific components of overtourism such as its threat to cultural heritage (Adie, Falk, & Savioli, 2019). Sustainability of the sharing economy has also gathered much attention in overtourism academia (Zmyślony, Leszczyński, Waligóra, & Alejziak, 2020), with researchers focusing on resident support for Airbnb and short-term rentals (Gutiérrez-Taño, Garau-Vadell, & Díaz-Armas, 2019), as well as the role of these platforms in touristification and displacement in the overtourism context (Celata & Romano, 2020).

There has also been a proliferation of studies published within the last two years exploring the complexities of overtourism using case studies of European destinations, ranging from metropolitan to rural areas, which welcome different forms of tourism like urban/coastal and cultural/nature tourism. Whereas the most popular European cities in Europe like Barcelona (Bourliataux-Lajoinie et al., 2019; Martín Martín, Guaita Martínez, & Salinas Fernández, 2018; Ramos & Mundet, 2020) and Venice (González, 2018; Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018; Visentin & Bertocchi, 2019) remain the most researched case studies for overtourism, other destinations, such as Amsterdam (Gerritsma, 2019), Dubrovnik (Abbasian et al., 2020; Manzin, 2020; Panayiotopoulos & Pisano, 2019; Todorivić, 2019), Fjord Norway (Okelevik et al., 2017), Krakow (Kruczek & Szromek, 2020; Szromek, Kruczek, & Walas, 2020), Ljubljana (Kuščer & Mihalič, 2019), Munich (Namberger et al., 2019), and Seville (Parra & Jover, 2020), have also been studied. The following section investigates some of the findings from these titles.

In analyzing the factors behind residents' rejection of tourism, Martín Martín et al., (2018) found that economic factors were more important than social ones in generating negative attitudes towards tourism in Barcelona. Particularly, the focus of their negative perceptions comes from the rise of rental and goods prices, which has significantly increased the cost of living.

Szromek, Kruczek, & Walas (2020) reached similar findings in the economic aspect. Rising rent and land prices as well as increasing prices for services and good are among the most significant overtourism impacts perceived by residents in Krakow. Yet locals also viewed social and physical issues to be highly troublesome, including the lack of parking spaces, traffic congestion, overcrowding, waste and pollution, noise level, and problems regarding short-term rentals. In spite of these negative impacts, tourism has strengthened residents' pride in the attractiveness of the city.

In researching overtourism issues among a group that receives direct benefits from tourism and has high awareness of the sector, Abbasian et al. (2020) used e-mail interviews to gather opinions of tourism employees in Dubrovnik. The interviewees perceived issues of overcrowding, various traffic-related problems, physical damages especially in the UNESCO listed Old Town, damage to natural and marine landscapes, and displacement of locals in the Old Town. They remarked that overtourism has not only led to a significant decrease in the quality of life for the residents, who were dissatisfied with tourism in Dubrovnik, but also a reduction of tourist experiences in the city. The participants attributed these problems to seasonality, the limiting physical and geographical conditions of the city, and cruise tourism, which begets economic leakage and environmental pollution. In this case, problems from all three dimensions were raised, but sociocultural aspects were most apparent.

In contrast to the three cases above, it seems that in some destinations facing issues of overtourism, the negative impacts of tourism actually make up only a small part of the larger problems in the city. Smith, Sziva, and Olt (2019) used three types of research methods, namely, social media analysis, questionnaires distributed to local residents, visitors and tourists, and participant observation and action research to study overtourism's role in resident resistance in Budapest. The authors found that while local residents of the party quarter are discontent with the negative impacts of the night-time economy, alcohol tourism, and the lack of solutions to tackle the issues, these tourism-related concerns are negligible in view of the wider scope of problems they face in the city's urban transformation. Results indicate that residents are most perturbed by local politics, fear of corruption, rising housing and goods prices, loss of leisure and green spaces, and the general reduction in their quality of life, all in which tourism plays a relatively minor role. This is consistent with Koens et al. (2018) that overtourism must also account for issues in wider city development. While it is important to address tourist flows in relation to carrying capacity, the problems associated with overtourism cannot be alleviated if the destination simply focuses on tourism solely.

2.3.2 Overtourism in Island Contexts

As evidenced in the previous section, there is a proliferation of studies on overtourism in Europe, the majority of which have an urban context. Although it is apparent that overtourism is not exclusive to cities and the European continent, research on overtourism in non-urban and non-European destinations remains few. Island destinations in particular have been relatively absent from overtourism literature despite being widely popular tourist hotspots. While it may be true that social effects of overtourism like noise and overcrowding are more apparent in cities than in other types of destinations, Peeters et al. (2018) suggests that overtourism affect local communities in coastal regions, islands, and rural heritage sites more significantly in every dimension of economic, environmental, and sociocultural, making them the most vulnerable types of destinations.

Indeed, small island destinations may be the most susceptible to overtourism considering their small size, small economies of scale, limited natural and cultural resources, limited accessibility, and vulnerability to natural disasters among other concerns (Sarantakou & Terkenli, 2019). These characteristics create unique development challenges for small islands, whether they are part of larger nations or independent Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Some of the most critical issues in sustainable development of islands include water resources availability, energy supply and distribution, climate change and food security, and waste management (Agamuthu & Herat, 2014; Connell & Lowitt, 2020; Papapostolou, Kondili, Zafirakis, & Tzanes, 2020). Evidently, sustainable development in small islands demands strong resource management policy and effective governance that focuses on resilience-building (Singh, 2014; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, n.d.).

Given the widely different developmental goals, conditions and challenges between cities and islands, it is likely that overtourism in island destinations may not emerge from the same aspects or manifest the same problems as in city destinations. Likewise, the local population in an island destination may not perceive overtourism in the same domains, or as the same effects. As Rasoolimanesh et al. (2017) emphasized, factors influencing residents' perceptions toward tourism and support for its development in rural settings could also widely differ from those in urban settings. Nevertheless, the differences between overtourism in island and city contexts have yet to be established in tourism literature.

Still, some academics have explored overtourism in mature European island destinations. Briguglio and Avellino (2019) distributed surveys to 400 Maltese residents on Facebook to investigate whether overtourism has reached Malta. A fundamental flaw in this study exists in its conceptualization of overtourism. Although the authors highlighted the complexity of overtourism and its relation to carrying capacity and sustainability in the literature review, the method oversimplified overtourism by defining it as having a majority of adults in a community who oppose additional tourists. Thus, the authors concluded that overtourism has occurred in Malta simply based on such definition of overtourism.

Another study conducted by Sarantakou and Terkenli (2019) discussed overtourism in Santorini by means of McKinsey & Co and WTTC's (2017) five major problems associated with tourist overcrowding and the additional category of repercussions on (tourist) landscape planning and management. Besides identifying signs of overtourism, a major focus of the study was the relationship between overtourism and landscape transformation and land use of Santorini in its small-island context. The researchers suggested that Greece's model of tourism development has long been guided by policy favoring small-scale land ownership for construction of tourism establishments and second homes. In a small island like Santorini, this practice poses significant pressures on the landscape as well as resource usage. Overbuilding on Santorini's vulnerable landscape, which is prone to natural disasters like landslides and earthquakes, has exerted significant pressures on the island's natural resources.

2.3.3 Overtourism in Developing Island Contexts

Outside of Europe, it seems that many island destinations from other continents are also facing similar issues with overtourism. Asia and the Pacific (APAC) has one of the fastest growing tourism sectors in the world. In 2019, APAC saw a 5% growth in International arrivals from the previous year (UNWTO, 2020). Alongside rapid tourism growth came concerns of overtourism in the region, especially destinations within the developing parts of Southeast Asia like Bali, Boracay, Halong Bay, and Maya Bay. Maya Bay and Boracay in particular have been put under media spotlight in the last five years with both governments adopting a complete shut-down approach to tackle the significant environmental damage caused by tourism in the respective areas. Regardless, there is hardly any published academic research focusing on overtourism in these regions.

Maya Bay is located in the Western part of the uninhabited Phi Phi Leh Island in the Krabi Province of Thailand, stretching just 250m long and 15m wide (Wipatayotin, 2019). The destination's popularity is often attributed to its appearance in the 2000 film "The Beach" starring Leonardo DiCaprio. Indeed, tourism in Maya Bay grew dramatically from 170 daily visitors in 2008 to over 3,500 daily visitors by 2017, with numbers in peak seasons reaching 5,000 (BBC, 2019). Since Maya bay is only accessible by boat, the influx of tourists over the years caused profound damage to the marine environment, destroying 90% of the coral in the area and thereby displacing the marine species residing in these ecosystems. In June 2018, the Department of National Parks, Wildlife and Plant Conservation of Thailand announced the closure of Maya Bay, seeing it as the only way for the environment to recuperate from the massive damage sustained from overtourism (Peter, 2019). Since then, the closure has been extended twice and its reopening has now been delayed indefinitely (Burton, 2020). This announcement has drawn criticism from tourism businesses in Krabi, who were dissatisfied with the lack of local engagement in the decision-making process (Wipatayotin, 2018). Yet a recent study has shown a different perspective of resident reactions. As the only academic researchers to have investigated overtourism in Maya Bay to date, Koh & Fakfare (2019) assessed the process of stakeholder engagement with five major stakeholder groups in reaching the decision to close Maya Bay for a four-month rejuvenation period. Local comments obtained via netnography showed that Thai residents were overwhelmingly supportive of the closure of Maya Bay. Meanwhile, those involved in Maya Bay's tourism industry did not share the same opinions. However, a weakness of this study exists in this method of data collection. Resident perceptions were obtained from the comments and engagements on a social media post announcing the closure that was written by a marine biologist, which are likely to be biased towards more supportive attitudes towards the closure. Moreover, as Maya Bay is uninhabited, the comments used to illustrate 'resident perceptions' were made by residents from all over Thailand rather than those residing in nearby regions. This is flawed because it is likely that those working in Maya Bay tourism are also residing within the

vicinity, and this study had found that tourism employees were unsupportive of the decision.

Some similarities can be drawn between the cases of Maya Bay and Boracay. Also a tiny island stretching only 10km2. Boracay has been one of the major destinations in the Philippines since the 1980s most famous for its pristine white-sand beaches (Spurrell, 2018). Unlike Maya Bay, however, Boracay is inhabited by over 52,000 individuals. By 2017, more than two million tourists visited Boracay (Burgos, 2018a) and at least 36,000 workers were employed in the island's tourism industry (Rocamora & Parrocha, 2018). Yet unchecked growth led Boracay to be declared a "cesspool" by President Duterte in February 2018. The island was facing a multitude of environmental issues, such as pollution, beach erosion, disappearance of wetlands, and high concentrations of fecal coliform in the beaches (NDRRMC, 2018). These have led to a 70.5% loss of coral reef in Boracay between 1988-2011 (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 2015). Seeing a necessity in environmental rehabilitation, the National Government subsequently announced that Boracay would be closed to tourists on April 26, 2018 for a six-month period. The authorities planned to dedicate this time to environmental restoration by cleaning up, building waste treatment systems, and revising the tourism strategy to ensure a sustainable future for the island. Notwithstanding, there was overt controversy and protest over this sudden decision and the lack of consideration for the livelihood and welfare of local communities, as Boracay's economy is heavily reliant on tourism (Burgos, 2018b). Some stakeholders believe that Boracay's closure is damaging to the island's already-tainted reputation. As quoted in Canivel (2018), Guenter Taus, President of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce explained the events leading to the downfall of Boracay,

"Irresponsible developments, illegal structures, imposition of environmental fees that were surely not used for that purpose, indiscriminate developments without any master plans (approved by the local government unit), in short, sanctioned largely by government – stretching over almost 4 decades – 4 decades of mismanagement and corruption" (para. 19).

Correspondingly, researchers Cruz and Legaspi (2019) argued that factors contributing to overtourism in Boracay are heavily centralized around politics and the government's failed management of the destination. These include having a reactive rather than proactive government, delegation of regulatory powers to the local government, lack of government efforts in its planning and regulating development, lack of law enforcement, and a lack of clarity in zoning (Cruz & Legaspi, 2019). Similar to Sarantakou and Terkenli (2019)'s findings in Santorini, it appears that policies and land use plans encouraging overdevelopment was also major reason leading to the myriads of overtourism issues in Boracay. This is especially apparent in the prevalence of encroachment of protected areas and easement areas by illegal structures on the island, some of which were eventually demolished by the government against the will of the resort owners (Zabal, 2019).

Unlike the case in Maya Bay, tourist arrivals did not seem to be as significant of a cause of overtourism in Boracay. Prior to Boracay's closure, the local tourism office was targeting 2.2 million tourist arrivals for 2018 (Evardone, 2018). The Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) (2018) found the island's daily carrying capacity to be 54,945, broken down into 19,215 tourists and 35,730 non-tourists consisting of residents, migrants and stay-in workers. Interestingly, the average number of daily arrivals of 6,000 before the closure was within the carrying capacity. Meanwhile, the island's non-tourist population of over 70,781 exceeded the threshold (Rocamora & Parrocha, 2018). Additionally, the number of existing resorts at 430 also exceeded the carrying capacity of 249 establishments

Across the studies discussed in this literature review, various issues alluded to overtourism in urban destinations of Europe. Benner (2019) provides a concise summary of such aspects: increased housing prices and cost of living and with impending gentrification, congestion in terms of transportation, decline in residents' place identification, loss of authenticity, significant damage to cultural and environmental heritage, and privatization of public spaces. Evidently, these impacts are comparable to McKinsey & Co. and WTTC (2017)'s indicators of overtourism. Still, it was apparent that these overtourism issues are neither absolute nor generalizable to all destinations. The city destinations discussed in detail, namely, Barcelona, Dubrovnik, and Budapest, were found to be facing a multitude of overtourism issues, with residents in one city perceiving the most significant impacts in a different dimension than those from another city. Overtourism issues were also shown to be related to factors outside of the tourism domain, which was especially the case in Budapest. In terms of destinations outside of the urban European context, there were very few academic studies published on overtourism in island destinations, especially those in the developing world. Still, it appears that islands are the most vulnerable type of destination, where geographical conditions and limited resource availability could lead overtourism issues to be most damaging to the natural environment. Additionally, the case studies of Santorini, Maya Bay, and Boracay have further illustrated the role of policy, local governance, political environment, and stakeholder interaction in overtourism.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Although overtourism remains a blurry concept in its terminology, it is apparent from existing literature that the concept mostly refers to growth-driven, unsustainable tourism development. Still, previous research has demonstrated that the phenomenon may manifest variously and perceived differently by residents across destinations. This elucidates the inapplicability of a standardized tool for evaluating overtourism, because no one-size-fits-all method can be used to measure a diverse, multifaceted phenomenon that is heavily dependent on context. The present research therefore adopts an interpretive social science paradigm in an attempt to understand overtourism in the given context. This approach was selected based on its strength in capturing the complexity and meaning of different

situations (Black, 2006), as it supposes the existence of multiple realities instead of one objective reality assumed by positivists. In interpretivism, individuals construct their understanding and knowledge through experience and reflection on such experiences (Adom, Yeboah, & Ankrah, 2016).

In terms of theory, overtourism in this study is conceptualized in relation to sustainable-responsible tourism. Precisely, Mihalič (2016)'s sustainable-responsible tourism model is used as a basis for researching overtourism in the destination. The goal of understanding the precursors and effects of overtourism in a destination through risk factor identification and impact research is to ultimately advise on the mitigation of existing problems and make recommendations for sustainability implementation. For this reason, the sustainable-responsible tourism model is deemed appropriate due to its assumption that both sustainable impacts and responsible actions for sustainability implementation must be addressed in sustainable tourism development (Kuščer & Mihalič, 2019; Mihalič, 2016). By combining the two essential components, the model is able to capture both the impacts of overtourism as well as the precursors/risk factors for overtourism.

Specifically, overtourism impacts can be understood through the sustainability concept of the model, which categorizes the impacts into economic, sociocultural, and environmental dimensions. Meanwhile, sustainability ethics and stakeholder cooperation/satisfaction are also taken into account as enablers of sustainability implementation. In this study, the terms destination governance and political environment are used to represent these two dimensions, as researchers have highlighted the importance of these factors in sustainable tourism development and proposed the need to integrate them into overtourism monitoring approaches (Kuščer & Mihalič, 2019; Mihalič et al., 2016). Previous case studies have also noted the influence of these factors on overtourism in island contexts (Cruz & Legaspi, 2019; Sarantakou & Terkenli, 2019). As existing studies have shown that resident satisfaction and local wellbeing are major considerations in overtourism, the current research examines the phenomenon primarily from the residents' perspective. Tourist satisfaction, the third enabler of sustainability implementation in the model, is not a factor of consideration in this particular framework as it does not fall within the scope of this research.

Hence, the three research questions of this study are further elaborated in accordance with this theoretical framework:

The first research question explores the effects of overtourism: What are the tourism impacts perceived by Panglao residents in the economic, sociocultural, and environmental dimensions? Which perceptions point to overtourism in Panglao?

The second research question extends from the previous question to investigate: How do local residents perceive destination governance and the political environment in Panglao?

How do destination governance and the political environment contribute to overtourism in Panglao? Is there responsible implementation of sustainability in the destination?

The third research question searches for potential solutions to overtourism issues: What are some actions that may be adopted in destination management to prevent and/or mitigate overtourism issues in Panglao?

3 CONTEXT

This chapter gives a contextual overview of Panglao by presenting geographical and demographic information as well as the tourism profile of the destination.

3.1 Geography

Located in the Central Visayas Region (Region VII) of the Philippines, the province of Bohol consists of mainland Bohol and 75 outlying islands. It is the tenth largest Island in the country with an estimated population of 1.313 million as of 2015 (Province of Bohol, 2020).

CEBU Camoles Sea

South China Sea

VISAYAS

CENTRAL VISAYAS

Sulu Sea

MINDANAO

MINDANAO

MALAYSIA

Figure 7: Location of Panglao Shown in Different Scales

Source: Property Expert Realty (n.d.)

Tourism, agriculture, industry, and fishery are the main drivers of the provincial economy (Bohol Investment Promotion Center, n.d.). Tourism is the increasingly dominant source of revenue for the province and is believed to be the main reason for the drop in poverty incidence in the past decade (Padillo, 2020). As a destination, Bohol is most famous for its Chocolate Hills (A National Geological Monument consisting of approximately 1,776 conical hills (UNESCO, n.d.)), Philippine tarsiers (one of the world's smallest primates

endemic to the Philippines (New England Primate Conservancy, n.d.)), heritage sites, and numerous natural attractions such as beaches, waterfalls, and caves. The province is also a popular diving destination with 1,920 hectares of coral reef spread across its coastline.

While Tagbilaran City is the provincial capital of Bohol and the center of economic activity, Panglao Island is home to the highest concentration of tourism activity and development in the province. The island is divided into the towns of Dauis and Panglao, of which the latter has ten barangays (villages/neighborhoods): Bil-isan, Bolod, Danao, Libaong, Looc, Lourdes, Doljo, Tangnan, Tawala, and Poblacion. Balicasag Island, and Pontod and Gak-ang islets also fall under the Poblacion jurisdiction. Given tourism's prominence in this area, the town of Panglao (which does not include Dauis) has been selected as the study site for the present research.

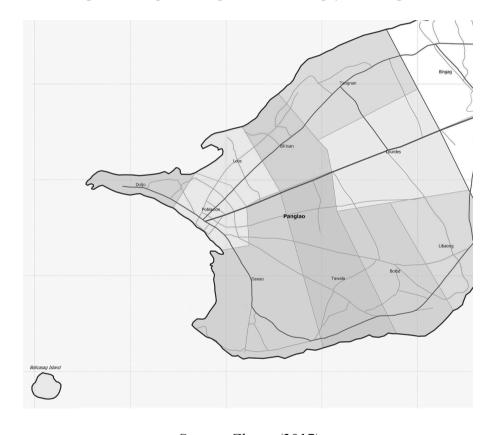


Figure 8: Map Showing the Ten Barangays in Panglao

Source: Zhang (2017)

Formally declared as a municipality in 1803, Panglao was one of the first towns established in the province. This town was named by Spanish explorers who came to Bohol in the same year after the Spanish word 'mapanglao', which means 'lonesome place' (Province of Bohol, n.d.). It is located southwest of mainland Bohol with a total land area of 50km2, of which 2.7km2 are mangroves. Panglao bay also boasts a reef stretching between four to five kilometers that surrounds the island. Panglao is ranked tenth most populous municipality in Bohol with 38,841 residents (Department Of Tourism Region 7

Statistics, personal communication, September 23, 2020). The Population growth rate of Panglao is the highest in the province at 3.09%, 0.87% is the province average annual increase (PSA, 2016), the government attributes this large increase to tourism success and increased employment opportunities in Panglao.

3.2 Tourism Development in Panglao

In the 1970s, Panglao had a short-lived popularity for Chinese porcelain digging. The first resorts found on Alona Beach were built by those who purchased beachfront properties and later converted them into resorts within the area or in nearby barangays. By 1987, there were six resorts in Alona beach, the majority of which hosted young European backpackers. Seven years later in 1994, the number of resorts tripled to 18. Most tourists visiting Alona Beach at that time were German and Swiss tourists aged between 21 and 35 years old (Bersales, 1999).

The current tourism product in Panglao is very centralized around the themes of beach, island, snorkel, and dive tourism, similar to the offerings of many other popular destinations around the Philippines. The majority of foreign tourists visit Bohol as part of an itinerary rather than as a sole destination on their trip to the Philippines. Other destinations often included in this route are Cebu, Siguijor, Palawan, and Siargao. The majority of passengers arrive at Bohol via air and sea. In terms of air transport, Bohol has direct flight connections to Manila, Clark, Davao, Cagayan de Oro, El Nido, and Seoul. There were 308,200 incoming passengers arriving in Bohol on 3,088 flights in 2014. Four years later in 2018, this number rose to 501,164 passengers on 8,937 flights. In November of the same year marked the inauguration of the Bohol-Panglao International Airport (BPIA), replacing the old Tagbilaran City Airport. It is estimated that BPIA can accommodate up to two million passengers annually—more than doubled the 800,000 annual capacity of the former Tagbilaran airport. BPIA was a collaboration between the Japanese Mitsubishi Corporation and Chiyoda Corporation (Chiyoda Corporation, n.d.). The new airport prides itself as an "eco-airport" that supplies a portion of the airport's electricity requirements with solar power and uses natural ventilation (Bohol Tourism Office, n.d.). There is also an on-site sewage treatment system, material recovery facility, rainwater harvesting facility, and compensatory reforestation measures put in place to mitigate the airport's environmental impact (Newman, 2019).

Within the Asia-Pacific region, the Philippines is one of the fastest-growing markets in travel and tourism today, with international tourist arrivals topping 8.26 million in 2019 (Department of Tourism, 2020). With its rapid growth, the sector has become an indispensable component of the Philippine economy, contributing 12.7% to the national GDP in 2019 (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2020). Tourism also serves as an important employer, hiring 5.71 million Filipinos nationwide (Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA), 2020b). Within the Philippines, Bohol has one of the highest growth rates in terms of

tourist arrivals. In just five years, there was a 248% increase in tourist arrivals from 455,155 visitors in 2014 to 1,581,904 visitors in 2019. The top five tourist segments are China, Korea, Taiwan, Japan, and the United States of America. Other important segments include France, Russia, Germany, Australia, United Kingdom, and Canada (Province of Bohol, 2020). Between 2014 and 2018, the number of accommodation in Bohol rose from 284 establishments offering 4,954 rooms to 727 establishments providing 8,445 rooms.

All incoming passengers visiting Panglao who are not arriving via air must pass through Tagbilaran City. Currently there are two bridges connecting Panglao Island to Bohol's mainland via Tagbilaran, where a third one is already underway in anticipation of increased traffic brought by the new airport (The Bohol Chronicle, 2019). In terms of waterborne transport, passengers may arrive from 16 ports around Bohol (of which seven are main passenger ports), linking the island to other provinces such as Cebu, Leyte, Negros Oriental, Siquijor, Camiguin, and Misamis Oriental. Tagbilaran Port remains the major port of entry and the nearest to Panglao, while Tubigon Port in the northwest is considered the busiest, running over ten round trips between Cebu and Bohol daily. These ports have also witnessed a growth in passenger traffic, from serving only 3.7 million passengers in 2014 to over 8.1 million passengers in 2018.

Approximately 65% of all tourists who travel to Bohol visit Panglao. In 2019, the town of Panglao recorded 1,035,547 tourist arrivals consisting of 607,452 foreign tourists, 423,700 domestic visitors, and 4,395 overseas Filipinos. The top source markets of foreign tourists are congruent with those of the province with an average length of stay was 1.55 days (Department Of Tourism Region 7 Statistics, personal communication, September 23, 2020). Most tourists visiting Panglao stay in accommodation establishments in Tawala where the famed Alona beach is situated. There are also a number of resorts in Danao, Libaong, Bolod, Doljo, and Poblacion (including Balicasag Island). More than half of the hotel rooms in Bohol are found in Panglao with 4,753 rooms in over 270 hotels, resorts, and other types of accommodation (Diez, 2020). Besides resorts and hotels, Panglao is also home to numerous restaurants serving international cuisine, which are generally more difficult to locate in other parts of Bohol outside of Panglao Island and Tagbilaran.

3.3 Tourism Management in Panglao

Like many destinations, the main organizational body managing tourism in Panglao is the government. The National Government, Provincial Government, and Local Government Unit share responsibility in managing the destination. However, regulatory powers are mostly delegated to the Local Government of Panglao, unless it is an exceptional case. A detailed list of the major stakeholders is attached in Appendix 1.

The local government of Panglao hopes to develop the town into a "Globally-friendly, competitive and environmentally-safe tourist destination" (Municipality of Panglao, 2013, p.5). Tourism is one of Bohol's main development priorities under governor Art Yap. The

provincial government sees tourism growth as a driver of local economic growth, job creation, poverty reduction, and equitable distribution of opportunities (Marchil, 2019). Thus, tourism support projects, infrastructure and utilities, and protection of the environment are given paramount attention in Bohol's development policy (Province of Bohol, n.d.). The current provincial administration has also taken steps to incorporate sustainability into its tourism approach. Governor Yap created the Panglao Island Sustainable Tourism Board to address the issues of sanitation, sewerage, septage on land and sea, illegal foreign workers, unregulated diving operators, and other measures preserving and conserving marine resource (Arigo, 2019).

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Qualitative Methods

Mura and Sharif (2015) found that despite the rising popularity of qualitative research designs, quantitative approaches remain as the preferred method in tourism research in Asia due to scientific rigor. In fact, the majority of existing studies worldwide on tourism impacts and overtourism utilize quantitative methods, particularly surveys, in data collection. Regardless, the present research departs from the status quo in electing qualitative methods of data collection for two major reasons. Firstly, there is a large variety of factors and personal experiences that may affect individual perceptions of tourism impacts. Secondly, as the ultimate goal of understanding overtourism in a specific destination is to improve management effectiveness, it is important to understand how and why some residents are troubled by overtourism issues in certain dimensions. These insights would also be useful in identifying the precusors of overtourism. Qualitative methods are more coherent with the interpretivism paradigm, where the researcher seeks more in-depth understanding of contexts and how relationships between people and their environment modify their own construction of reality (Nguyen & Tran, 2015). Moreover, qualitative methods enable the researcher to gain insight not only into whether certain phenomena are present, but also how and why they manifest in different worldviews.

4.1.1 Research Design

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, namely, to gather resident perceptions of tourism impacts in Panglao, to identify the precursors/risk factors of overtourism, and to offer recommendations for sustainable tourism development, this research was correspondingly divided into three main phases. The first phase explored how tourism was perceived by Panglao residents in terms of its impacts and how they viewed destination governance and the political environment. The second phase then analyzed these impacts for overtourism issues and added in other qualitative research to contextualize the findings and identify the precursors/risk factors for overtourism in the destination. Finally, findings

from the two prior phases were discussed in relation to previous research and used for creating recommendations for overtourism prevention/alleviation and suggestions for sustainable tourism development. Altogether, the three components sought to accomplish the overall aim of the research of providing a contextualized understanding of overtourism within the destination of Panglao.

4.1.2 Data Collection

The semi-structured interview was selected as the method of data collection in examining resident perceptions of tourism impacts, the stakeholder dimension, and local engagement. A semi-structured interview has a conversation-like design with mostly predetermined, open-ended questions. Although researchers often use an interview guide with a list of topics and questions to be covered in this type of interview (Jamshed, 2014), some degree of freedom is retained. The semi-structured interview was preferred over structured interviews due to its flexibility in permitting the researcher to explore issues beyond protocol and participants to pursue issues that are important to them while retaining some structure (Longhurst, 2009). This was advantageous in revealing individual belief systems, motivations, and interpretations of the phenomenon being studied (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013).

4.1.3 Sampling Technique

The researcher of this study initially planned to conduct in-person interviews by traveling to different barangays of Panglao and recruiting participants from different households. However, this was not feasible because of the coronavirus pandemic-induced international travel restrictions that lasted the entire duration of this research. Hence, participants were identified and subsequently contacted on Messenger with a pre-written invitation message. They were interviewed through live text-messaging on Facebook Messenger rather than in a face-to-face manner. Facebook was selected as the medium for communication due to its popularity in the Philippines. The platform also offers "free data" to users in the country, allowing the researcher to gather information without incurring costs of mobile data on the interviewees. Undoubtedly, there were many challenges associated with this type of recruitment and interviewing; these are covered later on in the limitations.

As the study aimed to gather opinions on tourism impacts and destination management from the perspective of local residents, the target population included residents of Panglao municipality. Multiple types of nonprobability sampling were employed in this study. Due to the subjective methods used in obtaining a sample from the population of interest, the odds of an individual being selected as a member for the sample is unknown in nonprobability sampling (Lavrakas, 2008). The specific sampling techniques of this study included convenience sampling, referral sampling, and quota sampling. In this case, a distinction was made between snowball sampling and referral sampling, as the former was

not a technique used. This was because all referrals in this study were provided by non-participants. Although these techniques were not ideal for representativeness and generalizability, under the interpretivist paradigm it was acknowledged that the findings may only represent the views of participants rather than the general population (Jennings, 2010). These sampling techniques were also deemed most appropriate in consideration of the various constraints limiting the work of this study. Only residents above the age of 18 were selected for an interview to ensure sufficient knowledge and experience for participation in this study. Although no other rigid quota was imposed to limit the number of participants in each demographic category, such as age, gender, and barangay of residence, the researcher attempted to recruit participants from various categories in hopes to gain a wider range of responses.

4.1.4 Interview Design

The semistructured interview was split into two main parts, with a list of sample questions designed in a way that matched the research questions of this study. The first part of the interview gathered background information of the participants with questions about their demographic characteristics. These included their age, gender, marital status, parental status, native-born status/place of birth, length of residence, current barangay of residence, education attainment, occupation, having close family members/friends working in tourism, and frequency of interaction with tourists. The second part consisted of the main interview questions about residents' perceptions on the level of tourism development, tourism impacts in economic, sociocultural, and environmental domains, their identification of stakeholders and satisfaction with such stakeholders, thoughts on the degree of local engagement in tourism, and their expectations and wishes for the future of Panglao tourism. As commonly done in semi-structured interviews, the researcher designed a conversational guide to accompany the interview in this study. This guide was used for carrying the interview through with a list of planned questions and areas to delve into. Still, participants were encouraged to express additional opinions beyond the planned questions and some questions related to the topics of interest arose naturally during the conversation. Follow-up questions were also asked occasionally to better understand certain opinions.

All questions and responses were recorded in a Word document. To ensure an accurate interpretation of interviewee's responses, member checking was employed in this study. Although often conducted in verification of transcripts as a single event, member checking can also be done continuously throughout the interview (Doyle, 2007). In this study, the latter approach was selected. In cases where answers were ambiguous or unclear, the researcher reworded the response and asked the interviewee if the statement in its rephrased form is understood correctly. Still, in some instances the questions were not well understood by the interviewees. These are further elaborated in the research limitations.

In addressing ethical considerations, the researcher informed the interviewees of the purpose of the study, data collection, the use of such data, and guarantee of confidentiality prior to the start of the interviewee. The researcher then obtained consent from the interviewee to participate in the study. To ensure confidentiality, names of the participants were omitted and replaced by a code system indicating his/her barangay of residence and gender (M/F), e.g. TAWALA-M1 referred to a male participant residing in Barangay Tawala. In cases where there were two participants of the same gender from the same barangay, the number added at the end would be altered to '2' for the second participant for convenience of distinguishing between participants, e.g. Tawala-M1 and Tawala-M2, where the latter referred the second male participant residing in Barangay Tawala.

4.2 Sample

All participants were contacted and interviewed in September 2020. Each interview was conducted in English and lasted approximately 90 minutes although there were some variations in length among the interviews. Out of a total of 132 candidates contacted, only 24 responded to the initial interview invitation. However, after confirmation for availability, only 13 individuals finally agreed to participate in the interview. Five out of these 13 individuals were identified directly by the researcher from the lists of 'likes' or comments on various posts on the official Panglao Municipal Government page and the Panglao Tourism Office page. The other eight candidates were identified through referrals from the researchers' personal connections in Bohol. One participant was excluded from this study due to insufficient knowledge and understanding of the topic and questions, leading the researcher to terminate the interview halfway. Thus, the final sample size of the interviews was 12.

The 12 participants resided in the barangays of Poblacion (including Balicasag), Danao, Tawala, Lourdes, Looc, and Bil-Isan in Panglao. There was an equal share of gender with six male and six female participants. The youngest participant was 19 years old and the oldest was 48 years old. Nine were unmarried, two were married, and one was widowed. Four participants had children and eight had no children. The majority of participants were native-born residents of Panglao, but three were non-native born who moved to Panglao from Quezon City (Metro Manila), Talibon (Bohol), and Davao (Mindanao). Their length of residency varied from a minimum of four years to a maximum of 48 years. In terms of education attainment, one completed high-school and seven had incomplete Bachelor degrees, of which five were currently completing their schooling. In terms of occupation, these five participants were enrolled in universities as students at the moment. Other occupations included dive shop owner/project manager in coral reef conservation, tourist guide/tour organizer, communication operator in the police force, junior auditor in retail, tourist apartment owner, homemaker, and chef. Only one participant in the study had no close friends or relatives employed in tourism. The interviewees varied in terms of frequency of interaction with tourists, with five expressing frequent interactions, while

three said they sometimes interacted with tourists, and four said they rarely did. A table of the demographic characteristics of the study's Sample is attached in Appendix 2.

4.3 Data Analysis

4.3.1 Resident Perceptions

In the first part of the research investigating tourism impacts, thematic analysis was conducted on the interview data. This type of analysis was chosen due to its ability in establishing 'a way of seeing' through themes (Neuendorf, 2019) and allowing the researcher to explore meaning and complexity within a given context (Loffe & Yardley, 2004). The present research was also not so concerned with objective, quantitative measures of the phenomenon being studied, but more with the different themes and implied meaning emerging from the responses gathered. Thus, thematic analysis applicable with its focus on both manifest and latent content of data in understanding residents' opinions from an interpretivist approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Statements from each interview were recorded and transcribed into a Microsoft Word document as data, which were then analyzed manually by the researcher and developed into codes representing the salient themes that arose in conversation (Neuendorf, 2019).

In terms of coding and analysis, thematic analysis allows the researcher to use a framework for guiding data analysis, but often there is no need for rigid adherence to such a framework throughout the whole process (Sandelowski, 2010). Therefore, in analyzing responses related to perceived tourism impacts, interviewees' statements were coded under categories of impacts according to priori codes derived from the Responsible-Sustainable Tourism Model (Mihalič, 2016), which was used as a theoretical basis for this study. These priori categories included 'economic impacts', 'sociocultural impacts', 'environmental impacts', and 'destination governance/political environment'. Surely, it was acknowledged that impacts may not always be easily classified into a single category as they may stretch across different spheres of life, such as changes to the standard of living being a 'socioeconomic' impact. Thus, this approach was used mainly for the purpose of clarity in presenting findings. During the process of categorization, it was revealed that overcrowding and congestion issues, which are traditionally considered as social impacts, were better explained under the term 'physical environment'. Thus, these issues were placed under 'physical environment', which was added as a new sub-category under the 'environment' dimension.

Meanwhile, sub-themes under each of the larger categories remained flexible and were acquired inductively as required by the epistemological roots of the thematic technique (Neuendorf, 2019). In cases where similar phrases representing a common theme were identified in different interviews, they were integrated into a single code. For example, if one interviewee stated, "Things are getting expensive here after tourists arrived" and

another said, "Tourism has caused prices to increase", they would both be coded as 'increased cost of living' listed under the 'economic impacts' category. Still, if one interviewee discussed price increase in terms of housing and property, while another in terms of food and daily necessities, the distinction would be made clear in the analysis.

On a side note, some questions used in the interview, such as those of 'level of tourism development' and 'future of tourism in Panglao', did not directly relate to the thereotical framework. However, the resident responses to these questions were still presented in the findings, as they were useful for the overall understanding of overtourism in Panglao. Moreover, although the exploration of potential influencers of resident perceptions was not a goal of this research, preliminary insights on the linkages between residents' demographic characteristics and their responses were presented in the findings for further understanding. A brief summary of these notes is also presented in Appendix 3.

4.3.2 Precursors/Risk Factors for Overtourism

Different types of data collection methods were adopted to identify the risk factors of overtourism. Because overtourism is inherently underlined by threats to the rights and wellbeing of the host population (Milano et al., 2018), interview findings from phase one served as the source of evidence in this part. These findings were contextualized with the help of researcher observation and archival data to generate meaningful interpretations. Researcher observation was selected due to its ability to enhance the understanding of everyday life, culture, and the 'hows' and 'whys' of certain behavior in a particular group through immersion (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013). Meanwhile, secondary data in the forms of government policy documents, news articles, and statistical publications were used to substantiate findings from resident interviews and researcher observation by "Furnishing background information and context related to the setting and issue under study" (Johnson, 2017, p.10). Still, it is important to keep in mind that since the researcher was not able to travel to Panglao during the time of this research, the notes and comments from researcher observation were made in retrospect, based on observations from previous time spent at the destination that did not fall within the period of this research.

5 ANALYSIS OF RESIDENT PERCEPTIONS

The participant interviews uncovered a wide range of resident perspectives in several aspects of tourism in Panglao. In this chapter, the empirical data gathered is presented and analyzed. The chapter is organized in accordance with the research questions. Firstly, local opinions are presented and analyzed by category. These categories are as follows: resident descriptions of the destination's level of tourism development, local perceptions of economic impacts, sociocultural impacts, environmental impacts, residents' identification of tourism stakeholders and satisfaction with tourism management, local engagement in

tourism-related decision-making processes, and expectations and hopes for the future of Panglao tourism.

5.1 Level of Tourism Development

Prior to the discussion on tourism impacts, participants were first asked to describe the status/level of tourism development in Panglao.

By describing the state of tourism development in Panglao with vocabulary like "fast," "peak", "high", and "blooming", the 12 interviewees were unanimous in their perception that tourism in their town has been undergoing rapid development in recent years as observed in the expansion of tourism infrastructure and increasing number of tourists.

When asked to discuss the development of Panglao tourism from 'the beginning' until now, Looc-F1, who at 48 years old is the oldest participant in this study, gave a brief account of what tourism looked like in Panglao a few decades ago, "Panglao had developed a lot [in] tourism. I think it started in the 80s, when it was still a small fishing village. It slowly gained popularity in the 90s, then tremendously developed in the year 2000 [when] the construction of buildings had started." She believes that construction with heavy materials jumpstarted tourism development in the island, suggesting that while Panglao had always been an attractive destination, it was unable to accommodate tourists in the past due to the lack of establishments and facilities, "In the late 80s and 90s, [...the few] tourist accommodation [were constructed with] light materials only, like nipa, kubo, and wooden and bamboo houses." She explained that her own relatives hosted tourists in their home before there were hotels, "I think [in] 1993, my relatives accommodated a tourist... they let him live with them in their simple nipa house for around 3 months or more."

Similarly, Danao-M2, who is 44 years old, noted the lack of tourism establishments in Panglao when he was a teenager. He also discussed how tourism provided an alternative source of income for a population traditionally reliant on subsistence agriculture and fishery,

"Most of the older folks [had] no schooling and only know farming and fishing as [their] livelihood. My grandfather and father and his siblings are all farmers and fishermen, sea urchin catchers, and seashell [fishers]. [It has been] their livelihood way back [when there was] no tourism. But now, many locals work in [tourism] - diving, banca, hotels, and restaurants. Most of them [stopped] fishing, especially the younger generation, [because tourism] is a sure income." (Danao-M2)

Evidently, since its introduction to Panglao, tourism has expanded employment options for the local residents and has even become the preferred sector to work in for many due to job security and the regular income guaranteed compared to fishery. This has led to a decline in traditional livelihoods.

Still, as most respondents in the study belonged in younger age groups, a number of them discussed more recent tourism developments in Panglao rather than detailing the gradual evolution of tourism in Panglao. Four respondents cited the Panglao-Bohol International Airport as a major catalyst for growth in the area. One of them believes that the airport drove the expansion of tourism in Panglao beyond Alona Beach,

"Before the airport here was built in Panglao, [tourism in our town] was okay, but it was [focused on] Alona only. I mean, in Alona, there [were] a lot of clubs, restaurants, hotels and resorts even before the airport, but now you can find rooms or resorts anywhere also, and restaurants outside of Alona." (Danao-F1)

Two young respondents also noted the role of mass media and social media as both a cause and result of Panglao's tourism boom. Lourdes-M1 believes that in addition to the construction of tourism infrastructure, social media also had a role in popularizing Panglao as a tourism destination,

"The level of tourism development in Panglao is at its highest peak. New commercial buildings [are being] built every day and many tourists visit its vicinity now also because of the different platforms created by our community, especially [by] promoting [our town] on social media." (Lourdes-M1)

Clearly, from his perspective, the local community is eager to make their hometown known through various channels. Meanwhile, Balicasag-F1 believes that Panglao's presence on television was a consequence of its rising popularity,

"Before this pandemic, I think Panglao increased [in popularity] hugely these years. Everyone in [other provinces or cities] in the Philippines or other countries started to hear about Panglao and also other tourist attractions in Bohol, like Chocolate Hills. [Panglao] really boomed to the point where it was featured on television."

The following section consists of discussions of economic impacts, sociocultural impacts, and environmental impacts in their distinct subsections.

5.2 Economic Impacts of Tourism

In terms of tourism's economic impacts on Panglao, the creation of employment opportunities was the most recognized positive economic impact.

5.2.1 Employment Opportunities

All 12 participants mentioned that tourism has created an abundance of job opportunities for local residents. As one participant stated, "One of the main sources of employment here in Panglao is the tourism industry." (Tawala-F1) Meanwhile, another participant from Tawala noted the relationship between employment opportunities and the 'survival' of local residents. He believes that tourism benefits not only Panglaoanons, but also Boholanos from other towns,

"Most of the people here are surviving because of the tourists who [come] here... not only in [...] Panglao and Dauis, but also in many [other areas] of Bohol. Because of tourism, lots of investors put [their] businesses here, so there [are] so many job opportunities for most people here in Bohol." (Tawala-M1)

Clearly, he perceives the province's dependence on tourism and views the wealth of employment opportunities as a result of investment and new businesses in Panglao.

While Tawala-M1 views employment for people from all over Bohol as a positive impact, another respondent expressed dissatisfaction with the target of employment. From her view, although the tourism sector has created many jobs, local residents of Panglao must compete for such jobs, as residents of other towns in Bohol or even other provinces in the Philippines are also eager to apply for such jobs. She wishes for Panglaoanons, especially fresh graduates from college, to have priority in the hiring process, "It would be so much of a benefit if the companies prioritized hiring pure Panglaoanons [...] 'cause it would help a lot of people here, especially [...] undergraduates." (Balicasag-F1) However, she also questioned the plausibility of such measures, "It's just an idea, because of course anyone could apply [for such jobs], especially when you have the skill and passion."

The disparity in seeing province- or country-wide hiring as a positive or negative impact may be explained by the SET as well as differences in the two respondents' native-born status and personal experience. Tawala-M1 is not a native of Panglao. He is originally from Quezon City, Manila and moved to Panglao only four years ago to become a tour organizer, thus directly benefiting from his tourism and the lack of priority given to Panglaoanons in the hiring process of such jobs. Balicasag-F1, on the other hand, was born and raised in Panglao. This may have affected her preference for locals to yield benefits from tourism. Moreover, as an undergraduate student herself, she may be connected with peers who have been hampered by the competition for such jobs. As she said, "My cousin just graduated with the course BS Tourism, but is currently unemployed."

5.2.2 Business and Economic Growth

Similar to income and employment, business and economic growth was also mentioned as an economic benefit of tourism. One interviewee perceived the success of Panglao tourism to have contributed to the wider economy of Bohol in her comment, "I think Panglao [has] made a big contribution to Bohol. Because tourists visit us, the economy [of Bohol] is also booming. Demands are on high." (Looc-F1)

5.2.3 Rising Cost of Living

In terms of negative economic impacts, sentiments regarding the rising cost of living due to tourism prevailed with all participants in agreement. One participant noticed that prices of products in the public market like fish and meat have become "Higher than usual", which are "Expensive for locals, because [the sellers] are basing the prices for the foreigners." (Danao-F1) Another interviewee mentioned that price increase is in all aspects of living, as "Most things in Panglao" have become very expensive, such as "Renting a house, bills, gasoline, motorcycle/tricycle and car fares". He also noted the irony that "We are surrounded by the sea, but the fish here are very expensive." (Tawala-M2) A number of interviewees have also noticed that land and property prices in Panglao have skyrocketed due to tourism, but they generally discussed cost of living more in terms of increasing prices of goods.

When asked whether they themselves or other locals would consider moving out of Panglao due to the rising costs, all respondents were absolute in their answer, 'no'. For some, the reason given was related to perceived economic benefits. As Danao-M1 put it, "The cost of living [is] skyrocketing, but we earn high at the same time. People move here for a reason. It's easier." Similarly, Tawala-M1 said, "We can still manage", explaining in terms of personal employment and income from tourism and also citing the relative ease of earning, "For example, if you are working in the hotels and restaurants, except your salary, you can also get a lot of tips." As for Danao-F1, besides earning more from working in tourism, her reason was also guided by the perceived difficulty of settling into a new place, "It would also be hard for us to move out and find a new job [elsewhere]." (Danao-F1).

Danao-M1, Tawala-M1, and Danao-F1 are all non-native residents working in tourism. Danao-M1 is from Talibon, Bohol. He moved to Panglao five and a half years ago to open a tourist dive center and also work as a project manager for a reef conversation project. As aforementioned, Tawala-M1 also moved to Panglao from Manila to work in tourism. Danao-M1 and her family migrated to Panglao 17 years ago from Davao, Mindanao. They decided to move to Panglao to take over her husband's family business and to fulfill their wish to "live on a peaceful island". Since then, she had been working as a sales manager in a satellite provider company and running the family's tourist apartment before this pandemic. As observed from these examples, SET may be a modifier of negative economic impacts. Employment in tourism was the motivation behind all three participants' move to Panglao, from which they directly and individually benefit in terms of income. Further, Danao-F1's reason for not considering moving out may also be related to personal

experience and knowledge of the struggles associated with moving, especially since her husband has passed away and she has three children to take care of.

For other respondents, the reason for not moving out is unrelated to personal benefits from tourism. Two respondents referred to their native-born status in their reasoning. "It's hard, but I love Panglao. I was born here. We can do alternatives [to] lessen the [everyday] expenses." (Tawala-M2) By the same token, another respondent explained that although she is dissatisfied with the high cost of living, she also would not consider moving out, as Panglao "Has been my hometown since birth". (Bil-Isan-F1) Both of these respondents said that instead, they would adjust by purchasing daily necessities and avail services outside of Panglao, for example in Tagbilaran.

Both Tawala-M2 and Bil-Isan-F1 are native residents not employed in tourism. From their responses, it is evident that they are willing to make personal sacrifices to continue living in Panglao despite the rising costs. While the reasoning of the first three respondents' can be explained by the SET, that of these latter two is better expounded by their native-born status and strong place attachment.

5.2.4 Wealth and Land Ownership

Another topic that came up during conversations of socioeconomic aspects was land ownership. It is widely known that Panglao has the most expensive land and property market in Bohol. One interviewee sees the sale of land as a means for locals to improve their standard of living, "[Locals] are living better now. Some [of them] get rich quickly, because they sell [their] lots/property." (Tawala-M1)

Yet another resident voiced disapproval and concern over fellow Panglaoanons selling their land without giving it enough thought and financial planning,

"Many of my relatives are tempted to sell their land for easy money. As they don't know how to handle money and then it's easily gone, some of them [have] ended up [with] no more land and [are] now renting [a] house to live in, because the prices of land and houses have increased too much." (Danao-M2)

As evidenced, Tawala-M1 has a more 'superficial' view on land sales, which from his view is simply an easy and quick way to gain wealth. Meanwhile, for Danao-M1, there is a deeper issue to consider, as selling land without thorough consideration has often been a way in which locals have lost money and a house to live in. The difference between the two views may be explained by their native-born status, length of residency, and community attachment. As an unmarried, non-native resident who has only resided in Panglao for four years, it is probable that Tawala-M1 has fewer social and familial relationships in Panglao than Danao-M2, who is a married, native-born resident of 44

years. Thus, Danao-M2 may have more knowledge in this domain, allowing him to draw examples from his own relatives' experience of selling land.

5.2.5 Foreign Ownership

Related to land ownership, foreign ownership of land and businesses emerged from the interviews as a topic of concern for some residents. One participant observed that "Panglao has changed a lot these years" because most land or property buyers in Panglao are foreigners who are building their own tourism businesses. He detailed,

"Most of the businesses here now, and resorts especially, are owned by foreigners. I think Panglao attracted many [foreigners] to come live or retire here and they will just start a resort here. For restaurants, I think some are owned by Filipinos, but maybe they are not Panglaoanons." (Tawala-M2)

When asked whether he saw it as a positive or negative impact, he said that he sees it as a cost of tourism. Another participant also expressed disapproval towards foreign ownership. She noticed that foreigners are always at the top of the economic hierarchy in Panglao, whereas local residents may only benefit from tourism by working for these foreigners. She explains, "Instead of being the boss, locals are mostly working for foreign business owners. I think it is a bit unfair for us locals, because it is us who should benefit first." (Lourdes-F1) Similarly, Tawala-F1 showed dissatisfaction with foreign ownership, but her frustration is not sparked by perceived inequality in economic benefits.

"For our community, most of the land/establishment owners are not from Panglao. They are also not from Bohol. [They are] Chinese or Korean... it's so sad. We Panglaoanons must be the owner of our own place, building establishments by our own Panglaoanons because it's our place and our home." (Tawala-F1)

This participant's language and word choice, namely, "It's so sad", "Must be", "By our own", and "Our place and our home" reveal her strong emotional reaction to foreign ownership. Her insistence on local ownership, not only for the establishment itself but also the construction process further demonstrates her community attachment and pride. These three participants are all native-born residents below 25, have completed at least one year of tertiary education and have close friends or relatives working in tourism.

5.3 Sociocultural Impacts of Tourism

In terms of sociocultural impacts, a number of themes were identified. Participants perceived changes in communication between local residents and between residents and tourists, internationalization of neighborhoods, lifestyle changes resulting from tourism and exposure to different cultures, as well as an increase in the crime rate.

5.3.1 Change in Social Interactions between Locals

Several participants noticed that interactions and relationships between local residents have changed as a result of tourism. For some, local residents have retained their hospitable behavior or become even more hospitable toward both local residents and tourists. As one participant said, "I think the locals have become more hospitable and welcoming [to tourists and] to other locals as well." (Danao-F1)

Some have observed increased social and business connections as a result of tourism. One participant noticed the expansion of social and business networks and an increase in mutual helping behavior within the local community, "People before only interacted with their friends or colleagues... [But] now, I have observed that local residents also interact with [other locals]. [Those] who have small businesses near the tourist spots [also] help each other." (Lourdes-F1) Comparably, another participant referred to such connections as beneficial to future business opportunities and especially in attracting other tourists, "[My] friends and even my parents started to have a lot of connections that would help them recommend our place to some other possible future tourists. It helped our livelihood. We call it 'Suki' here." (Balicasag-F1)

Nevertheless, Balicasag-F1 also observed that tourism has led to increased competition within the community, which could pose a threat to community harmony. She explained,

"I noticed that some people are getting very competitive with other businesses. Though it's a good thing for a business owner or for people who are working [to be competitive], sometimes they might handle it in [the] worst possible way, which destroys peace [in our community]." (Balicasag-F1)

Like Lourdes-F1, Balicasag-F1 is also a young, female, native-born resident currently enrolled in university. Her family's income is dependent on tourism with a small business and a dive shop.

5.3.2 Change in Community Demographics and Neighbor Relations

Several participants believed that tourism has changed the community demographics of Panglao, especially with the influx of non-native Panglaoanons and foreign nationals. One native-born participant said,

"It was different in the past than [what it is] now. Before, it was mostly natives here, but now most [people here are] tourists: every part of Panglao has a lot of tourists, and hotels [are] everywhere. Most of our neighbors here are tourism establishments: hotels, backpacker [hostels] and inns. Some local houses here are rented by foreigners. For us, it's a bit uncomfortable that [we are not] familiar [with

one another], because they are not locals of Panglao. But I think we need to get used to it." (Tawala-M2)

This participant also noticed foreign ownership as an issue as mentioned in an earlier section. He believes that the influx of tourists and non-native residents is the reason that "A lot has changed" in Panglao, and from his comment, "We need to get used to it", it is evident that he feels a lack of control over the changes. He sees the necessity to accept change despite not fully welcoming it. Another native-born resident discussed her opinion on the changes in her neighborhood. She feels nostalgic for the past when she had a strong sense of belonging to her community, which has now been lost due to the increasing number of foreigners,

"I am not against changes, but I miss the times when [our neighbors were] local residents also, because I [could] feel like I am really in my hometown and know almost everyone here. We [could] just call each other if we need help with something. Now there [are] foreigners everywhere in my neighborhood and in [other parts of] Panglao. I somewhat feel like a foreigner in my own land." (Lourdes-F1)

Likewise, Danao-M2 expressed frustrations with the lack of familiarity and close relationships within the neighborhood, "Before in Panglao, we [knew] each other even in other barangays, but now I [do] not know who my neighbors are. Don't know them at all." He remarked that this excludes the foreigners, who are known by everyone in the neighborhood. The interviewee further elaborated on the decline of social cohesion in Panglao through examples of exchange between neighbors in celebrations and special occasions.

"Before, [most of us] knew each other and we were close. Neighbors usually gave and took vegetables like malunggay from [each other's] backyard [freely]. We were welcomed at our neighbors' whenever there were celebrations or parties - no need for invitations. When there was [...] a dead member of the family, neighbors would come to help by working and also giving money. The same also when there was a wedding. The family of the bride or groom can ask for financial [and manpower] assistance [from neighbors], with a mutual agreement that when there is also a member of the other family to wed, they will also help in return [...] Now, when there is burial, only a few relatives would come, and the contributions are seldom or not done [at all] anymore." (Danao-M2)

Besides the aforementioned sociocultural traditions of helping and exchange in burials and weddings, Danao-M1 also noticed a change in the attitude and behavior of youth towards the older generations in daily interactions,

"The old tradition of when we meet someone, especially at night, we would surely greet them with "bie", short for good evening. They would also answer back with

the same, especially the younger [neighbors]. Now the younger ones don't care anymore. When I greet the young ones with "bie", they [don't] care and [pretend to be] deaf, and some laugh. [Also,] The young relatives don't do "mano" greetings anymore." (Danao-M2)

The interviewee believes that Panglao's youth today are lacking discipline and respect for older relatives and neighbors. He attributed this change to the modern and busy lifestyles of the younger generation, which is consequential of the new cultures and ideas introduced to the community through immigration, tourist influx, and social media.

Tawala-M2, Lourdes-F1, and Danao-M2 are all native-born residents who have lived in Panglao since birth. They all perceived the growing population of non-native residents, particularly foreigners, in their neighborhoods, which has diminished the level of familiarity with one another. Looking at their place of residence, while both Tawala and Danao are largely commercialized and have very high tourist concentration due to their seaside location and famous white-sand beaches, Lourdes has not been an area targeted for tourism development. In fact, according to participants residing in Lourdes, there is only one or two tourist accommodation in the barangay, and it is only known for its Lourdes National High School. Nonetheless, from the results it appears that even residents of Lourdes feel alienated from their community despite being the least commercialized in terms of tourism and other forms of development. This offers insight into just how significant and prevalent the change in community composition of Panglao is. In addition, although Danao-M1 is not a native-born resident and has only resided in Panglao for five and a half years, he has also noticed that the expat community has grown significantly in the last few years.

5.3.3 Change in Social Interactions between Locals and Tourists

In terms of host and guest communications, many interviewees observed an increase in interactions between locals and tourists, which has influenced different aspects of the local culture and lifestyle as discussed in the following sections.

Danao-M2 noticed that the culture and tradition of Panglao are now changing due to these interactions. "Most of the natives of Panglao [were] shy people. [Now, when locals] interact with [tourists], they also think [of themselves as] open in knowledge and modern in culture." (Danao-M2) Another interviewee also believes that native residents are becoming more confident in conversing with tourists compared to the past, "Some of the people here [used to be] afraid to talk to foreigners, since they couldn't speak English fluently." (Lourdes-F1) In fact, a number of other interviewees also witnessed a change in language, especially in the way locals speak due to frequent interactions with tourists. For one interviewee, these changes manifest in the way locals communicate with tourists, "When locals speak with foreigners, we mix English with their language." He gave the example of mixing English with Korean in the case of speaking to Korean tourists. "We

use their common words in Korean, like annyeonghaseyo. I think we learned from Korean drama, haha." (Tawala-M2) For another interviewee, these changes have even carried over to the daily conversations between local residents, "Sometimes, when [locals] speak with each other [now], the words they say are mixed with [a] little [bit of] English." (Looc-F1) Meanwhile, one interviewee noticed a change in language on both sides of communication. "Panglaonons adapt [to] the way of communicating [with] our guests [and] tourists. We speak English. Sometimes, [foreigners] are willing to learn our vernacular language (bisaya terms), too." (Poblacion-M1)

All of these participants are native-born residents of Panglao who have completed at least one year of college and have close friends or relatives working in tourism.

5.3.4 Cultural Exchange

Exposure to different cultures and cultural exchange were also mentioned as sociocultural impacts. Based on the perceptions of three respondents, tourism has increased the residents' pride and appreciation for local culture and the willingness to share their culture with foreign visitors. Particularly, two participants noticed that locals including themselves would now include tourists in their fiesta celebrations. One participant said, "With our traditions in celebrating fiestas, we consider tourists [as well], so they can understand what we are celebrating." (Looc-F1) Another participant added that individuals of all backgrounds are encouraged to participate in the festivities, "We always welcome tourists from all over the world to celebrate with us, so they can understand our culture." (Balicasag-F1)

5.3.5 Change in Patterns of Consumption

Many respondents noticed changes in the local eating habits. One respondent stated that local residents have changed their traditional method of eating to ensure social-psychological comfort of the tourists,

"Usually [locals] are using [their] hands to eat, but since there are foreign guests, they try to be formal and use forks and spoons with [tourists] to [make them] feel comfortable." She did not perceive this to be a negative change, suggesting it is a sign of mutual adaptation, "We can also learn and try to be parallel with each other." (Looc-F1)

Lourdes-F1 also stated that restaurants and other businesses are adapting to tourist flavors to better cater to foreign tourists, while Bil-Isan-F1 noticed that local residents are also adapting to foreign flavors. "The local foods [are] being rejected, because [locals] are trying foreign foods instead." She sees this as a negative change, as "maybe residents in Panglao adapt [to] the tourist culture just to accommodate them properly."

These participants are female, native-born residents of Panglao who have completed at least two years of college and have close friends or relatives working in tourism. They sometimes or rarely interacted with tourists before the pandemic.

A number of respondents also noticed a change in local attires, all of whom pointed to the gradual popularization of less conservative clothing. One respondent referred to the change in clothing as the "Normalization of revealing clothes", where "Young girls are wearing revealing clothes like tourists" (Danao-F1). Looc-F1 also noticed that locals, especially teenagers, are imitating the "Styles and other trends from tourists". When asked about her opinion on this matter, she explained,

"Tourists really brought changes to these clothing styles here. I am not against the trends, but as I have noticed, girls who often show more skin [are more likely to get] molested here, and as a woman that hurts as a lot. I have two daughters and I always remind them to watch what they are wearing in public." (Looc-F1)

Tawala-M2 observed that most Filipinos are mostly mimicking Korean dressing styles, which may also be attributed to causes other than tourism. As for revealing clothes, he noticed, "Some also mimic foreigners in wearing crop-tops, sexy shorts, see-through dresses, like that." He believes that older generations would see dressing in revealing clothing as highly disrespectful, "Because most of the oldies here in the Philippines are very modest." (Tawala-M2) As for a young, female respondent, however, wearing revealing clothing is a sign of sexual liberation. She saw the changes to local attire as a negative impact, "Some people are liberated [in clothing] just [like] what some tourists are. It's disrespectful to be wearing small or tight clothes that show a lot of skin. Some girls dress like that to attract foreigners." (Bil-Isan-F1) From her words, "Just like what some tourists are", it is apparent that she condemns some types of tourist clothing and their influence on the evolving local ways of dress. She also believes there is an underlying motivation for clothing choices.

Regarding the demographics of the above respondents, Danao-F1 (44) and Looc-F1 (48) are both middle-aged mothers who have teenage daughters, while Tawala-M2 (25) is unmarried has a young son, and Bil-Isan-F1 (25) is unmarried and has no children. From the opinions displayed, it appears that changes in clothing are generally perceived negatively and associated with lack of respect and danger.

5.3.6 Drugs and Prostitution

Looc-F1 is a native-born, married resident with children. She also noticed the problem with drugs "And other crimes" in Panglao, but did not mention the specific types of crimes,

"There is a problem with drugs here, but it's not just Panglao. There are many drug pushers in other towns of Bohol and around the Philippines also. Most of them are young and the police [are] catching them in buy-bust [operations]. I think some tourists who come here [also use drugs] if they meet drug [dealers]."

A complex web of issues connecting the topics of clothing choice, mindset, morality, tourism, and crime was identified during an in-depth discussion on sociocultural impacts with one of the participants, Danao-M2. He provided a very detailed portrayal of such links through talking about his personal experience with such matters. He began by talking about his daughters imitating the clothing styles of bar girls/escorts in popular tourist spots, "My young girls, 19 and 14 [years old] - they kind of wear revealing stuff, same as [...] the Girls of Alona. Some young girls would even say, in these outfits, can I magnet some rich foreigners?" This aligns with Bil-Isan-F1's comment regarding the motivation behind such choice of clothing. For Danao-M2, a parent, it is not the revealing clothes itself, but the implications of such choices on the safety and mentality of his children that perturbs him. He recalled his personal struggles and frustrations with educating his eldest daughter,

"Last year, at only 18, she was lured by her girl friends to roam at night in Alona to find tourists or foreign guys. I got mad because she did it without me knowing. I was out at night to work my night shift. I also got mad at her friends and don't want them in my house. I even confiscated my daughter's cell phone and checked on her at night to see if she is in her room." (Danao-M2)

Besides sneaking out at night to search for foreign romantic interests, Danao-M2's daughter was also introduced to Chinese tourism business owners in Alona Beach by her friends. Some of them, though already married, are "Into chatting young student girls to meet them somewhere." He explained that he even knows some of these businessmen personally, as he "Used to hang out in Alona more often before." (Danao-M2)

When asked whether many locals are aware of these happenings, Danao-M2 said that the younger Panglaoanons probably are, as "They share their stories and even tell others to use some apps to meet Chinese guys, I think WeChat and TanTan (A Chinese copycat of Tinder), as what I had discovered on them." He elaborated that his daughter's academic performance has suffered due to these interactions, "One of my daughters' friends is secretly chatting and meeting some Chinese guys. She likes them because of gifts. And [my daughter] also got two failed subjects for staying awake late at night always chatting these guys." He further uttered his concern and anxiety in being a single parent in countering the negative influences from his daughter's social circle and teaching her a 'proper' mentality. He expressed his wishes for his daughters to be independent, setting their own goals and reaching accomplishments through their own effort and merits, "I want them to study hard, work, and start a business in the future. I want them to forget the mentality of other young girls."

After the narrative about his daughter, Danao-M2 also talked about clothing choices in relation to crime in the form of drugs and prostitution, as well as the role of tourism in such transactions,

"Most guys in Alona [who] stay there late [at night] asking [tourists to buy] dolphin tours and land tours are hooked on drugs. They party at night in the bars and ask foreign tourists [if they want] tours, [then they will ask about] those girls wearing those kinds of clothes you know, then drugs. I know this, because I know some of [these tour guides]. When there is money, they are into it. Our house is just 1 kilometer away from Alona. It happened to me before - a tourist asked me for girls or drugs. I told him to go to other guys." (Danao-M2)

He explains that ever since President Duterte came into power, the drug scene in Alona Beach has slowed. However, there are still residents, including foreign residents, who are still using illicit substances, "There are still [people] hooked on drugs. Foreigners and their wives are also on it." He also said that two years ago, he discovered that his relative was secretly working as a prostitute in Alona Beach to "Make easy money for her needs". Danao-M2 perceives the change in mentality of the young girls in Panglao as the biggest impact of tourism aside from environmental damage. He believes that young girls in the community today see finding a foreign boyfriend or spouse "As a tool to escape poverty", which is preferred over having to "Look for work outside Bohol or other bigger cities". He depicts their mindset as, "Oh, I'll just find someone, maybe a foreigner, to marry or to be my boyfriend, and then I don't have to work or study hard anymore", and even heard some parents pushing for such mentality to younger girls. For this participant, this is the bigger impact of the tourist influx in Panglao.

Danao-M2 is a 44-year-old native-born, married male resident with four children. He previously worked part-time as a tricycle driver in the Alona Beach area and also has past experience working in the hospitality team of the Local Government Unit (LGU) of Panglao. He is currently employed as a communication operator in the police office and has many relatives working in tourism. From his background, it is likely that he has extensive connections in tourism and other dimensions. Not only does he know many tour guides in Panglao, he also interacted with tourists on a daily basis. He also exhibited a high degree of knowledge regarding tourism impacts not only on a local level, but also at a global scale. He regarded sex tourism and the change in youth's mentality as a "Normal impact that happens also to most places with tourism".

5.4 Environmental Impacts

In terms of environmental impacts, it was clear that two aspects of the environment emerged from the discussion, namely, the physical environment and the natural environment. In terms of the physical environment, a majority of interviewees viewed new amenities and infrastructure as a positive impact and noise, overcrowding and congestion as a negative impact of tourism.

5.4.1 Physical Environment

5.4.1.1 Tourism Establishments and Commercial Buildings

Many interviewees stated that commercial buildings in Panglao benefit tourists and locals alike. Particularly, they offer business and employment opportunities to locals. One interviewee referred to both personal and community benefits from such establishments,

"Now I can easily go [to these establishments] to buy some fast food. I can also interact with the people, especially tourists, and lastly, the more buildings to build, the more workers it needs. For Panglaoanons, it is a [big] advantage to have work near [our] home." (Poblacion-M1)

For this participant, tourism commercial buildings bring convenience, provides a place for social interactions, and stimulates employment that is in close proximity to local residents. Another participant also mentioned that tourism establishments provide a space for local creativity, which also offers a source of income. "[Locals] also make their own way on how to entertain guests, making some performances or singing to earn something in these places". (Looc-F1)

However, there was one participant who disagreed that commercial buildings benefit the community, stating that many local residents would avoid these businesses, "[Because there are so many] commercial buildings in Panglao, many locals don't go in [such areas] and [instead, they] settle on the [smaller] towns [for] local carinderias (food stalls)." (Lourdes-M1)

Poblacion-M1 and Lourdes-M1 have very similar demographic characteristics except their barangay of residence and having close friends or family employed in tourism. Poblacion is the most populated barangay in Panglao, while Lourdes is the least. The latter is also relatively farther from the main commercial areas of Panglao. Moreover, Lourdes-M1 is also the only participant in this study to have no close relatives or friends working in tourism.

5.4.1.2 Overcrowding and Congestion

In examining negative tourism impacts in the aspect of the physical environment, overcrowding and congestion was the most prominent theme that emerged from the interviews with Panglao residents.

A significant portion of interviewees pointed to overcrowding and congestion as a negative impact. They stated that these problems are mostly apparent in the high seasons spanning from summer months (March to May) and Christmas/New Year season. However, nearly all of them believe that tourism is not the sole cause but rather one of the main causes of such issues.

Tawala-F1 perceived overcrowding to be a problem most catalyzed by the growing population rather than tourist numbers. She explained that it is a result of immigration from other towns of Bohol. Similarly, Balicasag-F1 explained that problems associated with overcrowding and congestion are regularly observed on days of fiestas, thus tourism is not the only cause. She also sees overcrowding as an inevitable outcome of rapid development and tourism growth. From her perspective, "People here are getting used to it." In fact, the acceptance noted in her tone in this comment is more or less representative of others respondents' attitude towards overcrowding and congestion.

Some participants also offered insight into the limiting conditions that have caused and exacerbated overcrowding and congestion in Panglao. For example, Danao-M1 said that overcrowding is not the actual problem, but a mere manifestation of more complex issues related to poor zoning and design of tourism areas in Panglao, where tourism is overly concentrated on Alona Beach. As Danao-M1 elaborated,

"There is overcrowding, but I wouldn't say [there is a problem with overcrowding in itself], but the way that they design that is the problem. Everyone [is] focused [on] Alona Beach, which is just a tiny beach. The whole Panglao is big and [has] a lot more to offer."

Two participants suggested that congestion is a consequence of poor road designs, rather than a problem caused directly by tourism. As Lourdes-M1 stated, "Some roads here experience traffic jams when there are a lot of people, if the road is not [wide enough] to accommodate the vehicles to pass." (Lourdes-M1). He explained some roads in areas outside of the main tourist sites also experience congestion. Another participant also noticed that some roads in Panglao are not wide enough and not in good condition to ensure safe passage, "If we go to Bolod beach or Dumaluan beach, the road there is not well-made in the first place [...] [which could] cause accidents [so it] needs to have a road-widening." (Poblacion-M1) He added that the damage may still be a remnant damage of the 2013 Bohol Earthquake.

Both of these participants are current undergraduate civil engineering students, which may well explain their attention to road conditions. Danao-M2, who as aforementioned worked as a part-time tricycle driver, also said that roads in Panglao must be upgraded and widened, especially since "The international airport is in. The big tour buses are lining up." He further listed specific sites in which congestion is a big issue, namely, the "Choking

point in the entry point of the city, where the two bridges are" and Alona Beach, where double-parking is rampant.

For these participants, tourism adds to the already existing problems of congestion. All four of the participants who discussed the limiting conditions are male and have at least two years of undergraduate education. Interestingly, although Danao-M2 observed congestion issues, he did not find overcrowding to be a problem in Panglao. He reasoned that Panglao's population density and tourist numbers are still low compared to other islands in the Philippines.

There was also one participant, Tawala-M1 who did not observe any problem with overcrowding or congestion in Panglao. His reason was that tourists generally have a short length of stay in Panglao, "Most of the tourists here stay for two to three days only." His response contradicted those of other respondents, who perceived at least one of these issues. Yet it is highly possible that his view is modified by his non-native status and short length of residency. Particularly, it is important to consider that he moved to Panglao from Manila, which as the capital of Philippines far exceeds Panglao in terms of population, population density, and number of vehicles among other factors. Manila also consistently tops world rankings for worst traffic. Thus, what a native Panglaoanon views as overcrowded is almost certainly negligible from Tawala-M1's point of view, even if he is residing in Tawala, the most populated barangay in Panglao.

5.4.1.3 Management of Tourist Numbers

Since some participants saw tourism as a contributor to noise, overcrowding and congestion issues in Panglao, tourist arrivals was raised as a topic of discussion during the interviews. The general consensus among participants was that the number of tourists in Panglao is "A bit high". Nonetheless, participants generally did not see a need to control tourist flow. For Lourdes-F1, having high tourist numbers "Is still fine as long as it provides jobs, benefits the growth of our economy and [does not cause] trouble". According to this interviewee, tourism's contribution to the local economy outweighs its negative impacts on the environment, because they can be minimized "As long as tourists and locals take good care of the tourist spots here". As for Danao-M2, tourists should be welcomed given there is sufficient accommodation capacity for the numbers and proper environmental management, "Having many tourists is good, as long as hotels can sustain it and the government will protect the environment". For Danao-F1, growth in tourist numbers is desired, but insufficient food supply would limit growth, "There aren't enough fruit and vegetables to supply all the resorts in Panglao for all the tourists" even in the present time, as "There are limited farms here and much of the [food] is imported from other places". Danao-M1 also suggested another prerequisite to be met before further tourism growth can happen,

"Of course we all want to see more tourists coming here. [Having] more tourists in Panglao benefits not just us but the entire Bohol [...] But for that to happen in the right way, the Local Government here really needs to step up [their] game." (Danao-M1)

5.4.2 Natural Environment

Out of the three dimensions, it was clear that residents perceived the most impacts in the natural environment domain. All but one interviewee showed utmost concern for the negative environmental impacts of tourism in Panglao. Place of origin, as previously discussed, may also justify Tawala-M1 also being the only respondent in this study to say that there has not been any problem or damage to the natural environment in Panglao. As he is from Manila, which is highly urbanized and has significant problems with pollution and minimal natural surroundings compared to Panglao, the latter is pristine in comparison. He did mention that if there were any environmental damage, it would be because of the establishments. However, he did not perceive any current issues due to the strict regulations imposed by the DENR. He also said that most incoming tourists actually enhance the cleanliness of Panglao by being diligent in picking up their own trash. He noted an exception with "A few Chinese people", who do not dispose of trash properly. However, he believes there has not been any animosity towards this tourist segment, "Because 40% of tourists here are Chinese. They are also important".

5.4.2.1 Damage to the Marine Environment

Danao-M1, however, expressed dissatisfaction with Chinese tourists in relation to their lack of environmental awareness. He believes that coral damage in Panglao is a consequence of "Mass tourism and tourists from mainland China". Indeed, damage to the marine environment was an important theme raised in the discussion of tourism's environmental impacts on Panglao, where respondents witnessed the rapid decline of ocean health over the years. Balicasag-F1 expressed dismay with the deteriorating condition of the ocean, corals, and other marine life, all of which she has a personal, emotional connection to. As she elaborated,

"Since I grew up in Balicasag Island, my all-time favorite place is the beach and the ocean. I really love the ocean and I always snorkel or freedive here. It makes me feel stress-free. [But] I could really compare its appearance then and now. The water is not as clean as before and the corals are fading in colors. Some are even damaged already. Also because [the reef is not as healthy] as before, you won't find as many fish or other creatures in the ocean, like dolphins and sea turtles. If you dive here, you will see, even though it's still beautiful." (Balicasag-F1)

Similarly, another respondent whose family has long relied on marine resources and fishing for survival observed the worsening condition of the ocean and the diminishing presence of its inhabitants,

"Fishermen either moved farther to catch fish in areas with less tourism, or what most of them did was [to stop] fishing and [instead] looked for tourists for dolphin-watching for money [and] income, because they have minimal catch in their fishing nets now. My father said, because of dolphin-watching tours, where so many boats race to catch [a glimpse of] the dolphins, the fish [that the fishermen] want to catch in their nets have also also scampered because they are disturbed." (Danao-M2)

Clearly, the majority of local residents have shifted from fishery to tourism as the main source of income. This participant noted how tourist activity has hindered the availability of marine resources, which, in turn, has further led locals away from their traditional livelihood due to the difficulty of fishing in an area dominated by disturbances caused by tourism. He also discussed damage to the ocean caused by improper waste disposal in boat construction,

"I witnessed [the damage] myself, as I am also a son of fishermen. We used to see the shoreline before beaming with shells and fishes, but because of boat construction, especially in the Danao area near Linaw beach, lots of garbage from boat construction and parking and cleaning of boats, the beach is damaged not only [on the] shoreline, but also the life on it." (Danao-M2)

5.4.2.2 Improper Waste Disposal

Danao-M2 further elaborated on how tourism can indirectly contribute to water pollution in ways that people don't often see or expect, "Maybe most tourists don't know that when a boat is constructed or cleaned, the cleaning materials, paints and paint thinners, and cleaning chemicals are directly dropped [into the] sea." (Danao-M2)

Yet the problem of improper waste disposal in Panglao is not limited to boat construction and maintenance. In fact, the majority of interviewees also recognized drainage issues and improper disposal of garbage and plastic waste as an apparent negative environmental impact of tourism. Still, respondents diverged in identifying the population contributing to this problem. Some interviewees faulted the tourists' lack of discipline as the cause of environmental damage. For instance, Lourdes-M1 stated that tourists are to blame for trash issues. Lourdes-F1also said that it is tourists' irresponsible behavior that destroys nature-based tourist attractions.

Meanwhile, Poblacion-M1 believes that both tourists and local residents are improperly disposing their trash. "Some tourists [...] and some local people, especially the kids, easily throw their garbage everywhere [...] especially in the road area." There was also one

interviewee who did not attribute the problem to one specific group of people. Rather, she pointed to the lack of a well-established waste management system and designated areas for proper waste disposal as a limiting condition leading to such issues,

"There are not enough places to throw [the trash] properly, and the government doesn't have a good system to [control] where the trash or sewage goes or what to do with [it]. That's why you will find trash and pollution everywhere, especially plastics on the beaches and the sea or on the side of the roads." (Looc-F1)

5.4.2.3 Deforestation

A number of participants also suggested "cutting down trees" as a tourism impact in Panglao. They ascribed deforestation to tourism development in the area, specifically the repurposing of land for building new establishments. Looc-F1 saw a decrease in forest cover in Panglao, "There aren't really forests or so many trees [here] than before, because they already cut [them] down to use the land for commercial buildings." Other than forests, Danao-M2 noticed that agricultural land has also been razed for commercial use, "Panglao used to be a farmland of cornfields and root crops, but because of construction, almost all land is now barren. You can not see farmland anymore."

5.4.2.4 Other forms of Pollution

Increased air, land, and sea pollution was another common topic raised by the participants, though without much specificity. A few of them highlighted the role of transport in creating pollution, such as Tawala-M2, who said, "I think most of the pollution here is because of the transport vehicles like cars and boats, and because there are many tourists using [them] here now so there is more pollution." Bil-Isan-F1 also mentioned that natural resources are being polluted and threatened, which has caused "A change in temperature".

From the interviews, it was clear that native-born residents perceived more negative environmental impacts than non-native born residents. The exception was Danao-M1, a non-native resident, who as previously mentioned is highly involved in environmental protection projects in Panglao. Thus, environmental awareness and, as seen in the case of Tawala-M1, characteristics of the natural environment in a non-native resident's place of origin may also predict resident perceptions of environmental impacts.

5.4.2.5 Increased Environmental Awareness

Undoubtedly, interviewees found tourism to have a very negative impact on the natural environment. However, four respondents said that although tourism is mostly harmful to the environment, there may also be some positive impacts. For Danao-M1, who runs a tourist dive center and is involved in reef conservation, tourism has raised the

environmental awareness of tourists, motivating them to protect nature. "[People come [here] and [when they have] never seen anything like it, [they will protect it, because] people care [about] what they see/like."

5.4.2.6 Wildlife Protection

Comparably, Tawala-M2 noted the conservation and wildlife preservation efforts of the local diving community in Panglao, "There are a lot of divers doing coastal clean-ups and saving corals. They are also saving some turtles and dolphins and sometimes we see some posts on Facebook about that." Another respondent explained that tourism has even influenced wildlife protection policy in Panglao,

"When I was a kid, we ate stingrays, turtles, and also whale sharks. Pamilacan Island was a site for hunting whales, that is why [it was named] Pamilacan - "pilak" means the hand arrow used for hunting whales. Before tourists arrived, the whales, turtles, and dolphins were being hunted by fishermen. Now [they are] one of the stars of tourism." (Danao-M2)

This participant expressed support for such policies, stating that "A system or guidelines is a must to protect or ensure [that they will] still be there [for years to come]."

All of the respondents who saw positive environmental impacts are male and have had at least one year of undergraduate education.

5.5 Destination Governance/Political Environment

The stakeholder/political section investigates resident perceptions of actors involved in the management of tourism in Panglao. During the interview, participants were asked to name the major tourism stakeholders in Panglao from their point of view. Some participants were very clear on who the major tourism stakeholders are in Panglao. For one participant, the main stakeholders were identified to be, "The National Government (The Department of Tourism), the Provincial Government, and the Local Government Unit headed by the mayor, who is the main implementer of policies and is responsible for the distribution of permits for facilities and tourist spots". (Danao-M2) Yet there were also participants who were unsure of who the major stakeholders are.

5.5.1 The Local Government

The majority of participants named the Local Government Unit (LGU) as the main stakeholder controlling and managing tourism in Panglao. They were asked to rate their satisfaction with the LGU and give reasons and examples to support their rating.

Participants exhibited generally negative views of the LGU's approach to tourism issues in Panglao. Several areas of discontent were highlighted based on the responses. One participant named the LGU's lack of knowledge and understanding of tourism as the reason for his dissatisfaction. He believes that the government's inadequate knowledge has prevented them from making well-informed decisions in tourism,

"[The government here] is shit. 1/10. Panglao was once a small village with fisher folk and farmers. Now it's boomed and attracts businesses from everywhere in the world. The local government is not equipped [with enough knowledge] to deal with this level [of tourism]. You've been here before, so I'm sure you saw the trash on the beach. Plastic bottles, sachets, glass... We have clean-ups here with NGOs but [the trash] just keeps coming back, because the [government] is not handling it. Also, they regulate dives with environmental fees. But they just collects [the fees] and fail to implement anything with the money." (Danao-M1).

On a side note, this participant also asked the researcher about her future aspirations and career path and stated that assistance is needed to improve tourism management in Panglao, "What sort of jobs can you get into with tourism master's? Maybe you can get a job in the tourism sector here to solve the problems. I doubt it's hard for a foreigner to get a job here." (Danao-M1)

Another participant, Danao-M2 from the same barangay, made a similar observation about the LGU's lack of awareness of the happenings in the municipality. Regardless, he was most dissatisfied with the LGU's management of environmental issues and their lack of environmental awareness. The participant further expressed frustration over the LGU's inefficient and corrupt operations in trash collection,

"For example, the makeshift restaurant on the sea at Virgin Island, it is a sore on the eyes with no proper disposal of garbage. Soon, the sea creatures will suffer. Honestly I am upset about this and especially with garbage collection. In our place they collect only the houses that would give money to the collectors, especially the foreigners. They banned people [from putting] garbage in the garbage box and [only allowed garbage to be collected] when the collectors came, but the collectors are selective and [always] decline. Most garbage [is] dumped everywhere in the bushy area, hidden from sight. The ones doing these are also the people from LGU. In [Danao], it is near the shoreline/mangrove area. When they were questioned by one of the foreign guys who accidentally discovered it, they said that it was only temporary and will be out [of] there soon. [But it has been] many years [since, and] it still keeps on filling up. Imagine, it is near the sea." (Danao-M2)

In his opinion, the LGU often ignores visible issues and makes unfulfilled promises. He said that the LGU is well aware of the wastes created in boat construction and maintenance, but never took any action. The same goes for the water supply shortage in

Panglao, which has been an unresolved issue for years. The participant also criticized the LGU's lack of enforcement of environmental regulations,

"Alona Beach was encroached by establishments before. The passageway and pedestrian access were blocked. [The LGU] kept on saying that it is illegal, but no enforcement... only when President Duterte came in and brought top DENR officials to intervene did the LGU enforce it. [Because if not, the DENR] would do it for them. That time, Alona Beach establishments were demolished, like in Boracay." (Danao-M2)

Similar to Danao-M1, this participant noticed the current ineffective and corrupt management practices and expressed wishes for intervention on destination governance,

"Thank you for this interview opportunity [...] I am just glad that I can share my opinion and let out what has been on my mind. I hope to see you on TV in the future. Maybe you will become a famous advocate in your field. I hope you can help us, the concerned people, especially [with] the greedy government and politicians... to [prioritize] first the welfare of the community and not the welfare of their pockets, and of course [to prioritize] nature, too, for it was the reason Panglao became a tourism spot [in the first place]." (Danao-M2)

Another participant agreed on the prejudice of the LGU. Her dissatisfaction with the government lies in their unequal treatment of locals and foreigners, where the foreigners' needs are often prioritized over the locals in many facets. As she commented, "[The government] is sometimes biased. Foreigners [enjoy much more] privilege than locals in many matters. You can see that they treat foreigners with much more [hospitality] than locals." (Lourdes-F1)

Meanwhile, Tawala-F1 specifically named the mayor as the main stakeholder in Panglao tourism. She was dissatisfied with the mayor's management of tourism and especially with the lack of local engagement in tourism planning,

"The mayor is taking over everything here, in tourism and also other things, and [she] is doing a very poor job, because she just does things the way she wants. Most of us here are not satisfied with her management. [She should] improve her planning [of] the tourism industry, gather insights [and] opinions of the local people before doing things. That would [bring] a big impact on our place." (Tawala-F1)

Some participants, although dissatisfied, elicited sympathetic attitudes towards the LGU in explaining their thoughts. One participant said that she believes the LGU is "Probably doing something" to improve the tourism sector in Panglao, but these efforts are "Not visible". (Danao-F1) Meanwhile, Balicasag-F1 has observed considerable effort by the

authorities in improving their management of Panglao, although she believes there are aspects that the government must focus more on,

"The LGU is trying to do the best that they can, because sometimes it can be [difficult] to improve a place due to different challenges. But for me, I feel like there's always room for improvement. There are things they should really improve, like the water [supply shortage] problem and [other environmental] issues caused by tourism." (Balicasag-F1)

Out of all the interviewees, only one expressed a high level of satisfaction with the LGU's management of tourism in Panglao. He saw significant and visible efforts by the government to mitigate a multitude of issues in the municipality, "[Tourism brings] mostly bad [impacts to Panglao], but the Local Government Unit [is] finding remedies. They always work hard and put effort to [keep improving] our place, and we can see that." (Lourdes-M1)

Lourdes-M1 is the only participant to not have close friends or family working in tourism, and the only participant to express a high level of satisfaction with the LGU.

5.5.2 Politicians

Besides the LGU, two participants said that politicians are also important tourism stakeholders in Panglao. As Bil-Isan-F1 noted, "As far as I know, stakeholders are people who have power here, like politicians. I think they also have [influence over] the tourism industry in Panglao." Meanwhile, the other participant was more cynical in mentioning politicians,

"I mean, like everywhere [in the Philippines], it's [all about] politics. The politicians follow where the money [is], and so if it helps [their pockets], then they're into it. So there you have the tourism industry. It's not just [the case] for Panglao." (Danao-M1).

5.5.3 Business Owners

One other respondent named the private sector and investors as the main stakeholders in control of tourism in Panglao, whom he regarded with disfavor,

"The private businesses are in control of tourism here. You know, one of the biggest problems [for the tourism industry] here in Panglao is that [they always have the practice of] 'delaying getting a permit', and it [makes things] much worse." (Poblacion-M1)

5.6 Local Involvement

Local involvement was one of the topics raised during the interviews. Besides Tawala-F1, many other interviewees also perceived a low level of public engagement in tourism planning and development in Panglao. One participant said, "[Local involvement is] low, but some of them are giving their opinions to LGU. [LGU will only consider opinions] if [locals] are giving an excellent opinion." (Tawala-M1) Some interviewees believe that the LGU would only consider the residents' opinions if they were to politically organize themselves, as one commented,

"If [a] majority of us will try to convince the government, then maybe they will consider our suggestions. For example, if some locals will form an alliance or organization with other locals and speak as one group. Maybe only then we [will be] heard." (Looc-F1)

From her tone and usage of the words "Maybe only then", it is evident that the interviewee has doubts as to whether the government would really listen to local voices, revealing a general lack of trust for the authorities to engage locals in decision-making processes.

5.7 Future of Panglao Tourism

Participants were asked to describe their expectations for the future of tourism in Panglao.

5.7.1 Economic Benefits

Lourdes-F1 pointed to further economic growth and an increase in the contribution of tourism to the local economy, as well as the continued provision of employment opportunities. Correspondingly, Tawala-F1 believes that further tourism development will provide even more jobs for locals, and tourism in the municipality will be "Huge and life-transforming for most of these employees". Danao-F1 also considered the economic potential of tourism in less-developed areas of Panglao,

"If the pandemic will be gone next year, the tourism industry can still expand more here. There's more development outside of Alona now and they are building more resorts, but there's [still] a lot of undeveloped areas in Panglao good for investing in for businesses, not just resorts." (Danao-F1)

Similarly, Tawala-M1 demonstrated outright support for further commercialization of Panglao,

"Oh, I'm really looking forward to more establishments here. We heard that they are now making big malls and more hotels here. Have you heard about the J Park

Resort who also has the Waterpark in Mactan, Cebu? He is also making a megaresort here." (Tawala-M1)

5.7.2 Obtaining City Status

Some interviewees noted Panglao's impending acquisition of city status in the Philippines,

"As what everybody expects from a developing and booming economy of our town, Panglao, the place will soon look like a small city rich with natural resources, being taken care [of] by our natives and being [appreciated] by many foreigners from different countries. Panglao will not just [be] like an ideal destination [for] visitors but a home to enjoy and live [however] and whenever they want." (Bil-Isan-F1)

From her depiction, it appears that she is quite proud and confident in how her hometown will progress in the future. This is particularly demonstrated in her choice of description using words and phrases like, "As what everybody expects", "Booming", "Taken care", "Appreciated", "Ideal", "Enjoy" "However and whenever". She sees a smooth transition for Panglao from town to a city. In contrast, Lourdes-M1 did not wish to see Panglao obtain city status, noting the Island's environmental carrying capacity as a major consideration.

"Panglao is trying to become a city, but I don't want to see that happening, because it would mean more air and land pollution here and more commercial buildings built. Panglao is just on a small island, so I don't think it [would] be able to [withstand] such big changes if ever it becomes a city." (Lourdes-M1)

5.7.3 Further Tourism Development

Looc-F1 also did not wish to see further development in terms of commercialization and construction due to environmental harm,

"I support tourism, but I don't want to see more establishments built here, because I don't want even more trees to be cut. There were so many forests cut down already for development. [Instead], I would like to see how they can balance not hurting nature, but at the same time improving the [tourism] industry." (Looc-F1)

As for Balicasag-F1, despite not personally supporting further development, she expressed a lack of control over progression and growth of the municipality.

"For me, [tourism development] in Panglao is already enough for now. There are quite a lot of tourists here now, trees are cut, and the ocean is polluted. More

development means more of these problems, but of course, who would never want to see development?" (Balicasag-F1)

Meanwhile, Danao-M2 discussed identity and community pride in terms of nature and the ocean in particular in consideration of development,

"For me as a Panglaoanon, it is my pride to be a local here in our town. I hope that tourism can bring development to our place, but I also [wish] that the protection of the environment and ocean life [had] more priority. After all, we [benefit] from it. It is our pride. I think it was around 10 years ago when there was a plan to develop a reclamation area right in front of Virgin Island, I was very upset and was one of those who strongly opposed it. So... why is it that most people who want [that to happen] are the ones that are not natives here? They are just after the money. The proposed reclamation area is really on the breeding ground for fish and shells, right in front of a massive mangrove forest. Luckily, it was opposed." (Danao-M2)

While this participant sees tourism as a tool for local development, he believes that nature preservation should be given more emphasis, as it is central to their community pride. It can also be deduced from his rhetorical question that he sees non-native born residents as 'outsiders' who do not have the same level of awareness, care, and appreciation for their natural environment as native Panglaoanons. This, he implied, is why they are willing to push for development at the expense of nature.

5.7.4 Uncertainty and Instability

Still, many participants looked to the future of tourism in Panglao with concern and uncertainty due to the Coronavirus Pandemic. As one participant answered, "The future? That's hard. Right now [what] everyone can just ask for is to open the borders." (Danao-M1) Meanwhile, from the view of Looc-F1, it will now be necessary for stakeholders to use varied methods in approaching tourism,

"We miss the tourists here and [cannot wait] for them to return. These days, resorts close early because there are no tourists. But [the] tourism industry here is not stable, especially [as] we can see in this pandemic. There are lots of things to consider. So I can say that the future of tourism in Panglao will most likely be a trial and error way [in] dealing [with] nature or manmade occurrences to find the best way to manage tourism." (Looc-F1)

Some participants focused on more positive sides of the pandemic. Danao-M2 touched upon the fact that the pandemic has allowed nature to recuperate from tourism stresses and prompted locals to better conserve natural resources,

"This pandemic is a reminder for us to save and protect our environment, because when times like this occur again, we will go back to ask nature what it can provide. [Locals have] returned to their old work [...] the life they used to [have] as [fishermen]. They said there is plenty of fish now compared to the times when there were sea tours, diving, and dolphin watching. I asked them, why is that? They said, because the sea is now undisturbed by tourism and fishes [have returned]." (Danao-M2)

A summary of resident perceptions on tourism impacts in the economic, sociocultural and environmental dimensions, destination governance/political environment, and local engagement can be found in Appendix 4.

6 ANALYSIS OF PRECURSORS/RISK FACTORS FOR OVERTOURISM

Wall (1997) highlighted the importance of considering the types of tourism activities in the destination, characteristics of the host community, and the nature of host and guest relations in studying tourism impacts. The evaluation and monitoring of a destination's risk of overtourism also requires an understanding of the overtourism factors (Kuščer & Mihalič, 2019), recognizing the legal and political conditions as well as the economic, social, and environmental issues in the specific context (Weber, 2017). Therefore, to understand the overtourism phenomenon as it occurs in Panglao, the following section investigates possible precursors/risk factors for overtourism by contextualizing the impacts identified. This enables the current study to unearth deeper issues underlying residents' concerns, possible interrelationships between different themes, as well as the strengths and flaws in current management.

6.1 Energy Supply Shortage

Although not specifically discussed in the resident interviews, researcher observation and document analysis revealed that energy supply shortage is a perennial issue not only in Panglao but the whole province of Bohol. There are three power distribution utilities serving Bohol, including Bohol Electric Cooperatives (BOHECO I and II) and Bohol Light Company, Inc. (The Bohol Chronicle, 2019e). Although there are a few small-scale power plants in Bohol, the province continues to rely on power transmission from Leyte. In 2013, locals endured a month-long power outage caused by Typhoon Yolanda, which devastated the interprovincial power lines, just three weeks after a 7.2 magnitude earthquake hit Bohol. While most of the cables have since been repaired, many parts of Bohol still experience frequent power interruptions to this day. Based on researcher observation, brownouts and even blackouts can last anywhere from half a second to multiple hours. In fact, power interruptions are so common that every household has at least one flashlight at their disposal in case of power interruptions, and locals simply remain patient and endure

the darkness until electricity returns. As for tourism establishments, many hotels around the island have their own generators. Yet the average Boholano resident would not be able to afford a household generator or the gas used to power it. Moreover, some areas still have limited access to electricity. For instance, households on the famous diving site of Balicasag Island only had access to electricity from 6pm to 11pm daily before it became available at all hours in September 2017 (Ligalig, 2017). For Panglao, energy issues are compounded by high costs. In 2017, electric tariff rates in Panglao reached P12 per kwh, while even those in the country's capital of Manila only cost P8-9 per kwh (The Bohol Chronicle, 2017c).

Seeing the need to procure sustainable, reliable, and affordable energy supply, Bohol has since launched plans to build an in-island power plant that adheres to the province's 'no coal' policy and offers affordable rates. Nevertheless, it appears that such projects are still open for bidding and awaiting definitive decision (The Bohol Chronicle, 2020c). In an opinion piece, Canlas (2020a) expressed frustration over government inaction in tackling energy issues in the province,

"It really boggles the mind why the leaders of the previous administration did not act on the problem that looked them in the eye. They know all the facts. They know all the scenarios. It does not take a genius to understand the whole picture" (paras. 14-15).

6.2 Water Supply Shortage

Similarly, water supply shortage was identified as a longstanding issue impinging on the entire Bohol. Yet in recent years it has become a particularly pressing matter for Panglao due to rising demands, as one of the interviewees complained, "The LGU never solved our water supply issue even though they have been promising to do so for years". Currently, there are five private water suppliers servicing Panglao on top of the municipality's own waterworks, four of which use groundwater sources. These consist of two companies who source groundwater from Corella town in mainland Bohol, namely, Bohol Water Utilities, Inc. (BWUI) and South Balibago Resources, Inc., and two companies who distribute processed groundwater sourced from wells in Panglao, namely, Abejo Waters Corporation (AWC) and Mactan Rock Industries, Inc. (The Bohol Chronicle, 2020b).

The reality of Panglao proves the interrelationship between water provision and sewage management, since the biggest issues with water supply in the municipality are tied to the problematic practice of groundwater sourcing. Specifically, extracting water from aquifers poses severe risks to the environment as well as human health especially in view of Panglao's limestone-dominated geological makeup and poor wastewater management. In a study inspecting water quality and sanitation in Panglao, researchers Clemete, Htet, & Caloza (2017) found saltwater intrusion in all sampled wells, indicating over-abstraction to be a problem pervading the entire Panglao. Water safety was also identified to be a major

concern, with chloride levels of all wells exceeding the Philippine safe water quality standards and 24 out of the 26 sampled wells containing fecal coliform. Clearly, the substandard water extracted from such sources is unfit for consumption, but this unsustainable practice continues to this day. Moreover, the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) and DENR also reproached unregulated groundwater extraction, citing the scarcity of groundwater and the geological consequences of overabstraction (The Bohol Chronicle, 2020b). The National and Provincial Governments have recommended sourcing water from rivers, falls, or springs to promote more sustainable water supply.

Fortunately, the private sector has responded to this call. As the first provider in Bohol to use surface water as its source, Richli Corp. has recently launched a ₱1.5 billion water treatment facility bringing surface water from Cortes to Panglao and other towns for household and resort distribution (Abad, 2019). In fact, the concept was founded upon dissatisfaction with the low water quality and reliability in Panglao by the supplier's affiliate company Eskaya Beach Resort & Spa, a high-end boutique resort located in Tawala. Seeing the unsustainable practice of deep well water sourcing and recognizing the importance of sustainable water supply, Richli Corp. now provides potable water to households and businesses in several towns across Bohol with further expansion afoot (Richli Corp., n.d.).

However, problems surrounding water governance and affordability persist in spite of emerging solutions. In terms of governance, there are frequent disputes over water provision among local residents, the municipal government, private companies, and other organizations under the National Government. Perhaps the most notable incident in the past few years involved 'illegal' drilling activities directed by Panglao Waters Services, Inc., a subsidiary of AWC. Their 'unlawful' water diggings amassed formal opposition from six barangays, whose residents lamented the associated negative impacts such as salt intrusion and land subsidence. Locals were also angered by the fact that AWC's plans were not subjected to competitive bidding before implementation. The controversy was furthered by the DILG's condemnation of the Municipal Council for permitting the private supplier to exploit Panglao's fragile aquifers rather than encouraging alternative water sourcing methods. Meanwhile, the Municipal Council declared that AWC was to blame for failing to meet operational requirements in the given time frame and also failing to consult the local government on water tariffs before the company proceeded to make public announcements (The Bohol Chronicle, 2017a). Plainly, there is poor communication and a lack of clarity and continuous collaboration among stakeholders on water provision in Panglao.

Water supply in Panglao is further grappled by the apparent dichotomy between affordability and sustainability. Besides the special geological features of Panglao, solutions to improve sanitation and the quality of water in the municipality are also challenged by the socioeconomic status of local residents. Water sourced from deep wells

is often presented as an affordable option, which presents an enticing choice for low-income households albeit an unreliable and highly unsustainable one. Meanwhile, water from other sources as seen in the case of Richli Corp., which uses new technologies to transport surface water to users, is an expensive alternative in comparison although a more reliable and sustainable one.

As some locals are unable to afford the more expensive options of water, they must rely on the cheapest options sourced unsustainably from underground, which are more likely to be contaminated by environmental pollutants. Researcher observation suggests that residents are generally aware of the potential health hazards of drinking water directly from the tap and would normally purchase drinking water for direct consumption. However, it is rare for locals to use the same water for indirect consumption purposes, such as personal hygiene or food preparation. It is commonplace for locals to use tap water for daily routines like showers, teeth brushing, washing vegetables, and cooking rice. Even the ice used in cold drinks or desserts is usually sourced from tap water. Yet locals also tend to conserve water and energy in their daily activities. In rural regions of the Philippines, both resources are scarce. Hence, it is a privilege to have running water for daily showers and even a luxury to own a water heater, which consumes a lot of power. In these households, bucket showers, known locally as 'tabo', is the standard way of bathing. It is uncommon for locals to dry their hair with a blow dryer, because it is not a commonly owned household product also due to its high electricity usage. Although health risks associated with water use in the aforementioned activities are comparatively low, research has shown that coliform contaminated water, as in the case of Panglao, is unsafe for food preparation, brushing teeth and use in eyes (Oregon Health Authority, n.d.; University of Iowa, n.d.).

6.3 Issues with Sewage Waste Management

Interview findings have illustrated a significant problem with sewage pollution in Panglao. In fact, the issues of improper sewage management and scarcity of freshwater in Panglao are caught in a vicious cycle. The lack of proper sewage treatment systems threatens clean water provision, posing a severe public health risk and threatening environmental wellbeing. Although sewage problems are not only occurring in the tourism sphere, the growing tourism sector is undoubtedly the biggest contributor to sewage waste in Panglao. Back in 2018, nearly 90% of resorts in the municipality did not have wastewater facilities, and 60 to 70% were not compliant with septic tank regulations. Some establishments simply discarded wastes into the ground due to the high costs associated with securing and operating waste treatment systems (Udtohan, 2018). Fortunately, the national government has become more stringent in environmental regulations following Boracay's 'cesspool' situation and the resulting closure. The DENR has since led crackdowns on resorts in Panglao, El Nido, Siargao, and other destinations for possible violation of the government's environmental regulations like the Clean Water Act, Solid Waste Management Act, and encroachment on no-build zones (Geronimo, 2018). In November of

the same year, swimming was banned in some beaches of Panglao due to coliform levels that largely exceeded acceptable levels (Arnaldo, 2018).

Large establishments, especially international hotel chains have enough financial resources to support their own sewage treatment systems. However, small to medium-sized establishments may not have the capital to do the same. Fortunately, private and nongovernmental sectors have presented solutions for these businesses. In the first months of 2020, Envirokonsult launched a fully mechanized facility in Dauis, the neighbouring town of Panglao, to serve households and commercial establishments in both towns (Reodique, 2020). Meanwhile, Mactan Rock Industries Inc. constructed a sewage treatment plant that mainly serves small- and medium-sized establishments (Dagooc, 2019). JICA, who funded the BPIA, also dedicated ₱100 million to the Panglao Septage Treatment Project (Ciasico, 2019). Still, the mere volume of sewage waste being discarded every day in Panglao leads to environment pollution and consequently, human health. Moreover, sewage pollution is not only caused by wastewater from establishments, but also boats, which do not have toilet facilities. As these boats are very frequently used for tourism and other purposes, the mass volumes of untreated urine and fecal waste pose significant risks for the marine environment.

6.4 High Resource Use in Tourism

Tourism perpetuates the existing problems with the sector's tremendous power and water consumption, as well as disposal of sewage waste. Becken (2014) found that the Philippines had the highest tourism water use per person among 21 countries. In 2017, tourism industries consumed 6.7 thousand Gigawatt hours (GWh) of electricity and 237.3 million cubic meters of water (Bersales, Ilarina, Poquiz, & Caranay, 2019). Although the recently opened Bohol-Panglao International Airport partially generates electricity through renewable sources and has a water pipe connected to the mainland that was built exclusively for the aviation facility (Mercene, 2018), the 13,300 sqm terminal still has significant energy and water demands. Moreover, several large-scale resorts and commercial projects are well underway, among which Hotel 101, Panglao Premiere, Modala Leisure Village, Crown Regency Panglao, and Jpark Island Resort and Waterpark, which was mentioned by one of the interviewees, are some of the most anticipated (Horwath HTL, 2020; National Electrification Administration, 2020). As a 25-hectare property, Jpark is on the way to become one of the largest resorts and waterparks in the country. Surely, such an imposing resort will provide numerous employment opportunities. Yet its expansive size and location may be worrying, especially in terms of resource use and environmental impact. At present, the largest resorts in Panglao are Henann Resort with 400 rooms and BE Grand Resort with 208 rooms (Horwath HTL, 2020). Built on the beachfront in Barangay Libaong in close proximity to the airport and Alona Beach, Jpark alone will contribute an additional 1200 rooms and villas to an area already saturated with countless resorts (Horwath HTL, 2020). Besides Jpark, 1954 more

rooms are expected from confirmed developments by 2027 (Horwath HTL, 2020). It is important to note that most mid-range and high-end hotels in Panglao are nicely furnished and equipped with running, hot water readily available at the tap, functional flushing toilets, and air conditioning among other amenities. Surely, further tourism growth will only exacerbate the existing problems with resource shortage and waste pollution.

6.5 Dominance of Tourism Enclaves

As evidenced in the descriptions above, the standard tourism experience in Panglao certainly does not resemble the typical local way of life. Within minutes of exiting the gated resort communities and modern commercial structures, one may come to discover that beyond the walls of grandeur and splendor reside populations who are generally much less privileged than incoming tourists. This observation indicates the presence of enclave tourism. Tourism enclaves refer to self-contained developments with implicit or explicit socio-spatial borders separating tourists from the reality in which the local population resides (Saarinen, 2016). Interestingly, a number of resorts in Panglao use the word 'enclave' in introducing and marketing their establishments. For instance, Ecostay Panglao Resort Hotel (n.d.) described their resort to be "Nestled within an intimate enclave along Panglao Shores Resort Road in Panglao" (para. 1). Meanwhile, Panglao Tropical Villas Beach Resort (n.d.) "Welcomes guests to an enclave of barefoot elegance nestled along the largest stretch of secluded beachfront" (para. 5). North Zen Villas (n.d.) also welcomes guests to "Experience this sanctuary of wellness situated amongst a lush enclave" (para. 3). Apparently, each of these hotels has used the word 'enclave' to highlight their property's exclusive location, as if completely undisturbed by outside happenings. However, the portrayal of such serene surroundings neglects the stark contrast between the homogenous tourist experiences lived within a bubble and the reality of local life lived in the actual world surrounding it.

As previously discussed, much of coastal Panglao, especially in the areas around Alona Beach, is densely packed with tourism establishments that cater to all aspects of tourist consumption. Additional beachfront resorts and shopping malls projects in Panglao will only exacerbate the problem of enclave developments, with huge upcoming resorts like Jpark most likely to encourage tourists to remain within the property grounds during their stay. Proximity of the newly opened airport to the central tourist areas further engenders enclave tourism, as tourists may now arrive on the island and transfer to their resorts directly without needing to pass through Tagbilaran or other towns of Bohol. The type of tourist activity is another factor contributing to the enclave in Panglao. Based on researcher observation, most tourists visiting the Philippines prefer traveling in island chains across the country instead of making a single island travel experience. In the case of Panglao, this is also evident in the average length of stay of just 1.55 days (Department Of Tourism Region 7 Statistics, personal communication, September 23, 2020). During their short stay, tourists visiting Panglao often spend the day relaxing on a beach or opt for the island-

hopping tour, which includes dolphin watching, snorkeling at balicasag island, and a quick stop at virgin island. Another popular tourist route is the "countryside tour". Its typical itinerary includes stops at Baclayon Church, Chocolate Hills, Bilar Manmade Forest, Philippine Tarsier Sanctuary, and lunch at the floating restaurant on the Loboc River cruise. While there are private or group options available for both tours, the standard mode of transport for these predetermined routes is private boat and private tourist van, respectively. Therefore, tourists only meet other tourists and do not usually have time or opportunity to venture out or interact with locals except their designated guides or drivers. Furthermore, it is less common for locals to patronize restaurants or other establishments that most tourists frequent due to price.

6.6 Congestion and Road Safety Issues

Aside from resource management, geographical features of an island also have prime implications on accessibility as isolation and small size are often esteemed as defining qualities of 'islandness' (Karampela, Kizos, & Spilanis, 2014). However, in the case of Panglao, the small island is becoming increasingly accessible, being well connected to Mainland Bohol and seeing the recent opening of BPIA, which welcomes flights from various regions of the Philippines. Although only domestic flights have been launched to date with the exception of Seoul-Incheon, it is expected that BPIA and airline companies will expand direct connections to international destinations. Yet improved accessibility also raises concerns of congestion, even though findings from resident interviews suggest that locals are not so irritated by the current status of congestion and overcrowding despite perceiving them as negative impacts.

From a tourism perspective, one of the reasons for congestion relates to rapid growth in tourist volume, as tourist arrivals are expected to rise along with improved flight connectivity. Another reason relates to mode of transportation, as the rise in the number of private cars worsens road congestion. As mentioned in an earlier section, the majority of tourists visiting Panglao get around by private vehicle. The popular modes of transport include hiring private tricycle for short distances and private tourist van for airport transfers and day tours. Some tourists who stay longer may also rent their own motorcycle to explore Panglao or even other parts of Bohol. Meanwhile, it is rare to see tourists taking public transportation, such as multicabs, jeepneys, and coach buses. Whereas these options are more environmentally-friendly and offer far cheaper fares, it can be quite challenging for tourists to take public transportation in Panglao and other parts of Bohol as well. One of the difficulties is unreliability and inconvenience, because there is no set schedule or a list of designated stations where these vehicles would stop. Thus, tourists may not know exactly the time and location to get on or off at. Another problem relates to comfort. Public vehicles are nearly always overloaded despite regulations forbidding such practices. It is very common to see people clinging onto the rails at the back or even sitting on the roof of a jeepney, or people sitting on the floor or standing cramped inside a full coach bus with a

very narrow aisle. Besides the lack of personal space, most of these vehicles also do not have seatbelts or air conditioning (except the air-con bus), and given the hot and humid climate of Bohol, it can be very uncomfortable to remain in such vehicles for long durations. More importantly, overloading puts lives at risk. The number of traffic-related incidents and road mishap fatalities in Bohol is increasing year on year with Panglao ranked among top 3 towns for road accidents (The Bohol Chronicle, 2018). In 2019, there were 113 road mishap deaths recorded, of which Panglao municipality recorded four (The Bohol Chronicle, 2020a). The top cause for such accidents is human error in terms of overspeeding, premature overtaking, and driving under the influence (The Bohol Chronicle, 2017b). Indeed, public transport is poorly regulated and the lack of traffic safety practices is alarming. The lack of convenience, comfort, and safety of public transportation could make it a very unattractive option for tourists. In fact, researcher observation shows that locals also prefer private vehicles, especially motorcycles, over public transport for the same reasons.

Transport companies have begun to address such demands. In 2018, Southern Star Bus Transit, Inc. launched a new route in 2018 servicing passengers traveling between BPIA and Tagbilaran with air-conditioned, low-floor buses (Bohol Investment Promotion Center, 2018). They have since extended their route to pass through the southern coast of Panglao first before continuing on to Tagbilaran (iheartph.com, 2020), which benefits tourists staying in resorts near Alona Beach. Still, the introduction of buses to different areas of Panglao warrants road improvements, as these roads were not designed for large vehicles. Presently, road condition is ranked behind human error as the second leading cause of road accidents (The Bohol Chronicle, 2017b). Participants in this study also expressed concerns over congestion and road safety during the interviews, emphasizing on the width and condition of roads in Panglao. Specifically, the roads in their current state are not wide enough for multiple big buses to pass through. As for safety concerns, some roads, including ones leading to popular tourist sites, are in poor condition due to damage from previous natural disasters and lack of maintenance, which could be a safety hazard.

6.7 Overcrowding Issues and Community Change

Some destinations with issues of congestion also experience problems with overcrowding. In the case of Panglao, the tourism enclave incites overcrowding on the small island municipality with the tendency for tourists to cluster around the coast. As a participant mentioned in the interviews, land zoning and designation of Alona Beach as the tourism center of Panglao provide the conditions for overcrowding in Panglao. Meanwhile, tourism also indirectly contributes to overcrowding through employment and attracting new residents, leading to local population growth. Still, as aforementioned, overcrowding has not become an overwhelming effect in Panglao as of yet. Rather, the more significant impacts relate to tourism-induced immigration and the resulting changes brought to the local community in Panglao. These were elaborated in the resident interviews, where locals

highlighted that shifts in community demographics have weakened their social cohesion and sense of belonging and increased the sense of alienation from one's own community. Particularly, interviewees perceived the internationalization of the Panglao resident community, because many native residents have moved out upon selling their land, leaving spaces to be filled by new residents. The changing demographics is also a result of the increase in foreign investment. In truth, the majority of tourism and hospitality establishments in Panglao, such as resorts, restaurants, and dive shops are foreign owned.

6.8 Foreign Ownership and Income Disparity

Foreign ownership of tourism businesses is enabled by different levels of government policy favoring foreign investment. Republic Act No. 7042 stipulates that export enterprises, including tourism, face no restrictions in terms of the extent of foreign ownership (Philippine Board of Investments, 2018). Yet foreign ownership is also progressively rampant in other arenas with support of the national government. In 2020, the House of Representatives passed a bill allowing 100% foreign ownership of public utilities such as gas, water, power, sewerage systems, and communication systems (Cepeda, 2020). As previously discussed, it is utmost important to ensure proper resource management and the quality and reliability of such systems not just in destination management, but in the overall framework of sustainable development. This move provoked backlash from opposition lawmakers, arguing that foreign ownership of such public services would threaten national security and further encourage deregulation, leading to lower service quality, exploitation of workers, and increase in usage fees for ordinary consumers (Cagula, 2020). Truly, although foreign ownership may bring benefits to the local community through economic stimulation and job provision, it can also create significant negative impacts. In the economic sphere, Panglao risks economic leakage, profit repatriation, and displacement of small, local business interests especially given the dominance of tourism enclaves in the destination. In the socioeconomic domain, the organizational structure of foreign-owned enterprises allows foreign nationals to occupy the top of their workplace hierarchy. Simultaneously, their relative wealth grants them the highest purchasing power in the larger community; this is particularly distinguishable given the context of a developing country and the low wages in the Philippines.

According to the analysis team at Picodi.com (2020), the average monthly salary in the Philippines is ₱15,200 (\$308), ranking the country at 95 out of 106 countries surveyed. Unemployment, lack of decent wages and job insecurity, corruption, desire for a better life, and desire for higher social status are among the top reasons for Filipinos to seek work overseas (Aranda, 2018; The Philippine Star, 2010). Many Filipinos view moving abroad as a life achievement, especially the younger generation, where half of youth stated their desire to work abroad in a recent study (Hasnan, 2019). As a matter of fact, the Philippine government even actively endorses migration as a means to boost the country's economy through foreign remittance (Hasnan, 2019). In 2019, there were 2.2 Million Overseas

Filipino Workers (OFWs) working abroad (PSA, 2020). Hong Kong is a popular destination for Filipino migrant workers with 219,073 working as domestic helpers (Immigration Department, 2019), who earn an average of US\$645 per month (Magramo, 2020). In the Philippines, one would need to be employed as a 'Head Teacher IV' at a public school with a salary grade of 16 for an equivalent monthly salary (Llego, 2019). In the DOT, only senior or supervisor roles pay more than US\$700 per month (DOT, 2018). Meanwhile, the salary for travel and tourism jobs averages at at USD\$400-500 per month (Imoney.ph, 2014; Payscale, n.d.; Salary Explorer, 2020).

In Bohol, a family of five in Bohol would need a monthly average of ₱12,613.00 (US\$260) to meet their basic food and non-food needs (PSA, 2019). However, the poverty threshold in Panglao would certainly be higher due to the noticeably higher cost of living in the town compared to the rest of Bohol. As for 2020, the daily minimum wage for non-agricultural work in Panglao is ₱356 (Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), 2020). Hence, minimum wage is likely insufficient for sustaining a family in Panglao, whereas the national average may allow one to do so with very little monthly savings. Meanwhile, the average monthly salary of a tourism employee in Panglao would be enough to cover all basic expenses of his family. This was confirmed by tourism workers in Panglao in their interviews, who were more accepting of the increasing cost of living and explained that tourism jobs are 'easier' and pay higher wages than other sectors.

There is also a significant disparity between local wages and 'tourist prices' in Panglao. As earlier mentioned, the average local resident would not be able to afford dining regularly in tourist areas. To draw on a few examples, researcher observation suggests that a fruit smoothie costs \$\frac{1}{2}00\$ at a roadside cafe near Alona Beach but just \$\frac{1}{2}00\$ at an eatery in the public market; a basic food stall serving Chinese food in Uptown Alona charges \$\frac{1}{2}35\$ for 15 pieces of meat dumplings, while the same can be bought for less than \$\frac{1}{2}100\$ at eateries of similar standards in mainland China, Taiwan, or even Hong Kong. Evidently, it is not difficult to comprehend the resident' perception of the high cost of living in Panglao as suggested by the interviews. In terms of tourist accommodation, four-star and other upscale properties in Panglao had an average daily rate of over \$\frac{1}{2}6300\$ in 2019 (Horwath HTL, 2020), which is more than 17 times of the daily minimum wage in Panglao. These findings further reiterate the existence and the inequalities driven by tourism enclaves in Panglao.

6.9 Colonial Mentality and Demonstration Effect

Besides economic impacts, effects of foreign ownership in the sociocultural domain are also pronounced. A deeper look into foreign ownership in Panglao also reveals its role alongside the influx of international tourists and other agents in propelling colonial mentality. Colonial mentality in the Philippine context refers to internalized oppression and inferiority to Western and quintessentially American culture precipitated by the Philippines' long history of colonialism (Decena, 2014). Clinical-community psychologist

E. J. R. David (2017) suggested that indicators of colonial mentality include feelings of inferiority, shame, and resentment of being Filipino, denigration of Filipino physical characteristics, discrimination against less-westernized Filipinos, and trivializing historical and contemporary oppression of Filipinos. Based on interview findings of the present study, local residents were discontent with foreign ownership, disgruntled by power relations and lack of control over their own community as well as policy governing equity. Truly, the pervasiveness of 'low-paid' Filipino workers employed in their own land under 'rich' foreign bosses only paints a different shade of colonialism.

Furthermore, foreign ownership may be related to the widespread phenomenon of interracial marriage, migration marriage, and mail-order brides in the Philippines. In terms of land ownership, foreign nationals are entitled to own condominiums or enter into longterm lease agreements with Filipino landowners for up to 75 years but are generally forbidden to own land firsthand in the Philippines. Tourism projects are subject to additional regulations, where the lease is only reserved for investments of not less than US\$5M, of which 70% must be infused within 3 years of signing the contract (Department of Tourism, n.d.). Still, some have taken advantage of the loophole in these regulations. Researcher observation suggests that many small to medium-sized resorts in Panglao are owned by foreign nationals who have married Filipina wives, with many of these couples consisting of an older, caucasian male with a remarkably younger Filipina. Interracial marriages are also increasing with the prevalence of online dating sites in recent years. In fact, a portion of tourism in the Philippines consists of foreigners traveling to the to meet their significant other in-person. The common understanding of this widespread phenomenon is that most Filipinas marry foreigners as a way to get out of poverty, increase wealth, or live in a different country (Arcibal, 2009; xReasons, 2019) This 'stereotype' is also confirmed by an interviewee in this study as well as personal connections of the researcher.

Indeed, tourism provides a platform for host-guest interactions, which could affect local perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes toward other cultures and lead to sociocultural changes in the host population. In the context of Panglao, tourism has promoted a demonstration effect on the destination community. Particularly apparent is cultural homogenization, in which local residents observed westernization of dressing and eating habits to mimic tourist behavior, especially among younger Filipinas. A relationship between 'liberalization' of female clothing and wishes to find a foreign partner was also discovered. It appears that imitation of tourist behavior is instigated by colonial mentality in the form of perceived superiority of foreigners as well as the widely-held belief that tourists are wealthy, which is also driven by tourists' spending patterns in Panglao. Emulation of tourist consumption is also detected in the rising materialism and desire for wealth among locals, to which foreign ownership and tourism enclaves possibly contribute. Precisely, the increasing number of foreign-owned businesses and gentrification of neighbourhoods may in some ways force this type of consumption pattern on local residents. Tourism also

increases the effects of globalization and modernization on the destination, leading to a multiplier effect on other impacts observed. Such evolution of sociocultural circumstances may spur divisiveness and discord within the local community and on a lower level shape the way locals communicate and relate to one another.

6.10 Threats to Food Security

As evidenced in the resident interviews, tourism development in Panglao has also led to a visible decline in the traditional livelihoods of agriculture and fishery, which are essential components of the municipality's cultural heritage. The effects of such a change are most felt in the socioeconomic dimension, with the most observable impacts on cost of living and food security. Both of these aspects are also directly affected by tourism.

In a sustainability training workshop hosted by The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the DOT in 2019, tourism and food service stakeholders in Panglao identified key concerns in sustainable consumption and production. One of the biggest issues is the lack of consistency in local produce supply (WWF, 2019). A closer look into the circumstances of Panglao bespeaks tourism to be the major cause of the rising food demands and declining local food supply. On the demand side, tourism has brought in a huge number of tourists and attracted new residents to Panglao, thus generating a greater demand for food. On the supply side, the massive shift in local means of livelihood from agriculture and fishery to tourism-related work not only led to changes in the traditional economy of Panglao, but also created a significant impact on the municipality's food supply. Tourism has directly encouraged such a shift by providing attractive employment opportunities for those seeking higher and more stable income, because farming and fishing grant low returns relative to effort in comparison.

Yet tourism has also indirectly discouraged residents from engaging in agriculture and fishery. For agriculture, tourism has promoted deforestation and the repurposing of agricultural land for tourism and commercial use. Coupled with climate change and various types of pollution like air and soil, farmers are demotivated to continue in agriculture. Comparably, for fishery, tourism has caused severe disturbances to marine ecosystems through tourist activity and different forms of pollution like noise and sewage, leading to loss of biodiversity. Moreover, marine tours place spatial limitations on fishing activities, as bands of large, motorized pump boats have now taken over fishing grounds. Other factors such as environmental regulations and increasing costs of fuel have also created added difficulties for fishermen. Being largely reliant on weather, climate, and availability of resources, agriculture and fishery are also at risk of severe economic losses from natural disasters and extreme climate events, to which Panglao is greatly exposed. Together, these factors have led to low yield and profitability for agriculture and fishery and therefore decreased desire to remain in the sector. With minimal yield and more locals pursuing jobs in tourism, seafood and crop production in Panglao have also reduced.

Clearly, this has created an imbalance in Panglao's food supply and demand, with a growing demand that cannot be met by the limited local food supply. This has forced the municipality to become increasingly dependent on food imports, which has stimulated a rise in the associated food costs. One of the interview participants noted the food supply shortage in Panglao, especially in resorts with insufficient fruit and vegetable supply. In fact, most herbs and vegetables sold across Bohol today are imported from Mindanao (Ocampo, 2019). Residents interviewed in this study also found the goods in the local market, including fish, to be very expensive. Indeed, the problem of food supply in Panglao is alarming, as unaffordability may threaten food security, especially for vulnerable groups. From the interviews and the previous discussion on monthly income, it is apparent that residents not working in tourism are more at risk of displacement than tourism employees from the soaring living expenses in Panglao. Still, their high level of community attachment has strengthened their willingness to make ends meet by purchasing daily necessities in Tagbilaran or other towns. However, researcher observation suggests that a portion of households in Panglao do not have stable monthly income and largely depend on relatives, neighbours, government aid, development organizations, and others for financial assistance. The lack of food access for these groups also makes malnutrition a prevailing concern, especially among children from low-income families, as they may not be able to have proper daily meals. Some may only have small snacks and unhealthy food like chips, canned food, instant noodles, or rice with soy sauce for their meals. This has been a particular challenge in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, as unemployment along with other difficulties have further hampered food security.

6.11 Improper Solid Waste Management

Previous discussions on resource management have attested to the extent of tourism-induced environmental damage in Panglao. Yet it is also important to examine how food consumption, especially in the tourism sphere, also harms the natural environment. In fact, food sustainability in Panglao is impeded by the absence of a standard framework to manage food waste, the lack of food donation systems, the limited number of accredited haulers of used cooking oil, high costs of single-use plastic alternatives, and low employee knowledge and awareness of resource conservation (WWF, 2019). All of these convey a lack of proper handling of food, cooking oil, and packaging waste.

As the premier tourism destination in Bohol, Panglao is also the second biggest daily residual waste generator in the province (The Bohol Chronicle, 2017d). Based on interview findings, it appears that local residents have high awareness of waste disposal issues in the municipality as well as high levels of dissatisfaction with the way waste is managed by the local government. For tourism suppliers in Panglao, the main types of solid waste disposed by accommodation providers include empty bottles, food waste, and packaging of food or other goods. Although most resorts are conscious about proper waste segregation, some do not actually implement such practices (Acuyado, 2016). Moreover, none of the resorts had

recycling and reuse initiatives. Chavez (2018, para. 22) further suggested that segregation capacities in Panglao have been overwhelmed by tourism due to tourism establishments' irresponsible practice of "disposing trash by the roadside, on beaches, and vacant lots when nobody is looking". The discovery of an open garbage dumping area in Doljo in September 2019 corroborates an interviewee's comment about the poor management of illegal dumping sites (DENR, 2019). The incident indicates that the local government may be turning a bilnd eye to illegal dumping sites unless they are forced to take action upon someone else's discovery. Additionally, the government is facing a severe shortage of waste management staff, as the daily volume of waste discarded by tourism establishments has largely exceeded the amount of trash that local collectors and segregators are able to process.

Tourists, visitors, and local residents also contribute to environmental pollution. Surely, inland areas of Panglao also experience waste issues, but the consequences are more severe and noticeable around the coast. The image of Panglao as a destination with picturesque white sand beaches is tainted by oceans of garbage plaguing the beaches in the municipality. The majority of this waste is dominated by single-use plastic, similar to the profile of accommodation wastes. With used beverage bottles, tourists and visitors appear to be the main responsible party. They often purchase water sold in single-use plastic bottles, while local residents typically acquire drinking-water from refilling stations and rarely purchase bottled water. The two main reasons for tourists to buy bottled water are that they do not usually carry a personal water bottle with them, and that water dispensers are not available in most tourism establishments in Panglao. Although this seems to be a common theme across destinations around the world, places like Panglao, which have more limited capacities and poor waste management systems are more at risk. Based on the interviews in this study, local residents also viewed their fellow neighbours as contributors to the waste problem. This is supported by researcher observation suggesting that many locals have irresponsible disposal practices outside of their homes not because they lack environmental awareness, but because they lack access to waste collection facilities. For example, rubbish bins and garbage collection mechanisms are generally absent from the beaches on Panglao. There is simply no other place for beachgoers to throw their garbage except to leave it on the sand or throw it in the sea regardless of their environmental awareness. Therefore, beaches in Panglao continue to suffer from waste buildup and require periodical mass cleanups organized by local NGOs like Plastic Free Bohol, who gathers volunteers to help out.

Tour operators are also proponents of the solid waste issues in Panglao. This is epitomized by operations taking place in the makeshift seafood market on Virgin Island, a sandbar in Panglao Bay where hawkers sell fresh seafood and fruit to hungry tourists. Depending on the type of seafood, the hawkers may serve it raw or cook it on the spot with portable stoves or firewood. This business setup is known to pollute the environment, with much of the food waste and garbage from food preparation being disposed directly into the ocean.

The activities may even be illegal, because according to Presidential Proclamation No. 1801, commercial activity is not permitted on Virgin Island. The provincial government has also been made aware of this violation, prompting Former governor Chatto to tell the Panglao municipal government to "Stop playing blind on its blatant degradation" during a site inspection of Virgin Island in 2018 (Valencia, 2018, para. 1).

6.12 Bad Governance and Political Corruption

Whereas improper solid waste disposal in Pangalo has led to noticeable damage to the environment and sprung various stakeholders to action, some of the less-visible violations have received relatively little attention from local management. As a resident interviewee mentioned, those involved in boat construction and maintenance tend to discard used solid and chemical waste into the sea. The mass abandonment of dilapidated bancas along the shoreline of Danao has also created a 'banca graveyard' in the barangay (Bongcac, 2019). Another problem surrounds boat parking. To forestall free movement in water, most boats parked on the shores of Panglao use anchors instead of mooring lines. These boats are often anchored on the underwater reef flat, destroying corals and seagrass beds along with the marine life living in these habitats (Gulayan, Aaron, Belleza, Buscato, & Sotto, 2015). These happenings and the extent of coral damage in Alona Beach have been confirmed by research observation, which further suggests that the anchoring also poses dangers for regular beachgoers, since they can be found right underneath the shallow waters and sometimes even within swimmers' reach. These problems persist due to negligence from the local government.

Ineffective regulations have also been another major obstacle in Panglao's road to sustainable tourism development. This is epitomized by the easement regulations of Alona Beach, which was mentioned by one of the interviewees. In 2008, the DENR imposed a 20-meter easement standard for Alona Beach. However, the LGU of Panglao later added a 'plus 10-meters' easement ordinance to the existing standard, which many found impossible to comply with. There was much debate as to which easement regulation should be followed, because the LGU had not issued an executive order regarding its additional regulation (Arnaldo, 2019). This confirms an resident interviewee's account of the encroachment problem in Alona Beach. The local government also did not enforce either regulation imposed until the national government threatened to demolish all illegal buildings in Panglao. Only then did the LGU begin to ask for voluntary demolition of illegal structures encroaching on the salvage zone and forcibly remove those belonging to owners who refused to comply. Today, Panglao is 95% compliant with DENR-imposed 2008 easement standards for Alona Beach (The Bohol Chronicle, 2019c). Still, it was discovered during this process that Panglao Mayor Leonila Paredes-Montero's own property Alona Tropical Beach Resort was among the easement violators. DOT Secretary Romulo-Puyat exclaimed in frustration, "I don't understand why they can't just follow the law. Why do they create these ordinances if they won't implement them anyway?"

(Arnaldo, 2018, para. 11). The mayor was also implicated in the easement violation of Hera Greek Taverna, one of the structures that was forcibly removed. The owner of said building had reportedly been issued a special permit by mayor Montero to build on the salvage zone of Alona Beach (The Bohol Chronicle, 2019b). In 2019, the mayor was ordered suspended for 90 days over graft cases involving unlawful appointments to office in 2013 (Ayalin, 2019).

As evidenced in the interview findings, residents seemed to be overall dissatisfied with local management. They cited the local government's lack of knowledge in handling tourism-related issues, poor management of environmental problems, lack of local engagement, government inaction, and corruption as the main areas of discontent. Recently, trust in local leadership has further dwindled with growing anger over the mayor's continuous violations even in the time of a global pandemic. Bohol has been under community quarantine since March, and by June 2020, Panglao had already accumulated over \$1 billion in accommodation revenue losses from COVID-19 (Diez. 2020), evoking concerns over future uncertainties of Panglao's tourism industry as demonstrated in the resident interviews. Still, Panglao has been gearing up to be the first municipality in Bohol to reopen to domestic tourism by mid-November 2020 (Canlas, 2020b). Through the creation of the new accreditation program 'Ultimate Bohol Experience (UBE)' assessing business compliance to health and safety protocols and environmental standards, Bohol aims to improve the quality of tourism experiences in the province in a move directing the sector to implement sustainability (Arnaldo, 2020). However, sustainable tourism reopening is presently threatened by seemingly corrupt leadership, which has sparked public outcry against the mayor of Panglao. In preparation for tourism reopening, Mayor Montero promulgated Panglao's readiness in health and safety protocol implementation. She emphasized the importance of 'discipline' in the recovery process of the local tourism sector (Diez, 2020). Current political dissent surrounds the hypocrisy of the mayor's own violations of quarantine regulations that are otherwise strictly enforced on ordinary citizens. She has been caught in a storm of controversy, facing claims of two violations of local health protocols set to battle the spread of COVID-19. The first violation involved unauthorized travel to Cebu, where she took the trip without securing prior clearance and later failed to observe health protocols and quarantine measures upon her return (Udtohan, 2020). The second violation involved participation in a mass social gathering, which are banned under the provincial quarantine regulations. She was photographed at a Halloween party that took place at a resort in Panglao, which was later exposed on social media as a violation of the social distancing and personal safety measures implemented in Bohol (The Bohol Chronicle, 2020d). The mayor ridiculed both allegations and asserted that they are opposition attempts to undermine her political leadership (Udtohan, 2020). In 2018, she made similar statements during interviews with GMA News (2018) and ABS-CBN News (2018) in discussing the marine water quality of Panglao beaches, which was deemed unsafe for swimming by the national government (Galvez, 2018). Precisely, she rejected the results indicating excessive

coliform levels in the marine waters and stated that Panglao waters were safe for swimming and that anyone would be politically motivated to claim otherwise.

7 DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Discussion

In phase one of this study, a range of resident perceptions on tourism impacts, destination governance, and political environment was gathered. In terms of tourism impacts, although both benefits and costs were identified in each dimension, it was clear that Panglao residents perceived more negative tourism impacts than positive ones, especially in the sociocultural and environmental dimensions. As for the enabler dimensions, resident interviews suggested overwhelmingly negative perceptions and dissatisfaction with local governance and the political environment. The interrelationships between these factors were also scrutinized in phase two of this study, which provided a more contextualized perspective of how these factors relate to precursors and effects of overtourism. In the following section, perceptions in impact and enabler dimensions and the risk factors previously identified are discussed in relation to existing studies to provide a clearer understanding of overtourism in Panglao.

Overtourism effects in the economic sphere manifested in the rapid increasingly cost of living, including the rising prices of goods and services and the significant surge in property and housing prices (Benner, 2019; Martín Martín et al., 2018; McKinsey & Co. & WTTC, 2017; Szromek et al., 2020). However, in contrast to the previous findings that negative economic impacts generated negative resident attitudes towards tourism (Martín Martín et al., 2018; Szromek et al., 2020), the current research found that residents had a generally positive attitude towards tourism despite perceiving negative economic impacts (Yoopetch, 2019). One of the surprising findings in this study not recognized in existing overtourism literature was discovered in the socioeconomic perspective. The prevalence of foreign ownership and tourism enclaves in Panglao, as driven by national economic policy favoring foreign investment, appeared to contribute to overtourism by propelling inequalities in the form of income disparity and sociocultural injustice in the form of neocolonialism. Moreover, differences between the tourist experience in Panglao and the 'reality' of local life raise questions of tourism ethics, and the stark contrast indicates a loss of authenticity in the destination (Benner, 2019).

Foreign ownership and tourism enclaves also seemed to coincide with tourism-induced immigration in Panglao, where the influx of new residents and efflux of native residents have led to gentrification (Benner, 2019), decline in familiarity and social cohesion within the local community, and consequently, a sense of alienation, which was also found in Diaz-Parra and Jover (2020). Regardless, existing research has defined 'alienation of local residents' more in terms of economic displacement (McKinsey & Co. & WTTC, 2017).

The current research demonstrates the need to expand on the understanding of alienation to include a sociopsychological perspective. Tourism was also found to have a demonstration effect on the local community (Monterrubio & Mendoza-Ontiveros, 2014), affecting language, consumptive habits, and local mentality while also contributing to crime and morality issues. Although these impacts are frequently observed in other destinations. the overtourism factor in these societal changes lies in its linkage to colonial mentality, which seems to drive many of the negative sociocultural impacts. In the case of Panglao, colonial mentality acts as both a precursor and an effect of overtourism, as it is continuously reinforced to encourage cultural homogenization and adaptation to Western modes of behavior at the sacrifice of local traditions. The specificity as to how this phenomenon threatens social and cultural tradition and heritage has not been well documented in existing overtourism literature, as most of them have held a Eurocentric view of overtourism that does not account for colonial narratives. In terms of other sociocultural impacts, it appears that the effects of the growing local population were well understood by residents, as they did not attribute overcrowding and congestion issues to tourism alone and did not see a need to implement controls over tourist flows. Instead, tourism was seen as a catalyst that exacerbates these pre-existing problems. This study also reached an unexpected finding that although residents perceived the issues of overcrowding and congestion as negative impacts, they mostly accepted such problems as 'an inevitable consequence of development'. This aligns with existing studies that have conceptualized overtourism beyond resident irritation towards overcrowding and congestion issues (Peeters et al., 2018).

Meanwhile, overcrowding and congestion discussions unearthed overtourism risk factors in the physical environment of the destination (Abbasian et al., 2020), namely tourism overconcentration around the coastline and concerns with infrastructure design and road safety. Both of these factors imply management flaws that also challenge the overall sustainable development of Panglao beyond the tourism sphere. Overloaded infrastructure was a significant problem identified (McKinsey & Co. & WTTC, 2017), yet it was also found to be a preexisting condition not caused exclusively by tourism. In fact, energy and water supply shortages are longstanding problems in Panglao and the wider Bohol before rapid tourism growth reached the destination. These persisting issues can also be attributed to poor resource management and the lack of effective solutions. Still, high resource consumption in tourism has exacerbated these problems (Sarantakou & Terkenli, 2019), perpetuatating energy, water, and food inequality in Panglao.

It was evident in the risk factor analysis that water and food supply shortages are inextricably linked to the natural environment, and in fact, all of the factors identified were highly interconnected. The natural environment was the dimension that caused utmost concerns for local residents. In addition to resident perceptions, secondary research also demonstrated the way in which improper resource and waste management have led to a host of problems affecting human and environmental health (Cruz & Legaspi, 2019).

Residents also identified other negative environmental impacts in terms of deforestation and damage to the marine environment (Abbasian et al, 2020), especially coral damage. In analyzing these impacts, connections between tourism development, environmental damage, cultural heritage, cost of living, and food security were uncovered.

In fact, this was the area in which destination governance emerged as an important variable in overtourism (Weber, 2017). In the case of Panglao, most of the negative impacts of tourism perceived by local residents and risk factors for overtourism in Panglao can ultimately be traced back to bad governance, as Cruz and Legaspi (2019) suggested with the case of Boracay. This is in line with insights from previous research pointing to government inaction in dealing with overtourism issues to be a risk factor for overtourism (Colomb & Novy, 2017). In this study, bad governance in the form of inaction was apparent in the environmental sphere, especially in the poor road design, land design and zoning, and sewage and solid waste management. A similar scenario was found in Boracay, where researchers identified the government's failed management of the destination to be the main cause of overtourism (Cruz & Legaspi, 2019). Besides inaction, the lack of government regulations against overdevelopment and lack of law enforcement on environmental regulations were evident (Cruz & Legaspi, 2019; Sarantakou & Terkenli, 2019). Precisely, whereas risk factor identification has presented the oversaturation of tourism resorts, and residents have expressed dissatisfaction towards the environmental costs of mass commercial developments, such projects continue to gain approval from the government. Plainly, poor governance in Panglao results from inaction and procrastination, where the government seems to have a record of delaying intercession until threats become imminent. This was also observed in their poor management of resources, which has resulted in many unresolved issues with energy, water, and food supply shortages. Indeed, it seems the local government adopts a 'laissez-faire' approach in dealing with existing conditions of the destination as well as overtourism impacts in Panglao.

In relation to governance, the larger political environment of Panglao was found to be an important consideration in understanding the overtourism in the destination (Mihalič et al., 2016; Weber, 2017). An important consideration relates to Panglao's government structure. Whereas each of the three levels of government (national, provincial, and local) has a role in destination management, regulatory powers are mostly delegated to the local unit (Cruz & Legaspi, 2019). This structure is problematic considering the current administration. Based on the above observations, the national and provincial governments have consistently imposed strict environmental guidelines on Panglao, but the local government of Panglao failed to enforce such regulations time and again. The delegation of power has also led to confusion in times when distinct policies were enacted by different levels of the government, as seen in the example of easment regulations. The political climate of Panglao was also shown to be a precursor of overtourism. While residents were dissatisfied with overtourism issues in the environmental sphere due to poor environmental management on the part of the government, they were also discontent with government

corruption, prejudice, and lack of accountability in local leadership, issues that exist beyond the tourism domain (Smith et al, 2019). The lack of community engagement also generated grievances among residents, who perceived their exclusion from the process of tourism planning and development in Panglao.

This study has investigated overtourism through the lens of the sustainable-responsible tourism model (Mihalič, 2016), defining overtourism as unsustainable tourism propelled by irresponsible governance. Overall, the happenings on Panglao have attested to Peeters et al. (2018)'s findings pointing to islands as the type of destination most at risk for overtourism issues in all three dimensions, illustrating how rapid tourism development and the growing local population have caused severe pressures in Panglao's economic, sociocultural, and environmental domains. Evidently, overtourism in Panglao is guided by the lack of preparedness and strategies to handle overtourism in the economic, sociocultural, and environmental dimensions (Milano et al., 2018), wherein the negative overtourism impacts observed in these domains directly threaten destination sustainability (Mihalič, 2016). This is aggravated by the lack of responsibility on the local government's part in the implementation of sustainable tourism development in Panglao, as seen in the absence of sustainability ethics and stakeholder cooperation and satisfaction in the development process, both of which are required in responsibility enablement (Mihalič, 2016).

In fact, it seems that local governance and political factors contributing to overtourism caused more dissatisfaction among local residents than the actual effects of overtourism. This was an interesting finding that diverges from previous observations in the European context, where local resistance against tourists and tourism was sparked due to issues with excessive tourist presence and rapid tourism growth. In the case of Panglao, such sentiments were not found, and residents generally retained a welcoming attitude towards tourists and further tourism growth, as observed in their comments regarding tourist numbers and the future of tourism in Panglao. Meanwhile, they were more concerned about the impending environmental damage that would result from further commercialization, and overdevelopment in the municipality, which would create additional demands for the already-strained resources.

Thus, overtourism in Panglao seems to manifest in the rapid modernization of the municipality and the 'exclusive' growth paradigm of its tourism sector. With poor governance and weak local leadership, the overall lack of sustainability ethics has spurred inequitable development alienating local residents in multiple dimensions. Indeed, overtourism may exist even in the absence of overt overtourism issues and antagonistic attitudes towards tourists and tourism, indicating the need for further research to address and expound of such observations. These findings also provide evidence for the necessity of examining a destination's political environment in studying the phenomenon (Weber, 2017). This supports the proposition that destination governance and political environment should be incorporated into the sustainability framework (Mihalič et al., 2016). While previous studies have argued that tourism may be used as a scapegoat for a variety of

problems that destinations face (Koens et al., 2018), the present research has shown otherwise, with residents' awareness that overtourism issues may not be directly about tourism itself, but merely surround tourism (Colomb & Novy, 2017). Therefore, this study builds on existing knowledge that overtourism is not limited to effects brought to the community by tourism and concurs with the recommendation that overtourism requires a holistic, rather than tourism-focused approach (Koens et al., 2018; Richardson, 2017; Seraphin, 2018).

7.2 Recommendations

Based on the effects and risk factors identified, the following section offers suggestions on possible preventative/palliative measures against overtourism and presents recommendations on the implementation of sustainable tourism development in Panglao.

7.2.1 Resource Management and Management of Environmental Impacts

Effective resource management is fundamental to the success of any destination. As evidenced in the above discussion, strong resource management policy is particularly important for coastal areas in protecting the destination's natural resources and biodiversity. Clearly, energy and water supply shortage and the lack of sewage and solid waste treatment systems are longstanding issues in Panglao and the wider Bohol in dire need of improvement. Because Panglao tourism is a significant proponent of said issues, the sector must adhere to existing regulations and take on additional responsibility to improve their environmental practices and contribute to sustainable development in the larger society.

For energy supply, it is without question that Bohol must build an in-island power plant without further delay, particularly in view of the extensive upcoming tourism developments to ensure a reliable supply of electricity to resident households. Meanwhile, the province may invest in renewable energy alternatives like solar power. This would also also be a cost-effective option for Panglao's tourism establishments. In recent years, some resorts in Panglao such as Positano Panglao and Bohol Beach Club have installed solar panel systems to lower their monthly utility bills (Solarworks, n.d.). The government should work with environmental organizations to educate and provide technical guidance to more tourism providers in order to promote renewable energy in tourism. This would decrease the energy demands and ecological footprint of the sector.

For water supply, the provincial government must work with various municipalities across Bohol to speedily identify rivers or other natural water bodies viable for surface water sourcing. They may also build reservoirs as well as desalination plants for island municipalities to urgently address Bohol's problem with water shortage. In recent years, the private sector has offered a number of solutions to the water crisis. However, it is

apparent that not all companies engage in sustainable extraction practices, which could actually worsen the existing problems. Therefore, the government must and refrain from issuing permits to irresponsible providers. Regardless, conservation of natural resources remains a priority in sustainable tourism development, especially considering the disparity between tourist and local resource usage. Tourism establishments may invest in rainwater harvesting systems to minimize freshwater use. In view of the severity of water scarcity issues in Bohol, it appears that such a method may also be applicable in other sectors or even households for uses like toilet flushing, clothes washing, livestock, and irrigation. To incentivize efforts towards the greening of tourism in Panglao, the government may also consider offering tax benefits to environment-friendly establishments that implementat energy and water-saving measures.

In terms of wastewater management, establishments have recently improved their sewage waste management practices with the national government strictly monitoring environmental compliance in Panglao, Still, it is the responsibility of individual properties to ensure proper installation and maintenance of their septic tanks to prevent sewage pollution. Undoubtedly, electricity and water consumption in the municipality will skyrocket when the upcoming tourism infrastructure projects open their doors to tourists. These large-scale establishments also obligate developers to invest in advanced septage treatment systems with enough capacity to process the large amount of sewage waste generated. Because minimizing the volume of wastewater entering the septic tank is the only way to improve sewage treatment, water conservation is an indispensable part of the solution to sewage waste problems.

In terms of solid waste management, the local government may consider imposing heavier penalties on establishments that fail to segregate waste properly or practice illegal trash dumping to discourage irresponsible behavior. In Panglao, much of the waste buildup problem surrounds insufficient human resources in trash collection and processing. Thus, there is also a need to allocate funds to hire additional personnel in increasing the capacity and efficiency of waste processing. Meanwhile, authorities should take on a stricter approach in issuing permits to tour operators to ensure an adequate level of environmental awareness and ethics. They could work with local environmental organizations to introduce a certification program with environmental training for tour guides; this would be a continuous process that requires monitoring. The local government must also create stations for trash disposal, such as placing rubbish bins in different areas of popular tourism sites. As tourists also contribute to the solid waste problem in Panglao, signage may also be placed in these sites to encourage responsible tourist behavior.

Ensuring sustainability and reliability of energy and water supply and proper sewage and solid waste management is essential in catering to tourism pressures on top of the growing general demands from the local population, as unstable electricity and water supply would hamper the wellbeing, safety, and satisfaction of local residents and visitors alike. With limited funding available at the local and provincial levels, it is likely that funding must be

secured from the national government, aid agencies, and development organizations to finance the construction of new systems. For utility projects, undertaking public—private partnerships would be beneficial in lending expertise to the implementation and ensuring the quality of such outcomes. Meanwhile, multi-stakeholder collaborations would also allow for a comprehensive understanding of the situation at hand, enable effective decision making and build trust and support among different stakeholders.

7.2.2 Management of Socioeconomic Impacts

In the case of Panglao, much of the tourism sector is foreign-owned. Although many of them have offered employment opportunities for locals, the mere creation of jobs is not sufficient for sustainable tourism development. Business owners must take further responsibility in ensuring decent pay, job security, and career advancement for tourism employees and also contribute to the overall development objectives of the destination. Yet the problem with foreign ownership is not only driven by local factors, but also by national policy favoring foreign investment. As previously discussed, Philippine society has nurtured a culture of migration due to the country's lackluster socioeconomic conditions and the government's dependence on foreign capital inflow by means of remittances and foreign direct investment. While Filipinos continue to move abroad, foreign investment across different sectors continues to flow in, including tourism and even public services. The dominance of foreign ownership not only encourages economic inequalities, but also lead to sociocultural consequences. With tourism booming in Panglao, the wider Bohol, and in the Philippines, different levels of the government should incentivize local entrepreneurship in tourism, offer technical and financial support to SMEs, invest in local human capital, and work on local capacity building. This way, the sector can leverage its unique economic position to break from the status quo by promoting sustainable tourism development through empowering locally-owned tourism enterprises.

7.2.3 Management of Overcrowding and Congestion Issues

While overcrowding is noticeable in Panglao, it occurs mostly in tourist sites and becomes problematic only during special occasions of the year. Nevertheless, overcrowding may become a severe problem in Panglao if not managed properly, especially given the impending completion of giant hotel establishments clustered around the coast. These resorts could bring in unprecedented tourist numbers that may arrive in big groups. If not diversified, these groups could lead to severe overcrowding and congestion issues in Panglao and environmental stress. This is exacerbated by the particular type of tourism experience in Panglao. As tourists flock to Panglao for 'sun, sand, and beach', it is inevitable that beaches and marine environments suffer the most observable overcrowding and pollution issues. In scrutinizing the issue of congestion in Panglao, which has become apparent in an increasingly populous town, road safety was uncovered to be the more perturbing problem affecting Panglao and the larger Bohol. Actions have been taken to

improve connectivity, public transport networks, and tourist access to public transportation in Panglao, which may ease congestion. Regardless, much remains to be done for road safety. Development objectives should therefore prioritize road infrastructure improvements as well as implementation and strict enforcement of traffic rules and regulations. Doing so would better protect locals lives and elevate the safety standards crucial for sustainable tourism development.

7.2.4 Tourism Product Diversification

In order to alleviate the physical and environmental pressures in Panglao, Bohol must direct tourists to visit places outside of the beachtown. This would not only benefit Panglao but also other parts of Bohol by introducing tourism's benefits to other towns in the province. Beach tourism is gradually expanding to other parts of Bohol, with the eastern town of Anda hailed as one of the up-and-coming destinations that also boast picturesque white-sand beaches, sinkholes and caves for those who are seeking an adventure at a quieter, less-tourism developed area. Further tourism development in Anda is likely to relieve some of the tourism stress in Panglao. Besides physical diversion of tourists, Bohol must also diversify its tourism product to shift its destination image as a beach destination. Currently, Bohol is mostly known for the beaches in Panglao and Chocolate Hills in Carmen. Yet the provincial government has recently begun to leverage its rich natural offerings and cultural heritage to promote agri-tourism and culture and arts tourism (ABS-CBN News, 2020; The Bohol Chronicle, 2019d). This is a step in the right direction, as agri-tourism allows locals to benefit from tourism while engaging in their traditional livelihood, which could increase their appreciation and elicit a sense of pride for their cultural heritage. As food supply shortage remains a problem in Bohol, agri-tourism could also be one of the ways to address this problem, especially through building fair trade partnerships with local farmers in the wider province and securing a steady supply of local produce. This way, other parts of Bohol could also enjoy economic gain from tourism and agriculture, rather than having Panglao as the sole beneficiary of tourism. It is also worthwhile to invest in cultural tourism to showcase the rich cultural heritage of Bohol and increase cultural awareness of tourists. Based on interview findings, it is likely that local residents would welcome cultural tourists who are excited to participate in local celebrations and immerse themselves into the local culture.

7.2.5 Implementation of Community-based Tourism

For Panglao, it seems that a shift from the current beach tourism product to alternative forms of tourism would bring numerous benefits to the local community. Particularly, community-based tourism (CBT) appears to be a viable option for promoting inclusive and ethical tourism growth. Firstly, CBT is advantageous in its smaller scale compared to the nearing-mass tourism product currently offered in Panglao. Moreover, as the island destination is presently dominated by enclave tourism and 'inauthentic' experiences, CBT

would benefit tourists by allowing them to see the 'real' everyday life in Panglao as experienced by local residents. This exchange would also empower local residents in various ways. For one, it would offer residents a platform to share their culture with tourists first-hand. For example, fishermen could take tourists on a fishing experience and invite them to try local methods of fishing like spearfishing, then teach them to prepare a Filipino style grilled fish afterwards. CBT would generate direct income and employment opportunities for the local community, allowing them to improve their living conditions. More importantly, it would boost local ownership and allow residents to have a say in the development process. This way, the power relations provoked by foreign ownership could be minimized, and the revenue is also more likely to stay within the community.

8 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to understand overtourism in the developing island destination of Panglao. By analyzing resident perceptions and identifying possible risk factors for overtourism in the specific context, the present research has attempted to understand the precursors and effects of overtourism in Panglao and offer recommendations for mitigating overtourism issues and implementing sustainable tourism development.

The existing understanding of overtourism as portrayed in the developed European context mostly surrounds tourist volume and other overtourism impacts resulting from uncontrolled tourism growth, which have threatened local wellbeing and in some cases sparked local resistance. While the case of Panglao also demonstrated how overtourism has manifested as negative (over)tourism impacts, especially in the environmental sphere, there were key aspects of the phenomenon, as it is currently understood, that residents did not perceive to be problematic in Panglao. In fact, residents were generally supportive of tourism, tourist presence, and further tourism growth in spite of the multitude of overtourism impacts perceived. Meanwhile, bad governance and the political environment of Panglao, instead of tourism itself, were identified to be the root cause of these overtourism issues and the main proponent of unsustainable development generating high levels of dissatisfaction among local residents.

This study extended the conceptualization of overtourism from developed cities in Europe to a small island context in a developing Southeast Asian country. Particularly, it has shown the influence of local factors over the causes and effects of overtourism, as well the importance of having a grounded understanding of overtourism in a destination in devising strategies to tackle overtourism issues and promote sustainable development in that specific locale. As overtourism is rooted in unsustainable tourism driven by irresponsible management, there is a need for destinations to take responsibility in sustainability implementation through strong political leadership, local engagement and multistakeholder involvement in tourism as empowered by education and ethics. This is especially critical in developing nations that are undergoing rapid tourism-induced

transformation and modernization, as they may be more susceptible to overtourism. The case of Panglao has particularly demonstrated the necessity for the local government to prioritize community wellbeing and urgently tackle the more pressing issues in municipal development, whether or not they are directly related to tourism. As for the future directions of tourism, this study has confirmed that only by taking a sustainable-responsible tourism approach can destinations use tourism as a tool for promoting inclusive, ethical, and equitable development.

The findings of this study should be interpreted in light of possible limitations. The first limitation concerns data collection. As aforementioned, it was not possible to travel to Panglao for field research and in-person recruitment and interviews due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This is why the data collection process was digitized. Generally, it was very difficult to obtain relevant information and reach individuals and organizations online, therefore making limited access to data a limitation. The researcher fervently reached out to the Panglao Municipal Tourism office, Bohol Tourism Office, Provincial Planning and Development Office, and the Department of Tourism in Region VII through Email and Messenger for data on Panglao tourism. Only three of these offices were responsive, and only the latter was able to offer partial data on basic tourism statistics. Meanwhile, Panglao Municipal Tourism Office did not respond to any of the emails or messages sent even after other organizations had referred the researcher to said office. Furthermore, the datasets available on the Philippine Statistics Authority database were often outdated, most of which were last updated over 10 years ago.

The second limitation relates to sampling methods and the sample used. Because a nonprobability sampling approach was adopted in this study, the interviews are unlikely to fully capture opinions in the general population. There may also be selection bias involved, as the researcher actively searched for Panglao residents by checking each of the candidates' public Facebook profiles and selecting them based on location. The present study also used a small sample size due to low response rate, of which only six of the ten barangays in the municipality were represented. The researcher was also unable to recruit interviewees from more diverse demographics, such as those of older age or have lower education attainment.

The third set of limitations is birthed by the many challenges encountered during online interviews. Firstly, it was difficult for the researcher to establish rapport with the interviewees through online text messaging. Although the researcher tried to foster a relaxed, comfortable atmosphere through self-introduction and emphasis on the participants' freedom of expression during the interview, it was apparent that many of the interviewees took a more formal approach to the interview. For example, a number of them repeatedly referred to the researcher as 'miss' or 'ma'am'. While this may have been simply a gesture of politeness and respect, the overall mood in most of the interviews was also rather serious. This may have led to a second challenge that arose during the interview. Prior to the interview, participants were informed that it should simulate a

natural flowing conversation, but it was generally difficult to encourage participants to express opinions beyond the questions asked. Open-ended questions sometimes received single-word responses, and close-ended questions had to be used occasionally to generate a response. Frequently, the researcher had to probe their answers by asking them to elaborate. The third challenge concerns interview duration. Some of the interviews lasted much longer than 90 minutes, while others were spread over different sessions. This was because some participants became preoccupied with other matters and were not able to complete the interview in one sitting. It is probable that the interruptions had an effect on the overall effectiveness of the research. Still, perhaps the biggest challenge to effective communication was the language barrier. Many interviewees were apologetic about their proficiency in English, and this may have affected their ability to fully express themselves during the interview.

The fourth limitation is that the reliability of the findings in this research may have been impacted by personal bias. The researcher is highly familiar with Bohol and has strong place attachment to the destination due to prolonged, repeated visits and personal connections with local residents. Having high awareness of the socioeconomic, sociocultural, environmental, and political conditions of Bohol has led the author to empathize and sympathize more with the local population than any other stakeholder. It is probable that such bias was introduced to this study throughout the research process. A similar flaw exists in that the researcher observations used in this study were made during previous visits instead of the period of this research. This may have contributed to confirmation bias, thus affecting the results of this study.

The fifth limitation is the relatively narrow perspective of this research. Although resident interviews revealed a range of opinions and suggested the potential influence of various demographic factors on such perceptions, it was beyond the scope of this study to specifically understand how exactly these factors influence perceptions in the general population. This study also did not gather opinions from stakeholders other than local residents. Since tourist satisfaction and stakeholder cooperation are also enablers of responsibility under the Sustainable-Responsible Tourism Model, the present research was unable to interpret overtourism based on tourist and other stakeholder perspectives.

Whereas the current study has taken a first step in studying overtourism in an island destination away from the well-researched European context, further investigation is warranted to expound on the understanding of overtourism in other destinations. The aforementioned limitations of this research may also be addressed in future studies.

In terms of methodology, future studies investigating perceptions of overtourism at a destination may adopt a mixed methods methodological approach to strengthen the research findings. Precisely, a sequential exploratory design with an initial qualitative component followed by a quantitative component would allow for an in-depth understanding of perceptions gathered and also the prevalence of such perceptions among

the general population. As this study suggested that various factors may influence resident perceptions, it may also be worthwhile for future research to conduct positivist studies on the effects of demographic factors on the perceptions of local residents. Moreover, future research may incorporate the opinions of other stakeholders, such as tourists, governments, private companies, and NGOs to understand their perceptions and the unique challenges they face in tackling overtourism issues and implementing sustainable development. This would also enable the understanding of how relationships between different stakeholders may influence overtourism. Furthermore, as the current study has illustrated the role of governance and political environment in propelling overtourism, academics may dedicate to scrutinizing specifically the effects of government policy and political climate on stimulating and propelling overtourism. Future overtourism research may also employ a multiple case studies approach spanning across the Philippines or even extending to different ASEAN countries to further the understanding of overtourism in similar geographical and developmental backgrounds.

As for the case of Panglao, the present study has made recommendations on possible preventative measures against overtourism in the municipality and proposed tourism product diversification on the local and provincial levels. Future study directions can be directed to studying the feasibility of implementing community-based tourism in the municipality. On the provincial level, as the Bohol Tourism Office has shown interest in promoting agri-tourism and cultural tourism initiatives, further research may examine how these types of tourism can benefit disadvantaged communities.

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Appendix 1: List of Major Stakeholders in Panglao Tourism

- 1. Philippine National Government
- a. Department of Tourism (DOT)
- b. Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR)
- c. Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG)
- d. Civil Aviation Authority of the Philippines (CAAP)
- 2. Bohol Provincial Government
- a. Bohol Governor
- b. Bohol Tourism Office
- c. Bohol Environment Management Office (BEMO)
- 3. Panglao Local Government Unit (LGU)
- a. Panglao Mayor
- b. Panglao Tourism Office
- 4. Private Sector
- a. Tour operators/tour guides
- b. Bohol Island Tour Guides Association of the Philippines (BITGAP)
- c. Tourist transport drivers
- d. Bohol Confederation of Tourist Transport Services Provider (BCTTSP)
- e. Hotel/restaurant owners
- f. Bohol Association of Hotels, Resorts and Restaurants (BAHRR)
- g. Panglao Masseurs and Vendors Association
- 5. Non-governmental Organizations
- a. Panglao Island Chamber of Commerce and Industry (PICCI)
- b. Alona Beach Community Association
- c. Danao Beach Community Association
- d. Plastic Free Bohol
- 6. Development Agencies
- a. Japan International Cooperation Agency Philippine Office (JICA)
- b. United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
- 7. Local residents
- 8. Tourists

Appendix 2: Demographic Characteristics of Study Sample

Overview of the Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Characteristic	Number of Participants
Age	•
19-39	9
40-50	3
Gender	
Female	6
Male	6
Barangay of Residence	
Lourdes	2
Danao	3
Tawala	3
Poblacion and Balicasag	2
Bil-Isan	1
Looc	1
Native-born Status	
Born in Panglao	9
Born outside of Panglao	3
Length of Residency in Panglao	
0-10 years	2
11-18 years	1
More than 18 years	9
Education Education	
High School Graduate	1
Some College	7
College Graduate	4
Marital Status	4
	0
Single	9
Married	2
Widowed	1
Parental Status	
Has children	4
No children	8
Occupation	
Student	5
Junior Auditor	1
Dive shop owner and reef conservation project manager	1
Communication operator in the police department	1
Tour guide/tour organizer	1
Owner of a family-run tourist accommodation	1
Chef	1
Homemaker	1
Has close friends or family members working in tourism	
Yes	11
No	1
Frequency of Interaction with tourists	1
Frequent	5
Sometimes	3
Rare	4

Appendix 3: Notes on Demographic Factors' Influence on Resident Perceptions

Based on the interview responses, some factors were found to potentially influence the residents' perceptions of tourism impacts. These are direct personal benefits, native-born status and length of residence, community attachment, and parental status. However, as individuals within the sample used in this study were similar in many aspects and did not represent a wide range of characteristics, these insights can only be considered as possible modifiers of perception. For a more concrete understanding of how these factors influence perceptions, further research is warranted.

Social Exchange Theory

This study concurs with existing literature on the inadequacy of the SET on its own in explaining resident perceptions of tourism impacts (Ward & Berno, 2011; MacLaren et al., 2014). In this study, the majority of participant responses emphasized on impacts on the community rather than the individual. The SET by definition refers to personal rather than communal benefits, yet the current study shows that Panglao residents' support for tourism mainly stems from perceived benefits to their community rather than themselves. For example, they perceived the positive economic impacts of increased job opportunities and economic growth in Panglao, albeit not being employed in tourism themselves. This also contradicts with previous studies that found positive attitudes towards tourism to be more associated with personal than communal benefits (Kayat et al., 2013). In this research, the SET only seems to apply to some extent. This was evident in the relatively neutral attitude among tourism employees towards the dramatically higher cost of living caused by tourism. Direct personal benefits may therefore modify the perception of an otherwise negative economic effect for those who are not working in tourism. Yet it is important to consider that in this study, all three individuals currently employed in tourism are all nonnative residents, thus their non-native born status could also be an influencer of such perceptions.

Native-born Status, Length of Residence, and Community Attachment

As a matter of fact, native-born status coupled with community attachment appeared to be the most apparent factor influencing resident perceptions of tourism impacts. Many participant responses revealed a connection between native-born status, length of residence, and community attachment, where native-born status and longer length of residence seemed to correlate to a higher level of community attachment and local pride. They generally perceived more impacts in all three dimensions, whether positive or negative, than interviewees who are not native-born residents and have a shorter length of residence.

Comments from these residents also conveyed an especially strong sense of community identity, attachment, and pride, as observed in their use of pronouns like "We", "Our own", "Us locals", "The natives", "Panglaoanons", all of which were noticeably absent from the

speech of non-native residents throughout the interviews. Besides word choice, their responses were also largely guided by emotional attachment to their hometown, as seen in the personal accounts and experiences told in their comments. Some residents even referred to their own native-born status in explaining their perceptions. Strong community attachment was also exemplified by the respondents' great fondness for the natural environment and especially the ocean as apparent in their concern for environmental impacts of tourism. This coincides with Brehm (2007) that the natural environment can be an essential component of consideration in assessing community attachment, especially in places with abundant natural resources.

In terms of sociocultural impacts, parental status seemed to influence opinions about attire changes. Participants with children viewed modern dressing trends and styles more negatively, mainly due to concern for their daughters' safety. Yet the effect of parental status is not found in other categories of impacts. Meanwhile, other determinants as identified in the literature review, including age, gender, marital status, education attainment, having close family or friends working in tourism, proximity to tourist sites, and frequency of interaction with tourists did not appear to affect local perceptions of tourism impacts in this study. However, this may be due to the small sample size and the lack of diversity in the sample.

Appendix 4: Summary of Resident Perceptions

Interview Findings on Resident Perceptions

Tourism Impacts	Benefits	Costs
Economic	+ Employment Opportunities + Business and Economic Growth + Increased Wealth and standard of living	 Increased Cost of living Increased Housing and property prices Increased Competition Foreign ownership Tourism enclaves
Sociocultural	+ Increased in hospitable/helping behavior + Expanded social and business networks + Exposure to other cultures + Cultural exchange and sharing customs	 Decline of traditional livelihoods Decreased familiarity and social cohesion Decreased sense of belonging Loss of community relations and traditions Loss of authenticity Westernized behavior and consumption patterns Crime Desire for wealth Change in local mentality
Environmental (Physical)	+ Commercial buildings	- Overcrowding - Congestion
Environmental (Natural)	+ Increased environmental awareness of tourists + Wildlife preservation	 Damage to the marine environment Damage to biodiversity Different forms of pollution Deforestation Change in temperature
Destination Governance	Benefits	Costs
	+ Government Effort in destination management	 Poor road design Poor land design/zoning Poor sewage waste management Poor solid waste management Poor water supply management Threats to Food security Lack of environmental regulations
Political Environment		- Corruption - Bias (favoring foreigners) - Inaction - Lack of law enforcement - Ineffective management - Attitude of the mayor - Lack of local engagement