

**INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT AMID NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
THE CASE OF MANGROVE REFORESTATION IN
BANACON ISLAND, GETAFE, BOHOL**

and

**SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN AND OUTSIDE
THE GATED COMMUNITY OF TIERRA GRANDE,
LAWAAN, TALISAY CITY, CEBU**

**TWO SPECIAL RESEARCH PAPERS
SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF ANTHROPOLOGY
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**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN ANTHROPOLOGY**

BY

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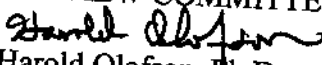
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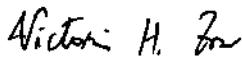
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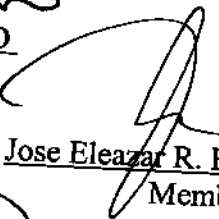
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These two Special Research Papers entitled "INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT AMID NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. THE CASE OF MANGROVE REFORESTATION IN BANACON ISLAND, GETAFE, BOHOL" and "SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE GATED COMMUNITY OF TIERRA GRANDE, LAWAAN, TALISAY CITY, CEBU" prepared and submitted by ZONA HILDEGARDE SANTEL AMPER in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS IN ANTHROPOLOGY has been reviewed and is recommended for acceptance and approval

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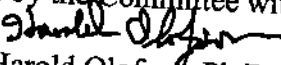

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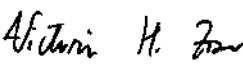

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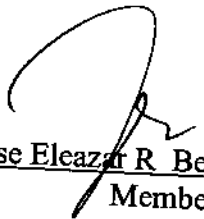

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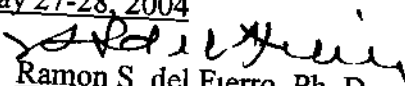

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INTRODUCTION

RATIONALE

The term development is often associated with economics. Such notion may be due to the fact that much literature about it has been written in this particular field. In reality, however, this phenomenon is not limited to material progress for it embraces also the entire socio-cultural lives of people belonging to a particular society. (Garcia, M., 1993) The years since World War II have seen an explosion in development in the Third World. Initially this was borne along by a euphoric belief that central planners, development scientists, and dedicated civil servants would sweep away all problems before them. But this euphoria began to give way to the realization that social and economic development is no simple task. In country after country, and development project after project, good intentions have gone awry, goals have been unmet, and the gap between the “haves” and “have nots” has remained untouched or indeed has increased. This has led, in turn, to various reformulations of development theories, one of the first and still most popular of which attributes many failures of development to “top-down” planning. (Dove, 1986)

Based on the Brundtland Committee report, *Our Common Future* (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), the concept of “sustainable development” is, or has become, essentially shorthand for those forms of development that attempt to meet the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of

future generations to meet their needs, rather than those that simply promote indiscriminate economic growth at any cost. (Sevilla-Guzman & Woodgate, 1997)

The national development perspective of the Philippine government recognizes that increasing farm incomes beyond bare subsistence levels is the basic building block for equitable and sustainable economic growth. (The Philippine Agricultural Development Plan, 1990). With regard to coastal and marine ecosystem management, the thrust of the government is to sustainably maximize the use of coastal and marine resources with the community-based approach as the primary strategy in the implementation of its components, including mangrove rehabilitation activities, among others. (www.denr.gov.ph). However, the policies imposed from above by international agencies and state bodies have frequently not met the needs and aspirations of ordinary people. (Sillitoe, 2002)

Anthropologists have been in the vanguard of the movement to involve the beneficiaries of development in the development process. The ongoing work of anthropologists to highlight the relevance of indigenous knowledge is gradually resulting in an attitudinal shift in the strategy of development (Jha, 2002). Indigenous development stresses that development means stability rather than productivity. It is based on concepts internal to a culture, not imposed from the outside. It allows the individualization of property as well as the maintenance of the commons. The key idea in indigenous development is simply maintenance and replacement rather than profit.

However, with roads, radio, and government programs entering into even very remote regions, the isolation of rural populations is rapidly breaking down. Recent increases in population in many agricultural areas, has led to increased migration to cities

and towns, and this trend contributes to the other influences that are transforming traditional institutions and communities. (Barlett, 1980)

Michael Dove's research regarding differences in government and peasant views on *Imperata* and *Chromolaena*, two common weeds in Indonesia, deal with the contrasting perspectives on development. According to Dove, peasant perceptions vary according to the similarity between these weeds, plants and the fallow period vegetation in any given system of cultivation. Peasants in systems of extensive swidden agriculture view *Imperata* negatively; while those in systems of more intensive semi-permanent cultivation view it positively. On the other hand, state perceptions on both weeds are unvaryingly negative, based on its generally negative perception of systems of cultivation that employ fallow periods, and on its self-interest in expensive eradication programs and the alternate use of weed-covered lands. (Dove, 1986) Government's negative view on the weeds is because of their involvement in agricultural intensification programs that do not have any use for such weeds. They also believe that the peasants have not purposively and intentionally promoted the growth of such weeds. Thus, a policy on burning of such weeds was implemented without considering its uses to the peasants.

Olofson likewise contrasts the views of both government and the academe with that of the farmers regarding *kaingin* in his paper on *Swidden and Kaingin Among the Southern Tagalog*. He states that while government agencies and academic researchers equate *kaingin* with shifting cultivation and shifting cultivation with forest destruction, local *kaingineros* resent the implication that they are destroying the forest. This difference on the meanings attached to the term "kaingin" is because of the difference in experiences of those who use the term. Those directly involved in "kaingin" activities

use the term “kaingin” not only for swiddens but also for hillside farming which they are practicing. On the other hand, the academics and government officials, who are not directly doing “kaingin”, tend to equate the term “kaingin” with slash and burn shifting cultivation.

Another paper by Dove on *Peasant versus Government Perception and Use of the Environment in South Kalimantan* points out that while swidden agriculture is an important component in the subsistence system of the Riam Kanan Valley’s inhabitants, the government considers it inimical to the proper function of the Riam Kanan watershed. As a result, the government has attempted to discourage the practice of swidden cultivation in the valley’s forest. According to Dove, the policy makers have confused developmental values with environmental values, and have confused the values of government with the values of development. Thus, instead of presenting that there is a conflict of interest between the government and the villagers over alternative uses of the environment, they say that the developmental good of the environment is being threatened by swidden cultivation by the villagers.

A paper by James Fairhead, contrasted how development organizations and development subjects represented nature and people’s impact on it, by citing two cases in West Africa. In one case, government’s master plan for rural development emphasized the conservation of soils and forests since according to them deforestation is a big problem. But, this view is not shared by the inhabitants, as according to their elders, their forest cover has been increasing over the years. as this area was savannah in the past. This illustrates the “detachment” of development discourse from the thinking of its subjects in West Africa regarding deforestation, according to Fairhead.

A case illustrating a similar contradiction in development perspectives as presented above, are the mangrove reforestation efforts in Banacon Island in Getafe, Bohol. Banacon is the site of the largest man-made mangrove plantation in the whole of Central Visayas, if not the whole country. This more than 500-hectare *bakhaw* (*Rhizophora stylosa*) plantation started out as a community effort initiated in 1957. An additional 200 hectares was planted through the Contract Reforestation Project of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) in 1990. However, the DENR-initiated project was not as successful in terms of survival and growth rates.

The importance of mangroves to coastal communities cannot be emphasized more. Aside from the scientific importance of Philippine mangroves, they have provided Filipino coastal communities with valuable goods and services including a variety of fisheries and forest products, nurseries for commercial fish and shellfish, wildlife habitats, and protection from typhoons and floods. To ensure the sustainability of mangrove ecosystems in the country, there is need for concerted action among government agencies, non-government organizations and people's associations to preserve and conserve remaining mangrove areas; rehabilitate degraded sites; rationalize government policies and reconcile conflicting laws including increased economic rent and the grant of tenurial rights. (Primavera, J.H.)

Ironically, however, the mangrove planters of Banacon have yet to be accorded tenurial rights. Presidential Proclamation No. 2151 declared Banacon island, as well other small islands in the country covered with mangroves, as wilderness areas. As a wilderness area, Banacon Island was placed under a strict protection regime, which

allowed no harvesting of the planted mangroves. Thus, the awarding of a tenurial instrument to the Banacon planters was aborted. (Yao, 2001)

During initial visits to the island, this problematic situation was expressed by the barangay captain of Banacon. According to him, while it was the local island folk who originally initiated mangrove planting activities, the DENR was now “taking over” by not allowing them to harvest what they had planted. Before the declaration of Banacon as a wilderness area, they had freely harvested and replaced the mangroves. But now, they would be reprimanded when caught harvesting the trees. The local government unit is now in a dilemma whether to abide by the national development agenda or by the island folk’s development perspective.

Much has been written about the Banacon mangrove forest because of its vastness. However, existing literature has not focused much on the differences in development perspectives of national development agencies and the local community. This study will focus on this problem area in anthropology, which deals with contrasting or varying development perceptions of the government and local communities with regard to certain resources, specifically mangroves.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This research seeks to determine the differences in the development perspectives of a national development agency and a local community in mangrove reforestation initiatives. Specifically, this study shall (1) reconstruct the community situation before mangrove planting activities were initiated and look into the changes that have taken place over time as a result of these initiatives; (2) determine the differences in perception of government and island-folks regarding mangrove planting, resource use, ownership,

and maintenance; and (3) determine the impact of national development interventions on the local community.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

This study is limited to the mangrove planting activities in Banacon island. It will rely on the recollection of key informants as regards the history of such activities, as well as on actual experiences shared by community members. This research shall also include the policies and development framework at the level of the DENR as regards coastal and marine resources management, specifically on mangroves.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Methodology

This is a qualitative research, specifically, an anthropological ethnography. This method focused on a more specific range of issues with a view to understanding them more completely and in greater depth. Ethnographic research methods provided the opportunity to communities to describe their lives and conditions.

Specifically, the tools and techniques used in this study included (1) semi-structured interviewing; and (2) mapping. The researcher kept field notes in a field notebook, including responses during the interviews as well as observations. Focus group discussions were conducted to obtain several perspectives about the same topic and gain insights into people's shared understandings of everyday life and the ways in which individuals are influenced by others in a group situation.

First, a list of specific topics was drawn up and key informants were identified. A series of semi-structured interviews with key informants, including community folks,

DENR personnel directly involved in Banacon, and LGU personnel, were then carried out. Likewise, focus group discussions were conducted with community members directly involved in mangrove planting activities. As a starting point for discussions either with individuals or groups, mapping techniques were utilized to provide a picture of the island's socio-demographic map, land and water resources, and its mangrove forest. A transect walk and an ocular survey of the mangrove area was conducted together with the local people to get a complete picture of the different zones and land use as well as identifying problems and issues. A combination of these tools and techniques and the different viewpoints that surfaced in the course of the research gave the researcher a wider and in-depth knowledge and understanding of the topic at hand.

Observations regarding community life were also noted while the researcher was in the area. Fieldwork entailed staying in the island for a number of weeks to establish rapport with the community. Interviews with DENR personnel were carried out in their offices in both Cebu and Bohol. Open-ended questions were used in these interviews.

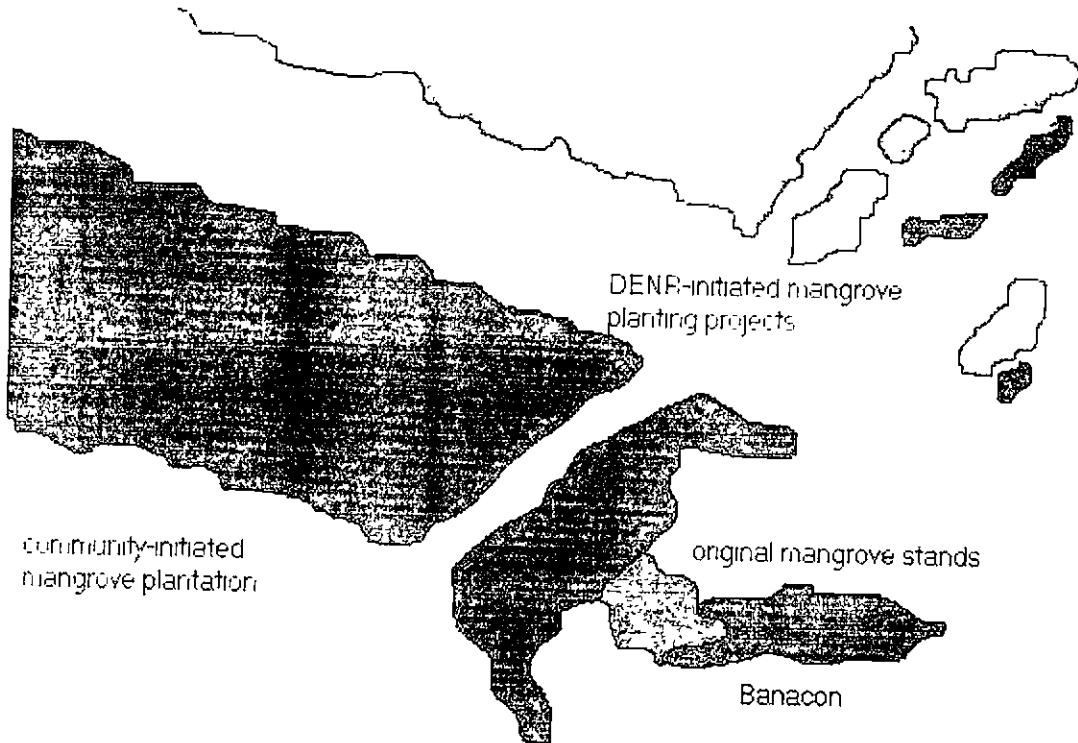
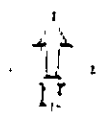
The Research Site

Banacon Island is an 11-hectare island located in the municipality of Getafe, Bohol (See *Appendices - Location Map of Banacon*). It is about a 20-minute pumpboat ride away from mainland Getafe. The island is composed of one barangay divided into seven puroks. There are no regular trips to Banacon from the mainland. But there are two pumpboats plying the Cebu-Banacon route daily. It takes about 3 hours to go to Banacon island from Cebu City.





Banacon is inhabited by 196 families which are dependent on mangrove plantations and foreshore marine resources such as fin fishes, shells, crabs and other mollusks and crustaceans. (Melana, 1999) Of the 196 families, 125 have been involved in mangrove planting in the island. The island's population in 1990 was around 800

individuals. It has become very popular among environment enthusiasts because of its more than 500-hectare mangrove forest. (See below – *Spot Map of Banacon Mangroves*). Community estimates around 484 hectares of community-initiated mangrove plantation and around 250 hectares government-initiated plantations.

Spot Map of Banacon Mangroves



LEGEND:

-  community-initiated mangrove plantation
-  original mangrove stands
-  Banacon island and islets
-  DENR mangrove planting projects

Respondents

The respondents were primarily the Banacon island residents, specifically those belonging to the families involved in mangrove planting; whether or not they belonged to any community organization. Banacon residents are mostly fisherfolk using different methods, such as hook & line fishing, shellfish gathering, “shrimping”, “crabbing”. They are also into seaweed farming. Banacon folk originally came from mainland Cebu during World War II, specifically from Tangke, Talisay. The major “push factor” that brought these settlers to Banacon was the worsening peace and order situation in Cebu at the time. The small islands were far away from the war zone and provided abode and good livelihood opportunities for the migrants. They stayed on in Banacon as they were able to settle their families there and make a living from fishing. The “pull factors” that brought even more migrants to the island include, the bountiful marine resources on the island and the presence of relatives on the island. Some residents migrated to the island in the 1950’s to 1960’s from Ermita and Pasil in Cebu City. Banacon folks are Cebuano-speaking and still maintain links with their places of origin, namely Pasil, Ermita and Tangke, Talisay. However, even as more migrants went to Banacon, some Banacon folks have migrated back to Cebu City due to fish trading activities (taking fish catch to the market; selling these to fish traders; becoming fish traders themselves). There are two pumpboats plying the Banacon-Pasil route daily bringing marine products to the Pasil market, considered as the center of fish trading in Cebu City.

Aside from the Banacon folk, DENR personnel, both at the Regional and CENRO-Talibon offices, were interviewed as regards their projects and interventions in Banacon island. These DENR personnel have been involved in Banacon since the 1970s-

80s. Barangay officials were also interviewed, as they are also involved in the dynamics of mangrove planting, maintenance and the relations between DENR and community folks in such activities. Other island residents were also randomly interviewed.

Time Frame

The data-gathering was carried out for the duration of the Summer Term 2003 or a period of two months (April & May). Data analysis was done in June 2003, and writing up the research report was done until August 2003, editing and finalization were done until January 2004.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

Mangroves are one of the most important wetlands vegetation in the tropics. They play an essential role on many relatively low-energy tidal tropical coasts, both from an economic and an ecological perspective. They form highly productive ecosystems capable of exporting energy and materials to adjacent communities and support a diverse heterotrophic food chain, including fish, crustaceans, reptiles, birds, small mammals and numerous invertebrates. They provide substantial protection from storm waves and tides. Mangroves also act as nursery areas in the life cycles of some organisms and are considered among the most productive ecosystems in the world. Many fisheries -offshore shrimp- are directly related to the extent of the mangrove nursery. (Moreno-Casasola, 2000)

Thus, it would not be surprising that fisherfolks on a small island would want to increase their mangrove area, since it is directly related to the increase in the population of marine resources that are necessary for survival. On the other hand, government, with its mandate of protecting and rehabilitating the environment, through the DENR, would launch programs on coastal resource management that would include reforestation of mangroves. The Community Tree Farm of the 1970s, the NIPAS Act of the 1990s as well as other laws, decrees, ordinances and administrative orders issued, are in line with the protection and rehabilitation of the coastal environment. Thus, in many island and coastal barangays all over the country, both community and government-initiated mangrove planting activities have been implemented. Banacon is one such island barangay where mangrove planting began as a community initiative. Various laws and

government programs have either positively or negatively affected such initiatives over time.

HISTORY OF MANGROVE PLANTING IN BANACON

In the Philippines, there has been a decline in mangroves from up to 500,000 ha in 1918 to only 120,500 ha in 1994. This decline may be traced to overexploitation by coastal dwellers, and conversion to settlements, agriculture, salt beds and industry (Primavera, 1995). But in Banacon island, their mangrove forests are growing, not declining. It all began in 1957.

Indigenous Replanting (1957-1970s)

Many of the community folks and DENR personnel point to Manong Eugenio “Denciong” Paden as the pioneer in mangrove planting in the island. However, some local folk said that it was not only Nong Denciong who started it all, but around three community folks. They said it was Nong Denciong who was popular because he had a relative who worked with the DENR in Mindanao. The original planters got the propagules from indigenous species on the island and from neighboring islands.

These original mangrove planters saw that the indigenous species in the island was becoming depleted, due to extensive use for house construction, fish pens and firewood. Furthermore, there was a certain Pilot Camacho of Handayan island, who started to cut mangroves to sell. This decline motivated the original planters to plant mangroves. They chose a species that was available in the island, and was fast-growing – the *bakhaw* (*Rhizophora stylosa*) species. They also thought that if they planted mangroves, they would have more materials to be used for house construction, fish pens

and firewood. These few pioneers, were at first being teased by other island folks because they thought that it was a waste of time planting mangroves since it would take years before these could be harvested. An informant, Nong Edring Torretil, an 85-year old island resident, said at first, he did not participate in the planting since he thought it was useless to plant mangroves as these would only be stolen or harvested by someone else.

After 10 years, these initial plantations by the pioneers showed such promising growth and the pioneers were already able to harvest, and thus gain income from their hard work. Seeing this, the other island folks soon started their own plantations. The plantations grew and expanded as more and more island folks followed suit in planting mangroves. Nong Edring himself, stated that it was his Uncle Denciong who really encouraged him to plant mangroves. He narrated that it was hard work, since they had to manually carry the planting materials to the site. Another respondent, cited that his grandfather only planted mangroves when it became a "fad" in Banacon.

The "fad" on mangrove planting also reached neighboring islands. In 1968, fisherfolk from Brgy. Sabang on Olango Island went to Banacon to buy mangrove propagules. Island folks from Handayan and Nasingin also started planting mangroves on their respective areas.

Community Tree Farm Program (1978-1981)

Government became part of the community's efforts to establish and protect the mangrove plantation first through the then Bureau of Forest Development's (BFD) Communal Tree Farm Program launched in 1978. During the 1970s, according to CENRO Alipio Llorente, he was assigned as technician of the BFD in Banacon island.

At that time, the BFD and the community folks in Banacon signed a Forest Occupancy Management Agreement that allowed people to live on the island. The BFD also provided propagules for mangrove planting, having seen the initial efforts of the local residents in this type of activity.

Contract Reforestation Program & the Integrated Social Forestry Program (1982--1994)

In the 1980s the DENR implemented the Contract Reforestation Program which resulted in the planting of 300 has. to mangroves in Banacon. This program was implemented by the CENRO Talibon which awarded 2 contracts to the Banacon community through the barangay LGU and 2 family contracts to Paden's family. The community folks were paid for every hectare that they planted to mangroves, through progress billing. This means that the DENR will only give the complete payment if after 3 years, survival is 80% or more and the contracted work is accepted by the DENR. Under this program, the DENR prescribed a new system of planting mangroves where there should be a spacing of 1 to 1.5 meters between propagules. This, according to the DENR, was because of the minimal project cost which could only afford 10,000 propagules per hectare. With the implementation of mangrove planting projects of the DENR and the continued planting of mangroves by island folks, the area planted to mangroves expanded, making Banacon known as having the largest man-made mangrove plantation in the country.

A new program was launched in 1982 by the DENR – the Integrated Social Forestry (ISF) Program. This new program initiated the concept of “Stewardship” under which an individual or community may apply for a Certificate of Stewardship Contract

(CSC). This is a tenurial instrument that would give the community legal rights over an area for at least 25 years. With the assistance of the DENR, the Banacon islanders applied for a CSC covering the mangrove plantation area. However, PD 2151 released in 1984, declared Banacon as well other islands in the country with extensive mangroves, as wilderness areas. This law aborted the awarding of the CSC to the Banacon islanders. As a wilderness area, Banacon was placed under a strict protection regimen which disallowed harvesting of the planted mangroves (Yao, 2001). Bermudo's study pointed out that as a result of the failure to award the CSC, the Banacon islanders became discouraged in planting more mangroves (Bermudo, 1998). As pointed out by mangrove planters interviewed, they did not understand why the government would prevent them from harvesting the mangroves that they had planted.

Enactment of the National Integrated and Protected Area System (1992)

In 1992, Republic Act No. 7586 or the National Integrated and Protected Area System (NIPAS) Act was passed into law. This law states that all areas proclaimed as protected areas (including mangrove reserve areas) are considered the initial components of the system (NIPAS ACT, 1992). Banacon is considered as a protected area, as it has been declared as wilderness by virtue of PD 2151. Aside from this, Section 71 of Republic Act 7161, interpreted by the Department of Justice as total ban in the cutting of all kinds of mangrove trees and shrubs, has protected the remaining mangrove stands. With these laws, mangrove cutting and harvesting was strictly prohibited. These led to further disillusionment among the island folk since according to them, they were the ones who planted the mangroves, so why should government now prevent them from making use of what they had planted. With this argument, the CENRO allowed them to harvest

but not extensively and not “clear-cutting” the area, despite the stipulations in the law that totally bans cutting of mangroves.

Community-Based Forest Management Program (1995 – 2000)

Then in 1995, Executive Order No. 263 was enacted, adopting Community-Based Forest Management as the national strategy to ensure the sustainable development of the country's forestland resources and providing mechanisms for its implementation. With this program, additional areas in Banacon were planted to mangroves. The DENR paid the planters P7,000 for every hectare planted. One half was paid after the 1 hectare had been planted; one fourth was paid after replanting (replacing the plants that did not survive); and the final one-fourth was paid as maintenance cost. DENR inspected the area after three years from the date of planting. The island folks, during this time, continued to plant their own propagules in their mangrove area while also planting in the DENR mangrove area. Thus, the area planted to mangroves became wider. According to CENRO Alipio Llorente, this established Banacon's reputation as having the largest man-made mangrove forest in Asia. This brought in many tourists to the island.

Executive Order 263 provided that a Community-Based Forestry Management Agreement (CBFMA) may be entered into by the communities in these protected areas and the government. The CBFMA would award tenurial rights over forestlands (including mangrove forests) to organized communities for a period of 25 years and renewable for another 25 years. This tenure allows the people's organization (PO) to make use of the resources on the land as long as the usage is sustainable and in accordance with the affirmed Community Resource Management Framework (CRMF)

Plan. The CBFMA is issued by the PENRO for areas 5,000 hectares and below. (Mangrove Management Handbook, 2000)

The implementation of this Executive Order gave hope to the mangrove planters in Banacon. Thus, in 1996, with the assistance of the DENR's Coastal Environment Program, the Banacon Fisherfolks and Mangrove Planters Association (BAFMAPA) was organized. But it was only in 1999 that BAFMAPA, assisted by the Coastal Resource Management Program (CRMP), a special project of the DENR funded by USAID, was able to formulate their Zone Management Plan for Banacon. Their objective, according to Edgar Escabosa, former CRMP community organizer, was to have the CBFMA awarded to the community organization. Escabosa recalled that CRMP worked in a number of islands and areas to ensure the issuance of the CBFMA. However, Banacon was, given least priority at that time, since it was a protected area.

The Re-Zoning activity was participated in by Barangay officials, LGU officials, PO officers and CRMP community organizers. The Zone Management Plan they formulated provided for a Multiple-Use Zone wherein livelihood activities could be pursued even in a Protected Area. Dondon Canlubo, BAFMAPA president, said that the BAFMAPA members really pinned their hopes on the issuance of the CBFMA so that they could legally harvest the mangroves they had planted. However, not all island residents understood the concept of CBFMA, especially the non-members of BAFMAPA who had mangrove plots. They thought that the PO would "grab" their plots and place it under their management. Dondon clarified that even if the BAFMAPA would be the one to manage the area, individual ownership would still be honored.

Issuance of Department Administrative Order 2000-83 (2000-2003)

The Banacon folks' hope of being awarded the CBFMA was wiped out, with the issuance of Department Administrative Order 2000-83 in May 2000, declaring a moratorium on the issuance of tenurial instruments in all islands below 10,000 hectares. The basis for this, according to DENR's Chief Science Research Specialist, Emma E. Melana, may be our being one of the signatories on the World Effort on Conservation of Small Islands. It was very frustrating for the Banacon mangrove planters, since they were already preparing for the awarding of the CBFMA on that day when they were informed by the CENRO regarding the said order from Secretary Antonio H. Cerilles of DENR.

Issuance of Department Administrative Order 2003-06 (2003)

In March 2003, DAO 2000-83 was revoked by virtue of DAO 2003-06 issued by DENR Secretary Elisea G. Gozun. This provided that the issuance of lease/permit over public lands in small islands whether new or renewed, shall now be processed. According to Melana, there is now a new tenurial instrument that could be issued by the PENRO for protected areas, called Protected Area Community-Based Resource Management Agreement (PACBARMA). This would be managed by the Protected Area Management Board (PAMB), instead of the DENR except for strict protection zones. The community, assisted by DENR, would formulate the Zone Management Plan which would be the basis for approval of the PACBARMA. This shall be reviewed by the PAMB for approval and submitted to the DENR Regional Office. According to

BAFMAPA officials, the DENR had told them that there would be a meeting to be held in the middle of the year to clarify the guidelines for the PACBARMA.

According to DENR officials, development policy of the national government changes to address national issues to ensure environmental security and sustainable development for the good of the largest number of people. However, local island folk in Banacon see these changes and reversals in policies as confusing and detrimental to their rights over their mangrove plantations. DENR regional and CENRO personnel stated that they could not do anything about these laws and orders as these are formulated and enacted at the national level. Emma Melana of DENR 7 said that changes in policies are based on studies conducted at the national level as well as certain mandates (i.e, the Philippines' being a signatory in the World Effort on Conservation of Small Islands). One CENRO official, Epifania Laguitao, pointed out that at their level, they are merely implementors. She cited the cancellation of the awarding of the CBFMA to the Banacon island folks as an example. This illustrates a case where broad and macro objectives of national government are not in tune with local perceptions and conditions at the micro or community level.

DIFFERENCES IN THE DENR'S & ISLAND FOLKS' PERCEPTIONS

Considering that the mangrove planting activities in Banacon started as a community initiative without any intervention from any government agency, it is safe to say that the island folks already had indigenous perceptions as regards their mangrove plantations. These include their motivation for planting mangroves, knowledge regarding

the technicalities of mangrove planting, ownership and maintenance of their mangrove stands.

Motivation for Planting Mangroves

What made them plant mangroves, when no one told them to do so? Based on the interviews with the sons and daughters of the pioneering mangrove planters, the motivation of the local island folks in planting mangroves was primarily on its future uses for firewood, fish pens, house construction and *guso*-drying stands. According to most of the mangrove planters interviewed, they (and their forefathers) planted mangroves to generate additional income from mangrove harvesting. Most of those interviewed had seen that their parents/grandparents had already benefited from harvesting their planted mangroves. They have also witnessed that the mangrove forest had protected the island from typhoons in the past. They also observed the abundance of shellfish, shrimps and other marine creatures taking shelter in their mangrove forest. Mangrove planting is viewed as a tradition handed down from their parents and grandparents. Thus, Banacon residents continued planting, harvesting and re-planting mangroves, as part of their routine activities. According to Emma Melana of DENR, planting mangroves is already “a way of life” for the island folks. She recognized that the island folks “have a sustainable way of doing things with their mangroves – they do not practice clear-cutting when harvesting and they also replant without being told to.”

In contrast, DENR-initiated mangrove planting activities have always been part of a funded government program. With the Community Tree Farm Program in the 70's, DENR provided planting materials to local residents in Banacon. In the 80's, an

additional 300 hectares was planted through the Contract Reforestation Program. Then with the Community Based Forest Management Strategy, an additional 200 hectares was planted to mangroves. The DENR's objectives in mangrove planting activities were in line with rehabilitation and reforestation of coastal areas, as well as environmental protection. (www.denr.gov.ph) The DENR's regulatory and development policies are on a macro or national perspective to safeguard the security and interest of the largest number of people, according to a DENR regional official.

Mangrove planting, in line with these programs, was still done by the Banacon island folks. The motivation for planting, however, differed from their motivation in planting their own mangrove stands. They were motivated by the payment or "*suhol*" from the DENR for planting mangroves in the DENR-specified areas and within the specified framework of planting. According to the mangrove planters interviewed, they planted the DENR mangroves because of the "*suhol*", even if, in some cases, they did not agree with the area's suitability or with the spacing in planting (which was 1 m x 1 m). They just complied with whatever the DENR would tell them to do. Barangay Capt. Peregrino dela Cerna, pointed out that the island folks tried to argue with the DENR regarding these matters, but the DENR insisted that it was what was stipulated in the program. The Banacon mangrove planters said that even if the mangroves they planted would not survive or grow, they are still paid 2/3 of the whole amount; although they would not receive the last part of the payment. The DENR requires an 80% survival rate within a 3-year period, before they are given the third installment.

Technical Aspect in Planting Mangroves

Nong Denciong and the other pioneers in mangrove planting, planted their original mangrove stands, based on what knowledge they had. According to Denciong's daughter Naty Paden Miso, her father spent some time observing the mangrove forest at the back of their house. She said that her father observed that the propagules that fell got stuck in the mud and grew into young plants. This gave the old man and his contemporaries the idea that *bakhaw* (*Rhizophora stylosa*) can be directly planted. Naty also stated that her father performed some "experiments" in planting, and that this was his basis for choosing the right site for planting. This knowledge has been handed down to their children and the other residents who took part in mangrove planting activities.

Based on interviews with mangrove planters, they stated that their "*katiguwangan*" (old folks) first identified a suitable area for mangrove planting. The area would have to be located alee ("*salipod*"), of the big waves. The soil type should be between muddy and sandy. Another consideration was the species. The pioneers planted mostly the *bakhaw* (*Rhizophora stylosa*) type considering that it was available in the area and it was fast-growing and easier to plant. Planting distance was another consideration. The island folks practice direct planting observing a distance of approximately 1 ft. to 0.25 m. between propagules. According to them, this distance would ensure taller mangroves and lower mortality. They explained that when mangroves are planted close together, they tend to compete with each other in catching the sunlight and, thus, grow taller, faster and produce straight trees. The island folks pointed out that they followed this system because they have seen the satisfactory results of the mangrove plantations of their "*katiguwangan*".

In Bermudo's 1998 study, she points out that as a product of people's long experimentation and adaptation, the Banacon folks were able to develop a technology that is simple, inexpensive, requires only minimal and locally available inputs, and is compatible with the existing culture of the community. (Bermudo, 1998). This is in line with indigenous development, where people start with what knowledge and inputs they have.

When the DENR initiated mangrove planting programs in Banacon, it seems that this local knowledge had not been taken into consideration. The programs already had pre-determined guidelines to be followed during the implementation. The DENR conducted seminars on how to plant mangroves to island folks who have planted mangroves all their lives for almost three generations. The identification of the DENR area was based on the availability of space, even if it was already an open area or part of their "*panagatan*" or fishing ground. The point was to comply with the target number of hectares to be planted. But, as provided in the DENR's Mangrove Management Handbook published in 2000, one of the major reasons of plantation failure is improper siting. A number of factors must be considered in site selection, including type of substrate, current species present, tidal height, extent of wave action, among others. However, government implementors did not seem to consider such factors in selecting a site for their mangrove reforestation project in Banacon. According to the island folks, there was even a time when they were told to plant in an open area that is prone to big waves during the "*habagat*" or south-west monsoon. The result was that all the plants died. According to a DENR official, the plantation area was not ideal because practically all good sites have already been planted to mangroves by the fisherfolks.

Hence it was a mistake to push the program in Banacon as mangrove reforestation was already successful even without government input.

In terms of species, the DENR reforestation programs still utilized *bakhaw* (*Rhizophora stylosa*) since it was available in the area and according to CENRO and regional DENR personnel interviewed, it was compatible with the type of substrate in Banacon. Plantation substrate was described to be very suitable, meaning the area has uniform sediment type of coralline sandy soils. The tidal inundation occurring within the plantation is desirable with good exposure to sunlight, seawater and prevailing wind. (Bermudo, 1998) *Bakhaw bangkaw* (*Rhizophora stylosa*) prefer the sandy to rocky substratum, *bakhaw lalake* (*Rhizophora apiculata*), in the sandy to muddy areas, and *bakhaw bahae* (*Rhizophora mucronata*), prefers deeper water and muddy soils. (PCARRD-DOST, 1992) Some new species such as *pototan* (*Brugiera sexangula*) and *tabigi* (*Xylocarpus granatum*), were introduced by regional DENR personnel from the Ecosystems Research and Development unit. But, according to Nong Denciong's daughter-in-law, Dading, only 4 of the *pototan* survived out of half-a-sack of propagules planted, and the *tabigi*, only survived in some areas where the seawater could barely just reach during high tide.

With regard to planting distance, the DENR insisted that it should be 1 meter apart, since the number of propagules per hectare was already computed based on the project cost. The basis for this planting distance, according to the DENR, were the studies conducted in various areas in the country, where mature mangrove trees with a distance of 1 meter tend to grow bigger, as compared to those with closer distance from each other. A few island folks planted in the manner that they have been used to

(approximately 0.25x0.25 m.); however, they were made to uproot the propagules and follow the 1-meter planting distance, since the DENR did not have any more propagules. The DENR also explained to the island folks that their plantations would be inspected and so they had to comply with the given guidelines. But according to the island folks, this 1-meter distance resulted in less than 50% survival rate since the seedlings cannot survive given the strong currents and seaweeds and sea grasses that would be brought by the current. Those that survived were shorter as compared to those they planted closer together in their own mangrove stands. However, a study done by the Ecosystems Research and Development Service (ERDS) of DENR 7, points out that survival was not significantly different in all 4 spacing treatments (0.25x0.25m; 0.5x0.5m; 1x1m; and 2x2m) 40 months after direct planting (Melana, 1994).

These observations and actual situation in the community have now led the DENR to consider that the Banacon island folks may have been right in their insistence on a closer planting distance. As stated in the DENR's Mangrove Management Handbook published in 2000, "as practiced in Bohol, cluster planting may also be done in other areas. It is done to act as a wave break. To maximize survival, spacing is much closer. After 3-5 years, when the clusters are fully established, the gaps in back of the clusters can be planted at a wider spacing." (Melana, 2000)

This is a classic case of disregarding indigenous knowledge and introducing an entirely new system without considering existing local knowledge and experiences. National development only takes into consideration the stipulations in their programs for implementation. It takes a top-down approach to community projects, where the community folks are only considered as implementers of the program, not involved in

decision-making and designing technologies to be utilized. Sillitoe points out that effective development assistance will benefit from some understanding of local knowledge and practices. (Sillitoe, 2002)

To minimize differences, careful agreement of existing technologies or practices in Banacon should have been appropriate before introducing new ones. It is logical to start from where the people are and then strengthen or reinforce the existing practices. (Bermudo, 1998)

Ownership and Maintenance of Mangrove Stands

The mangrove plantation in Banacon is about 484 hectares, excluding the DENR area, as per the zoning survey done in 2000. There is a clear distinction made by the island folks as regards the community plantation and the DENR plantation. They do not have any sense of ownership over DENR mangrove areas. The feeling of ownership is absent because they were paid by DENR to do it. As of BAFMAPA's last survey, there are 125 people involved in mangrove planting. As to ownership of individual mangrove stands in the community plantation, the island folks seem to know who owns what area and where. According to them they have "markers" in the form of a space from one mangrove stand to another. This space would look like a road in between mangrove stands. The famous Paden's Pass or Highway and the smaller "roads" and "subways" are examples of these. Some owners place a makeshift signboard marking their area.

As discussed earlier, the Banacon mangrove planters still do not have any tenurial instrument giving them legal rights to manage the mangrove plantations. Despite this limitation, they still have their own way of establishing "ownership" as well as

maintaining the mangrove stands. "Ownership" as defined by the island folks meant one (or your forefathers) who planted these mangroves. According to the island folks interviewed, they only own the mangroves because the area on which they are planted cannot be owned. As owner of the said mangroves, one has the right to a controlled harvest. This means that there should be no clear-cutting. A few square meters of mature mangrove trees may be cut at one time in a certain area. Cutting should be done several meters from the "roads" so as not to destroy the beauty of the forest. But at the same time, one has the responsibility to replace the harvested mangroves by replanting when the mangrove stumps have already decayed. If one does not replant, other interested mangrove planters may plant on the harvested area. Thus, those mangroves the new planter had planted would be under his "ownership". This seldom happens, however, as most of the mangrove planters reportedly see to it that replanting the area is done. Replanting has already become part of routine activities, after harvesting.

Everyone on the island has the same interpretation regarding "ownership", to the extent that even the DENR has also respected such parameters. However, there have been cases wherein the owner of the mangroves "sells" his mangroves to another person. This happens in situations, when a family is in dire need for cash. Nong Denciong, for example, sold his mangroves to Berong Torrefiel (a local who is now a businessman residing in Mandaue City) when he fell ill. The same experience was shared by Exor Canlubo, when his father also sold some mangroves to Basing Otarra (a retired government employee) and Torrefiel, when he fell ill. Based on the interviews, those current "owners" of mangroves who have not planted these but just "bought" it from planters include: Torrefiel (now owning the biggest mangrove area in Banacon), It

Otarra (also a local who is now a businessman and is seldom in Banacon), Basing Otarra, Gavino Yu (a businessman from Mandaue City who is not from Banacon) and Msgr. Maglasang (a priest in Cebu who is now deceased). According to the Banacon mangrove planters, these “new owners” have not harvested mangrove trees as they are rich people who have other sources of income. However, the caretakers who are local residents are the ones who have harvested some trees in these areas for their own use. They also do the replanting in these areas. According to Otarra and Torrefiel, they bought these areas in order to help out those needing cash for emergency purposes, not because they want to make a business out of selling mangrove wood poles. There has not been any case wherein the mangrove planters were able to buy back their mangrove stands because the businessmen did not sell these areas back to the original “owners”. Banacon folk do not see any harm that businessmen have become the new owners of a number of stands, instead they see this as good for the rehabilitation of the coastal environment as these businessmen do not harvest the trees. However, some DENR personnel are apprehensive that these businessmen might clear-cut the areas to make a business out of selling mangrove poles.

Despite the understanding regarding “ownership” among island folks, there are still instances of stealing or cutting mangroves. In some instances, the theft involved local residents who do not own any mangrove stands. In other instances, the theft involved residents from other neighboring islands. Even if the owner was not the one who harvested (in cases of theft), he is still responsible for replanting. Through replanting the island folks have managed to maintain the vastness of their mangrove area. However, replanting was a given responsibility only in the area owned by the local folks,

and does not include the DENR area. The DENR area was considered just that, and there was no sense of ownership of these areas by the mangrove planters. Thus, even if mortality was high, replanting was only done once (just to get the third installment of the "*suhol*"), but after that, no replanting activities were done in the DENR area as the planters do not have any sense of ownership of these areas.

The DENR respects the island folks' perception regarding ownership and maintenance of mangrove stands. However, it considers the mangrove forest as public domain, because Banacon is a protected area as per P.D. 2151. According to CENRO, based on the law, the mangroves do not belong to any individual, but, it may be placed under the management of the island folks by virtue of a tenurial instrument such as the CBFMA. In DENR's guidelines, management of the mangrove area is to be done by a people's organization in the locality, such as BAFMAPA. This guideline has created some confusion and generated negative reactions from some "owners" of the mangrove stands. They asked why would the BAFMAPA be the one to be awarded the tenurial instrument when in fact some of its members are not mangrove planters and owners? It would be unfair for those who have worked at planting mangroves and then all of a sudden, it becomes common property to be managed by the organization. BAFMAPA president Dondon Canlubo clarified that this would not happen since the organization would still respect individual ownership. The organization's role would be to ensure the guarding and maintenance of the mangrove forest.

Resource Uses of Mangroves

As discussed in a previous section, the motivation of the island folks in planting mangroves was primarily due to the many possible uses of the resource. This include its use as wood for firewood, house construction, fish pens and lately as *guso* drying posts. Mangrove is considered a strong type of wood, as it has already been exposed to sea water, and it doesn't rot easily. Cut mangrove trees can be sold to neighbors for such uses. The price largely depends on the size and length of the wood. However, bargains can be made between neighbors or friends.

Another use of mangrove as a resource, as mentioned by the island folks, is as a wind and wave breaker. Mangrove forests protect the small island and its residents from big waves and strong winds. Because of the mangroves, they have been protected against a number of typhoons. The island folks pointed out that if they had not been protected by the mangroves, their houses would have been destroyed.

Mangroves are also considered by the island folks as an area where shellfish, shrimps and crustaceans take shelter and fish lay their eggs. As such, they say that while these marine resources have become depleted in other parts of Bohol, it has not been the case in Banacon. One informant described that shrimps are so abundant that all they do is kick it into their pails ("*takyanon*" *ra namo*). Fisherfolks from the neighboring islands of Nasingin, Jagoliao and Handayan have even benefited from these resources found in the mangrove forests of Banacon. Some of them harvest large white clams and other shellfish from that area.

These perceptions on the uses of mangroves, are largely related to the economic uses of mangroves. On the other hand, DENR's programs are national in scope and objectives are generalized. The focus of such mangrove planting programs all over the country is on protecting and rehabilitating the coastal environment through coastal resource management. The ecological value of mangroves is underlined, and this has been the basis of declaring certain areas, including Banacon, as mangrove reserve or protected areas. The DENR has been promoting the Banacon mangrove forest as a tourist destination (for eco-tourism).

IMPACT ON BANACON ISLANDERS

The changes in government policies have affected the Banacon folks' mangrove-planting initiatives. Some mangrove planters pointed out that while the DENR was showcasing their mangrove areas to local and foreign tourists, the tenurial instrument has not yet been awarded to the community. Most island folks, during the interviews conducted, stated that they would no longer pin their hopes on anything promised by the DENR. The president of BAFMAPA expressed that they were now questioning whether there is still any hope that this new tenurial instrument would be awarded to the Banacon mangrove planters. They said they would still participate in any move towards the issuance of a tenurial instrument, but that they would not have high hopes that it would be awarded. But even with these frustrations, the Banacon folk have maintained good relations with DENR personnel who still visit the island for research purposes. They have endured government reversals of policy that took place with changes in presidential administration. They have continued to maintain their stands and continue to plant based on indigenous knowledge and practices. Even some DENR personnel themselves say

that Banacon folk do not practice clear cutting and they replant without being told to. Mangrove planting is already a “way of life” for these people, and thus destruction of the mangrove forest is a very distant possibility as the people in Banacon know the importance of mangroves in their environment as well as their livelihood. However, they no longer tend to their mangrove stands as frequently as they used to. Instead, many of the fisherfolks have concentrated their time more on *guso* (seaweed) farming, as one interviewee pointed out, “*mas klaro ang income sa guso*” (income from seaweed farming is better).

Furthermore, the differences in folk knowledge and DENR guidelines on the technical aspect of mangrove planting has led to the “walang paki” attitude of Banacon folk towards the mangroves planted under DENR programs. They said, they do not care whether survival and growth rates are low, as long as they are paid for planting. This attitude is the complete opposite of their attitude towards their own plantations. They clearly distinguish between their plantations and those of the DENR. This lack of a sense of ownership over DENR mangrove plantations in the island is a major factor for low survival rate of mangroves in these areas as compared to the high rate of survival in their own plantations.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this study was to determine the differences in development perspectives of a national development agency and a local community in mangrove reforestation initiatives. This study belongs to a wider context of critical studies of national development projects, such as Dove's studies on the differing perceptions of government and peasants on land-use in the Riam Kanan Valley; and on weeds in Indonesia. Another such study is Olofson's research on differences in the use of the term "kaingin" by government, the academe and farmers. In the developing world, such experiences are not uncommon.

The research has reconstructed the community situation before mangrove planting activities were initiated and looked into the changes that have taken place over time as a result of these initiatives. It was found out that Banacon, like any other coastal/island community, experienced a decline in their mangrove area due to cutting and use by local folks. This decline was, however, arrested through the community efforts of pioneering mangrove planters, who, despite the unpopularity and perceived impracticality of what they were doing, persisted in planting mangroves. Mangrove planting then became a fad in the island, and thus involving the majority of the island folks. Government likewise implemented mangrove planting programs in Banacon. However, the motivation for planting mangroves differed from the community-initiated and government-initiated activities. But generally as a result of both initiatives, the coastal and marine resources of Banacon have improved.

Government interventions in Banacon island include the various laws enacted and implemented, such as PD 2151, RA 7161 and the NIPAS Act, which have, in one way or

another, declared Banacon and other small islands as protected areas and thus prohibiting the harvesting of mangroves. Department Administrative Orders, such as DAO 2000-83, which ordered a moratorium on issuing tenurial instruments in small islands, have likewise affected Banacon.

The island folks expressed that these laws, were enacted without prior consultation with local residents who are directly affected by its implementation. PD 2151 was cited as an example. They said that the national agencies did not even investigate that these mangroves have been planted by the island folks, and they were not consulted regarding the declaration of Banacon as protected area. As a result, they could no longer harvest and benefit from what they had planted. The government's view, however, is on a macro level with broad objectives as rehabilitation of the coastal environment. DENR personnel cite this as a major factor why local concerns are not adequately addressed in the implementation of national development programs. This is similar to the case of government officials in Indonesia who have no awareness that the grasslands are exploited economically by the local villagers, or that they are managed for this purpose by periodic burning. Officials believe instead that the villagers set fires out of malice, joy or ignorance. The official response to this burning is to prohibit it and arrest offenders. (Dove, 1986)

The changes in government programs that come with changes in political administration (i.e, change in DENR secretary and national staff), was also cited as having delayed the processes in acquiring a tenurial instrument in Banacon. They perceive that these changes in programs were because of politics (*"gusto mosikat"*). This has also led to disillusionment of local folks with the government. This amounts not only

to peasants' lessening ability to predict the future when government agencies get involved with them, but also to a lack of sustainability of government itself in its ability to define a goal and then achieve it.

The differences in perception of government and island-folks regarding mangrove planting, resource use, ownership, and maintenance was likewise looked into. The perceptions of local island folks regarding mangrove planting – purpose, technology, ownership and maintenance, and resource use – are clearly based on indigenous knowledge, actual experiences and “practical interests”. The differences between government and island folk’s perceptions on mangrove planting are due to the fact that they have different practical interests. While island folks focus more on what they can get out of planting mangroves in terms of economic and ecological benefits; the government implementors are bent on complying with the broad objectives and guidelines of such projects provided by the head office.

This study likewise determined the impact of national development interventions on the local community, such as the Contract Reforestation Program (CRP), Coastal Environment Program (CEP), Community-Based Resource Management Program (CBRMP), Coastal Resource Management Program (CRMP), and more recently the Community Livelihood Assistance Special Program (CLASP). These projects were in line with mangrove planting, establishment of a marine sanctuary, community organizing and livelihood assistance. DENR personnel say that these programs are meant to uplift the living conditions of local communities, while also protecting the environment. However, the island folks in Banacon said that the DENR has only provided minimal support to them. They said that most of DENR’s programs implemented in Banacon

were failures, especially with regard to mangrove planting (in terms of survival and growth), and awarding of tenurial instrument to the community.

In terms of impact of government interventions, only the most recent livelihood assistance program is felt to be beneficial but only by BAFMAPA members who have availed of it. Some BAFMAPA members say that the livelihood assistance provided by DENR to support seaweed production, was beneficial.

As regards, mangrove planting programs implemented by government, there is a general perception among the island folks that these were failures in terms of growth and survival as compared to their own plantations. They also feel that the DENR is “using” their plantations to showcase to tourists the success of DENR mangrove reforestation programs.

National government laws and programs have a tendency to overlook the situation of the localities that are affected and where these are to be implemented. Thus, island folks feel that their views are ignored and neglected by national government agencies. National development has, in this case, intervened more negatively on indigenous development initiatives in Banacon island. The government’s focus on quantity rather than quality in their mangrove plantations, for example, has led to failures. The contrast is clear in Banacon DENR plantations have low growth and survival rates; while the people’s plantations have high survival and growth rates. Where lies the difference? It is the lack of awareness and respect that there is “indigenous knowledge” in terms of ecology, technology and management.

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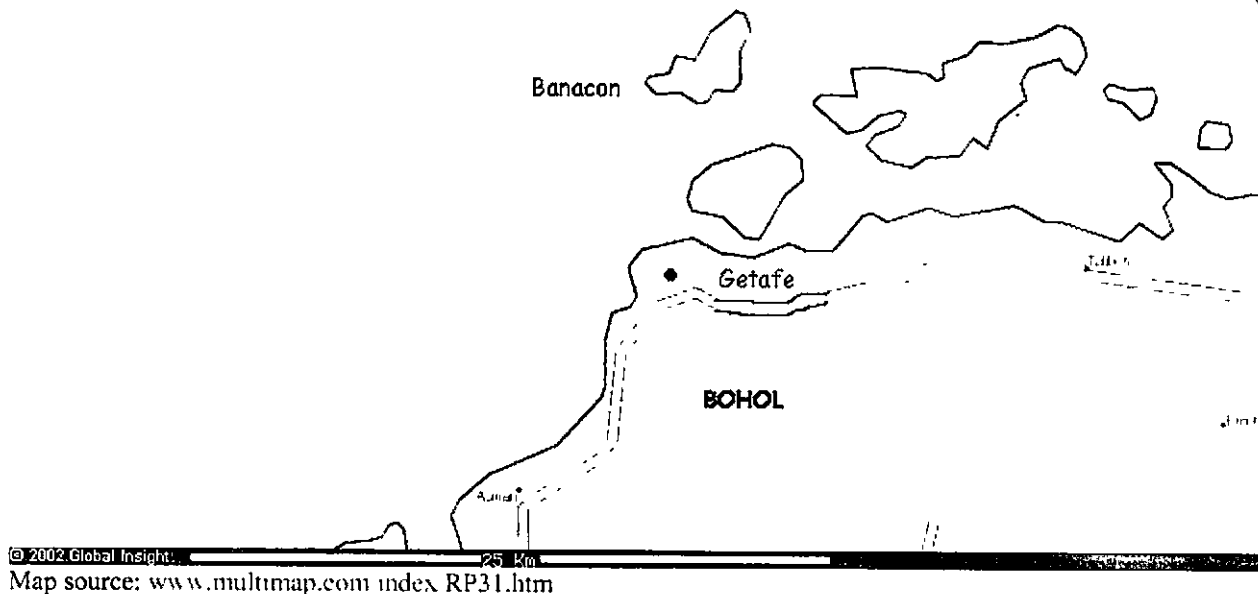
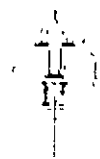
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. Location Map of Banacon

map



LOCATION MAP OF BANACON ISLAND, GETAFE, BOHOL, PHILIPPINES

Banacon island is located in the northern part of the municipality of Getafe, to which it belongs. Getafe is located at the northern part of the province of Bohol. Banacon is one of the islands found in the Danajon Double Barrier Reef Bank.

Banacon island is composed of 11 hectares land area, and more than 500 hectares mangrove forest. From afar, the island looks larger than its total land area because of the vastness of the mangrove area.

APPENDIX B. Photos in the Field



Paden Highway. The researcher did an ocular inspection of the entire mangrove plantation, passing through this passageway.



Key Informant Interviews. Several interviews were conducted by the researcher with the descendants of the original mangrove planters in Banacon.



Focus Group Discussions. These were conducted by the researcher with officers and members of the Banacon Fishermen and Mangrove Planters Association (BAFMAPA).

**SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN AND OUTSIDE
THE GATED COMMUNITY OF TIERRA GRANDE,
LAWAAN, TALISAY CITY, CEBU**

Tierra Grande is a residential community located in the hilly portion of Talisay City. Different parts of Tierra Grande belong to at least three barangays, namely Lawaan 1, Lawaan 3 and Maghaway. It was developed in 1993 by Communities Philippines, Inc. which operates under the Camella and Palmera Homes company based in Manila. This company was founded by Senator Manuel Villar in 1975, which concentrated in mass housing projects, first in Manila and later expanded to other parts of the country. With a total land area of 28 hectares, Tierra Grande has grown since 1993 to a population of around 1,500 households. The community is divided into three phases, with Phase 3 having four sub-phases. Different housemodels and structures characterize each phase. Tierra Grande has several neighboring communities – a farmers' community in Maghaway, several "squatters" communities at the periphery of Phase 1, Phase 2 and Phase 3B, and an old subdivision.

This paper shall focus on social differentiation within and outside the Tierra Grande gated community. It shall discuss the characteristics of different groups; physical, symbolic and cultural boundaries; and perceptions of people on these social differences.

Social Differentiation in Gated Communities

Social differentiation is all about class and status distinctions. What distinguishes one class from another? Prestige is an important element to consider as it provides the basis of perceptions on status. According to Gerth and Miills in *The Status Sphere*, the prestige of the middle strata considers more important the occupation and educational aspects rather than descent and property. Insofar as occupation determines the level of income and different styles of life require different income levels, occupation limits the style of life. (Gerth & Mills, 1995, p. 135)

Higher prestige levels are placed on people employed in occupations requiring more mental activity and which pay more. -White-collar employees enjoy a middle prestige place as compared to wage-workers (lower prestige) and entrepreneurs (higher prestige). In Metro Cebu as in other parts of the Philippines, such is also true. Cebuanos place a higher prestige on those occupying managerial positions, doctors and lawyers as compared to rank and file employees such as clerks and office personnel. Even if you have the same or even a higher income than these people (as in the case of Overseas Filipino Workers and seamen), you are still accorded a lower status than them. This is based on the amount of cultural capital that is outside economic capital. Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu, includes level of education, aesthetic taste for the arts, etc.

Based on Jager's paper, *Class Definition and the Esthetics of Gentrification*, the middle class, on the one hand, defends itself against pressures from the dominant classes and on the other hand, demarcates itself from the lower orders. In the case of Victoriana, which is the focus of his paper, Jager says architectural form not only fixes a social

position but also in part conveys and sanctions a social rise. A change in social position is symbolized through a change in housing. (*Jager, 1986, p. 80*)

This statement is quite relevant in my present study on social differentiation in Tierra Grande, a gated community in Talisay City, Cebu, since house models are one of the primary bases of such differentiation. The consumption pattern of house models by the middle class produce class differences. Class differentiation is based upon a refinement of consumption of objects, such as housing. Social differences are no longer simply based on possession but on being seen to have or perhaps in being stylish. (*Jager, 1986, p. 89*) This is apparent in the marketing strategies of Communities Philippines, Inc., the developer of Tierra Grande --the more "classy" subdivisions such as Aziendas Milan, Firenze and Venezia (located further up Tierra Grande) are marketed with an Italian theme under the Crown Asia brand name (targeting the higher income groups); while "ordinary" subdivisions such as Tierra Grande are marketed as to its environment and affordability under the Camella Homes brand name symbolizing mass housing (for the middle and lower income groups). According to Crown Asia's marketing head, it is more prestigious to live in these "themed subdivisions" rather than in the "ordinary" ones.

This discussion may be linked to Bourdieu's three-zone model of cultural tastes. According to Bourdieu the working class is less able than the middle or upper classes to adopt a specifically aesthetic point of view upon objects whose constitution and definition involves an aesthetic judgment. This aesthetic sense is the product of conditioning associated with a particular class of conditions of existence. It unites all those who are the product of similar conditions while distinguishing them from all others.

The petite bourgeoisie is condemned to differentiate themselves sharply from those immediately below them in the class system. (*Jenkins, 1992, p. 139*)

This differentiation is more marked in the construction of boundaries. As Caldeira points out in her article *Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation*, the proliferation of fortified enclaves has created a new model of spatial segregation. Fortified enclaves are privatized, enclosed and monitored spaces of residence, consumption, leisure and work. (*Caldeira, 1996, p. 303*) With rigidly constructed boundaries, residents from all social groups have a sense of exclusion and restriction. This makes social differences more rigidly perceived emphasizing inequality and distance. Defensible architecture and planning may only promote conflict instead of preventing it by making clear the extension of social inequalities and the lack of commonalities. (*Caldeira, 1996, p. 325*). In the case of Tierra Grande, the developer initially had this explicit boundary construction in mind to segregate Tierra Grande residents from those outside. However, as outsiders asserted their rights to access by destroying the fences, the developer did not assert its policy. A certain sense of fear of people from outside prevail among residents, as cited by many of my respondents from the different phases. But, no one has really asserted to enforce the supposed architectural boundary. It seems that the residents have learned to coexist peacefully with those outside communities. One factor which has made it difficult to enclose the subdivision as a whole, is its size of 28 hectares, as stated by the CPI representative interviewed. This difficulty in securing Tierra Grande has been CPI's basis for constructing smaller subdivisions in other parts of Metro Cebu. But why the preoccupation of being segregated from the outside communities? Jager states that the stigmatization of slums and their contents necessitates the social demarcation and

distinction of class through the establishment of social boundaries for determining insiders from outsiders. (*Jager, 1986, p. 84*)

Tierra Grande is composed of mostly migrants who are now working in Metro Cebu. As discussed by Marcuse and van Kempen in *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order*, migration for reasons of job-seeking are frequent. Migration increases the demand for housing. A case in point is Metro Cebu which is considered second in terms of urbanization and development to Metro Manila. People from various municipalities of Cebu as well as provinces in Visayas and Mindanao flock to Cebu to find jobs. As one of my informants said, Cebu is a booming city and it provides more opportunities for development (personal, work or business) as compared to other provinces. This, he said is the reason why he transferred from Misamis City. Even people from Manila come to Cebu to escape the traffic, pollution and congestion of the big city. With these developments, housing projects have been on the rise since the early 90's to accommodate migrants. Tierra Grande is one of the pioneers of such mass housing developments.

However, the quartered city concept of Marcuse and van Kempen may not appropriately picture Metro Cebu. There may be such spaces for the elite, the new gentry, the working class and ghettos; but these are not as spatially ordered. Most housing projects have been developed in places far from the center of commercial and industrial activity. The choice of such areas, according to the CPI representative interviewed, was based on the view/scenery, the cost of the land and the serenity of the place. A home away from the "hustles and bustles" of city life is what they are marketing. Using Marcuse and van Kempen's new spatial order, Tierra Grande could be

considered part of the suburbs, where the typical picture includes owner-occupied single-family houses with “decent homeownership people”, gardens, nice places for children to play, quiet and safety. The residential function is far more important. These are usually inhabited by the middle class family households with incomes sufficient to pay market prices for their dwellings. (*Marcuse & van Kempen, 2000, p. 14*) As one of the sales brokers I interviewed said, people in Tierra Grande surely have sufficient incomes as it is a major criteria in approving the application. Based on interviews with residents, factors that motivated them to move to this place was the environment – quiet, no pollution, safe for children – as compared to neighborhoods in the city center (either subdivisions or squatter communities). Most have lived in these other environments and longed for a place of their own with an ideal environment, that is also affordable.

Such gated communities, as McLaughlin and Muncie point out, have attracted those who wanted to distance themselves from the city, desired a socially homogenous and ordered environment and were willing to pay for separate private services and amenities (*McLaughlin and Muncie, 1999, p. 117*). Communitarian-type arguments stress the positive aspects of gated communities. First, walls and gates can bind residents together, producing a spatial consciousness and new forms of highly localized “small town” politics of place and common purpose. This is true in Tierra Grande as residents have a common identity of being “taga-Camella”. Second, they provide residents with a sense of self-determination – they control and manage their neighborhood. This is done mostly through homeowners associations. However, the Homeowners Association in Tierra Grande, though, is not very popular among residents because of mismanagement by previous administrations. Participation in activities of the homeowners association is

very minimal and residents do not even pay their monthly dues. The more active, more popular and well-participated association in the subdivision is the Tierra Grande Catholic Community. Third, the gated community is a safe haven wherein residents interact with those whom they can assume to be like-minded in safe “open” spaces. Tierra Grande residents consider themselves as having relatively the same statuses. My respondents said they are comfortable in dealing with fellow “taga-Camella”. In Tierra Grande such spaces include the basketball court, multi-purpose center, the roads, and clubhouse which are supposedly for residents’ use only. However this has not been strictly enforced as outsiders have gained access to such facilities especially the roads and basketball court. Nevertheless there is still some form of understood restrictions on the use of such spaces primarily for residents. And lastly, the walls of gated communities ensure that residents feel secure in their homes. (*McLaughlin and Muncie, 1999, p. 117*) This is also not the case in Tierra Grande as it has many access points going to outside communities, as discussed earlier in this paper. In short, the proliferation of gated communities is a manifestation of social differentiation through the use of spatial as well as symbolic boundaries.

Tierra Grande Inside and Out

Tierra Grande is one of the ten subdivisions developed by Communities Philippines, Inc. It is grouped together with five other subdivisions targetting the so-called “class C”. According to CPI’s marketing head in Cebu, class C means those earning a sufficient salary including those locally employed, small businessmen, and Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs). The basic criteria for approval of any housing loan

is the income level which should be three times as much as the amount of the monthly amortization. This criteria automatically excludes those with no or low incomes.

There are different house models in Tierra Grande in its several phases. These models have been designed by their Manila-based Planning and Technical Design Department. The concepts are based on library and internet research as well as trips abroad to ensure a realistic presentation of the theme and make it more attractive to buyers. There are townhouses, countryhomes (box type with aguas roof), single detached units and rowhouses. Prices of such vary depending on the house model. Row houses are the lowest-priced as it is a plain 21-square meter house with a regular lot area of 40 square meters. It has no ceiling, no finishing and no bedrooms. The monthly amortization is P1300 through PAGIBIG payable for 25 years. This is quite an affordable amount for rank-and-file employees in the government and private sectors. In contrast, house models for phases 1, 2, 3B and 3D, although they vary on the exterior design, are mostly single detached units with 2 bedrooms, finishing and ceiling. The floor area is only 32 square meters on the average with a lot area of at least 80 square meters up to 200 square meters. The lot area provides enough space to expand the original unit. These units are more expensive than the rowhouses. Thus this has attracted those with higher incomes such as managers, businessmen, OFWs and seamen.

Tierra Grande has its own water system managed by the developer, drainage system, a road network and several facilities and amenities including a multi-purpose hall alternately used as chapel, a basketball court, tennis court, parks and playgrounds, and a clubhouse with two swimming pools. As to security, the developer hired security guards assigned at the entrance gate and those in charge of roving the whole subdivision. A

perimeter fence of wood and barbed wire have also been placed by the developer in all open access areas of Tierra Grande. This fence has been destroyed by the residents of outside communities. Since some responsibilities of the developer have already been turned over to the homeowners' association including security, guards have no longer been hired. The homeowners' association lacks funds to be able to maintain such, according to its former president. But, according to him, they have an alternative security arrangement which he termed as "secret eyes" where they have civilian agents living in different parts of the subdivision who report any irregularities to the president and to the police.

As cited by Marcuse and van Kempen, the spatial order of cities is characterized by the concentration within cities of a new urban poverty on one hand and of specialized "high level" internationally connected business activities on the other and with increasing spatial divisions not only between each of them but also among segments of the middle class in between. (*Marcuse & Van Kempen, 2000, p. 3*) This hypothesis may not totally be the picture of Metro Cebu, but to a certain extent there is some truth to this. In the case of Tierra Grande, urban poverty is apparent in the communities lying outside its physical boundaries. As regards the segments within the middle class or those residing within Tierra Grande, this can be seen in the different phases.

Let us first take a look at the differentiation of the inside from the outside. Even as residents of Sitios Didos and Cadicay and Barangay Maghaway utilize the Tierra Grande road network as access going to their homes, certain boundaries are apparent. An official of Crown Asia said that the developer has constructed a perimeter fence to separate the subdivision from the nearby communities but that the residents of the

“squatter” communities have destroyed them to gain access. Furthermore, Brgy. Maghaway cannot be fenced off since Tierra Grande’s main road is a provincial road leading to this barangay and other mountain barangays. When I surveyed the area, I found at least five access points to such peripheral communities. The developer tried to create a physical boundary to protect the residents and constrain outsiders.

These so-called “squatters” communities are congested as houses are built side by side with only small passageways in between. Most houses are made of light or semi-concrete materials. The size of the houses are smaller, although they may have the same floor area as original Tierra Grande house models. Sitio Didos, according to one resident interviewed, is composed of mostly relatives having a common ancestor who owns the lot. She insisted that they are not squatters but rather they were original settlers of this place. “Wa pa ang Camella, naa na mi diri” (we have been living here even before Camella was built), they said. Although some residents have just recently moved in, they were their relatives. The term “squatter”, she said is being used by Tierra Grande residents who look down on them because of their poverty. She said they may be poor but they are not squatters. My interviews with several residents confirmed this perception of the residents of Didos. The use of the term “squatter” may have been used by Tierra Grande residents to distinguish or differentiate themselves from the outside poor community. Most of the Didos residents have found employment in Tierra Grande as laundry women, house helpers or construction workers.

Adjacent to Didos is another community composed of relocated squatters from Cebu City, who were either victims of fire or demolition. This community has been labelled by Tierra Grande residents as the escape route of thieves. It is not certain

whether the thieves are residing there or not. Didos residents decry that they are being lumped together with this community's reputation and identity when in fact they are different. Tierra Grande residents would often call both communities as Didos. Another such community composed of relocated squatters from Cebu City is located in a portion of Brgy. Maghaway. According to a Maghaway resident, this community is from Barangay Kamagayan in Cebu City which is notorious for prostitution and drugs. She was worried about the moving in of these people in their barangay as it has influenced the youth in shabu use. She said there were also prostitutes who have continued their trade locally. Some Tierra Grande residents were also worried about this, especially because these people use the same road and thus cannot be fenced out. These two communities are likewise congested and composed of small houses. The labels attached to these communities, who are composed of migrants from slum areas in Cebu City, may have also been used by both Tierra Grande residents and original settlers of Didos and Maghaway to differentiate themselves from these people. This illustrates what Bourdieu said that the working class is also differentiated internally. The original settlers differentiated themselves from the relocated squatters in Maghaway and Didos as they do not want to be identified with the negative labels placed on these people.

On the other side of Tierra Grande, is Sitio Cadicay. The place is congested and consists of small houses. The place is notorious for some of its residents are known drug pushers and criminals in the area. There was a time in 1997 when a little girl from Tierra Grande was raped by a teenager from Cadicay in one of the parks. This incident has made Tierra Grande residents wary of this community as it poses a "threat" to the peacefulness and security of the subdivision. In terms of relationship within such outsider

communities, it is quite observable that they know each other either by name or by face. Some of the residents in these communities have found employment in Tierra Grande households. Others vend food, fruits, vegetables, clothing and other items which they sell to Tierra Grande residents. Tierra Grande has become a source of income for these outside communities, according to one resident of Cadicay interviewed. It has also been a good source of scrap food for the pigs they are fattening.

Further up is Brgy. Maghaway, a farmers' community. They have houses made of light materials but the area is not as congested as there are several fruit trees and other plants in between. Their primary source of livelihood is farming. But since Tierra Grande was constructed, it has provided them an additional source of income from vending the fruits and vegetables they harvest. Most residents of Maghaway are original settlers whose ancestors have lived there all their lives. The community is accessible using the main road of Tierra Grande which is a municipal road. In the past, the marker that one has reached the end of the subdivision and entered Maghaway is the cemented road which ends up to Tierra Grande's last block of houses. But now that the cemented road has been extended, the type of houses would be the signal that one is already outside Tierra Grande.

Residents of these communities when asked would say they are "poor" and the Tierra Grande people are well-off since they have jobs that provide higher incomes. Tierra Grande residents also consider themselves better-off than the people in the outside communities as they do not have regular jobs. Based on these statements it is clear that class differentiation is made on the basis of occupation and income. In terms of relating with people from the outside, some Tierra Grande residents said they do not know

anyone from these places. Others, who have acquaintances from these communities say that they relate normally, but with a certain level of caution as they are not familiar with these people.

However, there is one other community adjacent to Tierra Grande but is considered as having a higher status. This is Seaview Subdivision which is an old subdivision (circa 1970s). Tierra Grande residents believe that residents of Seaview are well-off as they are the ones who were able to purchase subdivision lots at a time when it was not yet that popular. They are a distinct few who at the time had the income to pay for the high price of subdivision lots.

But generally, the term “outside community” as used in this paper would refer to the communities considered of lower status. Caldeira states that when some people are denied access to certain areas and when different groups are not supposed to interact in public space, there is lack of equality and freedom for social life. (*Caldeira, 1996, p. 325*) To a certain extent, such notion is true in Tierra Grande. Even as outsiders have free access to the subdivision, either for work or leisure, there is still some form of restriction based on how insiders behave towards them. A case in point is that of the 16-year old boy from Tierra Grande who fell in love with a 15-year old girl from Didos. The boy’s parents disapproved of the relationship, while the girl’s parents welcomed such a development. In fact the boy decided to live in the girl’s house. As the tsismis goes, the boy’s parents did not want their son to marry a girl from the squatters area. Another reason was that he has not finished schooling and thus lacks the cultural as well as economic capital necessary to maintain his status. This is related to distinguishing the middle class from those occupying a lower status. As Caldeira puts it, segregated cities

foster inequality and the sense that different groups belong to separate universes. When boundaries are crossed, there is aggression, fear and a feeling of unprotectedness. (Caldeira, 1996, p. 325)

Let us now look into the inside of Tierra Grande. If these people are generally better-off than the outside community, is there further status differentiation within? As I mentioned earlier in this paper, Tierra Grande is subdivided into different phases. Phase 3C is composed of rowhouses; while Phases 1, 2, 3B and 3D consists mostly of single detached houses. Phase 3A and a portion of Phase 2 is composed of duplex type houses. The house models themselves, according to the CPI's marketing head, are geared towards different market segments. Phases 1, 2 and 3B were developed first, targetting the "middle income" group mostly from the government as well as the private sector. As most buyers were employees, they availed of a loan from either the Government Security Insurance System (GSIS), Social Security System (SSS) or PAGIBIG Fund wherein the monthly amortization would be deducted from their monthly salary for a period of 15 to 25 years. Aside from employees, the more expensive units (those with bigger lots) attracted higher income middle class people including OFWs, managers and seamen. Most of them availed of an in-house loan payable within a shorter period of time and with larger monthly amortizations. To attract the lower income group of the middle class and as part of any developer's mandate, the so-called socialized housing was developed in Phase 3C with quite a number of units (12 blocks with 25 units per block on the average). Ordinary rank and file employees were mostly the ones who availed of such. Phase 3D was the last to be developed, going back to single detached models but this time with a new exterior design. The target market was the same as Phases 1, 2 and 3B. But because

the cost of the units at this time (1996-1997) was higher, most who availed were those with higher positions as well as OFWs.

As gleaned from the above discussion, there is differentiation within Tierra Grande. The more pronounced is between Phase 3C and the other Phases. This was pointed out by respondents residing in Phase 3C. They said they had a lower status compared to the residents of other phases based on the price of units and house model. Most said it was what they could afford based on their income. It was also observed that people in this phase seldom have cars. For those who have, it is more on multicab type as compared to the residents of other phases who have Revos, adventures, L-300 vans and the like. Space is also one of the bases mentioned. Streets in Phase 3C are smaller, houses and lots are smaller and thus the neighborhood is more congested. Thus it is observable that there are more people in Phase 3C than in the other phases. On the other hand, more people here know each other either by name or by face. More micro-level businesses have sprouted and survived in this area including four cateries, several sari-sari stores, a banana cue stand, internet and computer gaming stations, and bakeries. In this phase, although there may be some who have made improvements on their units, most have been content with just extending a bit at the front and securing the back with a wall/fence. Still others have not made any improvements on their units, for lack of budget.

In contrast, in Phase 2, seldom do you see the original house model. Most residents have renovated and extended their units utilizing the bigger lot area that they have. There are big two-story houses in Phase 2. Fences, gates and walls are also higher. Walking through this phase, I seldom saw people outside their houses. All seemed quiet

and serene. I had a hard time finding someone to interview. They were also more cautious when I knocked on their gates. Based on my interviews, most of the residents here only know their next-door neighbors. The relationship is also more as acquaintances as they only see each other when going out for work in the morning. Exceptions would be those who are active in religious activities. More people in this phase have cars. Most of them are managers, businessmen, OFWs and seamen, although there are also ordinary employees residing in this phase. Roads are also wider and houses are further apart as they have bigger lot areas.

Phases 3B and 3D are somewhat similar to Phase 2 in its physical characteristics. People residing in these phases also have similarities with those in Phase 2. However, since 3B is located separate from the other phases, a sense of camaraderie has been developed among the residents, similar to the relationships of people in Phase 3C. To a certain extent 3B has differentiated itself from the other phases. In the past, they had their own association that took care of garbage problems, security and youth development activities for their phase.

Phase 3A is located somewhere in the middle both physically and socially. This is where the duplex type houses are with a floor area of 25 square meters and a lot area of 60 square meters. Most people here are ordinary rank and file employees just like those in Phase 3C. In terms of status, they are quite similar to Phase 3C residents.

As we can see, the differentiation between Phases 1, 2, 3B and 3D is very thin; and the differentiation between 3C and 3A is also thin. However, the differentiation between these two groups are clear. The higher income people and those occupying higher positions are in the first group; while those with lesser income and lower positions

are in the second group. In terms of social relationships within the group, the second group's residents are more cohesive than those in the first group. This is evidenced in the number of people they know from the same group and the frequency of their interaction with each other.

According to Bourdieu, the petite bourgeoisie is even more internally differentiated. (*Jenkins, 1992, p. 144*). The closer together class fractions are, the sharper is likely to be the boundary between them in terms of its symbolization. (*Jenkins, 1992, p. 143*) Although Tierra Grande is composed of middle class people and are internally differentiated, boundaries between them are not that sharp. Bourdieu's statement seems not to be applicable to this case, as Tierra Grande residents themselves find it hard to make distinctions among them. Symbolizations are not that pronounced, although these may be evident in the interior designs of their housing units. Bourdieu further states that new intellectuals are inventing an art of living which provides them with the gratifications and prestige of the intellectual at the least cost. Economic constraints produce an adaptive response distinguished by the relative absence of aesthetic choice-making. (*Jenkins, 1992, p. 145*) This is illustrated in the case of Phase 3C residents who seldom make major renovations on their units. As residents put it, they do not have the budget to do so. The few 3C residents who have done renovations on their units are accorded a higher prestige as it is assumed that they are better-off since they can afford to make renovations. The extent by which renovations are made is one of the bases for such bestowal of prestige as well as distinctions within the group.

Spatial and Symbolic Boundaries in Tierra Grande

Tierra Grande is differentiated from the outside communities because of their occupation and the spatial differentiation. Tierra Grande however is further segregated into two general groups based on the income level. First group consists of phases 1, 2, 3B and 3D; the other group consists of 3A and 3C. These are further segregated based on cultural capital. Boundaries are physical, symbolic as well as the more obvious boundary are the walls and fences (within and outside) and the house models within the subdivision. Other symbolic boundaries within are the type of fences/gates, water tanks, airconditioners, and cars. The first group have higher fences and gates, more have their own water tanks, airconditioners are conspicuous and they own cars. There are some residents in the second group, however, that also possess such but not as many as those in the first group. To symbolize further segregation within each group, seamen tend to place an anchor symbol on their gates/fences. This differentiates them from ordinary local employees. There is even one house in Phase 2 that looks like a ship. Two-story houses also symbolically segregate those who have higher incomes from those with less. A mini-grocery store might also put one in a status above the others as you are perceived as having more wealth to be able to put up such an investment. The type of car also further differentiates those who own cars (considered to be of higher status). Symbolizing lower status are the hanging of laundry on the streets which is common in phase 3C for lack of space. Another is the parking of cars on the streets which is also common in phase 3C since they do not have enough space for a garage. Fighting cocks are also being raised by phase 3C residents. Drinking, gambling and illegal cockfights are also common in phase 3C.

However, this differentiation within Tierra Grande has been perceived more by residents in Phase 3C as they compared their status with that of the other phases. From my interviews, the residents from the phases of the first group at first said that there is no differentiation from one phase to another and that all have relatively the same status. When prodded to make distinctions, the prominent answer was on the size of the houses and lots especially in 3C that are smaller compared to those in the other phases. One significant comment I overheard made by a resident of Phase 1 was that “morag mag squatter sa Phase 3C” (Phase 3C is just like a squatters area). This comment drew the ire of some residents of Phase 3C as they do not want to be identified with or likened to squatters.

Within the subdivision, there are also real squatters – those living in vacant housing units who neither own nor rent it. Some are quite obvious as they do not have any water connection, electricity, proper windows/doors/comfort rooms. Some of them are relatives of some residents, others are from the outside communities. Tierra Grande residents consider them as a threat to the security of the subdivision, but no one has made any move to remove them from the place they are staying in.

Other residents who are considered as partly an outsider but also partly an insider are those who are renting. They are more accepted by homeowner-residents, as they have relatively the same level of economic and cultural capital. The only difference is that they do not own the housing unit they are living in, but they are paying rent for their stay.

Another group living in the Tierra Grande households, but are also considered partly outsiders and partly insiders by residents, are the house helpers. These people tend

to group together for support mechanisms. They gather for camaraderie, tsismis, and other forms of interactions. Residents consider them as having a lower status. The statement, “Morag maid og itsura”, is evidence of this distinction. There are even times that they are being put under suspicion of theft. One resident said “di ta mo-kumpyansa” (we should still be on guard) because we do not really know them or where they came from. The common notion is that people from the outside tend to relate or interact with these people to gain access to the inside. This may be the case because they identify themselves with those from the outside communities as they have relatively the same lower class status. This creates another possible threat to the security of residents in Tierra Grande. The residents of Tierra Grande are mostly from the middle class. And as Jager puts it, they are bent on distinguishing themselves from the lower class while at the same time remaining autonomous from the upper classes.

Gated Communities as Enclaves of the Middle Class

McLaughlin and Muncie, quoting Newman stated that the purpose of gated communities is to create secure urban environments that enhance territoriality by subdividing neighborhoods into semi-private “zones of influence” to discourage outsiders and to encourage residents to identify with and defend their areas. (*McLaughlin & Muncie, 1999, p. 119*) One of the bases may be that local police cannot cover the whole barangay in terms of security. In the case of Tierra Grande, although there are regular roving teams of barangay tanods; the residents have formed their own “bantay bahay” surveillance teams doing roving operations to prevent theft and other crimes.

Another purpose is to increase natural surveillance and the number of eyes on public spaces by positioning windows so that residents could survey the exterior and interior public areas of their environment. (*McLaughlin & Muncie, 1999, p. 119*) This is related to the first point that the residents themselves are the ones securing their area. This may be related to Tierra Grande's strategy of deploying the so-called "secret eyes" residing in Tierra Grande, in lieu of hiring outsiders as security guards.

The third purpose is to improve the image of the immediate environment by redesigning residential buildings to avoid the stigma of low cost public housing. (*McLaughlin & Muncie, 1999, p. 119*) The area where Tierra Grande is located was, according to original settlers of Maghaway and Didos, "jalibunan" (wilderness). They said it was very dark and dreary with only very few people residing there. There were a lot of fruit trees and tall cogon grasses. Because of this, it became a dumping ground of "salvage" (summary execution) victims both by the military and the New People's Army (NPA). Thus it earned a label as "the killing fields" of Talisay in the 80's. Since Tierra Grande was built in the early 90's up to now, the environment has changed a lot. They are no longer afraid to pass through the area and they have even been provided additional income because of the residents of Tierra Grande. Its construction has also changed the landscape of the mountainous portions of Talisay.

Another purpose of the gated community is to enhance residents' safety by placing new housing projects within "safe" parts of the city. The developer of Tierra Grande stated that one of their basis for choosing the location of their subdivisions is the peacefulness and serenity of the place. This was also one of the primary motivations of most residents in choosing to live in Tierra Grande.

On the other hand, there are some disadvantages of the gated community. First, it generates a less balanced view of trust and risk and fewer opportunities to cross boundaries. (*McLaughlin & Muncie, 1999, p. 122*) This has been discussed earlier in the relationships of insiders with outsiders, as well as the perceptions of the insiders of the outsiders. As mentioned, some homeowners are wary of the outsiders and view them as a form of threat to the security of residents. Another point is that it allows property developers and security agencies to play on people's fears in order to sell them a false sense of security. Indeed this has been one of the selling points of most housing projects including Tierra Grande. Security is also one of the primary motivations for most residents in choosing to live in a gated community. It is an assurance of being segregated and protected from the outside. "Building walls" then can both enhance public confidence and also generate chronic levels of anxiety, lower levels of trust in different or defensive social encounters. (*McLaughlin & Muncie, 1999, p. 135*)

Summary

In sum, social differentiation of Tierra Grande from outside communities is manifested first by the physical and architectural boundaries such as the perimeter fence constructed by the developer, the fences and gates of individual households and the type of materials for housing. Aside from these, there are other security measures that ensure that the outside is segregated from the inside. The so-called "secret eyes" of the homeowners' association and the security guards previously hired by the developer are the ones responsible to ensure this segregation. Behavior of insiders towards outsiders also form a sort of boundary. The relationship of cordiality but with a certain amount of

caution generates an implied boundary that “we are insiders while you are outsiders”. Certain restrictions on the use of facilities and amenities of Tierra Grande is also another boundary set by the homeowners association. Furthermore, the labels attached to specific communities that are at the periphery of Tierra Grande create a distinction of the different communities as compared to the insiders of the subdivision. Generally, Tierra Grande homeowners see themselves as relatively well-off compared to the residents of these outside communities. The residents of outside communities also see themselves as lower in status compared to the residents in Tierra Grande on the basis of their income and occupation. But to a certain extent, there is a reciprocal relationship established wherein the Tierra Grande residents have a source of house helpers, laundry women, drivers and construction workers; and the outside communities gain income from providing their services to the residents, vending, and transportation services such as habal-habal and tricycle driving. However, as compared to residents of a neighboring subdivision, Seaview Subdivision which is older (circa 1970s), Tierra Grande residents consider themselves of lower status than them. According to the residents, these are “mga datu” (rich people) who have lived in a subdivision ever since the time when subdivisions were not that many. This means they could afford the high price of property during the 70s.

On the other hand, homeowners of Tierra Grande do not only distinguish themselves from those outsiders that are literally on the outside of the community, they also differentiate themselves from outsiders who are actually inside the community, such as house helpers and residents who are renting housing units. The differentiation between homeowners and renters is thin, as in terms of occupation and income they are relatively of the same status. The only difference is on the ownership of the property they

are staying in. It is ironic that the homeowners' association was formerly headed by a non-homeowner who was only renting a house in Phase 1. Differentiation of residents from their house helpers who usually come from lower income families in the provinces is quite pronounced. Residents although treating house helpers as part of the household, still maintain a certain degree of distinction. House helpers are considered of lower status than the residents. As such, they establish relationships and interact among themselves as well as with those living on the outside of Tierra Grande. A common sight are house helpers gathered together for some tsismis and small talk. Another is house helpers and construction workers or habal-habal drivers dating on a Saturday night or Sunday afternoon. This relationship and interaction with outsiders have made some residents wary of the possible threat to their security within the subdivision. It is said that thieves would most likely befriend the house helper first to gain their trust and confidence and thus gain access to the house.

Differentiation is not only that of the inside from the outside. Within the Tierra Grande community, there is further differentiation even as generally all residents belong to the middle class of society. This differentiation is apparent between the different phases. Architectural boundaries include house models, size of lots and houses, extent of renovation of the housing units, and the gates/fences constructed. Higher income phases are phases 1, 2, 3B and 3D while lower income phases are 3A and 3C. Symbolic boundaries likewise make the distinctions between and within these two groups. These include ownership of cars, air conditioners and water tanks. Likewise the designs on the exterior and interior of the houses would also symbolically represent this further differentiation. The type of car owned also further differentiates people within these

groups. There may be those belonging to 3C that are considered better-off than their neighbors and who may be at the same level of those from phase 2 who are considered of lower status than their neighbors.

Linking this discussion to the Segmentary Lineage Systems discussed by E.E. Evans Pritchard, the bigger group is the area in Talisay City composed of three barangays of Lawaan 1, Lawaan 2 and Maghaway, as this is the focus of this study. This could be equivalent to the maximal lineage at the highest level of the system, which is divided into two or more branches or segments, which are in turn divided and redivided in a regularly recurring process. The number of levels is theoretically unlimited. (http://www.umamtoba.ca/anthropology/tutor/descent_unilineal/segments.html) In this study, the bigger group is divided into two branches – the inside of Tierra Grande and the outside. The outside group is further subdivided into Didos, Maghaway, Cadicay and Seaview Subdivision. Each of these outside groups could still be further divided – Maghaway into two, the original settlers and the relocated squatters. Same with Didos. The inside group is also further divided into two – the higher income phases and the lower income phases. Further segregation of the two groups could be done. Although this study is not on lineage systems, it is all about segmentation based on differences in status, thus this model of analysis may still be utilized.

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