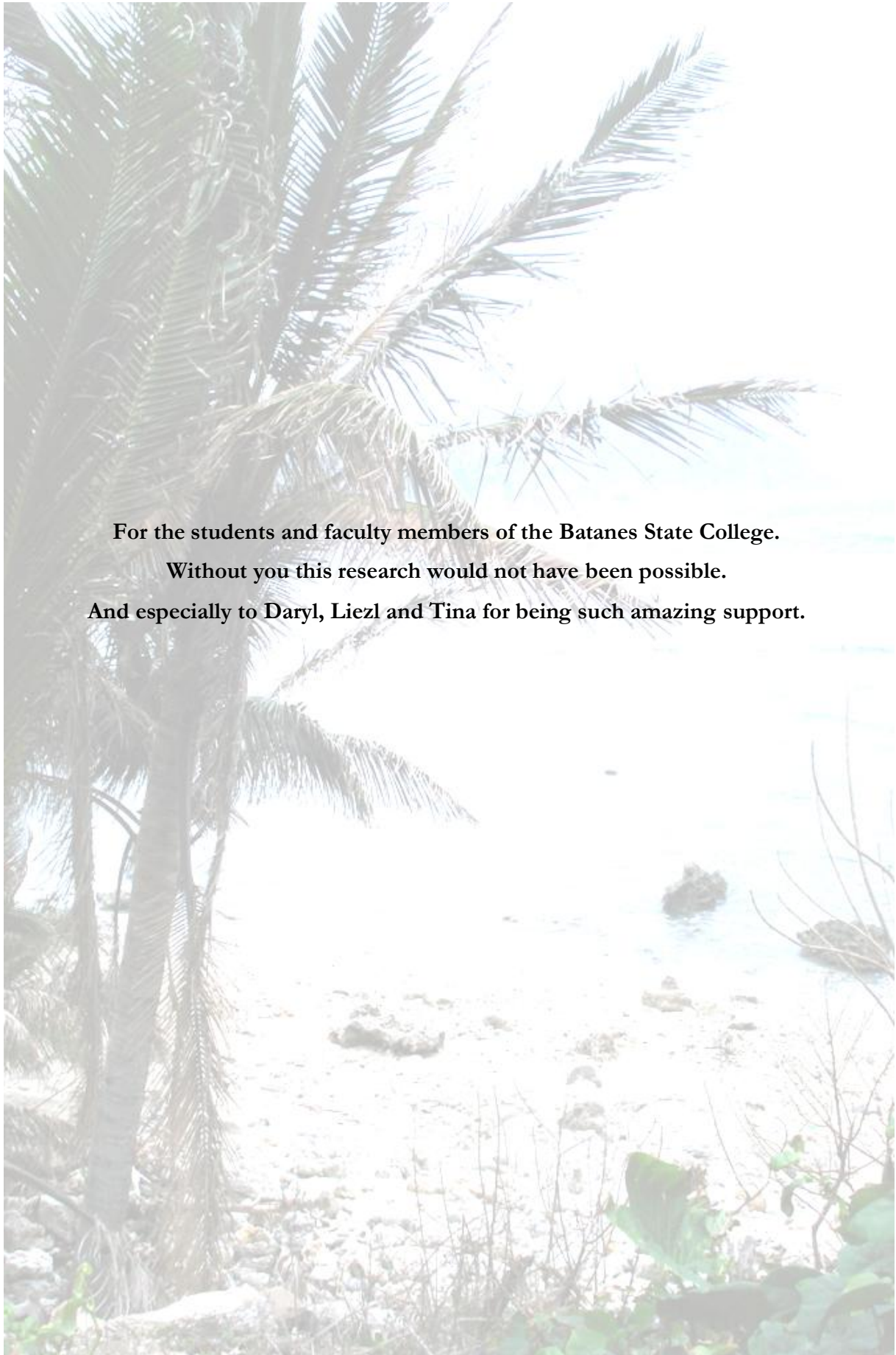# The future of the Batanes through the eyes of the Ivatan

Leiden University

Master of Cultural Anthropology

Nikie Veld

July 2014

For the students and faculty members of the Batanes State College.

Without you this research would not have been possible.

And especially to Daryl, Liezl and Tina for being such amazing support.

Contents

5.5 Conclusion

Tables

Figures

Illustrations

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 The Problem and the research question

'We imagine the Batanes as a very small island in our map today. But every day, Batanes is treasuring and adopting innovations to our culture and the life style of every individual. I can see the Batanes in the future as a city. Many vehicles in the street, buildings, a good road to pass by and the tourists who are there. But I also see pollution because of these innovations. The air will be polluted, as well as the water. Unlike today were we have fresh air, clean water and live in a peaceful place (Bernadette Fidel)*'.*

The Batanes is an island group located in the most northern part of the Philippines. For an outsider, the Batanes looks like a part of heaven, while for the Ivatan, inhabitants of the Batanes, it is a different story. Twenty-two students that attend the Batanes State College (BSC) have answered the questions: '*How do you see the future of the Batanes*?', and '*How do you see your own future?*' in an essay. In the quote above, Bernadette Fidel explains her vision on the future of the Batanes. According to Bernadette Fidel, the Batanes could become bigger and better in the future, but at the same time this bigger and better Batanes comes with (negative) consequences. Her vision on the future of the Batanes is just one of the many visions that the students of the BSC have about the future. Currently the majority of the population is fisher or farmer (NSO, 2010). However, because many of the BSC students visualize a future outside of the Batanes, it will not be surprising when in the future there will be less people to take on the traditional jobs of fisher or famer. According to the students of the BSC it is clear that the way the Batanes currently is, is not going to be the same Batanes as the one of the future. In order to create a vision on how the youth do see the future of the Batanes I conducted research in the Batanes. With the data I gathered there I will answer the research question in this thesis. The research question is: '*How does the youth of the Batanes visualize the future of the Batanes?'*. In order to answer this research question, I have also formulated sub questions: '*How do the students of the Batanes State College visualize their own future?*', '*How does tourism affect the future of the Batanes according to the youth?',* and *'Which other factors can influence the future of the Batanes according to the Ivatan?'.* During the process of answering my research question and sub questions, I will take the reader, on a journey to the Batanes, an island group thousands of miles away from where you probably are now.

1.2 A slice of heaven: the Batanes

The Batanes isles are closer to Taiwan, than they are to the rest of the Philippines. The island group consists of ten islands, only three of these islands are actually inhabited. The inhabited islands are called Batan Island, Sabtang and Itbayat. The other islands have mainly cows and coconut crabs on them. There are no cities on the Batanes (yet), instead there are six municipalities and twenty-nine barangays. Municipalities can be compared to villages and the barangays can be compared to the districts of a village. Batan Island has the biggest population of 7907 people, followed by Itbayat where 2988 people live and

last Sabtang which locates the remaining 1637 people (NSO, 2010). In Image 1, it is visible were the Batanes is located in the Philippines, as well as the ten islands the Batanes consists of.

Image 1. Map of the Philippines and the Batanes
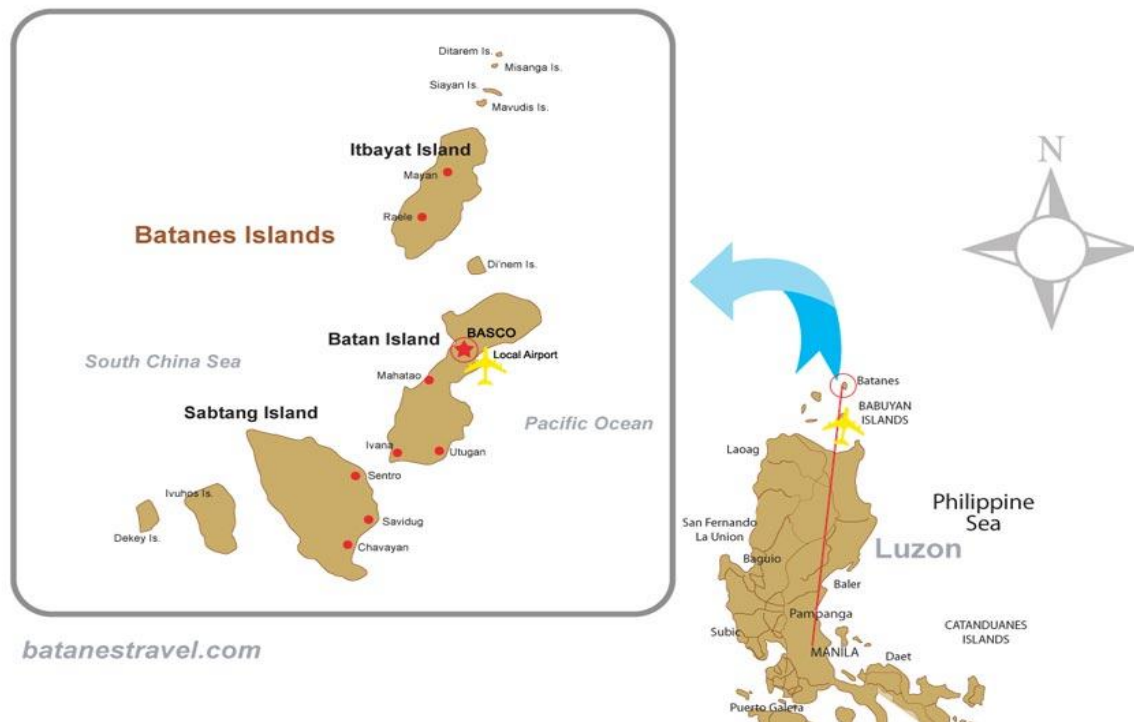
Source: Batanestravel.com

The inhabitants on the Batanes are called the Ivatan, and are included in the United Nations list of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2013). Being indigenous provides the Ivatan with several additional rights that are documented in the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of the Philippines (IPRA, 1997). (An example of this is the eating of the coconut crab. The coconut crab is an endangered animal species, but because it is part of the Ivatan culture the Ivatans are allowed to consume it, where not Ivatans are not.) The majority of the population on the Batanes is Catholic and only about two percent of the people have a different religion (NSO, 2010). The climate on the Batanes is described as a semi-temperate one, which is subtropical with occasional typhoons (NSO, 2010). When there are no typhoons, there is often a very strong wind present, which blows over all the islands. Because of its location and the resources that are present at the Batanes, the majority of the population is either fisher or farmer (NSO, 2010). There are enough lands to harvest products and the location of the Batanes also provides plenty of fish. Education is very important on the Batanes. Every barangay has an elementary school and a high school. Batan Island is the only islands in the Batanes were there are two colleges. The colleges are called Saint Dominic College (SDC), which is a private college and Batanes State College (BSC), which is a public college. According to the majority of my respondents, education is the tool to a better future, on which I will focus more in chapter 2, *Theory*.

1.3 Social and academic relevance

Small islands, like the Batanes, are often subject of international policy discussion. Small islands are among the first places that will be affected by climate change and the consequences of this climate change such as sea level rise and draught. The United Nations (UN) has recognized the problems that the Batanes and other small islands will have to face (United Nations, 2014). In order to make people more aware of the struggles small islands are facing, the UN has decided to make 2014 the year of the Small Islands States (UN Small Island Developing States, SIDS, 2014). In this year UN agencies are going to help agencies on small islands with managing their natural resources, protecting the environment and creating greener jobs (United Nations, 2014). The increased attention for small islands states will also make people who are not directly related to small islands states, more aware of the situation these islands are in. And hopefully inspire them to contribute and make a change as well.

The international discussion of small island states is not limited to agencies like the UN. In the academic world islands are studied as well. This direction of studies is called small island studies. Baldacchino (2007) explains that it is important to take into account that events happening on the mainland cannot be explained the same way as events happening on small islands. The impact of an event on a small island state is much larger than the same event happening on a continent. Baldacchino (2006 and 2007) mentions the following about the different impact a situation has on a small island or complete countries: '*The striving reasons behind outer migration in an entire country cannot be compared with the reasons of migration on a small island*' (Baldacchino, 2006 and 2007). An occurrence such as migration also has a different (potentially larger) effect on small islands than migration will have on a continent.

This thesis will also contribute to the representation of the future in anthropology. Anthropologists Persoon and van Est explain that the future is a topic that is not often studied in the anthropology (Persoon and Van Est, 2011). There is very little literature written about how the respondents feel about their future and were they see themselves going in that future. Often academics predict a future for the respondents based on their own opinion, not listening to the future the respondents want or see ahead of them. So on one side there are the anthropologists that value the opinion of their respondents and use the information provided by the respondents in order to predict a future. On the other side however, the opinion of the respondent is not seen as relevant in order to visualize the future. In my research the main focus will be on the future of the Batanes islands, through the eyes of the Ivatan. So instead of describing the future of the Batanes based on my opinion, I will explore the future through the eyes of the people who are actually going to be in the future, the youth on the Batanes.

1.4 Structure

The structure of this thesis will be outlined in this paragraph. First, in the second chapter, *Theory*, I will provide the necessary background information in order to answer my research question and in order to give meaning to the data I have gathered in the Batanes. Following, in the third chapter, *Methodology*, I will

explain which research methods I have used and why I have decided to use these specific research methods. I will also pay attention to the ethical side of my research. In the fourth chapter, *Results*, all the data I have gathered during my research will be presented. And finally in the fifth chapter, *Discussion*, I will answer my sub questions which will be leading up to the answer of my research question and my conclusion. At first my research question might look like it has a simple answer, but it is anything but as simple as it looks. When I started my research I expected all the youth to basically run as fast as they could from the Batanes whenever they got the opportunity, since to me life looked kind of boring. But during my research I discovered that staying on the Batanes, or leaving the Batanes is not as easy as it looks. The future of the Batanes is not a mapped out path that the inhabitants just have to follow to get somewhere. It is a journey that can go to hundred different directions, of which we cannot say where it will end or if it even will end at all.

Chapter 2. Theory

The information presented in this chapter, is necessary to better understand the data I have gathered during my fieldwork in the Batanes. I will start this chapter with discussing the concept of the future in anthropology. In anthropology the concept of the future is not well represented, therefore I will mainly focus on one article written by Gerard Persoon and Diny van Est, with the title *The study of the future in anthropology in relation to the sustainability debate*. After discussing the future, I will continue with small island studies. The main author I will be studying related to the small islands studies is Godfrey Baldacchino. He has written several books about small islands and has provided articles for the *Small Island Journal*. The third paragraph of this theory chapter will consists of information about migration, for this paragraph I will use several articles to explain this concept. After migration, I will continue with tourism. The main focus of this paragraph will be on tourism on small islands. In the fifth paragraph I will continue with more specific information about the Batanes such as history and culture. And then in the final paragraph of this chapter I will discuss topics that are related to development on the Batanes. Specifically poverty, education and migration. But before you get the opportunity to get to know the real Ivatan culture on the Batanes, I will take you to the future.

2.1 The future in Anthropology

As mentioned before, the future is not generally studied in the course of anthropology. In anthropology the past is studied in order to understand the present, and not in order to understand the future. Since the present is the main focus in the Western world, and the past is used to study the present, the future in anthropology is rarely studied because it doesn't contribute anything to the present. There are however some anthropologists who do not follow this path and who do study the future. In this case one of the exceptions is the article: '*The study of the future in anthropology in relation to the sustainability debate*', written by Persoon and Van Est. As they explain not all cultures are focused on the present like the West is. In the quote below they explain the difference between the Western societies and other societies.

> *In some societies the future belongs to a god or the gods and in others it is defined in terms of the past, in terms of the lifestyle and rules of the ancestors. In the Western world the future is used as a resource: it is calculated, insured, predicted, colonized and discounted. It is, according to Adam (1998), dealt with and eliminated in the present. This is reflected in billboard messages like 'The future is now' or 'Don't dream it, drive it now' (Persoon and van Est, 2000: 12).*

According to Persoon and Van Est (2000), some societies are actually focused on the past, while the Western society is focused on the present. The future even needs to be in the present, everything needs to be done now, and not wait for tomorrow. During my fieldwork in the Batanes I focused on the future and how the youth on the Batanes see that future. Not the future we want to have today, but the future several

years or even decades away, that future which can only be reached by the passing of time. Boersema (2000) is convinced that the future should be studied more often in the anthropology. However, *"nothing is more difficult to predict then the future"* (Boersema, 2000: 89)'. When studying the future for whatever reason, this should be taken into account.

Western societies do not only have an interesting view on the future, they also have an interesting view on the past, which is related to the study of Non-Western cultures. For anthropologists, studying Non-Western cultures can basically mean going *'back into time'*, (Persoon and van Est, 2000). This going back into time is then perceived as studying the past. Or more specific, studying the past of Western culture in the present of a different culture. In the present the perception of studying non-Western cultures and going *'back into time'* is no longer perceived as accurate for information about the past of the Western culture. Now when an academic wants to know something about the past of a specific culture, they study the past of this specific culture, instead of the present of another. Once the past of a specific culture is studied it could be used more extensively then just to discuss the present. *"Anthropologist should study the past in order to understand the future"* (Persoon and van Est, 2000: 10). And not just study the past so we can understand the present. *"Some anthropologists argue that by knowing the past we can better understand the present and that way we can 'forecast' the future"* (Persoon and van Est, 2000: 10, 11).

There is one branch of anthropology in which it is necessary to look at the future. When an anthropologist will look at the subjects of preservation or sustainability (often related to environment) they have no choice then to look ahead, since preservation and sustainability are phenomenon that are happening because of the future (For instance an area is preserved for the future generations). As Persoon and Van Est (2000) mention: *"In order to study environmental concepts of sustainability and regeneration and associated politics the anthropologist has to look forward. When a program for the preservation of environment is being developed, it is developed in order to preserve the environment in the future"* Boersema (2000) agrees with Persoon and van Est on this topic. In his article he wrote the following: *"In the debate on the environment the concept of future generations is closely linked to that of durability"* (Boersema, 2000: 93). Boersema explains why it is important to preserve the environment for the future; he connects the future generations with preservation and sustainability.

Next to the fact that the future is rarely present in the anthropology, when it is present it is not depicted in the right way. According to Persoon and Van Est, whenever the future is mentioned in an article, it is about the vision the anthropologist has about the future of a specific field. Not about how the people that actually live in the field perceive the future of the place where they live. In the following quote Persoon and Van Est (2000) explain what usually does happen when the future is present.

> *"It is not unusual for anthropologist to return from the field, turn field notes into a monograph, and complete this with a final chapter entitled 'The Future'. Such as final chapter is not based directly on the field notes and does not reflect how the people studied in the field think about the future, the kind of actions they will undertake or the kind*

of outcomes they try to avoid based on a kind of projection of what the anthropologist thinks might happen" (Persoon and van Est, 2000: 14).

Boersema (2000) reacts on this perception of the future in anthropology as well. According to him the future generation of an area should be taken into account when discussing the future (Boersema, 2000).

In this research the focus was on the vision the youth on the Batanes have of their future and the future of the islands. Because in the end it is the people who live in the field that are actually going to be in the future and that have to make that future happen.

2.2 An island is both heaven and hell: Small Island studies

Small Island studies is still a relative new area of studies. The first issue of the *Island Studies Journal* was published in 2006. Before this there were articles and research related to small islands, but they never achieved the amount of attention small islands have today. There are several ways to describe small islands. Small islands could be described as an utopia, or a dysotopia, both a tourist hotspot or an ecological refuge. Or as Baldacchino describes islands: *''An island is for all seasons and for all tastes. An island can be both paradise and prison, both heaven and hell''* (Baldacchino, 2006: 6). Baldacchino describes islands as two sides, it could be positive (paradise) or negative (prison). Today most of the small islands are popular due to tourism (a paradise, not hell). Along with the view of palm trees and white sanded beaches it makes sense that islands are very popular among tourists. Baldacchino (2006) mentions that 10 percent of the entire world population lives on an island, and from the 10 richest countries four of them are islands (Baldacchino, 2006: 3 and 4).

Baldacchino (2006) mentions that small islands help visualize the future for areas other than small islands (Baldacchino, 2007: 165 and 166). A small island can be a miniature form of a country, were the consequences of chances are faster presented, than in a country that has land borders with others. However using small island to visualize the future for other areas is not the only reason why small islands studies are important as a separate course.

> *'There is sufficient evidence that islands – small islands in particular - are distinct enough sites, or harbor extreme enough renditions of more general processes, to warrant their continued respect as subjects/objects of academic focus and inquiry. The core of 'island studies' is the constitution of 'islandness' and its possible or plausible influence and impact on ecology, human/species behavior and any of the areas handled by the traditional subject uni-disciplines (such as archaeology, economics or literature), subject multi-disciplines (such as political economy or biogeography) or policy foci/issues (such as governance, social capital, waste disposal, language extinction or sustainable tourism). Not to mention the aspect of small islands as somewhat closed (read manageable) systems, amenable to study: most scholars - who are not necessarily islanders - enter into the study of small islands precisely in order to test and*

explore conceptual schemes and specific hypotheses emerging from academic and policy debates at a mainland, regional or global level: "rehearsals for reality" (Judson, 1980: 119).

In short this means that small islands are the perfect location in order to do research precisely because there is an influence on ecology, human behavior, species behavior and other areas, in an environment that is actually accessible because of the space it takes up. When one decides to study the behavior of humans it is difficult to decide which humans to study and which humans not to study. While on an island the respondents are relatively arranged. *Also because of the size of a small island the necessity of innovation is greater than in other locations* (Baldacchino, 2007: 166).

It should be taken into account however that the relation between the islands and the mainland is also an important one (Baldacchino, 2006: 11). Because it is easy to lose oneself in the study of the islands and nothing else. Even though islands are a separate space on ecology, species behavior and environment, the human behavior will be influenced by other countries. And when the human behavior is influenced from the outside of islands, then the relationship islands inhabitants have with ecology, environment and animal species can also be influenced.

Another influence on small islands is the march of globalization (Elroy 2003: 231). Because of the renewed independence a lot of small islands are in control over their own land since several centuries or at least have had an increase in self-governance. This renewed freedom is used to create tax havens, but also tourism hotspots. Making tourism a big industry for the islands.

2.3 An island is hell: migration

Another factor that influences small islands is migration. Migration from a small island, over water, cannot be compared to migration over land. The impact migration has on the person migrating and the island they leave behind is a lot bigger then when someone migrates over land. When migration takes place from a small island to the mainland it will mean a lot more than just crossing a lot of water. Often it means leaving behind a culture that is very specific for an island. Also the person migrating will be abruptly separated from this island culture. One of the differences between migration over land and migration over water is that the change is culture is a gradual one when people migrate over land. Despite the differences, there are also several similarities between migration over land and migration over water. There are several reasons that explain why these movements of people leaving one place and arriving in another occur. First, in order for migration to happen, certain factors have to be present. To be able to explain migration, the terms push factors and pull factors are used (Ritchey, 1974: 378). The push factors explain why someone would migrate (leave their current location) and the pull factors explain why someone would immigrate (choose their new location). One of the reasons for migration can be an increase in salary. In Canada, data has been collected to support that there is a positive relation between migration flows and an increase in income (Courchene, 1970). Also, people will leave in order to find a job, if there is a large population with a high amount of unemployment. The low amount of job opportunities then creates a

flow of migrants leaving the area. It is assumed that these outer migrants will leave for an area where there are more economic opportunities. The push factor in this case will be the small amount of job opportunities at their current location.

The distance willing to travel

The distance migrants are willing to travel depends on how far they have to go in order to find the opportunities they are searching for (Ritchey, 1974: 375). When someone is looking for any job, so they can pay the rent, they will probably have to migrate less far, then when someone is looking for a specific job that for instance matches their education. Whether this means moving across the country or moving to a different country all together. Other factors such as age and education also influence the relationship between migration and earnings (Courchene, 1970). The positive connection between migration and earnings decreases when people are getting older. In an area where the population is higher educated there is a bigger tendency for population members to migrate (Ritchey, 1974: 376). According to Bogue (1969), by far the highest rates of migration occur among the professional workers (Bogue, 1969). The job market for people with a higher education is not local; and therefore higher educated people will have a higher tendency to migrate over a greater distance in order to find a job (Ritchey, 1975: 384). Furthermore, people who are in their late teens, twenties and thirties are more likely to migrate. When they have passed this age line the tendency to migrate will decrease (Ritchey 1974: 378). Another explanation for migration under late teens, people in their twenties and thirties can be unemployed. People in these age groups are more likely to be unemployed because they have not found a job that suits their education, and people that are unemployed are more likely to migrate in order to find a job that does suit their education (Ritchey, 1974: 379).

Overseas workers from the Philippines and remittances

Around 6 percent of the Philippines households have one or more family members working overseas (Yang, 2004). Where several years ago migration was seen as an individual decision, today in the Philippines migration is mostly a family decision (Quisumbing and Mc Niven, 2007). Of course a higher salary will still be a good reason to migrate, the research Quisumbing and Mc Niven (2007) conducted however, shows that there is more to migration than meets the eye. When a family member decides to migrate the consequence for the family is loss of labor. The remittances that are send home by the overseas workers often compensate these losses in manpower (Quisumbing and Mc Niven, 2007).

Remittances is money that the migrants overseas workers make at the location where they migrated to, and then send back to family and friends that are still living in the Philippines. "*In an island's environment it is more common that there is a flow of remittances than in any other area* " (Connel and Conway, 2000). Most of the island societies have already experienced a history of migration and international interference and are therefore not surprised when during a time frame there is more or less migration then average. In their

article Connel and Conway mention the following about the expectations outsiders have on migration from an island:

> "*Prospects for economic growth in small island states are limited. The now widely perceived disparities in economic welfare between the islands, especially the smallest states, and their metropolitan nations, have contributed not only to substantial migration but also to increasing pressures for further migration. So extensive has this migration become that some of the greatest concentrations of islanders are in cities such as Auckland, Honolulu, New York, Miami and Los Angeles, rather than on the islands*" (Connel and Conway, 2000: 56 and 57).

Some island states have very limited economic growth. Without the possibility of export from the islands, the increase of economic growth is very small. Then the remittances family members send back to the island help. Some islands also have the advantage of a slow increase in tourism to help with the economic growth, on which I will focus in the next paragraph.

2.4 An island is heaven: tourism on small islands

During my research on the Batanes the majority of the respondents mentioned that according to them tourism will influence the future of the Batanes. But before I will focus on the influence of tourism according to the respondents in the Batanes (Chapter 4, *Results*), I will first focus on tourism on small islands in general. An increase in tourism can have both advantages and disadvantages. As well as that a decrease in tourism can also have advantages and disadvantages. Tourism on small islands is in most cases different from tourism in countries that have land borders with other countries. According to Elroy (2003), author of *Tourism Development in Small Islands Across the World*, the postwar history of small islands is characterized by two main events: decolonization and the spread of global tourism (Elroy, 2003: 231). Since global tourism is relevant according to my respondents, I will focus on that in this paragraph. The spread of global tourism is probably one of the most important factors that currently influence the future of small islands. Elroy (2003) mentions the following about the spread of tourism on a global level:

> "*The remarkable transformation of tourism into the world's largest industry – accounting for about one tenth of global GDP, employment and capital formation (WTTC, 2001) – has coincided with the restructuring of small island economies away from traditional exports such as sugar and copra towards mass tourism and related construction. The results have transformed insular landscapes across the Caribbean, Mediterranean and North Pacific, and created the so-called "Pleasure Periphery" of North America, Europe and Japan respectively*" (Turner and Ash, 1976).

It is clear that tourism is responsible for a large portion of the income on several of the small islands. An island that makes it as a tourist hotspot should count on a definite increase in their income. At the same time the people who are working in tourism, are people who are not working on other fields. Mark Lapping (2012) mentions the following about the tourism industry: '*Tourism provides income-generating*

opportunities to those normally engaged in farming, fishing, craft production, service provision or light industry (Lapping, 2012)'. Basically this means that when there will be an increase in tourism, there will be a decrease in other fields on the islands. Tourism has negative side effects as well. The negative consequences are even greater when this area is a small island. According to Baldacchino (2007) "*the impact of tourism is nowhere bigger, more sudden and irrevocable and sustainable then on a small island*" (Baldacchino, 2007: 169). For instance small islands are at a higher risk for the damage being done to ecosystems (Elroy, 2003: 231). The result of damage to ecosystems is amongst other things the decline of traditional pursuits as well as a decline in renewable sources. So an increase in tourism provides more job opportunities and therefore more income for the island inhabitants. At the same time however there could be damaging effects on the eco-system. When a decrease in tourism takes place there will be less job opportunities and income, but at the same time there will probably be less damage to the ecosystem as well. Hall (1998) describes the two sides of tourism in the following quote:

> "*Finally, tourism has the potential to bring traditional and isolated island populations within the global orbit, so to speak. But 'modernization', often a byproduct of tourism investment and development, also has the potential to commodify and degrade heritage, social norms and the environment as well as cause a shift from historical subsistence lifestyles to consumerism*" (Hall, 1998).

Hall (1998) explains that tourism at the same can bring otherwise remote islands in contact with globalization. This is often considered a positive chance. However, at the same time there is also the possibility that globalization, which goes hand in hand with modernization, is responsible for the loss of culture. It is clear that tourism has both positive and negative side-effects; and it is up to the inhabitants of small islands to decide which are more important for the island, an increase of income or the preservation of the eco-system.

2.5 The paradise of the North: a historical and cultural overview of the Batanes
Ivatan culture is influenced by several countries. The story of the Ivatan on the Batanes began when people from Taiwan arrived on the Batanes. The Batanes are closer to Taiwan than to what the Ivatan consider as the mainland (the province of Luzon). Several bone fragments; and pieces of pots that have been found on the Batanes, are similar to findings from Orchid Island, Taiwan, which provides evidence for the theory that the TAO (inhabitants of Orchid Island in Taiwan) and the people from the Batanes where once from the same family (Bellwood, 2013). The theory is that the people from Orchid Island, Taiwan, and moved southwards by boat, where the first land they came across, was Itbayat. From Itbayat they moved to two other islands in the Batanes (Bellwood, 2013). Besides archaeological proof, there are also similarities on a linguistic level between Orchid Island and the Batanes. The language that is spoken in the Batanes, Ivatan (the same as the name of the people), has similarities with the language spoken on

Orchid Island, Taiwan (Bellwood, 2013). Even today the Ivatan value the connection they had in the past with Orchid Island and its people.[1]

The Spanish influence

The Spaniards arrived on the Batanes between 1521 and 1785 and colonized the Batanes, along with the rest of the Philippines (Hornedo, 2000). Because of its strategic location, close to China, Taiwan and the rest of the Philippines, the Batanes was a very convenient place for the Spaniards to settle (Hornedo, 2000). The Spaniards were driven out of the Batanes in 1898 the Philippine revolution that started in 1896 (Hornedo, 2000: 308).

The Spanish colonization of the Batanes left a legacy. Around 98 percent of the entire population on the Batanes is Catholic, which was introduced by the Spaniards (Provincial Profile Batanes, 2010). Besides religion, the Spaniards also taught the Ivatan how to build houses with different materials such as lime stone, which made the houses stronger and more resistant to typhoons (Hornedo, 2000: Hidalgo, 1996: 134). After the colonization by the Spaniards, the Batanes; and the rest of the Philippines, fell in foreign hands again. The Americans and the Philippines started a war in 1899 called the Philippine-America war, which lasted until 1902 (Silbey, 2007). During the Second World War the Japanese conquered the Batanes for a period of 4 years. Since 1946 the Philippines has official control over the Batanes.

Image 2. Catholic church in the Batanes

Rituals

Rituals are an important phenomenon in the Ivatan culture. An example of this occurs during harvesting time, before planting crops and fishing there are cultural rituals that have to be executed. One of the

---

[1] In September 1989 programs have been organized for people from Orchid Island Taiwan, to visit the Batanes, and the other way around. Even though the journey that lead the people from Taiwan to the Batanes was between 4500 and 3000 years ago, the ties between Taiwan and the Batanes are not completely disappeared (Bellwood, 2013: Preface).

rituals I had the pleasure of observing was the fishing festival in the municipality of Mahatao. The purpose of this festival is to predict whether there will be a good fishing season as well as becoming on the good side of the water spirits. During the festival a pig is slaughtered and the blood is spread over the beach. After the pig is slaughtered it is burned over a fire. When it is burned enough the fishermen open up the abdomen and take out all the organs. Then the elderly fishermen come and read the liver in order to determine whether the fishing season will be a good one (The time I experienced this fishing ritual they unfortunately could not read in the liver whether the fishing season was going to be a good one).

Houses and clothing

Another phenomenon the Ivatan culture distinguishes itself by is their houses and their traditional clothing (Hornedo, 2000). They have good reasons why their houses are different from other places. In the Batanes typhoons are not uncommon and strong houses protect the Ivatan from these typhoons. The typical Ivatan house is built with lime-stone, which is introduced by the Spaniards (Hidalgo, 2000). Also, the houses have walls that are around one meter thick. Whenever a typhoon occurs people hide in houses which can resists typhoons (Hidalgo, 2000).

Image 3. Ivatan house

Ivatan language

The Ivatan language is only spoken in the area of the Batanes. As mentioned before the Ivatan language has similarities with the language that is spoken on Orchid Island, Taiwan (Bellwood, 2013). The dialect

spoken on Itbayat island is considered different from the dialect spoken on Batan island and Sabtang island. However the inhabitants of all three of the islands are able to understand each other. There has been a decrease in the use of the Ivatan language. The young Ivatan speak either Tagalog or English, the other official languages in the Philippines, more often these days.

Family

Family ties are very important on the Batanes. Not only direct family members such as brothers, sisters and grandparents, but also indirect family members. In the Batanes the brothers and sisters of grandparents are treated the same way as the actual grandparents and they do not make a distinction among them (when in the Batanes this can be very confusing when they are talking about their grandma, because they could sometimes be referring to 5 different women). Also, before a family member makes a decision this decision has to be discussed with other family members first. This could be related to big decisions, such as marriage, but also to smaller decisions, for instance getting a new haircut. When a couple is married they move in with one side of the family or they migrate.

2.6 Development in the Batanes and the Philippines

Poverty is another factor that influences the future of the Ivatan and the Batanes. Being poor can limit the opportunities the youth on the Batanes have. Because of financial reasons, high school graduates often do not have the opportunity to study outside of the Batanes. The alternative is staying on the Batanes and attending the Batanes State College or Saint Dominic College.

Poverty in the Philippines

The Philippine government has designed a system for income, in which all families of the Philippines can be divided. There are 5 classes, A until E, of which class D and E are both considered poor. The income of a family is calculated by adding all incomes and other properties of a family together. In the dividing of families the amount of family members is taken into account as well. In order to determine in which class a household belongs all families have to fill in a questionnaire. In the Batanes 29.14 percent of the households is considered poor (PWSDO, 2013). For an overview per municipality see table 1 below.

Table 1. Family classification per municipality by NSO

Municipality	Class A		Class B		Class C		Class D		Class E		Total
	Families	%	Fam	%	Fam	%	Fam	%	Fam	%	
Basco	500	24	332	16	598	28	345	16	347	16	2122
Itbayat	193	23	66	8	244	29	278	33	64	7	845
Ivana	153	47	39	12	103	31	29	9	5	1	329
Mahatao	172	37	61	13	131	29	69	15	26	6	459
Sabtang (2011)	190	45	40	9	90	21	54	13	49	12	423
Uyugan	141	40	39	11	114	32	33	9	27	8	354
Itbud	42	35	21	18	37	31	9	8	10	8	119

Source: PWDSO, 2013

According to the NSO a family of five that is considered poor, has around 15.240,00 pesos (€254,-) to spend on an annual base. The annual capita food threshold for this family of five is 10.849,00 (180,-) pesos.

Education on the Batanes

The students of the BSC mention education as one of the most important things that can influence and change the future for the better. All the barangays have at least one elementary school and one secondary school. Because of this rule the children born on the smaller islands of Itbayat and Sabtang can also follow both elementary and secondary education without having to leave the island and their homes. The importance of education on the Batanes is also proved by the high literacy rate on the islands of 97 percent (NSO, 2010). Once the students graduate from high school they will have to transfer to Batan in order to follow a college education. The other option is to study at the, for the Ivatan, mainland (outside of the Batanes), but this is an expensive option which the lower class cannot afford.

On Batan Island there are two colleges, Batanes State College (BSC) and Saint Dominic College (SDC). Both of the colleges offer different courses to their students, with the only overlapping course being Elementary and Secondary Education. SDC is a private college and depends of the tuition fee in order to provide education for their students. The SDC is also a Catholic college; they offer religion with all courses for an additional fee, as well as PE for which an additional fee has to be paid as well. The other college on Batan Island, the BSC, is a government funded college. So contrary to the SDC, the BSC does not need the tuition money to pay for the education they offer. The result is that the tuition and miscellaneous fees are lower on the BSC than on the SDC. Therefore the poorest students often follow courses at the BSC instead of the SDC. Another advantage for students that are coming from the lower class is the variety of scholarships the BSC offers. Both colleges start their classes at 4pm, so that their

students can work with their parents on the field or do other jobs, without the danger of missing too many classes. When they have the opportunity parents prefer to send their children to the mainland for their college education. The colleges on the Batanes, BSC and SDC, are not well known in the rest of the Philippines. Furthermore they are both colleges and not universities. The fact that the BSC and SDC are not well known combined with these being colleges could have a negative effect of future job opportunities. Students who have graduated from universities such as The University of the Philippines, or La Salle University, have advantage; the employers know what to expect, since it is well known the quality of education from these universities is very high.

Around 30 percent of the people that live on the Batanes are considered poor. When high school graduates decided where they want to go, money matters should be taken seriously. The difference in miscellaneous (extra) fees between BSC and the SDC is 612.75 (€ 10, 20) peso for a semester. Since most courses are four years multiplied by eight the difference is 4902 pesos (€81.70). Besides the miscellaneous fees, students also have to pay tuition fees. Since the Elementary and Secondary Education are the only courses the Batanes State College and Saint Dominic College both provide, these courses will be used as an example. In table 2 the differences between college tuition are presented.

The difference between tuition fee for the Elementary Education course at the Batanes State College and Saint Dominic College is 22113.2 pesos (€ 368, 55). This is for the entire four years it will take to finish the course. In the table below the complete costs of the Elementary Education course at both the Batanes State College and Saint Dominic College is listed.

Table 2. Comparison Batanes State College and Saint Dominic College tuition and miscellaneous fees for the Elementary Education course of 4 years

Fees	Batanes State College	Saint Dominic College	Total
Tuition Fee	13650	35763.20	-
Miscellaneous Fee	8840	13742	-
Total	22490	49505.20	+ 27015.20

Source: Own computation

For an entire course of four years the difference between BSC and SDC will be 27015.20 (€ 450, 25) pesos. The college tuition fee and miscellaneous fees at the BSC are more than half of the amount that students at SDC have to pay. Next to cheaper tuition and miscellaneous fees, the BSC also offers several scholarships. Some of these scholarships can pay for a complete year of college education. Returning to the poverty threshold of paragraph 2.6, when people in class D and E have an annual income of around 15.000 pesos (€ 250,-), attending college takes up a high part of their annual income. For a year of college

at the BSC, the cheapest institution they would still pay 3500 peso (€ 58, 33), which is more then 1/5 of the entire income a year. However compared to studying at the SDC, the BSC is profoundly cheaper.

Image 4. Batanes State College

Migration from the Batanes

As mentioned before, migration can be an important influence on a small island. In the case of the Batanes this is no different. For centuries the population of the Batanes has barely changed. In 2010 the population of the Batanes was 16.600 people (NSO, 2010). While during the Spanish invasion this number was approximately the same. Currently the Batanes has a crude birth rate of 22.48 births for every thousand people in 2010-2015. And a crude death rate of 7.39 of deaths for every thousand people in 2010-2015 (Vital Statistics Report, 2010). Even though the crude birth rate exceeds the crude death rate, the population growth of the Batanes for 2010 is 0.08 percent. In 2007 the population growth was even lower with –0.42 (Census of Population and Housing, 2000 en 2010). The NSO has little information concerning migration from the Batanes. According to their data 266 people from the Batanes work overseas. There is no other information whether this concerns people that have left in 2010 or if this concerns people who have left before but are still counted as overseas workers. On the Batanes everybody knows multiple people that are working overseas, so I assume that the amount of overseas workers is higher than the NSO presents. A lot of the overseas workers are not officially registered and therefore not taken into account when presenting the overseas workers. Also the majority of the family members I have spoken to, intend to return home after a certain period.

The BSC and SDC both have kept track of the location of their Education course graduates after graduation. However, while looking at the table of the BSC it is not clear how many graduates actually left

the Batanes. The data the BSC has gathered only focused on which graduates left the Philippines and which graduates stayed in the Philippines. So students who are working in Manila are still in the country but no longer on the Batanes.

Figure 1. Education graduates BSC
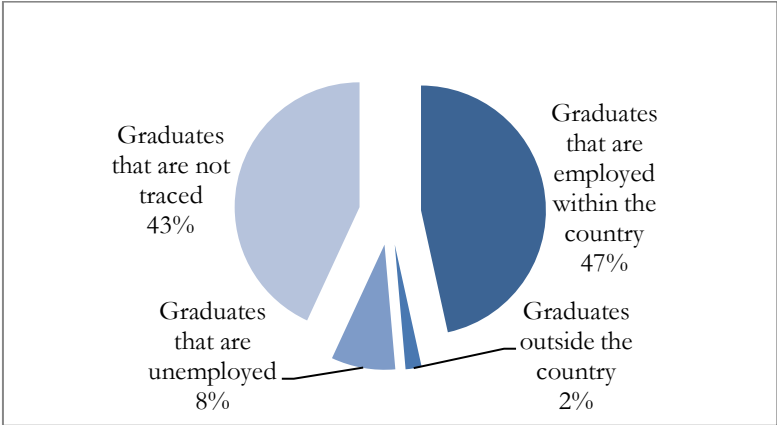
The SDC have used different categories to keep track of their graduates. While the BSC keep track of the students who leave the country, the SDC keep track of who leave the Batanes. And not who leaves the country. For the results of their research see the figure below.

Figure 2. Education graduates of the SDC
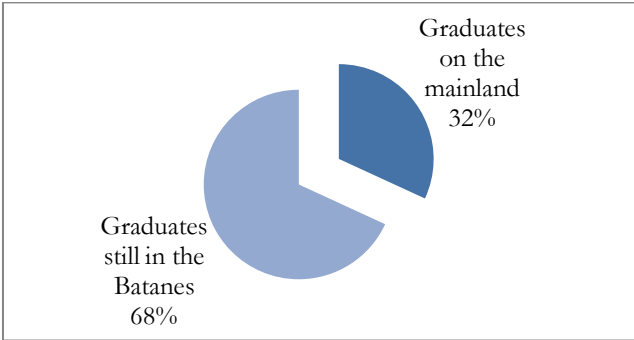
The reasons why several graduates from both BSC and SDC left the Batanes or the Philippines were not studied. However, during my research in the Batanes several of the respondents did mention potential reasons why graduates will leave the Batanes and why they themselves would leave the Batanes. In chapter 4, *Results*, I will present these findings. In the following chapter I will explain how I gathered data for my research. The data I have gathered myself combined with the information in this chapter will answer my research question in chapter 5, *Discussion*.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Before I could begin to gather data, an entire process took place, of deciding which research methods I would use in order to gather this data. Every anthropologist has his own preference for research methods, and when two anthropologists are doing the same research, they will probably not use exactly the same research methods. I decided to use the following research methods: essays, questionnaires and unstructured interviews. During the period I conducted research (January to March, 2014) I have also formally spoken with a lot of Ivatan. The essays, combined with the information I gathered from the questionnaires, I analyzed using text analysis. In figure 3, the connections the research methods have among each other become clear.

Figure 3. Methodology
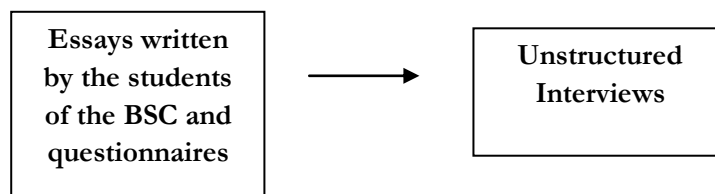
3.1 Essays

The essays can be described as the first step of my research. Without the essays there would not have been unstructured interviews and there also would not have been questionnaires. For the distribution of the essays I worked together with the Batanes State College. Teachers from the English department spread 44 essays with two different essay questions, among 22 students from all disciplines and ages (all students are required to take English). The 22 students all answered the same 2 questions and a questionnaire. At beginning of class the students were asked who wanted to participate in my research. For getting respondents I used convenient sampling (Bernard, 2002). Whoever was interested in participating in my research was offered the opportunity to participate. I am aware that by using essays that there is the chance that students who are not sure of their English writing skills did not participate in the research. However, since English is one of the official languages of the Philippines I expected the majority of the students to have basic English knowledge, so this would not become a common issue. There was also the chance of excluding students who did not feel like talking to me for the unstructured interviews. The twenty-two students who ended up writing essays answered both of the following questions: '*How do you see your own future*?' and '*How do you see the future of the Batanes?*'. In chapter 4, *Results*, I will provide basic information about the respondents.

The reason I have decided to use written data is because literary based information has several advantages that other research methods do not have. Firstly, because the essays did not require the students to be in

direct contact with the anthropologist. The responses they provided in their essay are not influenced by the direct presence of the anthropologist. Of course the students have written the essays, knowing that someone was going to read them, but at that exact moment it provides more freedom for them, because I was not directly present asking them these questions personally. Second, the essays provide data that I would not have gained access too if I only would have let the students participate in unstructured interviews. The students have written down whatever they felt will influence their future and the future of the Batanes, without the interference of expectations that the anthropologist might have. Russel Bernard (2002) mentions the following about letting the respondents write down their own responses during his own research: "*He wrote about things that I could not have asked about, simply because of my ignorance of the culture*" (Bernard, 2002: 445). Some of the students who wrote the essays, also brought up things that could influence the future of the Batanes or themselves, of which I never would have thought about and therefore would not have asked about during the unstructured interviews if I hadn't read their essays. Third, it also provides the students of the BSC with an opportunity to expose to the rest of the world in their own world what their vision of the future of the Batanes and their own future is. Without the interference of a translator or interpretations from the anthropologists, this could have had as a result an alteration in what the students want the anthropologist to know. Because the students have written it down in English in their own words. And finally, all of these different kinds of native ethnographies offer glimpses-some more descriptive, some more interpretive-into the lived experience of people in other cultures (Bernard, 2002: 449).

Image 5. Respondents

The essays provided me with the opportunity to get a view of what was really going on in the lives of the students, and not what I thought was going on in their lives. The essays provide information about how they see their own future and which factors do or do not influence their future.

Image 6. Respondents 2

The respondents who wrote the essays and answered the questions on the questionnaire are the same students. I expected all the students attending the Batanes State College to have an opinion about their own future and the future of the Batanes and to speak English (Tagalog and English are the national languages on the Philippines and Ivatan is the language of the Ivatan culture). The teachers from the English department spread the essays among the students who were willing to write an essay as well as being potentially interviewed later on. I am aware that because I did not spread the essays myself there might be a bias in the respondents who eventually wrote the essays, as I mentioned before. But because the English teacher spread the essays my presence did not influence the students who wanted to write the essays. I expected my chances of respondents who would write an essay to be bigger if I was not present during the actual handing out of the essays.

3.2 Questionnaires

The students who have written the essays have also filled in questionnaires that were attached to the essay questions. These questionnaires provided me with general information about the respondents (for the entire questionnaire see appendix A). Since the questionnaires were attached to the essays, the questionnaires were self-administered (Bernard, 2002: 244). The advantage of a questionnaire is that all the respondents have the same questions, so there is no interviewers bias (Bernard, 2002: 244). Also the

respondents are not trying to impress the interviewers and are therefore more likely to give an (honest) answer to the question (Bernard, 2002: 244 and 245). However you will never know for sure whether the answer is "honest". Bernard (2002) explains that when the following conditions are met self-administered questionnaires are desirable. First, the respondents are literate; since I am spreading the questionnaires around the Batanes State College I know that all the respondents will be literate. Second, when the anthropologist expects a high response rate the use of self-administered questionnaires is also recommended. Since the students are coming to college everyday it costs little time to keep track of the students who have the essays and questionnaires, and remind them to fill them in. Among the essays and the questionnaires, the response rate was 73 percent, because I could easily keep track of the students. And last, that the questions that the anthropologist want to ask do not require visual aids or other things that need to be demonstrated face to face (Bernard, 2002: 250).

The self-administered questionnaires provided me with the opportunity to have access to basic information about the respondents. This basic information provided information which helped me analyze the essays in the right context. I have decided to ask open questions because otherwise the list of answers for the questions would have been too long and my information would not have been so specific. The questionnaires provided me with general information about the students who have written an essay, such as age, the course they are following and their gender. By using text analysis the general information I have gathered with the questionnaires helps me discover patterns among the respondents (Eagleton, 2008). In the following paragraph I will explain how I will use text analysis to make generalizations about the students.

3.3 Text analysis

Besides just reading the essays, I also decided to analyze them in order to see if I would discover new relations. After reading the essays it is often clear that certain words and phrases are used more often than others (Bal, 1997). In order to see how often certain phrases and words are used I created a table in which I kept track of phrases such as '*Paradise of the North*', '*Slice of Heaven*', '*Ivatan Culture*' and others words. Then I reread the essays again and kept track of how many times people mentioned these phrases and in what context. After focusing on the text I also started focusing on gender, age, course and education of parents. I then categorized the essays again based on these factors. The method I used for text analysis is explained in *Literary Theory*, written by Terry Eagleton (2010). In chapter 4, *Results*, you can read exactly what I have discovered by analyzing the essays.

3.4 Unstructured interviews

After the students wrote the essays and filled in the questionnaires mentioned in the paragraphs above, I conducted interviews with 18 of the 22 students (I made appointments with all the students for their interviews by phone). The method of interviewing I used was unstructured interviewing. Before the

interviews I read the essays the students wrote and based some questions on these essays in order to make several topics that were mentioned in the essay clearer. Bernard (2002) explains that unstructured interviews are based on a clear plan that you keep constantly in mind, but are also characterized by a minimum of control over people's responses. The idea is to get people to open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, at their own pace (Bernard, 2002: 205). With this method of interviewing I could discuss the topics that were mentioned in the essays but at the same time the students could speak freely and still add what they thought was relevant. Since my respondents were students it felt appropriate to have a less formal setting and to talk more freely and therefore to use unstructured interviewing. The interviews provided me with additional data about the future of the Batanes and the future of the students which will be presented in chapter 4, *Results*.[2]

3.5 Ethics

During the research and during its aftermath there were several ethical codes that should be taken into account. First before starting the research, the National Commission of Indigenous Peoples (NCIP, 2013) needs to approve the research that a researcher wants to conduct. In order to obtain approval, a research proposal, together with a form signed by me, approving that the researcher will not take advantage of the indigenous population has to be signed. (Appendix B). There are still several other ethical issues that need to be addressed besides the NCIP. Since I was also living in the field I gathered more information about some topics, then when I would have just been the researcher. I have made friends, who at the same times were my respondents.

Image 7. Fieldwork presentation

---

[2] Besides the unstructured interviews with the students I have also talked informal with a lot of Ivatan. Since I was living on the Batanes for three months having informal conversations were a part of the daily life. These informal conversations provided me with background information about the Batanes.

In order to give back to the students I created a presentation about the Netherlands, which I than presented in front of the English Literature students. Besides general information about the Netherlands, there was also a focus on Dutch Literature, since the presentation was held in a Literature class. The presentation provided me with the opportunity to show the respondents where I was from, and what makes the Netherlands unique. During the final week of my research I presented my research results to the teachers and faculty members of the BSC. Also I spread copies of my final field rapport to the BSC, the SDC and the major of Basco. In the following chapter I will give an overview of the data I collected during the research period.

Chapter 4. Results

In this chapter I will present the data I have gathered during the period of my fieldwork in the Batanes. The main focus will be on the essays that were written by the students and the information I have gathered by analyzing these essays. This chapter will begin with general information about my respondents such as age, which course they are following and where they want to go after graduation. In the second paragraph I will present the opinion of the students about their own future based on several themes that returned in the essays. This paragraph will be followed by information about how the students see the future of the Batanes.

4.1 General information about the respondents

The information in this paragraph is based completely on the 22 students who have written the essays. Thirteen of the students are female, and the remaining nine are male. In the first figure the courses the students are attending is represented.

Figure 4. Courses the students are following
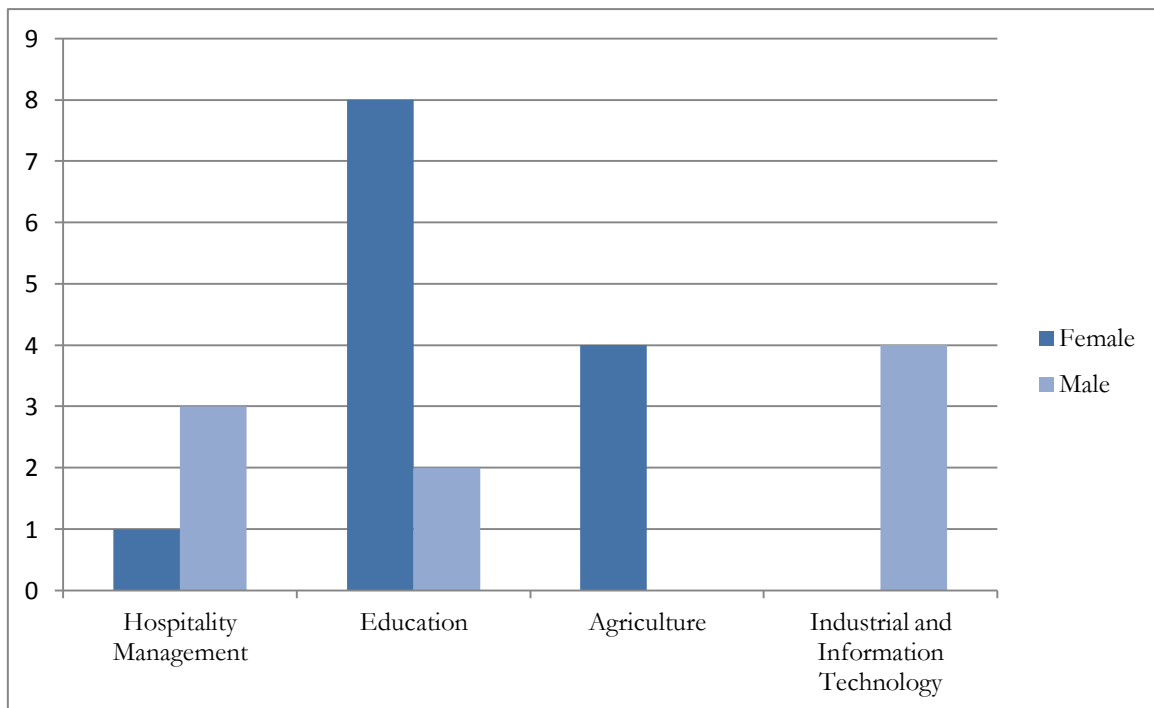
The courses in figure 4 are all the courses that can be followed at the Batanes State College. During the spring semester in 2014, 243 students were male, out of the total of 440 students. In percentages this means that 55 percent of the students attending the BSC are male (BSC, 2014). The course that is the most popular is Hotel and Restaurant Management (Hospitality Management). At the same time the Hotel and Restaurant Management course provides limited job opportunities on the Batanes itself and therefore the students who are taking this course are more likely to leave the Batanes according to the respondents.

The Industrial Technology and Information Technology are mostly followed by males, where Hotel and Restaurant Management is more often attended by females. The Education and Agriculture courses are attended by both female and male around the same amount. Besides that dividing the students in the courses they follow provides basic information, I also want to use it for my text analysis. I expect that the course the students follow will influence both the vision on their own future as well as the vision on the future of the Batanes. For instance I predict that Hotel and Restaurant Management students will focus more on tourism, while Agriculture students for instance will focus more on the environment. Besides dividing the students into the category of which course they are studying, I have also classified them into age groups. The table below shows the division in age among the respondents.

Figure 5. Age of the students
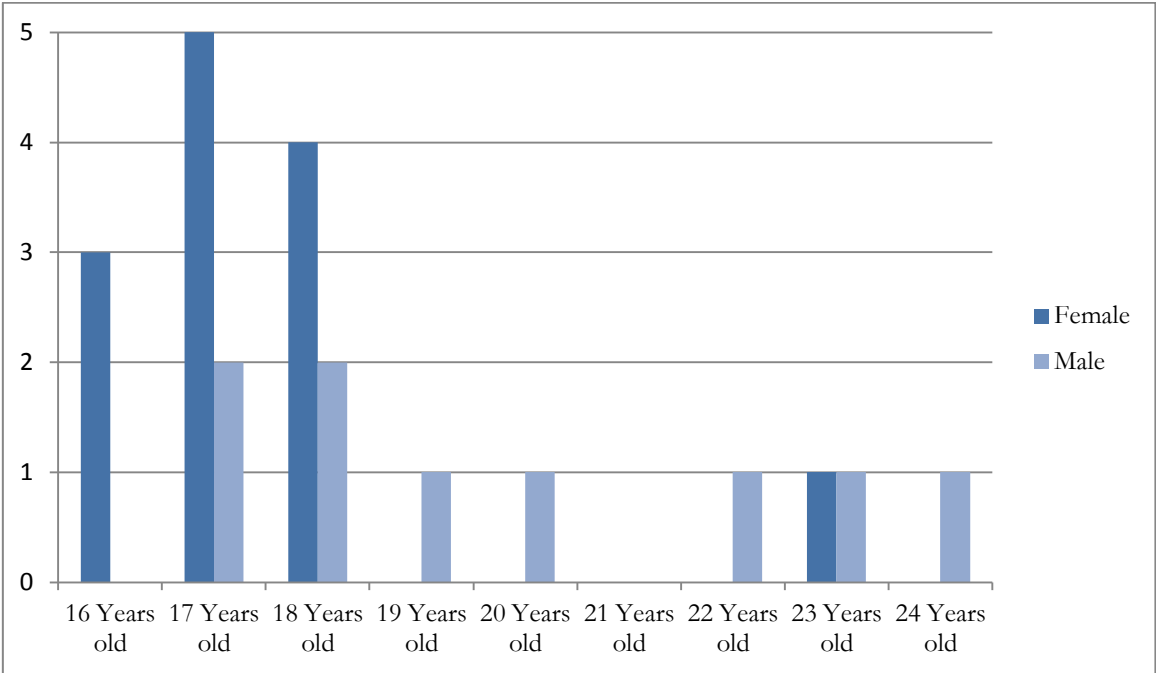
Most of the students I have interviewed are between 16 and 20 years old (80 percent). Since the majority of the students that attend the BSC start their college education straight after they finish their secondary education this is not surprising. Usually the students are around 16 years old when they start studying at the Batanes State College and finish their four year course when they are around 20 years old. Currently there is no possibility to continue with a master program after the students finish their four year course. The students who are 23 years or older are often students who already finished a four year course but they have decided to follow another four year course. In the figure below information about where the high school graduates originally wanted to study is represented.

Figure 6. Location of where the students wanted to study
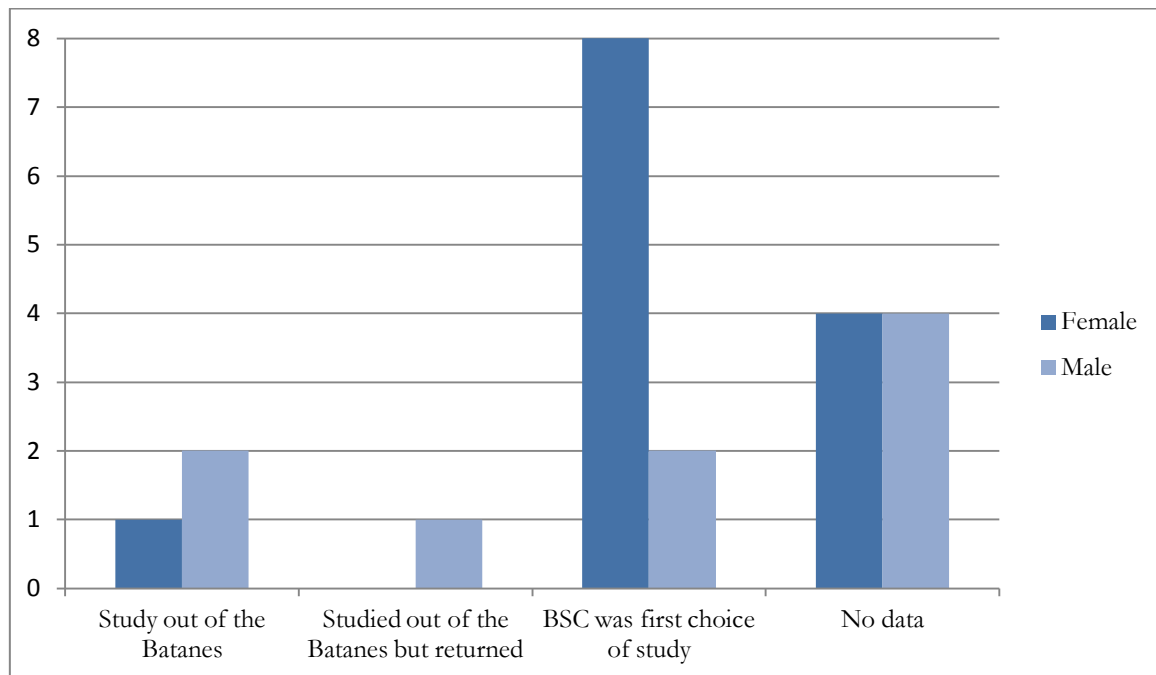
The amount of female students who wanted to study outside the Batanes and the amount of female students that had the BSC as a first choice is almost equal. Among the male students the first choice of studying varies more. The reason why students eventually decided to stay on the Batanes were often financial reasons (3 out of 4 cases). It makes sense that this is an important reason why students do not leave, since it is costly to study outside of the Batanes. The students who stay on the Batanes can continue living with their relatives and working during the day. However the students that decide to go to the mainland often have to pay more college tuition then when they attend the BSC (see chapter 2, *Theory*, for an overview of the BSC college tuition and miscellaneous fees). Also they have to pay for plane tickets to leave the Batanes and are spending more money for housing and food. All these costs combined the bill is often more than most people that live on the Batanes can afford.

All the students who have written essays and who I have interviewed are students of the Batanes State College. Since there is another college on the Batanes I was curious why these students decided to attend the BSC and not the SDC. Therefore in the diagram below the results on why students decide to study at the BSC instead of another college are represented. I do not have information about the reasons to attend the BSC from all of the 22 students who have written an essay.

Figure 7. Reason to attend BSC
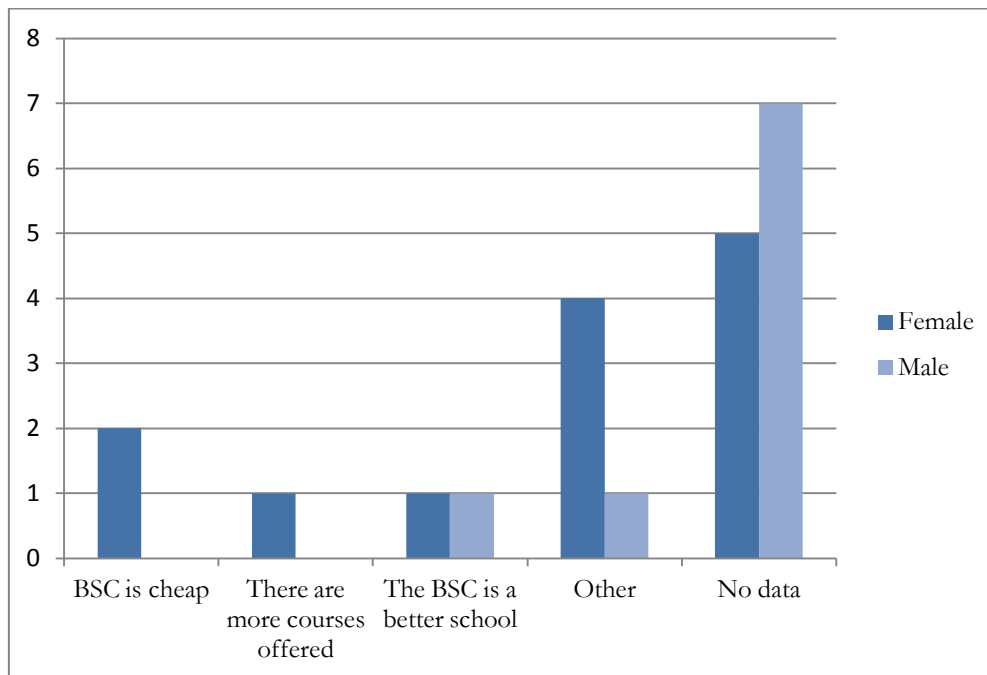
In chapter 2, *Theory*, I already calculated that the tuition fee of the BSC is lower than the tuition fee of the SDC. Besides the lower tuition fee, the BSC also offers several scholarships that make attending reachable for poorer families as well. The average family on the Batanes already does not have a lot of money to spend, so therefore the BSC is a good alternative for a lot of students. Also the BSC offers different courses then the SDC. The only course that overlaps between both colleges is the Education course. Other reasons that were only mentioned by very few students where that they already knew the staff or that their friends and family attended.

Now we know where the students would have wanted to study and why they eventually ended up at the BSC, I want to focus on the life after school. Since the essays will mainly focus on how the students see their future after graduating I will only give information in this paragraph about where the students want to go after graduation. In the following paragraphs of this chapter I will focus on the essays and therefore also more detailed on their own future and on the future of the Batanes. To finish this paragraph the results of where the students want to go after graduation are depicted in the diagram below.

Figure 8. Location of students after graduation
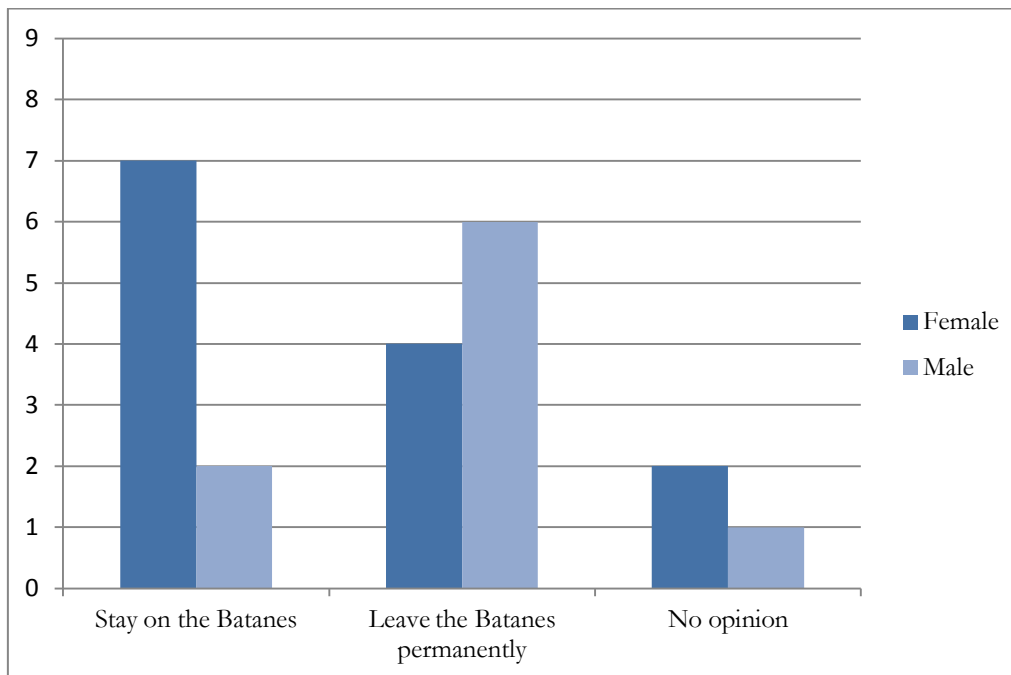
The information in this last diagram of this paragraph is probably most relevant for the vision the students have on their own future. When the students make the decision to stay on the Batanes, or to leave the Batanes, it is safe to say that it could be life changing. Leaving the Batanes is not just leaving the islands, but also leaving a culture and going from a rural area to an urban area. It is interesting to mention that several students also mentioned that they would love to stay on the Batanes, but only if there is a possibility for them to find a job. In the Batanes there are not a lot of career opportunities, so when a graduate decides to stay, there has to be a chance of employment, according to several students. When there is not, they will leave in order to make money, instead of becoming a fisher or a farmer.

Now that we have some general information about the respondents it is time to look more specific at their essays. In the essays several themes were returning, so with use of the themes I will explain how the students of the BSC see their own future, followed by how they see the future of the Batanes.

4.2 The vision of the youth of the Batanes on their own future

While analyzing the essays I discovered several interesting connections on which I will focus in the following two paragraphs. In this paragraph I will present several recurring themes, positive and negative view, gender, education and problems, in the essays about the future of the youth themselves. I will use their essays to support these themes (For the complete overview I have used to analyze the essays see Appendix D: Text analysis, in this document I documented which phrases and factors were present in the essays).

The first thing that stands out while reading the essays is the positivity that is used to describe the future of the Batanes and the future of the students themselves. An example of the positive view of the future is for instance May Anne Bata. This 17 year old Education student loves reading and music. She wants to stay on the Batanes to help developing the province and to introduce new and improved teaching methods. In her essays she wrote the following about her future:

"I can see my future as a successful teacher someday. I don't really love teaching right now, but they say you can learn to love something if you want. Someday I can learn/love to teach, and as I observe in our province we really need to improve the education we have here and I want to be part of that change in the future. It may not be easy to achieve that goal but if you really want to do it no matter what you will make a way to help your students/learners. Seeing you students learning is a great achievement. I will not work/teach just because of money or the salary although I need that for my daily living. But my purpose/goal is to let my students learn not just to earn)".

Another student who sees a positive future for herself is Gemma Estoy. Gemma is not sure where she wants to go after graduation. But no matter what she ends up deciding she is sure that her parents will support her. Ever since she was little she wanted to study agriculture, and hopes to end up as an animal doctor. In her essays she described her vision of the future as follows:

"Based on what I feel I can say that I am a successful person. I was not really studios like others but I do aim high. But aiming high is not just a word to be said but it should be acted. Since I was a young girl, my mother always told me to concentrate with my studies to be able to pursue my dreams in life. And to know my limitations like invoking with vies or being with friends because she didn't wanted me to be like them. And those words that she utter to me was once that serve as my tool an guide to fulfill my journey in life".

None of the students see their own future as unsuccessful and there were only two students who see a dark future for the Batanes. The people who were positive about their own future were also positive about the future of the Batanes (except for the two students who see a negative future for the Batanes). The students who are not sure how their future is going to look like, also do not have a vision on how the future of the Batanes is going to look like either. One of these students who is not sure where her future is headed is Laureen Alasco. Currently she is studying Education. Her dream was to study either architecture or to become a policewoman. She wants to stay on the Batanes and find work, and eventually travel. In her essay she answered the question how she sees her own future as follows:

"I do not see my future as a teacher even though I take the education course. I see my future as an architect, I am not that good in drawing and painting but I love planning and designing houses. I just didn't got that course because of financial problems. And because my parents do not want me to be away from them".

The way the students see their own future and how they see the future of the Batanes seems to be related to each other. How they perceive their own future often also describes how they see the future of the Batanes. Considering the fact that the Ivatan culture and the Batanes are very important for the majority of the Ivatan, it makes sense that the view of their own future and the view of the future of the Batanes are related. A positive future for the youth themselves, but a negative future for the Batanes seems illogical, as if someone does not picture him or herself in the future of the Batanes.

Gender

Gender influenced the length of the essays. The average male essay was half the length of the average female essay. Jose Emanuel is a Industrial Technology major who kept his essay very short and clear. After graduation he wants to stay on the Batanes. According to Jose tourism will improve the Batanes and because the Batanes is a protected area the environment will be preserved. He sees his future as follows:

> *"Of course- good. I am a student who have big dreams and big hope. It doesn't matter what school I came from or what province I live, its motivation that drives me to preserve in pursuing my dreams in life. Thus, I shall have a good future".*

His essay only consists of several lines, while the essays written by the female students were on average half page. Gender also influences the use of words in the essays. Essays written by the female students had words in them such as 'love', 'happily', and 'dreaming'. The essays written by the male students contain words such as maintain, developing, industrialized and progressive. When talking about the future the female students tend to express their passion about something, while the male students stay closer to the facts, without describing their feelings about the future.

Education and struggles

The education parents and other relatives of the respondents have followed, elementary, secondary education or college, does not influence the vision of the students on their future and the future of the Batanes. The students of whom the relatives have only followed elementary education, unlike the other students, write in their essays about struggles they had to overcome in order to continue their education, while the students with parents who continued their education beyond elementary did not have these struggles.

The mother of Mariflor Barios was an elementary graduate and her father was a high school graduate. Currently she is studying Education, but she really wants to become a policewoman. Mariflor would love to travel and would love to see the Netherlands. In her essay she described her future as follows:

> *"At first I planned to become an educator after I finished this course. Then after a long journey I added to it that I will be a police woman someday. So I will take an examination for criminology.*

But one day I met new friends and they treated me as a part of their family and pushed me to study hard and finish so I can achieve my goals and take me where they are.

Now, I am looking forward for my future that I am successfully done with my study and passed for my criminology exam. And because if it, I am seeing myself and I am traveling the world with my new family. Dank je".

Of the respondents whose parents only followed elementary or high school education struggles they had to overcome or are overcoming are: pregnancy, financial issues and no contact with other family members. Another student who had to overcome struggles before she could continue her education is Jeanne Rodando. Her mother is a college graduate and about her father's education she has no information. Jeanne her grandmother has followed elementary education and her grandfather has finished his high school education. She is living with her grandparents, cousin and her daughter. Jeanne decided to study Education when she saw a teacher who used humor to teach her students. In the following extract she describes her future:

"I grew up with my grandparents and still live with them. Even though we are not rich, we live happily together. Unfortunately when I was in the 4th year of high school I got pregnant. So I decided to stop for a while, but it did not stop me dreaming and believing. I enrolled at the Alternative Learning System (ALS) and luckily am one of the 2011 passers. Passing the ALS exam motivated me enough to preserve my study. Now I am in the 2nd year of college and still dreaming about a better future when I graduate. Because education is the best weapon in order to provide a better and brighter future for my daughter".

Despite the troubles Jeanne has had to face she still decided to continue her education in order to provide a better future for her daughter. Another student who has faced problems is Jackelene Momes. If there is an opportunity she wants to go to the mainland to work. Her parents will let her go when she gets that opportunity. Jackelene has realized that she can overcome poverty by working hard and studying. When she is older she wants to help the community In her essays she wrote the following about the struggles she faced:

"One of the reasons why I wanted to reach success is poverty and even my family is poor it will never be the reasons for me to give up. The difficulties that I am experiencing now will helps me strive to overcome it. I have always been wishing that my life in the future would be better than what I have now and that's the reason why I am working hard and doing anything to make a way. And I know that I can do it. I can be a better person someday because of my strong determination, perseverance and strength to go for the life challenge. I know that this poverty will not wakens me but instead it makes me stronger and more determined to do whatever I can. Just to have what I wished to have".

Because of the struggles she has faced she realized that she can actually overcome them. The futures of the other students who might have faced struggles, are described by them as hopeful and positive despite having troubles in their lives.

The importance of education is also mentioned in several of the essays. The students see education as a tool for a better future. An example of this is Gerzon Abad. In his essay he wrote the following about the importance of education:

> *"I still remember the words of two greatest Filipino patriot Dr Joso Rizal who nice said, and I quote "Education is the strongest foundation of this and every powerful nation, with education we produce lights, with lights we produce hope, with hope we pursue our dreams and with those dreams we foresee a brighter tomorrow. The more fact that I am back in course only proves that I value education a lot".*

He already finished his course in Hotel and Restaurant Management but decided to continue because he values education. Which again shows the importance of education on the Batanes.

4.3 The vision of the youth of the Batanes on the future of the Batanes

In the essays about the future of the Batanes there are also several themes that are recurring. For instance the preservation of the Batanes and the Ivatan culture. As well as progression and an increase in more technology. There are also several themes that are not mentioned as often as expected such as indigenous peoples and the Batanes as a protected area.

Positive and Negative

The majority of the students have a positive vision of the future of the Batanes. There will be changes in the future, but the Ivatan will adapt to these changes and will come out stronger than before. For instance Amy Bata sees a positive future for the Batanes. In her essay she described her vision of the future of the Batanes as follows:

> *"Here in the Batanes we have strict government. They don't allow to build buildings here which cannot contribute to the traditions of Ivatan. In short, they don't allow this places traditions and culture to be forgotten or changed. So I see Batanes in the future as a beautiful paradise with its maintained culture and tradition. People may change their personality but it's good to enjoy our culture and to develop it more specially those good manners which can be shared with everyone. People here are kind, hospitable and friendly. I hope that those will be maintained. Batanes in the future will still be beautiful and will still be called "Paradise of the North".*

She is positive about the future of the Batanes as well as the present. Also Amy sees the Ivatan culture as an important factor for the future of the Batanes. Wilfredo Castillo is also positive about the future of the Batanes. He is aware that the Batanes might face some struggles, but he thinks by approaching these

struggles the right way the Batanes can develop in a positive way. In his essay about the future of the Batanes he wrote the following:

> *"Ivatans life will become more comfortable and satisfying with the conveniences that modern technology will give us. The modernized appliances, equipments, materials etc, will help us work faster and more efficient.*
> *(..) The visitors are restricted in trading in our natural resources, specially the endangered species which can only be found here. And few companies individual are allowed to have businesses like hotel/resort to prevent abuse of the limited resources. If we will not restrict them, lots of restaurants, bars, factory etc, will be established here and then our islands will no longer be known as "slice of heaven".*

The developments in the future will make life for the Ivatan easier according to Wilfredo. But at the same time the factors that make the Batanes so special will be preserved.

Besides the positive visions that the students have of the future of the Batanes, there are also a few students who see a negative future for the Batanes. One of these students is Apa Horca. In his essay he sees a very negative future for the Batanes, especially because of the Ivatan. He thinks there is still hope for the Ivatan and the Batanes but then they have to drastically change. Below is an extract of his essay:

> *"(..) Ivatan society is absurd in many ways. And because of their absurd way of living, I could tell that this place will get worser and worser making its future jeopardized. Its absurdity if something I can't understand. Generally speaking Ivatans are shy. Because of their shyness,, a lot things they wanted or supposed to do is mostly left without taking any action. And when you ask them why they didn't do something they'll say Oh, I am shy.*
> *(..) One of the worst stories this society has is its teenage pregnancy. Every year more or less ten teen girls get pregnant. Of course they can't abort the baby. Instead they abort their schooling. I'm just sadden… Just imagine the future of these teenagers.*
> *(..) Several years ago, there were foreigners who decided to reside here. But they left for the same reasons: Ivatans never treated them the way other societies did to them. They are scam bag, taking advantage of them. They wanted to start business here but they were not allowed to".*

Even though he sees a negative future for the Batanes, he does wants to return to the Batanes eventually, because it is his home. Despite the fact that he is not positive about the future of the Batanes, he does see it as the place where he wants to live.

Preservation, Pollution and Tourism

Preservation of the Batanes and the Ivatan culture, as well as preservation of the Batanes were mentioned regularly in the essays. When students mentioned one of these themes they want to see in the future, they often also mentioned the other one. So the preservation of the Batanes and the preservation of the Ivatan

seem to have a relation among each other. Roderick G Come wants the Ivatan culture to be preserved. He has the following view about the future of the Batanes:

> *"One main thing I want to foresaw in Batanes is the tighter foundation of preserving the Ivatan culture. I want to see the future generations to see, learn and retain the Ivatan culture. As new technology arises and that future generation, the old traditional culture is blocked by technology. To retain our Ivatan history, its landmarks, traditional methods, our procedures everything about it.*
>
> *(..) For the people here in the Batanes, to see that positive attitude, that smile, generosity, honesty and a decent, happy life is what I want for the future. This give that pride, that confidence to go on in life as we live here in the Batanes".*

He is aware of the struggles that the Ivatan will come across in order for them to preserve their culture, but he thinks that the Ivatan will be able to. Of the students who mention the loss of natural beauty, the majority also mentions the preservation of the Batanes. There are only two students who do not mention that even though in the future their might be loss the environment, they can still preserve it for the future. One of these students is Gerzon Abad. He hopes that the Batanes and the Ivatan culture will be preserved for the future, but he is not sure that it will happen. In his essay he wrote the following about the future of the Batanes:

> *"Batanes is considered by most (if not all) as "The paradise of the North" and "The land of no return". It might be because of the natural landscape of the islands which captivated the eyes and hearts of many tourists.*
>
> *(..) As an Ivatan youth and student who is aware of the harmonies inside the province, I am trying to find all these characteristics of a paradise in the islands but I rarely see them. Now this maybe no wonder "where now is the paradise of the North". All the characterizes of a paradise that are present in the Batanes are slowly diminishing because of globalization, urbanization, migration and technology. And I am afraid that this is where the paradise of the north (the Batanes) is heading".*

Because of all the new influences on the Batanes he is afraid that the islands and the Ivatan culture will change. Gerzon also mentions the increase in pollution, just like Bernadette Fidel. She is afraid that people will become lazy in the future because all the gadgets that will be introduced in the Batanes. Also an increase in tourism will cause more pollution. In her essay she wrote the following:

> *"As we imagine Batanes is a very small island in our map, but every day, Batanes is treasuring and adopting innovation too our culture and life style of every individual. I can see the Batanes in the future some like a city. Many vehicles in the street, buildings, a good road to be pass by and the tourist was patronize it. But I see also a pollution cause of this innovation. The air have a pollution, also the water. Unlike today we have a fresh air, clean water and peaceful place'"*

The respondents who mentioned pollution in their essays, also mentioned the preservation of the Batanes. When it comes to pollution and loss of natural beauty, the preservation of the Batanes is also mentioned in the essays. The respondents who wrote about tourism in their essays, all see an increase in tourism, from the amount of tourism their currently is. Even though they are aware that tourism could create more pollution, loss of natural beauty and loss of the traditional Ivatan culture. An example of a student who sees the future of the Batanes this way is Eileen Garcia. According to Eileen the tourism has potential on the Batanes. Tourism creates job opportunities and new buildings. In her essays she wrote the following about the future of the Batanes:

> *"Since the province is one of the tourist spot, tourist will be an eye opener for great privileges for people. Local tour guiding is one of the job opportunities, numbers of hotels and inns will be opened to accommodate visitors, souvenir shops start to boom. Today we have not yet seen the Batanes transition into a well developed place but time will come, this will be appreciated".*

The respondents see the positive sides of tourism like Eileen, but are at the same time aware of the fact that there will be negative side effects because of this tourism as well.

Another factor that is often mentioned that could influence the future of the Batanes is more technology and progressive. An example of this is Marie Escoto. She thinks that currently the tourism is good, however in the future it will damage the environment of the Batanes. In her essay she writes the following about an increase in technology and pollution:

> *"I also see that the future of Batanes will become populated that not more fresh air to breath. Because as I observe nowadays, big vehicles, motorcycles and cars are increasing which contribute to the harness of our air. In the future I also see that Batanes is surrounded by many technologies that helps Ivatans to live easier and faster. And because of this culture and tradition of Ivatans, there is a possibility that it will be vanish and forget. But of course, this is just only things or situation on how I see the future of the Batanes. We cannot predict the future but can only see it".*

In several of the essay the students wrote that they see the Batanes in the future as "progressive" and "more developed". According to the respondents the Batanes of the future can compete with other islands. When students mentioned development they also mentioned an increase of technology is most cases. In order to compete with other provinces of the Philippines the majority of the respondents think an increase of technology is necessary.

Protected area and indigenous peoples
It is interesting that the term protected area is mentioned only once. And the term indigenous peoples is not mentioned in the essays at all. While I was conducting research about the Batanes these were the terms that seemed to define the islands. And the terms that I could find a lot of information about.

Therefore I expected these terms to also be relevant once I arrived at the Batanes. But reading the essays, the students did not seem to pay attention to the fact that they are living in a protected area, or that they are considered indigenous peoples. Finally it is interesting that several students used terms such as *"Greener Pasture"* and *"Paradise of the North"* in their essays. It would be too accidental that several students used these exact same terms. The origin of these terms however is not clear. Besides these terms, which are mentioned multiple times, there are also several other terms, *"Slice of Heaven"*, *"Place of no Return"*, that are used to describe the Batanes. So answering the question of the future of the Batanes, almost all the students use some kind of slogan. In chapter 5, *Discussion*, the text analysis of the essays above will be used to explain several scenarios about the future of the Batanes and the factors that influence these scenarios.

Chapter 5. Discussion

In this chapter all the pieces of the puzzle will fall into place. The first paragraph of this chapter will explain more precisely how the students see their own future, by combining the information the students have provided, with the theory of chapter 2. In the second paragraph, *Tourism on the Batanes*, I will use the information about the future of the students and the information in chapter 2 to paint a picture on how tourism influences the future of the Batanes according to the youth. In the third paragraph, *Migration from the Batanes*, I will explain how migration influences the future of the Batanes. The fourth paragraph will explain the influences poverty and education have on the future on the Batanes, and why these factors are related to each other. And then finally in the last paragraph of this chapter I will answer my research question. Just in case you forgot, my research question is: '*How do the Ivatan visualize the future of the Batanes islands*?' I will now start this chapter with the future of the youth on the Batanes in the paragraph below.

5.1 The future of the youth of the Batanes

I will start this paragraph with answering one of my sub-questions. In the first chapter, I formulated the question: '*How do the youth on the Batanes see their future?*', in order to eventually answer my research question. After reading all the essays the students of the BSC have written, I think "divers" is the first thing that will come to mind when describing their future. As expected there are not two students who visualize the same future for themselves. But at the same time there are some factors that overlap between the students, on which I will focus more below.

*'Of course- good. I am a student who have big dreams and big hope (*Jose Castillejor*)'.*
The extract above, of the essay written by Jose Castillejor, seems to find the essay question a rhetorical question, *'How do you see your future?'*. He answers with 'of course', like he doesn't expect any other answer to be correct when describing your own future. And he is not the only one. Even though the students seem to have different opinions about how they see their future, the majority of the students are positive about their future (68 percent). Successful is a term that is often used when they are describing the direction they are heading. Amy Bata for instance says: '*I see my future as one of the successful teachers here in Batanes'.* The students also see a successful future, which surprises me, when they mention that at first they want to follow a different course then the course that they are currently following, or even now, when they still want to do something different than what they are doing. Mariflor Barios is an example of this, she is currently studying education, and at some point it was her dream to become an educator. However when she met new friends this changes, Mariflor wants to become a policewoman: ' *Now, I am looking forward to my future that I am a successfully done my study and passed for my criminology exam'*. It seems to me therefore that the students acknowledge the influence the present has on the future, but at the same time do not see the influence of the present as final for their future. Several students mention that in the present they are working hard and learning all that the teacher taught them, but there is still room for

change. Randolph Caballero wrote that he does not know how his future will look like, but how he is acting now will influence that. In his essay he wrote the following: '*All of my motivations and performances in my studies will reflect on what I will be in the future'.* When students decided to switch courses it does not influence how successful they see their future.

'Education is strongest foundation of every powerful nation, with education we produce light, with light we produce hope, with hope we pursue our dreams and with those dreams we pursue a brighter tomorrow (Gerzon Abad)'.

Gerzon uses a quote of Dr. Rizal to describe the importance of education. Gerzon, along with several other respondents, describes the importance of education on the Batanes. Another example is Jeanne Redondo who for instance mentions the following about education: '*Education is the best weapon to give my daughter a brighter and better future'.* Both the students of the BSC as well as the government see education as an important tool to influence the future. And that the Batanes has a literacy rate of 97 percent (NSO, 2010). The emphasis the government places on education seems to rub off on the students. During my research the importance of education was mentioned often. Also Alexa Margareth wrote about the importance of education is her essay. She wrote the following: ' *As I can foresee, it's not impossible to have a successful life if you only finish your education and start to create your future here in the Batanes* (Alexa Margareth)'. People with an education are expected to become more successful in life. This probably also has something to do with the fact that for the higher paid office jobs, a diploma is required. And the office jobs have a higher salary then for instance the fishermen and farmers. Of course fishing and farming cannot be done without the right knowledge, however someone would not have to go to college to learn this. The majority of the students already learn this from their parents or grandparents, since they have to work on the land together (88 percent). Since around 95 percent of the people on the Batanes are fishermen and farmers, everybody knows someone who works on the land or in the sea (NSO, 2010).

'During high school I got pregnant so I decided to stop for a while, but it didn't stop me dreaming an believing (Jeanne Redondo)'.

Another factor that even seems to motivate the students more to be successful is problems that they are facing in their lives, or have faced. Factors such as poverty, no relatives, or pregnancy, seem to motivate the respondents to work even harder to become successful. Jackelene Momes for instance struggles with poverty in her family, but she does not see this as a reason why she could not be successful. To be more exact, she sees this as exactly the reason why she is going to be successful. In her essay she wrote the following extract about poverty:

> *"One of the reasons why I wanted to reach success is poverty and even my family is poor it will never be the reason for me to give up. I've always been wishing that my life in the future would be better than what I have now and that is the reason why I am working hard and doing anything to make a way. And I know I can do it".*

Jackelene seems determined to be successful because she knows what it is like to be poor and she doesn't want that anymore. Delie Estoy, who has not dealt with specific problems, sees the problems that happen along the way as a part of life: *'If errors or problems occur, I've never think that it's over. I just think that it is part of life, wherein each of us are facing such trials or challenges that we believe that we can overcome with'*. And Jackelene and Delie are just two of the several students that see problems and errors as motivation in order to become successful.

The students of the BSC see themselves being successful in the future; whether they end up being educators, farmers, hotel managers or animators. The tool to end up successful is education and to stay positive no matter what problems they face along the way. There are only five students out of twenty-two students, who are not sure where they will end up, and whether this will be positive or negative. The future is still an uncertain path for all the students, but with education and optimism, they could go a long way towards becoming successful.

5.2 Tourism on the Batanes

Above I have discussed how the students see their own future. But the students are only one part of the future of the Batanes. Through the writing this thesis I came across several other factors that influence the future of the Batanes, of which one is tourism. Tourism can influence the future of the Batanes in a drastic way. In this paragraph I will combine the information the respondents have provided about tourism in the essays and interviews in chapter 4, with the information out of chapter 2. The information I gathered will then answer one of my sub questions: '*How does tourism effect the future of the Batanes according to the respondents?*'.

"Tourism offers more opportunities" (Daryl Batin).

As Daryl already mentions tourism provides more opportunities, but there is also a downside to tourism. The Batanes is considered upcoming in the tourism industry. There are daily flights going from Manila to Basco, which are often completely filled up with tourism. Also the increase in restaurants and hotels seem to be a giveaway that more tourists are coming. When the respondents were asked to describe the Batanes terms such as '*Paradise of the North'* and '*Slice of Heaven'*, were not uncommon. According to the respondents the reason why tourist love coming to the Batanes is because of the natural beauty which is present everywhere in the Batanes. One tourist actually described the Batanes as '*The Paradise of the North'*, a term that is used to describe the Batanes by the department of tourism. Also the term '*A Slice of Heaven'*, was according to the stories, once used by a tourist, and is still sticking to the Batanes. The Batanes has been listed as a protected area by the Philippine government (Philippine government, 1997). Because of this the Batanes has gained more national popularity. As well as the wish of several people on the Batanes to become UNESCO World Heritage. The question still remains whether the Batanes will actually end up as a World Heritage Site, since there are also several voices against it, but if it ever will happen, it is a guarantee for an increase in the tourism industry. At the moment it is hard to say whether there will be an

increase, a decrease or no change in the tourist industry. That there will be both advantages and disadvantages to all the different scenarios is clear however. Baldacchino (2007) mentioned that the effects of tourism are the biggest, most sudden and irrevocable on small islands (Baldacchino, 2007: 169). In the case of the Batanes this is no different. Several of the respondents fear that an increase of tourism will also have as a consequence pollution, and in the worst case scenario even the loss of the '*Paradise of the north'*. Gerzon Abad wrote the following about the increase of tourism, which also creates an increase is technology and urbanization: *'I'm afraid that this is where the Paradise of the North (Batanes) is heading- to the Garden of Eden which has lost'*. And he is certainly not the only one, who sees a brighter future because of tourism, but also sees the consequences.

"I see also a pollution cause of this innovation (tourism, the Batanes as a city). The air have a pollution, also the water. Unlike today we have a fresh air, clean water and peaceful place" (Bernadette Fidel).
An increase of tourism will have as a result that there will be more job opportunities for the people on the island. Since the job opportunities on the Batanes are limited, especially for the Hospitality Management students, an increase of jobs is worth the price of damage to the environment. There is also a lot of poverty on the Batanes, so all the extra jobs that are created are positive. And it is hard to think about the consequences to the environment that could happen years from now, when you are hungry today.

"Many tourist will love to stay because of its natural and good personality of the Ivatan" (Jeanne Redondo).
Besides that an increase of tourism creates more job opportunities and more pollution, students also mentioned the beauty of the Batanes as a reason why there should be more tourism. The young Ivatan are so proud of their culture and their home that they want to show this to other people. When there will be an increase in tourism they have the perfect opportunity to show their culture and their beauty to people who are from the outside of the Batanes. The Ivatan culture has so many things that are special to their culture, which they want to show to others.

An increase of tourism will also contribute to the general development of the Batanes. Besides that it will create more job opportunities and therefore more income, some Ivatan also hope that the Batanes will develop faster because of tourism. Currently the Ivatan still feel distinguished from other Filipinos in relation to modernity. Tourism could help the Batanes to enter the same level of development as other parts of the Philippines. As Ferguson (1999) mentions in his *Expectation of modernity*, there is a difference between people who live in the city and people who do not live in the city. And development is the tool to make the differences between the city and the rural areas smaller.

5.3 Migration from the Batanes
Besides tourism, which is mentioned often, there are also other factors that influence the future of the Batanes according to the Ivatan themselves. In the following paragraphs I will partially answer the sub

question: '*What other factors influence the future of the Batanes according to the respondents?*'. First I will start with the influence migration can have on the future of the Batanes.

''When you get hungry you are allowed to leave the Batanes (Gerzon Abad).

Half of the students want to leave the Batanes after graduation (11 students) and the other half wants to stay on the Batanes (11 students). The career opportunities on the Batanes are very limited, also due to the fact that there is just no need to hire a lot of Hospitality graduates, or a place to hire all the Education graduates. People that are unemployed are more likely to migrate, and therefore it is not uncommon that people migrate when they are unemployed. It is also more common for people in their 20s or early 30s to migrate, since these age groups are the most likely to be unemployed (Ritchey, 1974: 378). Therefore it is not surprising that several students mentioned that they wanted to migrate after graduation because they see little opportunity to find a job. Push and pull factors influence whether people migrate from an area or to an area. In the case of the Batanes there are little job opportunities unless you want to become a fisher or farmer. Also when people are searching for a greener pasture they often have to leave, since the Batanes does not provide what these people are looking for (for instance the places for nightlife are very limited, there is no cinema, no zoo, not much shopping etc). The push factors in this case are the limited jobs on the Batanes and the lack of exploring new things. People who are migrating from the Batanes will then be pulled towards an area (pull factors), where there are jobs, as well as the opportunity to create experiences.

''In search of a ''Greener Pasture'' (Tina Daligcon)''.

Besides looking for a job that is not fisher or famer, a lot of students also leave the Batanes in search of a '*''Greener pasture''*,. This term is used to describe people who leave a place in order to find a better paid job. Exactly where this term is from is not known, but it is not only used on the Batanes. A '*''Greener pasture''* basically means looking for a job that offers a higher salary or moving to a place where people can have more experiences and be more successful. The people who decide to migrate from the Batanes often send remittances to their family members. In the Batanes there are not a lot of opportunities to make money so the remittances are the driving force behind the money that is circulating on the Batanes.

The distance people are willing to travel in order to find what they are searching for, depends on how far they have to go to reach what they are searching for (Ritchey, 1974: 135). In the case of the Batanes, they have to at least leave the province. Since the job opportunities are limited on all the inhabited islands of the Batanes. Therefore migrating from small islands should not be taken lightly, it is not just leaving a part of land, and for most people it is leaving a home. That migration will be a part of the future of the Batanes is clear according to the respondents. When people migrate, especially higher educated people, it creates a problem. As the majority of the young people leaving the Batanes, so the traditional way of living, fishing and farming, will gradually disappear.

5.4 Poverty and education on the Batanes

"I see myself as a successful woman someday (..) I did my very best to know every lesson that my instructor teach me" (Bernadette Fidel).

That the Philippines and therefore also the Batanes are not the most wealthy places to live in the world, is probably for most people not something new. And that this poverty can influence the future of a country, or in this case island group, is also nothing new. However when I discovered in what way poverty influences the future according to the respondents, I was surprised. In order to have education, any type of education, a family has to have enough money to pay for this education. I showed that a student pays 3500 peso (Chapter 2) for a college year attending the BSC, the cheapest college on the Batanes. However when a family has an income that falls into class E, that is still considered a lot of money. And when someone doesn't have a college education it is difficult to leave the vicious circle of being poor. Education is important on the Batanes. During my research there was almost no respondent who did not mention the importance of it. To my respondents, education is the tool to a better future. And when one cannot afford this education, it seems that the chance of a better future is getting smaller. As I already explained the importance of education was also mentioned several times in the essays. So the importance of education does not only influence the future of the youth itself, education also influences the future of the Batanes.

Conclusion

The factors that according to the Ivatan youth influence the future of the Batanes, are very divers at one point, and overlapping at another point. In the paragraphs above I already mentioned what factors influence on the future of the Batanes through the eyes of the respondents and why. In this paragraph I will summarize these factors that influence the future. This will be followed by ideas and suggestions of the Ivatan how their future can be a positive one, even when some of the factors might not be.

The influence migration will have on the future is still uncertain. With the data I have gathered I can say that if the youth of the Batanes will follow their view of their own future, a lot of graduates will leave. Tourism can influence the future of the Batanes in a big way. If there will be an increase of tourism, a lot of the Ivatan are afraid of more pollution, loss of natural beauty and the destruction of the Ivatan culture. However more tourism also provides more jobs, which could have as a result that less people decide to migrate. Another factor that influences the future is poverty. The chance of poverty still being present in the future is of course very big. And the consequence of poverty is that it limits the possibilities that people are getting. For poor families it is more difficult to send their children to school and to provide them with the opportunity to explore themselves. Education is the tool for people to come out of poverty, but then there needs to be money for them to follow that education in the first place. Of course poverty will also influence other things in the future, but education is the one thing that is mentioned by the respondents as influencing the future. And since education is not accessible for everyone because of financial reasons, poverty then also influences the future. In the essays the students have written they have

wrote down their dreams and hopes, the things they want to see in their future the most. If that will happen is still uncertain, but the youth is the future and they are already shaping the future.

The Ivatan have a clear opinion of the different scenarios that can happen in the future. They are aware of both the advantages and the disadvantages of several scenarios. The vision that the Ivatan have about the future however seems different than the vision of the government. Where the government are looking towards increasing the popularity of the Batanes with UNESCO and the Batanes as a protected area, the Ivatan care about different things. For the Ivatan preservation of the Ivatan culture and preservation of the Batanes and its natural beauty is priority for the future. Therefore they are focused on pollution and loss of natural beauty.

Image 8. The Batanes

In this final part of my thesis I want to show you how the Ivatan want to improve the future and protect their home from whatever they will come across. Delie Estoy for instance sees tourism as a positive effect, because then the Ivatan have to take care of its natural beauty. When they will not take care of the natural beauty of the Batanes, the tourists will stay away. Jackelene Momes who mentions that the unity of the Ivatan will make sure that in the future the Batanes can be a more developed province. She then continues her essay with: *'Ivatans are very perseverance and hardworking and because of that can see that the Batanes will never be down. I know and I believe in the strength of the Ivatans so know that Batanes will develop more'.* Another student who sees a road to a positive future is Alexa Margareths. She also suggest, like Delie, that the Ivatan need to work together in order to preserve the future. In her essay she wrote: "*We need to help our Financial Government to preserve the original appearance of the province, customs and traditions of early Ivatans and to protect the area from those who might abuse our resources*".

To finish my thesis, I would like to use the remarks of Randolph Caballero about the future of the Batanes that summarizes it all and explains how uncertain the future really is. As Randolph wrote, "*the future of the Batanes depends on the people who live there and on no one else*".

Appendix A: Questionnaire

Dear Batanes State College students, I am Nikie Veld, a 22 year old University student from the Netherlands. I leave near the sea in a very small town called Noordwijk. For as long as I can remember I love travelling and discovering new parts of the world. Last year I graduated in Literature, so I decided this year to continue studying something that offered the opportunity to travel. This September I started Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology. I will be doing research on the perspective on the future of people living on the Batanes. Because I love reading and studied literature I want to use written texts in order to do my research. That is why I want to ask you to please fill out this short questionnaire and then answer the essay question I have formulated. If you have any further questions you can always come and talk to me. Thank you very much!

1. What is your name?

   _____

2. What is your age?

   _____

3. What is your gender?

   _____

4. What is your course?

   _____

5. Who lives in the same house as you, brothers, grandparents, parents, etc.?

   _____

6. What jobs do the people have that live in the same house with you?

   _____

7. What education did your parents follow, elementary, high school, university, etc.?

   _____

Appendix B: FPIC form of NCIP

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
PROVINCE OF BATANES)
CITY OF BASCO)

AFFIDAVIT OF UNDERTAKING

I, Nikie Veld, of legal age, Dutch, and a resident of Haarlem, Netherlands, after having been duly sworn to in accordance with law, hereby depose and state, that:
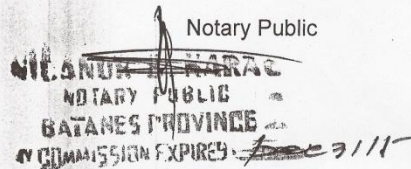
1. I am the applicant in the research proposal entitled: "The future of the youth of Batanes";

2. Basco, Batanes is the area where I will conduct my research activity;

3. I will respect and follow the rules set forth under the Traditions and Customs of the Indigenous Peoples of Batanes;

4. I will abide by the guidelines and/or requirements set forth under Republic Act 8371 or the Indigenous Peoples Administrative Order No. 1, Series of 2012 (NCIP AO No. 1, Series of 2012); and,

5. I am executing this affidavit to attest to the foregoing facts and for whatever legal intent and purpose this may serve.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 17th January 2014 in Basco, Philippines.

Nikie Veld
Affiant

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 17th day of January 2014 in Basco, Philippines, affiant having exhibited to me her _____ no. _____ issued at _____ in the _____ of _____ 2014.

Doc. No. _2/8_
Page No. _6__
Book No. _XII_
Series of _/1/_2014.

Notary Public

NILANOR H. NARAG
NOTARY PUBLIC
BATANES PROVINCE
N COMMISSION EXPIRES: Dec 31/15

Appendix C: Reference on the classification of families

REFERENCE ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES
Based on the Poverty Threshold Level set by NSCB 2009

Annual per Capita Poverty Threshold   —   **Php 16,841.00**
Annual per Capita Food Threshold   —   Php 11,686.00

FAMILY of 1	FAMILY of 2	FAMILY of 3	FAMILY of 4
A - 2,105.12	A - 4,210.25	A - 6,315.37	A - 8,420.48
B - 1,754.27	B - 3,508.54	B - 5,262.81	B - 7,017.08
C - 1,403.42	C - 2,806.84	C - 4,210.26	C - 5,613.68
D - 1,052.56	D - 2,105.12	D - 3,157.68	D - 4,210.24
E - 701.71	E - 1,403.42	E - 2,105.13	E - 2,806.84

FAMILY of 5	FAMILY of 6	FAMILY of 7	FAMILY of 8
A - 10,525.60	A - 12,630.72	A - 14,735.84	A - 16,840.96
B - 8,771.35	B - 10,525.62	B - 12,279.89	B - 14,034.16
C - 7,017.10	C - 8,420.52	C - 9,823.94	C - 11,227.36
D - 5,262.80	D - 6,315.36	D - 7,367.92	D - 8,420.48
E - 3,508.55	E - 4,210.26	E - 4,911.97	E - 5,613.68

FAMILY of 9	FAMILY of 10	FAMILY of 11	FAMILY of 12
A - 18,946.08	A - 21,051.20	A - 23,156.32	A - 25,261.50
B - 15,788.43	B - 17,542.70	B - 19,296.97	B - 21,051.24
C - 12,630.78	C - 14,034.20	C - 15,437.62	C - 16,841.00
D - 9,473.04	D - 10,525.60	D - 11,578.16	D - 12,630.72
E - 6,315.39	E - 7,017.10	E - 7,718.81	E - 8,420.50

FAMILY of 13	FAMILY of 14	FAMILY of 15
A - 27,366.63	A - 29,471.68	A - 31,576.80
B - 22,805.51	B - 24,559.78	B - 26,314.05
C - 18,244.42	C - 19,647.84	C - 21,051.26
D - 13,683.28	D - 14,735.84	D - 15,788.40
E - 9,122.21	E - 9,823.94	E - 10,525.65

Legend:

A – Families living 50% above the poverty threshold level
B – Families living 25% above the poverty threshold level
C – Families within the poverty threshold level
D – Families living 25% below the poverty threshold level
E – Families living 50% below the poverty threshold level

Appendix D: Text analysis

General Information	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	Total
Female	x	x			x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x						x	x	13
Male			x	x		x							x			X	x	x	x	x			9
Bachelor in Education	x	x	x		x						x	x		x						x	x	x	10
Bachelor in Hospitality				x					x				x						x				4
Bachelor in Technology						x										X	x	x					4
Bachelor in Agriculture							x	x	x	x													4
Living with Parents			x		x	x	x	x	x		x		x				x	x	x	x	x	x	14
Living with Grandparents	x	x	x			x																	4
Living with brothers and sisters	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x				x	x		x	x	15
Living with other relatives	x	x			x	x						x		x				x				x	8
Living with friends																X							1
Living alone												x		x									2
Living in people have a job/Students	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				X	x	x	x	x	x	x	19
Living in people are unemployed																							0
Mother has college education		x		x	x			x		x	x		x	x		X	x	x	x	x			13
Mother has high school education	x		x		x	x		x													x	x	7
Mother has elementary education												x		x									2
Father has college education	x		x	x		x		x			x		x			X	x	x	x	x	x	x	14
Father has high school education					x			x	x		x		x	x									6
Father has elementary education						x																	1
Mother is deceased														x									1
Father is deceased												x	x	x									3
Positive view of own future		x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	17
Positive view of future of the Batanes	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	X		x	x		x	x	18

Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Total
Negative view of own future																					0
Negative view of future of the Batanes			x																x		2
Neutral opinion about own future	x			x				x							X	x					5
Neutral opinion about Batanes future	x			x												x					3
Paradise of the North			x								x	x									3
A slice of Heaven													x								1
Preserve the Batanes		x	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	16
Preserve the Ivatan culture		x	x		x	x	x				x	x	x	x			x		x	x	12
Natural Beauty		x				x		x		x		x			X			x	x		8
Loss of Natural Beauty			x																x		2
Increase in Tourism	x	x		x	x			x	x		x			x				x	x	x	11
Decrease in Tourism																				x	1
Ivatan	x	x				x	x		x	x	x	x			x			x	x		11
Protected Area					x																1
Indigenous Peoples																					0
Progressive	x			x		x	x		x			x			X						7
More Technology	x						x				x		x		X	x	x				7
Pollution		x		x		x			x	x								x		x	7
Poverty										x		x									0
Teen Pregnancy		x				x												x			3
Religion/God						x	x											x	x	x	5
Importance of Education		x	x		x		x				x	x			X			x	x	x	10
Giving back to the Batanes																					0
Shyness of the Ivatan																		x	x		2

References

Bal, M. 1997. *Narratology Introduction to the theory of narrative*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Baldacchino, G. 2006. Islands, Island studies, Islands studies journal. *Island Studies Journal*, Vol. 1: 3-18.

Baldacchino, G. 2007. Islands as novelty sites. *The Geographical review*, Vol 97.2: 165-174.

Batanes travel. <www.batanestravel.com> accessed July 2014.

Bellwood, P. and E. Dizon 2013. *4000 Years of Migration and Cultural Exchange*. Australian National University, Canberra.

Bernard, H. 2002. *Research Methods in Anthropology*. Walnut Creek, AltaMira Press.

Boersema, J. 2000. Only the present counts when the future is at stake. *Focaal*, Vol 35: 89-112.

Bogue, D. J. 1969. *Principles of Demography*. New York: Wiley. 9-17.[

Connel, J. and D. Conway 2000. Migration and Remittances in island microstates: A comparative perspective on the South Pacific and Caribbean. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol 24.1: 52-78.

Courchene, T. J. 1970. Interprovincial migration and economic adjustment. *Can. J. Econ.* 3:550-76

Department of public information. General Assembly, United Nations <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/ga10612.doc.htm> accessed November 25 2013.

Eagleton, T. 2010. *Literary Theory an Introduction*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Elroy, MC.J. 2003. Tourism Development in Small Islands Across the World. *Geogr. Ann.*, 85 B (4): 231–242.

Ferguson, J. 1999. *Expectations of modernity*. Los Angeles, University of California Press.

Halili, M.C. N. 2004. *Philippine History*. Manila, Rex Book Store.

Hall, D.R. 1998. 'Tourism development and sustainability issues in Central and Southeastern Europe'. *Tourism Management*. 19:5 423-431.

Hidalgo, C. 1996. *The making of the Ivatans: The cultural history of the Batanes*. Metro Manila. Cognita TRC.

Hornedo, F. 2000. *Taming the Wind'* Manila, University of Santo Tomas Publishing House.

IUCN, Protected areas, respecting people, IUCN <http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/gpap_home/gpap_people/> accessed October 22 2013.

Judson, H.F. 1980. *The Search for Solution*, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Lapping, M. 2012. Foreword. Geography at Risk. *Extreme heritage management: the practices and policies of densely populated islands. Ed.* Baldacchino, G. New York, Berghahn books.

National Statistics Office of the Philippines, 2010. Manila, NSO.

Persoon, G. and D.M.E. van Est 2000. The study of the future in anthropology in relation to the sustainability debate. *Focaal*, Vol 35: 7-28.

Provincial Social Welfare and Development Office, 2013. Manila, PSWDO.

Quisumbing, A.R. and S. Mc Niven. 2007. Moving Forward, Looking Back: The Impact of Migration and Remittances on Assets, Consumption, and Credit Constraints in the Rural Philippines. *ESA working paper*, Vol 7.5: 2-46.

Ritchey, P.N. 1976. Explanations of migration. *Annual review sociology*, Vol 2.3: 363-404

Silbey, D. J. 2007. *A War of Frontier and Empire: The Philippine–American War, 1899–1902*. New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

The Philippine government. < http://www.philippines.hvu.nl/animals10.htm> accessed November 26 2013.

The Republic of the Philippines, The Ivatan, National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
<http://web.archive.org/web/20080311204203/http://www.ncip.gov.ph/resources/ethno_detail.php?ethnoid=60> accessed October 10 2013.

Turner, L., and J. Ash. 1976. *The Golden Hordes: InternationalTourism and the Pleasure Periphery.* New York, St.Martin's Press.

UNESCO World Heritage. April 12. 2014. Tentative List.
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/521/>

United Nations, Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, United Nations
<http://undesadspd.org/IndigenousPeoples/SecondDecade.aspx> accessed October 21 2013.

United Nations, UNESCO World Heritage, Tentative Lists
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/?pattern=philippines> accessed October 11 2013

United Nations. April 12, 2014. < http://www.sids2014.org/>