Heritage in Cebu City, the Philippines: A Study of "Competitive" Heritage

——A Preliminary Field Report[1]——

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Introduction

Heritage has been discussed among people all over the world. I have previously discussed the concept of heritage and its varieties in different contexts (e.g., Nishimura 2006a, 2006b), and recently, heritage has become a global phenomenon. UNESCO is responsible for the widespread popularity of heritage. The UNESCO World Heritage program surely makes people more aware of the heritage around them, and encourages them to think about its conservation.

UNESCO and other associated agencies defined heritage from their own perspectives and, as of 2018, there are several categories of heritage. This has created confusion among people who are directly influenced by world heritage, and even in the academic world there is much confusion concerning the definition of heritage.

In the Philippines, too, a number of people have talked about their own heritage from the perspective of conservation (e.g., Mojares 1982; Muares 1997; National Commission for Culture and the Arts 2013, 2014; Peralta 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Ramon Abolitiz Foundation 2011, 2013; Tenazas 1964).

There are a number of local heritage sites throughout the country, but attitudes toward heritage differ across regions. Given these differences, I intend to explore the situation of heritage in Cebu. I have two aims: first, to specify what the people of Cebu think about heritage, and second, to reexamine variability in the general concept of heritage in comparison to locally generated concepts and actions related to heritage.

1. Concepts of Heritage

Heritage has generally been known as something inherited from preceding generations or historical materials whose owners may be unknown. These days, due to the UNESCO World Heritage Sites, the term "heritage" has become popular among people. The World Heritage

program provides different views on heritage—namely, not just the traditional views mentioned above, but sociopolitical and socioeconomic meanings as well (Nishimura 2006a).

In both Japan and the Western world, the traditional concept of heritage has more or less the same meaning: it is inherited property passed down from preceding generations, or status acquired by a person through birth. In each case, the term "heritage" indicates something valuable that is inherited from ancestors, and in this regard, the traditional concept of heritage is static. That being said, it appears that the ownership of heritage may be more clearly defined in the Western world than in Japan (Nishimura 2006a).

Although the above concept is still used in everyday life, it seems to me that it has repeatedly been modified and had its meaning expanded. Consequently, it now conveys a variety of meanings. Many agree that UNESCO is responsible for this modification, and that the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, which came into effect in 1972, has had a large impact on our concept of heritage (Nishimura 2006a, 2006b).

Since 1972, more than 1,000 sites or objects have been inscribed on the World Heritage list (UNESCO 2018). As World Heritage sites are widely distributed throughout the world, new problems have come to light. Namely, the original concept of "heritage," which was based on the traditional/dictionary meaning of heritage, did not fit some of the sites, and consequently, the concept has been continuously reviewed and modified. In particular, modifications have been made in terms of culture, since newly nominated sites are located in different cultural contexts (e.g., Anheir and Isar eds., 2011).

In this series of modifications, there have been three major turning points:

First, in the late 1970s and 80s, questions were raised about the overly clear categorizations of natural and cultural heritages. In response to these questions, UNESCO created a new category, "complex heritage," which combined the characteristics of both categories. During the 1990s, UNESCO further modified the concept and created the category of "cultural landscapes," which included not only the sites themselves, but also the surrounding environments. In this conceptual framework, a wide area can and should be inscribed on the World Heritage list (Isar 2011; Nishimura 2006a).

Second, more recent concepts of heritage have tended to take note of the technologies or knowledge used to create material heritage. Here, the concept of heritage was further modified to include non-physical aspects.

Third, most recent discussions concern the even more intangible aspects of heritage. In this regard, their focus is on the everyday practices of local people within and around the sites.

Finally, I would like to comment on the present-day situation with respect to the concept of heritage. There are at least three significant aspects of heritage: 1) heritage as symbols, 2) heritage as an economic stimulus, and 3) heritage as related to the lives of the inhabitants. I especially focus on the third aspect. Nowadays, it is important to think about the contemporary people who reside in or near a heritage area in terms of heritage management. This approach is inclusively called "living heritage," in which the definition of heritage should include inhabitants who use the site in their own lives (e.g., Anheir and Isar 2011; Miura 2004; Nishimura 2006a; Odajima 2014).

In short, I recognize that the meaning of heritage has been continuously modified, and as a consequence, it is now far different from the original concept. "Heritage" now refers to a tangible site; intangible technological aspects; and a facility as a heritage that local people work on, use, and protect. With the diversified meanings, "heritage" has become a much more dynamic concept than it was originally assumed (e.g., Miura 2004, 2011). I see this trend in the Philippines in general, and in Cebu City in particular. During my recent field research in Cebu City (from 2013 to 2018), I observed that small museums had increased in number, and enthusiasm for the conservation of heritage had increased among the people of Cebu City. Their enthusiasm extended to conserving not only tangible but also intangible heritage such as music, weavings, photos, and films (Ramon Abolitiz Foundation 2011, 2013).

Therefore, it is worth examining why the people of Cebu City want to conserve their heritage, and what they really want to keep and pass on to the next generations. In doing so, I am especially interested in looking for variability in the motivations for and manners of conserving heritage—and particularly in the differences between the Philippines and other areas of Southeast Asia such as the Lao P.D.R., where my research project on the conservation of cultural heritage is also progressing.

2. Heritage in Cebu City

The concept of heritage is well recognized in the Philippines (e.g., Muares 1997; National Commission for Culture and the Arts 2013, 2014; Peralta 2013, 2014a, 2014b). Originally, the concept was narrowly interpreted among the small circle of scholars who were interested in the archaeology or architecture of the Philippines. Archaeologists in the Philippines attempted to gather archaeological evidence from throughout the country.

Cebu Island is well known as the land where the Spanish first landed and set up a colony. Previously, I studied the island from the perspective of anthropological archaeology[2] and

found that Cebu was rich in historical and archaeological heritage. The research revealed that there was a causal relationship between long-distance trade and the development of complex societies during late prehistoric and early historic (Spanish colonial) times (ca. fifteenth to seventeenth centuries). This research and other historical and archaeological studies (Abella 1886; Beyer 1921, 1948; Bores 1971; Chirino 1968; Echevarria 1973; Fenner 1984; Hutterer 1974; Loarcas 1582; McCoy and de Jesus 1983; Mojares 1984; Phelan 1959; Pigafeta 1968; Tenazas 1965) discovered much evidence of heritage in the area around Cebu City.

In order to understand the distribution of heritage in Cebu City and to put a kind of physical limit on the present research, it is important to understand both the physical and cultural geographical aspects.

Physical Geographical Setting

Cebu City is located on a narrow alluvial plain that lies between the foothills of the central mountain chain and the coast facing the Bohol strait. The city is located in the middle of the eastern side of the Island of Cebu. It is at 10°17' north latitude and 123°54' east longitude. Present-day Cebu City has an area of about 330.39km^2 (Borres 1971). Although it has expanded onto the mountainside in the north and west, the traditional urban core and contemporary downtown area is located on the small alluvial plain of the Guadalupe River and the Lahug River, with an elevation of only 3 to 10m above sea level. With more than 500,000 inhabitants (National Census and Statistics Office 2016), Cebu City is the largest settlement on Cebu Island and plays various important roles as a socioeconomic and sociopolitical center.

The southern side of Cebu City faces the Bohol Strait (Opon Channel). The major part of the southern side has been reclaimed, and nowadays, it is used as a harbor and market area. However, studies of historical documents and archaeological records have shown that it was once a coastal beach washed by the sea current (Map 1). At present, this sea current runs from southwest to northeast, causing both erosion and deposition (Map 2).

We may therefore assume that in the coastal area occupied by Carbon Market the reclamation would be subject to erosion by sea currents, while Cebu is where sediment was taken for the Carbon Market area. If there was no human intervention such as reclamation or the growth of settlements in this manner, the land projection should have grown toward the sea (e.g., Nishimura 1992).

Although the projecting headland was made by sea-current agents, the main part of the alluvial plain on which Cebu City is located is the result of long-term erosion and deposition of

soil by two water agents: rainfall and river action. Although the downtown area of Cebu City does not have a river (there is a small stream), two rivers are considered as being responsible for forming the Cebu alluvial plain (Borres 1971; Cullinane 1982, 2013; Fenner 1984; Nishimura 1992). One is the Lahug River and the other is the Guadalupe River. The Lahug River runs on the east side of Cebu City. It starts in the Busay District and runs into the sea in Cebu Harbor near Pier No. 3. The Guadalupe River runs on the west side of Cebu City. It also originates in the Busay District but goes down through the Guadalupe District and empties into the Bohol Strait near the VECO Compound. Both rivers are relatively short. The total length of the Lahug River is about 5.5 km, while the Guadalupe River is about 6 km. Today, a small amount of water is carried by these rivers, and they often dry up during the dry season; however, a large amount of water runs through them during typhoons. In sum, the shortage of river water around Cebu City is distinctive (Nishimura 1992).

Cultural Geographical Setting

Historically, Cebu has functioned as a cultural, economic, and administrative hub for the people living in the Visayan area (Borres 1971). Cebu Province, which consists of Cebu Island, Santa Fe Island, Ponson Island, Posijan Island, and other small islands, has 44 municipalities and six cities (Nishimura 1992). The provincial capital is Cebu City.

The central Visayas is one of the most densely populated regions of the Philippines in terms of the total number of people and the population density (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967). The total population of Cebu Province was 2,938,982 as of May 1, 2015, which comprised about 5 % of the total population of the Philippines. The population density of Cebu Province was 590 people per km^2 (National Census and Statistics Office 2016).

Unfortunately, little of the island is suited to agriculture (about 30% of Cebu). Therefore, it was historically well recognized that the population pressure on the total land actually under cultivation had reached serious proportions on Cebu, with 2,900 persons per square mile (Wernsted and Spencer 1967). The province remains predominantly rural. According to the 2015 Census, the number of urban residents was 922,611, while that of rural residents was 2,016,371.

Agriculture, fishing, and forestry dominated other occupational groups, employing 47.89% of the total workers in the province (National Census and Statistics Office 2016). The second biggest occupational group consists of people who are engaged in community, social, and personal services, who constitute 15.95% of the total workers in the province. The third biggest group is related to manufacturing, comprising 12.28%; the fourth, to wholesale and retail trade

(8.43%); and the fifth, to transportation, storage, communication, and tourism (6.31%) (National Census and Statistics Office 2016).

According to census data from 2015, with more than 500,000 inhabitants (National Census and Statistics Office 2016), Cebu City is the largest settlement on Cebu Island, and its population makes up 23% of the total population of Cebu Province.

Because of its convenient geographical location at the center of the Central Philippines, called the "Visayas," Cebu City has historically played an important regional role. The city is regarded as the second largest metropolis in the Philippines today. It serves as a commercial and trading center for the south.

As mentioned above, people in Cebu City are engaged in three major occupations: agriculture, industries, and trade activities. Several agricultural products are grown around Cebu City, such as maize, coconuts, sugar cane, legumes, and fruits (especially mangoes). It is increasingly important for Cebu farmers to raise flowers such as roses or daisies. They are raised in fertile and cooler areas such as the Busay, Guadalupe, or Talamban Districts. These agricultural products are not only consumed in Cebu itself but are also exported to large cities in Northern Mindanao, Leyte, and even Luzon.

Industries found in Cebu City are mining, sugar processing, copra and oil production, ceramic production, alcohol distilling, paper production, glass manufacture, the metal industry, food processing, and so on (e.g., Borres 1972). Thus, the structure of the industry in Cebu City is characterized by diversified small industrial units. Besides this, service industries such as hotel businesses for tourists are rapidly developing. Numerous hotels, restaurants, hospitals, churches, and educational institutions (including universities) are located in Cebu City (e.g., Wernstedt and Spencer 1967).

Of all the industrial raw materials produced in or shipped to the central Visayan region, none is more important, both in terms of value and quantity, than coconut and its various products. The central Visayas, particularly Cebu City, used to have names that are almost synonymous with Philippine coconut products. A large coconut oil factory located in Cebu City produced approximately 36% of the total Philippine export coconut oil and 6% of domestically consumed coconut oil (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967). Lesser industries located in the central Visayan region include an important segment of the Philippines' cosmetic, barbershop-supply, and candle industries.

In the downtown area of Cebu City, the pattern of streets closely conforms to the old landscapes such as the general configuration of the shorelines, swamp, or inlets (Maps 1 and 2). The

core urban area of present-day Cebu City was the first capital of the Spanish colony, which the Spaniards settled in 1565. It was the capital until 1571, when it was replaced by Manila. Therefore, together with its economic significance, Cebu City has historically played an important role in Philippine politics.

With regard to the economic aspects, the central business district adjoins and merges with the port area. Centered around this port area, most of the population of Cebu City lives in a crowded residential area near the main business district and along the harbor. Cebu City serves as the principal commercial distribution point for the region and also provides similar services for the densely populated northern Mindanao. As a result, large quantities of freight are brought from Manila and other places or shipped out to those places through the harbor in Cebu.

Among the commodities traded in Cebu are agricultural goods such as copra, corn, and rice. Cebu has been the principal Philippine port for domestic shipments of copra transshipped to overseas carriers (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967).

Nowadays, under the sociopolitical/economic influence of Cebu City as the administrative center, several large municipalities such as Mandaue or Talisay, which are lower-order cities in the urban hierarchy, share sociopolitical/economic roles with Cebu City, and together they have developed a large integrated socioeconomic center.

Consequently, Cebu City serves as an economic and political center in the Visayan region. It is important to note that the development of Cebu City is due to intensive economic activities, mainly based on inter-island trade. This locational advantage seen in the more recent development of Cebu City should also be taken into account when considering the development of the Cebu central settlement in prehistoric and historic times.

My geo-archaeological studies, which were previously conducted to examine the development of complex societies in terms of long-distance trade, revealed that the Cebu settlement continuously expanded from the Incipient through the Early and Late Late Prehistoric to the Early Spanish periods[3]. It is of particular significance that soil deposition occurred faster during the Late Prehistoric period than the succeeding periods.

Thus, during this period, it seems that the population of the Cebu settlement rapidly increased, while at the same time the exploitation of hinterland areas around the settlement intensified. My palynological research indicated that there was no evidence that agricultural activities within the Cebu settlement were promoted during this period, although agricultural activities on a small scale always existed. In the Early Spanish period, local agricultural activi-

ties on a small scale diminished. Therefore, through the results of the palynological study, as well as through my research model, in the development of the Cebu settlement, the growth of the population in the central settlement is characterized by the increase of non-food-producers.

Those non-food-producers might have consisted of administrators, craftsmen, and traders. In order to support those non-food-producers, somebody must have produced food and brought it down to the Cebu settlement. In other words, it was necessary for a central settlement such as the Cebu settlement to promote food production for itself, because without this, the center could never grow, much less survive.

Therefore, the Cebu settlement began to create satellite settlements in the hinterland areas and permit people living in them to exploit the grassland zones on the margins of forests, as well as the forest zones behind the grasslands. Unfortunately, exploitation of the hinterland areas created at least two problems. First, ecologically, since settlers in the satellite settlements constantly cleared the land and turned over the surface soil, deforestation and soil erosion became serious problems. The geological structure of Cebu Island consists of a massive limestone foundation, and the uplands consist of both forests and barren grasslands. Because of this geological structure, the soils that thinly cover the limestone foundation are not rich in nutrients.

In addition, the water holding capacity of the soil over the limestone foundation is apt to be low. Putting all of this together, we can assume that the hinterlands of the Cebu settlement were not very productive in terms of cultivation. Thus, the people frequently had to exploit new lands in a faster cycle than usual, which caused even more rapid deforestation in the hinterlands.

Once the land was cleared, the ground surface was turned over. The surface was exposed to heavy rain and strong sunshine, and eventually soil erosion became a problem. Soil erosion in hinterland areas created at least two problems: a) the nutrient level of the soil in hinterland areas quickly declined, and therefore agricultural productivity also quickly declined; and b) the soil eroded from hinterland areas was washed away by rainwater and deposited in lowland areas on which the Cebu settlement was located. The quantity of eroded soils was so large that geographical features such as swamps or inlets were quickly silted in. In addition, since the destination of eroded soils was the seashore, and ultimately the seawater, the sandy beaches were transformed into a blackish, muddy coastal zone, and the seawater might also have become muddy. In this way, the sensitive balance of the micro-environments around the Cebu settlement was on its way to destruction. In the meantime, the population of the Cebu settle-

ment continuously increased. Therefore, the "population pressure" of the settlement continuously intensified (Nishimura 1992).

Second, as soil erosion progressed and agricultural productivity in the hinterland areas declined, the Cebu settlers looked for new land for agricultural production. Due to both the poor quality of the soil and the rapid increase in the population of the settlement, the exploitation of new lands must have been rapid (Nishimura 1992).

Since the exploitation of new lands and the cultivation of those lands requires a larger labor force, administrative problems must have increased for the administrators living in the Cebu settlement. In addition, the exploitation of new lands may not have been enough to feed all of the people in the settlement, and therefore, the administrators had to encourage inter-regional trade, including inter-island trade, mostly for the purpose of allocating food resources (Nishimura 1992).

Later, the administrators of the Cebu settlement had to solve increasing sociocultural problems. Those problems can be summarized as follows: a) administrators had to adjust energy (labor force), matter (agricultural and craft products), and information (communication) flow between satellite settlements, as well as between the central settlement and satellite settlements; b) administrators had to systematically collect and allocate agricultural and craft products from local settlements; and c) administrators had to control inter-regional trade activities (Nishimura 1992).

In order to efficiently handle these problems, at least two things needed to be accomplished:

a) Administrators needed a large channel capacity for information processing. Thus, the expansion of the Cebu settlement had to be related to the increase in the number of personnel in the administrative units, and the specialization of roles within the units (Nishimura 1992).

b) Administrators had to develop devices to manipulate the people who worked for them. In other words, it was necessary to organize people to obtain food in a controlled manner, and to establish mechanisms for the mobilization of materials. As a result, it is important to see what kinds of mechanism existed and how they operated to manipulate agricultural producers, while unconsciously destroying the balance of the micro-environments in the hinterland areas. At the same time, it is also important to grasp the mechanisms used to manipulate people working in administrative units within the Cebu settlement. Thus, in sum, we must investigate the subsystems of the whole Cebu settlement system, which involved the above mechanisms (Nishimura 1992).

Finally, in the context of the present study, the research mentioned above indicated that there are layers of several different cultures in downtown Cebu City. Therefore, it is not surprising that different cultural objects have been found in the same layer, and simultaneously exist in the same place. Further, this means that people who have different cultural roots live together side by side, even in the present-day downtown area of Cebu City. It seems to me that this historico-geographical situation casts a shadow over the Cebu population's attitude toward heritage.

3. Survey in Barangay Tinago and Barangay Parian of Downtown Cebu City

Barangays Tinago and Parian are the oldest *barangays*[4] in Cebu city. They are respectively located in the middle of downtown Cebu City and outside of Cebu River (Cebu drainage), which is a remnant of an old swamp and river from during the Spanish colonial period (see Maps 1 and 2).


CIUDAD DE CEBÚ

Map 1. Historical Map of Cebu City (Chirino 1967; the author partially modified the original map.)

According to historical documents (e.g., Abela 1886; Borres 1971; Chirino 1967; Cullinane 2013; Fenner 1984), during the Spanish period, the administrators took a policy of segregation between the Spanish residents and other residents, especially Chinese ones. They therefore set up the residential area for Spanish people along the coast (present-day Cebu harbor area), and put the other outside of the harbor area. The boundary was largely drawn along the stream of

Cebu, which is now used as a drainage stream in downtown Cebu City. In fact, my survey revealed that this stream is the vestige of a swamp and a small stream.

Present-day Barangays Tinago and Parian are located along this drainage area. This means that historically the area was located in the area for non-Spanish residents—mainly Chinese descendants (Map 2).

The area is crowded by Cebuanos, many of whom claimed that they have been there for a long time. However, through my observations, I found a large number of student dormitory-type houses, since there are two famous universities: the University of San Carlos and the University of Visayas. Those students are, of course, temporary residents in the area.
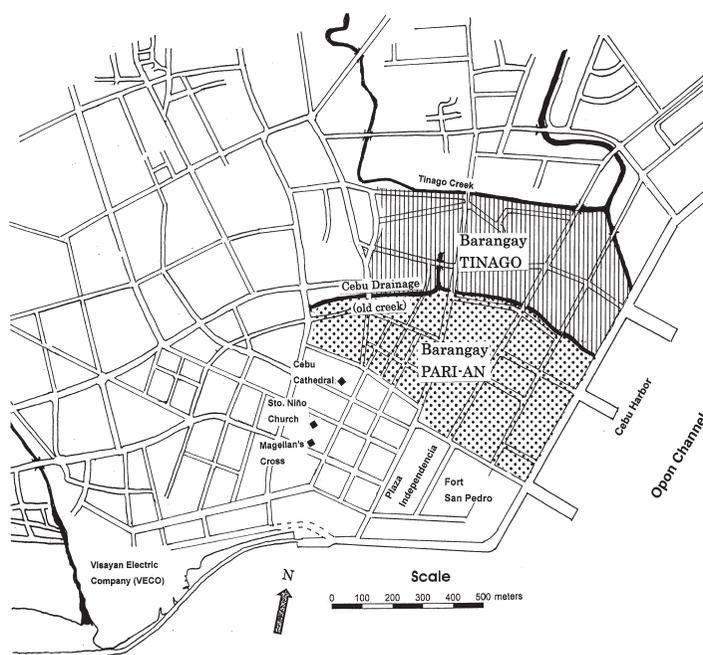
Map 2. Map of Downtown Cebu City (Nishimura 1992)

The total population of both *barangays* is over 400, and the total area is about 0.8 km^2.

In this research, I chose 10 families from Barangay Tinago and 10 from Barangay Parian. I conducted semi-structured interview with each family. The same general questions were asked to the family members. The following six questions were asked:

1) Family name and origin.
2) Family history.

3) Objects that the family has kept from ancestors.

4) Why they feel that those objects are important.

5) To what extent they will treat public objects.

6) How they feel about publicly well-known historical objects such as Santo Niño Church or the community saint house.

As seen in Table 1, generally they were proud of the objects inherited from their ancestors. However, the information on who gave the heritage objects to them depended on their narratives. So, data source was not clear. Nevertheless, regarding this unknown aspect, it was evident there was one distinctive characteristic in their narratives. When talking about their objects, they always described how the objects were old enough to prove how long the family had existed in Cebu. In order to emphasize the length of time and to prove their authenticity, they referred to the objects in comparison to other families' objects. Usually, people said that they had been residents for longer than their neighbors. Also, some family members said that they had more heritage objects than their neighbors. In this regard, I saw a conceptual pattern of heritage: our heritage versus their heritage.

Table 1. Summary of the Survey in Barangay Tinago

Questions Asked: 1) Informant(s), 2) Size of House and Family Structure, 3) Inherited Objects, 4) Feeling toward Family Objects, 5) Recognition of Public Heritage 6) Feeling toward Public/Non-family heritage

Tinago Family A
1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (96 m^2, with 4 children; Inherited house from grandparents); 3) Land, house, other tools for working; 4) They oblige to the ancestors for leaving the property, and they are proud for the inherited property and goods; 5) They occasionally go to Cathedral Church or Sto. Niño Church; they participate in the community fiesta; they work to conserve the community Saint; 6) They feel that the family heritage is more important than the public heritage.
Tinago Family B
1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (45 m^2 with 7 children; Inherited house from the ancestors); 3) Land and house; furniture, working tools; clothes; 4) They appreciate those ancestors for property and goods; 5) They often go to Sto. Niño Church; Participate in the fiesta; 6) They feel closer to the family heritage; they are proud that their heritage is older than that of neighbors.
Tinago Family C
1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (200 m^2 with 7 children; Inherited property; the house was rebuilt in 1994); 3) Furniture, kitchen tools, other tools for working, clothes; 4) They appreciate the ancestors for property and goods; 5) They Sometimes go to Sto. Niño Church; participate in the community fiesta; 6) They feel closer to the family heritage; they emphasize that

the family history is older than that of neighbors.

Tinago Family D

1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (110 m^2 with 1 child; bought the property in 1969); 3) A number of pieces of furniture from grandparents; kitchen tools, other tools for craft working, clothes; 4) Remember the grandparents whenever seeing those goods; 5) They customarily go to Sto. Niño Church; participate in the fiesta; 6) They feel equally close to the family and the public heritage.

Tinago Family E

1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (150 m^2 with 2 children and 9 grandchildren; Property inherited from the ancestors in 1940); 3) Furniture (chests and mirrors), kitchen tools, tools for working, clothes; 4) They appreciate the ancestors for giving them those materials; 5) They go to Sto. Niño Church; participate in the fiesta; 6) They feel closer to the family heritage than the public heritage; They repeatedly mention that they are one of the oldest families in Cebu City.

Tinago Family F

1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (200 m^2 with 5 children; Inherited property); 3) Furniture (tables, chairs, piano, sewing machine), tools for working, clothes; 4) Appreciate to those ancestors for property and goods; 5) They go to Sto. Niño Church; Participate in the fiesta; 6) They feel affection toward the family heritage.

Tinago Family G

1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (42 m^2 with 1 child, 1 grandchildren; Inherited property); 3) Furniture (old chests, mirror, kitchen tools, and plates and dishes); those pieces of furniture are inherited for at least 3 generations), tools for craft working, clothes; 4) Appreciated to those ancestors for property and goods; 5) Sometimes go to Sto. Niño Church; Participate in the fiesta; 6) Feeling more close toward family heritage than public heritage.

Tinago Family H

1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (100 m^2 with 1 grandfather and 1 brother; Inherited property); 3) Furniture (most pieces of old furniture are broken), porcelain; clothes, old photos; 4) They do not have any special feeling toward old goods; 5) They sometimes go to Sto. Niño Church; participate in the community fiesta; 6) Family gathering It is more important for them to gather family members and see old objects which make them remember the ancestors than just keeping old materials or visiting the public heritage.

Tinago Family I

1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (50 m^2 with 1 child, 1 grandchildren; Rented property); 3) Old photos, tools for working, clothes; 4) They do not want to remember older generations; they want to forget the old materials; they want to even leave the living place; 5) They do not go to Sto. Niño Church or Cathedral Church; 6) They do not have any special feeling toward both the family and the public heritage; they want to introduce something new things.

Tinago Family J

1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (137 m^2; Inherited property from the ancestors); 3) Furniture (old cabinet, tables and chairs), parts of the house-building materials such as stairs; kitchen tools, old statue; old photos, clothes; 4) They appreciated those ancestors for leaving the property and goods; it is of great importance to preserve those old objects; concerned about the conservation of historically old materials; the inherited goods prove that their family is authentic one in Cebu City; 5) They go to Sto. Niño Church; participate in the fiesta; visit neighboring pri-

vate museums such as Yap Santiago Family Museum; they do not go to Casa Gorodo (Spanish Family's House) 6) They feeling closer toward the family heritage than the public heritage

Table 2. Summary of the Survey in Barangay Pari-an

Questions Asked: 1) Informant(s), 2) Size of House and Family Structure, 3) Inherited Objects, 4) Feeling toward Family Objects, 5) Recognition of Public Heritage, 6) Feeling toward Public/Non-family heritage

Pari-an Family A
1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (200 m^2, with 6 children; Inherited house from grandparents); 3) Land, house, furniture including 2 cabinets and 1 large mirror; tools for working; 4) They appreciate to the ancestors for the property and goods; 5) Not often go to Cathedral or Sto. Niño Church; participate in the community fiesta; prey for the Community Saint.; 6) It is very important to conserve the family heritage.
Pari-an Family B
1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (200 m^2; they inherited house from the grandparents since 1945); 3) Land and house property; furniture (closets); other tools machines such as the sewing machine for working; old clothes; old photos, pictures; 4) They express their appreciated to those ancestors for property and goods; 5) They go to Sto. Niño Church; participate in the community fiesta; 6) They feel closer to family heritage than other heritage; they say that it is important to conserve the public heritage.
Pari-an Family C
1) Husband (92 years old); 2) He inherited the land and house from the grandparents since 1924 (the dimension of the house is unknown; living with 5 children); 3) Kitchen goods; old photos; 4) They appreciated to those ancestors for giving them the property; 5) They participate in the community fiesta for celebrating the saint; 6) They still feel affection toward ancestors; they emphasized that there were many Chinese traders such as them in Cebu City in the old times.
Pari-an Family D
1) Husband and Wife; 2) Living in their own house (245 m^2 with 7 children; 1 grandchild); 3) Furniture including 1 large table); kitchen goods including plates, dishes, glass, utensils;, clothes; old photos; 4) Remember the grandparents whenever seeing those goods; 5) They go to Sto. Niño Church; participate in the community fiesta; 6) It is equally important to take care of family and public heritage; the family heritage is very important since it make them remember of ancestors.
Pari-an Family E
1) Wife; 2) Living in their own house (102 m^2 with 4 children and 2 grandchildren; There is no property inherited from the previous generations; 3) They inherited the education from the ancestors; 4) They appreciate those ancestors for providing them with the education; 5) They participate in the community fiesta; 6) They did not say anything about the heritage.
Pari-an Family F
1) Wife; 2) Living in their own house (102 m^2 with 3 children and 2 grandchildren); 3) There is no objects inherited from her ancestors; 4) No comment on ancestors; 5) No comment on the public heritage; 6) No comment.
Pari-an Family G
1) Wife; 2) Living in their own house (32 m^2 with 1 grandchild; she rents the house); 3) old photos

and one old bible; 4) She came from Layte, but she remembers about the ancestors of Layte, and appreciates to those ancestors; 5) She occasionally goes to Sto. Niño Church; 6) She thinks that the public heritage such as Sto. Niño Church is more important than private heritage.

Pari-an Family H

1) Wife and Son; 2) Living in their own house (160 m^2 with 1child; inherited property); 3) Furniture including 1 bed, 7 closets; old porcelain pieces; kitchen goods such as plates, dishes, glass, and old recipe book; clothes, photos; 4) They feel emotionally very close to those ancestors; 5) they go to Sto. Niño Church; participate in the community fiesta; 6) They think that it is equally important to conserve both family and public heritage.

Pari-an Family I

1) Wife (86 years old); 2) She rents the house (60 m^2 with 4 children and grandchildren (the number of grandchildren is unknown)); 3) Sewing machine; old photos, tools for working, clothes; amulet of Christ; antique objects such as old Japanese weapons; she had many other goods, but those were damaged by flood; 4) Since she came from Negros Oriental, she does not feel close to ancestors; 5) She goes to Sto. Niño Church; 6) She does not have a special feeling toward family heritage; she thinks that it is important to conserve the public heritage.

Pari-an Family J

1) Wife; 2) Living in her own house (155 m^2; living with 6 other family members); 3) Old furniture (some pieces of furniture were destroyed by fire); old photos; old clothes; trees in the garden; 4) She appreciated to the ancestors for leaving the property; since she does not have her own child, she wants to give the property to her niece; it is of great importance to those old objects; among others, the land property is the most important; 5) She goes to Sto. Niño Church and the other church; She participates in the fiesta; 6) She feels that it is more important to keep the family heritage than the public heritage

Their perceptions of public heritage, such as the Santo Niño church, the cathedral, Magellan Cross, etc., were mentioned in relation to their own family's heritage. Namely, their family heritage was older than Santo Niño. In this case, even public heritage was recognized only as a part of private heritage. People in Cebu attempt to take public heritage into their memories (private histories). This way of taking public heritage into their family or private heritage constitutes the whole structure of family heritage. Competitive feelings occur in relation to how their family heritage is connected to public heritage.

4. Public Heritage and Family Heritage

As seen in Figure 1, in other parts of the world, people usually distinguish between private and public heritage. For those people, private heritage is known as the ownership of inherited objects from ancestors, while public heritage is usually regarded as unknown or shared ownership. However, the Philippines case indicates that family heritage comes first and public heritage is a part of family heritage. It is important for people to exhibit how deeply and extensively their family heritage is connected to public heritage. By doing so, they reinforce the

authenticity of their Cebu citizenship. How their ancestors contributed to the history of Cebu is the most important aspect for families in Cebu.

Related to this perception, another important characteristic of Cebu heritage perception is that there is furious competition between families in terms of the authenticity of their membership to the city. For instance, one of the families I interviewed repeatedly said that they were older than the Spanish families. They asked why the Spanish objects were only exhibited in museums. Those families, therefore, have opened private museums to exhibit their family objects. Interestingly, the private museums are becoming tourist spots. The families are trying to draw more attention from tourists.
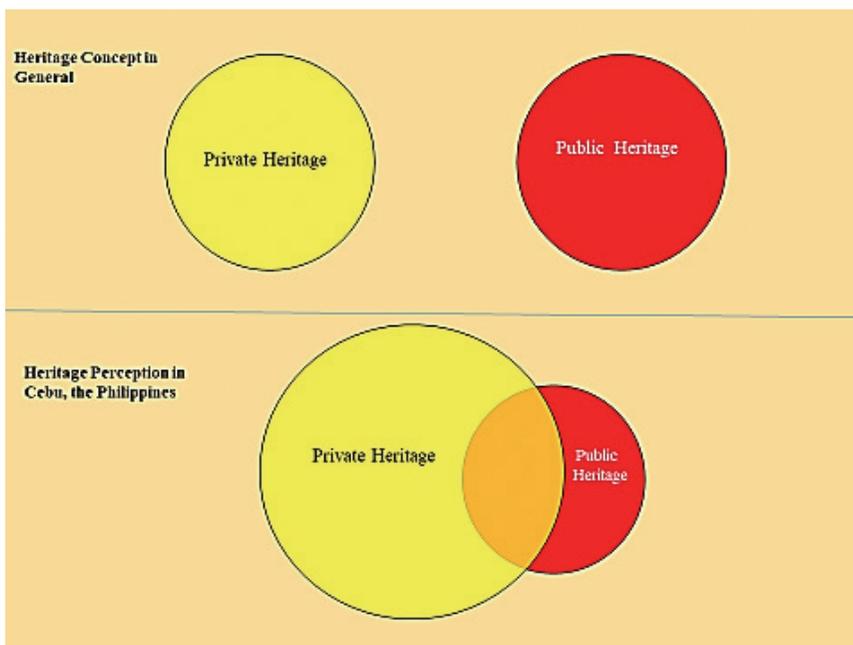
Figure 1. Private Heritage and Public Heritage (Nishimura 2017)

5. "Competitive" Heritage

Competition and family-oriented heritage are not surprising phenomena for anthropologists engaged in Philippine studies. Kikuchi (1989) discussed the family structure of the Philippine people and said that it was ego-oriented and conventional. In this structure, the recognition of ancestors differs even among members of the same family. The identities of all relatives are not precisely known by family members. Therefore, Kikuchi said that relatives, including ancestors, included almost anyone whom the family members thought of as relatives. An advantage

of this type of family structure is that people can include as many people as they want in their families irrespective of blood connection. The numbers of relatives and ancestors are indicators of the prosperity of families and relatives, because these numbers directly indicate the influence over those who do not belong to the same families. His discussion was supported by other anthropologists such as Jocano (1989).
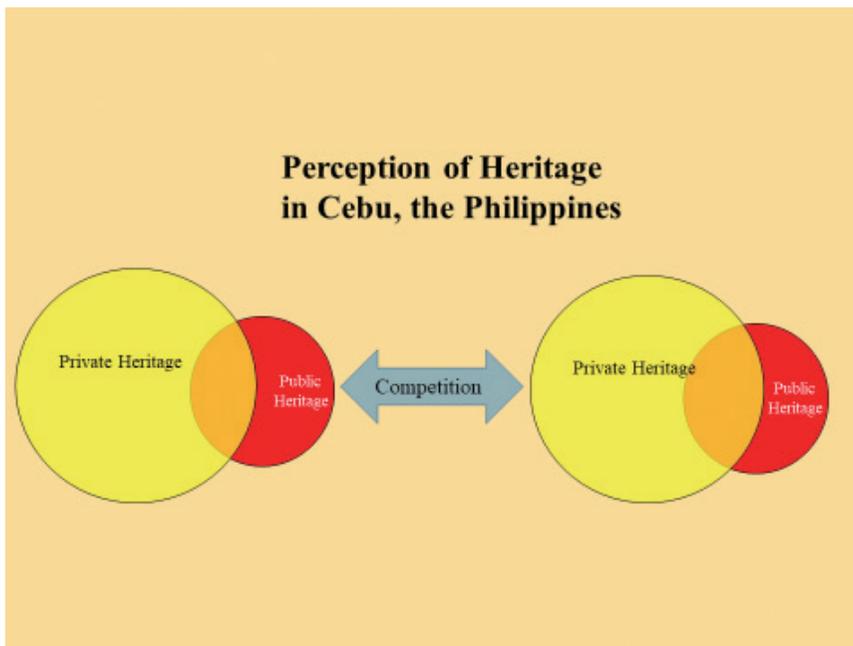

Figure 2.　Competitive Heritage in Cebu City (Nishimura 2017)

Conclusions

This research was not carried out from a structural perspective. However, the Cebuano perception of heritage can be explained in relation to the egocentric kinship structure mentioned by other scholars. Therefore, I would like to conclude that the Cebuano perception of heritage is family oriented, and that public heritage is only seen from the viewpoint of family heritage. Almost all families whom I interviewed said that the most important heritage items were those inherited from family members, including furniture, porcelain, tools, and even pictures or photos, all of which they inherited directly from ancestors.

On the other hand, they perceive public heritage such as church buildings, sacred objects located within churches, or statues of saints that have been conserved in the community house as family heritage. They view those public items as family property.

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