

University of the Philippines Open University



**Coastal
Anthropology**
(ENRM 244)



Coastal Anthropology

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University of the Philippines
OPEN UNIVERSITY

Coastal Anthrolopogy
By Alicia Magos with Judith Pabito

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Preface

This course consists of eight modules grouped into three units.

Modules 1 and 2 comprise Unit I of the course. Basically, it emphasizes socio-cultural anthropology. Module 1 reviews important definitions, concepts, and terms in Anthropology to make you sure you will be prepared for the course. In Module 2, you will begin to learn about coastal anthropology. This is one substantial area of anthropology worth studying, specially if your work or interest is coastal resource management (CRM).

Modules 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 comprise Unit 2. The unit focuses on case studies illustrating the socio-cultural anthropological approach to the study of coastal communities. The basic concepts introduced in Module 2 are discussed more thoroughly in each of the modules in this unit, particularly as they work in the real-life situations described in some articles by Filipino coastal anthropologists.

By the time you reach Unit III, you will be ready to know why and how culture plays a significant role in coastal resource management and community-based resource management (CBRM).

What you will be learning from this course in coastal anthropology is just a short introduction to the standard conventions you need for studying human activity systems in single or multi-ecological zones where fishing and fishing related activities are undertaken. Sooner or later, you will be asked to participate in analyzing simple or complex problems, and formulate solutions to problems involving our coastal environment. We hope this course will help you in your work to make our environment a better place to live in.

Module 1

Anthropology: A Review

The rock remains.

The earth remains.

I die and put my bones in the cave or the Earth.

Soon, my bones will become the Earth.

Then will my spirit return to my land, my Mother.

Gagudju People of Australia
(Kemf, 1993)

I am sure anthropology is not new to you. Nevertheless, this module will help you review basic concepts in anthropology, in preparation for your study of coastal anthropology.

What is Anthropology?

Anthropology is a field of study classified under the social sciences. The social sciences deal with the study of people and their relationships with one another. Political science, economics, and sociology are specific fields in the social sciences that study human beings in different aspects of their activities.

Anthropology is a field of study that looks at the human being in society in a broad way. The word comes from the Greek word “*anthropus*,” which means “man” (*anthro*) and “study” (*logus*). According to Howard (1993), anthropology seeks to answer questions as to “why people are different and similar by examining their biological and cultural past and a comparative study of existing human activities.” Thus, it raises such questions as: What makes us human? Why are some people tall and white, while others are short and dark-skinned? Why do some people prefer to live in the mountains while others live near the sea? Why do some like to do slash-and-burn agriculture, while others like to set traps or catch fish?

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Define anthropology and its major divisions and sub-divisions;
2. Describe culture, its contents and characteristics; and
3. Discuss basic ethnographic techniques used in field research work.

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You asked such questions when you were young, didn't you? But then maybe as you grew older you set aside such questions and concentrated on Life's other meanings. We anthropologists, however, continue to pursue such questions.

Our concern of study is so wide in coverage that it is helpful to make divisions where we can concentrate on our specific area of interest. Figure 1-1 will help you have a concrete picture of anthropology and its scope.

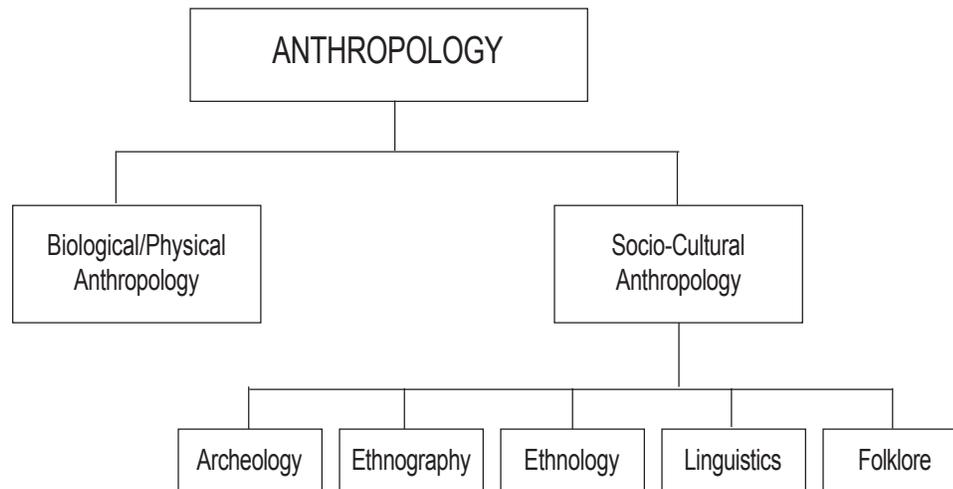


Figure 1-1. Anthropology and its sub-disciplines

Anthropology studies both the physical or biological and the cultural nature of human beings. Socio-cultural anthropology focuses on the study of the culture and social life of human beings. Physical or biological anthropology studies the origin of human beings, their differences in physical structure, and the variations of races. In this course, you will be learning about socio-cultural anthropology.

As you can see in Figure 1-1, socio-cultural anthropology has sub-divisions or sub-disciplines, as follows:

1. **Ethnography** deals with the detailed description of culture or way of life of groups of people, and provides the data on which anthropologists work. Ethnographers work with only one culture.
2. **Ethnology** compares two or more cultures to be able to draw generalizations of human behavior from them. An ethnologist starts as an ethnographer.
3. **Folklore** uses the techniques of linguistics, ethnography, and even of prehistory in gathering and analyzing cultural data.
4. **Linguistics** uses various approaches in the study of language and considers such linguistic aspects as the etymology or origin of the word, semantics or meaning, and structural analysis, to derive cultural data.
5. **Archeology** deals with past cultures or civilizations buried underneath the ground and uses such techniques as stratigraphy or layering, and radio-carbon dating. The former uses information in geology and the latter makes use of chemistry.

There are other sub-divisions or sub-disciplines of socio-cultural anthropology besides these five. These include ethnomedicine, political anthropology, ethnomusicology, ecological anthropology, coastal anthropology which is the focus of this course, and many more sub-divisions or sub-disciplines that relate anthropology to other disciplines.

Some Basic Concepts in Social Anthropology

Culture

One of the most frequently mentioned terms when we study anthropology is “society and culture”. What is your idea of society? What is your idea of culture? Can you tell the difference between society and culture?

People or groups of people occupying a defined territory, having common bonds, and interacting or relating with one another, make up a **society**. For people to be able to work together harmoniously, something has to bind them together. This could be a common language, common belief system, customs, or traditions, or all of these together. This commonality in thinking and behavior, which constitute their bond, is called **culture**. Culture refers to norms and patterns of behavior. Without culture, people are bound to be in constant conflict.

Content of culture

The content of culture is what an ethnographer gathers during fieldwork. Culture includes a people's entire heritage, customs, beliefs, and practices in *all areas of their life* (social, political, economic, religion, arts and crafts, oral literature, medicine, etc.), which they have learned from their ancestors.

Figure 1-2 represents the content of culture as slices in a pie, with each slice representing a distinct area of people's life in a society. The whole pie represents the unique culture of that society.

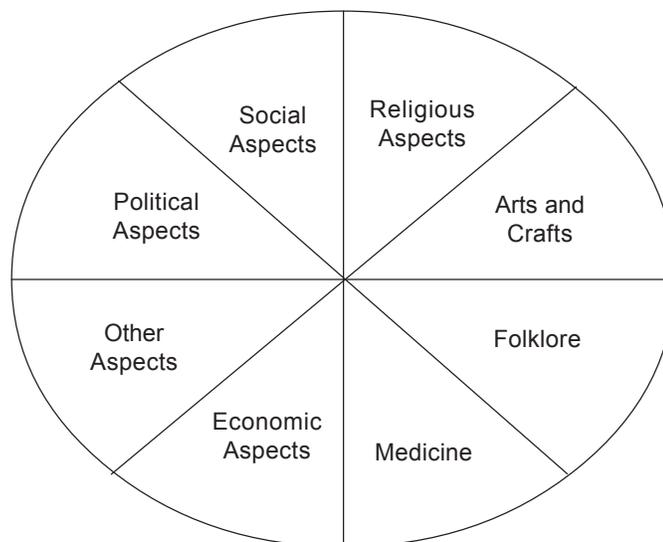


Figure 1-2. Contents of Culture

Aspects of culture

Culture is the customary manner by which people organize their behavior in relation with their environment. Defined in this manner, culture has three aspects (Howard, 1993):

1. **The behavioral aspect** refers to how people act and interact with one another.
2. **The cognition aspect** includes the views people have of the world.
3. **The material aspect** encompasses the physical objects that we produce and use, like fishing gadgets or farm implements.

An aspect of culture, like a new idea, may be introduced and quickly adopted if it does not contradict time-honored norms or values. Otherwise, it can be totally rejected overnight.

Characteristics of culture

To understand clearly how culture works and how it influences people, we need to know some of the common characteristics of culture. Culture is built in to society. According to Broom and Selznick (1977), Durkheim describes culture as the “**collective consciousness**” of the people. This means that culture is the shared common thought of a group of people. People are culture bearers. It is by interacting with one another that they learn to think and behave in ways that are shared by the majority.

Even as people are the sources of culture, they are also dictated upon by cultural norms, which act as a guide for them to follow. We can conclude then that culture is **normative**. It is normative because it prescribes or dictates **norms**, which are not necessarily static, since they could change slowly over time.

Culture changes by **adapting** or adjusting to physical, biotic, or social environmental factors; if it fails to adapt by tapping the energy potentials of the environment, it can die a natural death.

Even if all human beings have the same basic needs for food, clothing, and shelter, the way these needs are met are quite different, which is why we say that culture is **unique**. While different peoples and cultures may share the same biotic, physical environment, and even a social environment, the meanings they attach to these can be different. Thus, even if culture is **universal**, in the sense that all human beings possess it, it varies from society to society.

But often times, we see a particular aspect of a foreign culture present in our community (e.g., fashion, music, and food) because culture can be **diffused**. Due to mass media and information technology, it can travel and reach far places.

Lastly, culture is **powerful**. It can influence people's lives and direct their destiny. Practically everything that people do, except those determined by biological factors, are governed by culture. That is why there is a need to know how culture can be used to understand people, and how it can be utilized to manage their resources. If properly understood, culture can be a potent force for development.

Social Anthropological Methods

Theorizing and conceptualizing

When an anthropologist goes out to do fieldwork in a coastal community or an interior mountain tribe, she/he has a theory in mind or a concept as to the possible explanation for the phenomenon or problem that she/he will study. Through research, she/he may find out that there are other possible explanations, but for the moment she/he may be convinced of her/his theory and stick to it. Tentatively reflecting over an explanation of a phenomenon is referred to as theorizing or conceptualizing, the latter being a term used for ideas that are not as broad or complex.

Why do you think is theorizing or conceptualizing important? Well, adopting a theory or concept is necessary because it gives the ethnographer a sense of focus in gathering as well as organizing her/his data.

What social scientists, or to be specific, ethnographers, call data, are nothing more than descriptions of reality or inventories of items that can be found in societies, sub-groupings, institutions, and organizations. Observations are translated into a written notation system (Bautista and Go, 1985) while others assign numbers to qualitative observation, producing data by counting and measuring things. If you want to present your observation in the natural language, you use the **qualitative method**. If you assign numbers to your data, you are using the **quantitative method**.

Ethnographic techniques in field research work

The data of socio-cultural anthropology rests on a body of descriptive material of human activities, beliefs, practices, and achievements. The ethnographer gathers these data during fieldwork. The length of time she/he stays in the field to gather ethnographic or field notes depends largely on her/his familiarity with the people (their language and worldview) and the topic studied, as well as the scope of the work. If the researcher is a full-time anthropologist, she/he can gather as much information as she/he likes about the community on the following topics: subsistence pattern, technology and material culture, social and political organization including customary law, religious beliefs and practices, and folk literature including arts and crafts.

In general, an ethnographer's report, which attempts to look at all aspects of human life, would take a long time to complete. However, some anthropologists today prefer to speed up their work by looking only at a particular aspect of culture; they go back to the field at another time to further expand their work. It can vary according to the completeness of data, available information, the purpose or interest of the ethnographer, and the circumstances under which they are written.

Whether an ethnographer stays for a few days, weeks, months, or years, she/he uses basic techniques to be able to gather data systematically from the community, which she/he has chosen as field site. These ethnographic techniques are participant observation, key informant, unstructured interview, FGD (focus group discussion), geneological method, and census data.

Participant observation is a conventional method in which the ethnographer stays in the community for as long as her/his funds allow and until her/his data needs are achieved. She/he mixes with people and lives with them as a member of the community to get firsthand experience and information on how they live.

In the **key informant interview**, the ethnographer gets reliable information by interviewing a person who is knowledgeable about the particular information she/he needs. This person is called a key informant. For example, if an ethnographer wants to know about fishing techniques, she/he chooses a fisherman as key informant.

An **unstructured interview** is one where the ethnographer is not constrained to interview or ask questions in a defined order and simply adjusts to the informant's style of answering.

In **focus group discussions** (FGD), an ethnographer puts together in small groups about six to eight people and asks them questions on a particular topic. Since information flows freely as one person contributes to the discussion, this is also a good technique for getting information.

In the **geneological method**, ethnographers make use of information on kinship to get data on social relationships. This is used for getting statistical information regarding power, as well as roles and statuses.

In the last technique, **census data**, the ethnographer gets statistical information about people (e.g., age, sex distribution, number of households) in order to get a demographic profile of the community.

It needs to be said that the ethnographer is free to use many other techniques coming from other disciplines for as long as this contributes to the enrichment of her/his data. Often, the aforementioned ethnographic techniques are used in combination to strengthen the validity of the data gathered. And like any other social science researcher, the ethnographer uses available information about the community from government and NGO files, materials written by private and public people, libraries, and other sources of related literature.

This ends Module 1. Was my review substantial enough to equip you with what anthropology is basically about? Well, let's find out through the SAQ below.

SAQ 1-1

Briefly answer the following questions.

1. Based on what you learned about anthropology, what are its main divisions? Briefly state how you differentiate one from the other.
2. What binds the people in a society? When does a group of people constitute a society?
3. In what way is culture built in to society?
4. Explain the work of ethnographers, in relation with Anthropology?

SAQ 1-2

Write True if the statement describes the particular ethnographic technique identified. If the statement is False, write the correct ethnographic technique.

_____ (1) When I want to interview 10 fishermen in a group and ask about the common or usual problems they encountered while fishing during the summer season, I am using the **participant observer** ethnographic method.

_____ (2) During my stay as a participant observer of a fishing household, I noticed the father with his teen-age sons leaving the house at six in the evening to go fishing. They come back the following early morning with their fish catch. While the males were away, I asked the fisherman's wife about her feelings every time her husband and sons would go fishing during the night. We conversed in a casual manner and I listened to her tales and experiences of what it is like to be a fisherman's wife and mother. Because the fisherman's wife and I are both of the same age, she shared with me her sentiments openly as if I was just her sister. The ethnographic technique I used was the **census data**.

_____ (3) On my visit to a small fishing island, I was glad to meet the oldest living fisherman in the area. He was already in his late 80s but he still had a clear memory of how his family first came to the island as one of the early settlers there. He had many adventures during his youth as a fisherman and he recalled how his father was known then as a local hero with mystical ability, which he believed was a natural gift of spirit beings to their family. He said that in every generation in their family, there would always be one who would have the gift of healing and charismatic appeal. I asked him about the dominant figures in their family starting from his great great grandparents down to his children. I was surprised that the females in his clan were mostly midwives in their local community. I mainly used the **geneological method** in support of key-informant interview as my ethnographic technique.

_____ (4) To help support my field data, I would also do research in the library and look for articles and books which could give related discussion on topics related to my report. The NSO (National Statistics Office) is also important because I can get data from them about the latest demographic profile like the population record of the province I am studying. This ethnographic technique is called **census data** method.

Do you think you got the right answers? Let's see.

ASAQ 1-1

1. Anthropology has two main divisions: Physical/Biological Anthropology which focuses on studying the origin of human beings and variations of races, and Socio-cultural Anthropology which focuses on studying the social and cultural life of human beings.
2. Culture binds people in a society. A group of people constitutes a society when they share a common bond in their relationship among each other within their own defined area or territory.
3. Culture is built in to a society because people are culture bearers; they carry culture with them through shared thoughts and group efforts.
4. An ethnographer through ethnographic techniques gathers detailed and descriptive data about a particular group of people. She/He conducts field research work and makes a report about it based on her/his field notes.

ASAQ 1-2

1. Focus group discussion (FGD)
2. Unstructured interview and key informant interview
3. True
4. True

So, were your answers similar to those I gave above? I hope you got yourself a perfect score, which means you really do understand our lesson. If your answers were very different from mine, do try to review the lesson and discover where you went wrong.

Now, I would like to know if you can relate our lesson with what you can see within your surroundings. You won't be depending much on the module this time, although what you have learned here will certainly guide you in doing the required activity.

Activity 1-1

We Filipinos live in our own society, which reflects our own culture. Give an aspect of our culture that is truly, if not uniquely, Filipino. State what aspects of culture it represents and why. You may generalize Filipino as a whole or you may specify Filipino society according to regional/island/provincial groups, age/generation groups, ethnic/indigenous group/ faith or religion groups, etc. Identify the contents of the cultural practice you chose. My own example below may help you form your ideas and observations.

1. Society: Christian Filipino
2. Example of cultural practices: Religious *fiesta* celebration
3. Aspects of culture in *fiesta* celebration
 - 3.1 Behavioral aspect: The *fiesta* is predominantly celebrated by Catholics but is not limited to them. *Fiesta* is an annual event commonly practiced through grand food preparations, processions, novena mass for the patron saint honored in the *fiesta*, parades, contests, and lively entertainment.
 - 3.2 Cognition aspect: *Fiesta* is believed to be a time when people make offerings as a sign of gratitude for God's blessings, to honor a particular saint, to make a particular request (e.g., child, job opportunities, life-partner, a good harvest or bountiful fish catch, safe voyage, good health, and protection from evil forces)
 - 3.3 Material aspect: During *fiesta* many objects can be found which represent the culture, such as statues, medallions, candles, costumes, carriages, flaglets, native delicacies (e.g., *lechon*, *kakanin*, *lumpia*), and even permanent structures like the church.

Comments on Activity 1-1

Did you have an easy or a difficult time doing the activity? Was my example clear enough? You can compare your notes with those of your classmates during the first study session. Find out whether the kind of cultural practice you chose to focus on is similar to the one they have chosen. Perhaps you will discover that despite the physical distance between you, you belong to the same Philippine society because of the commonalities you share with one another. Remember it is culture that binds us Filipinos together as one nation. I hope you had a great time exploring the unique culture that we have.

Summary

Anthropology is one of the many fields in the social sciences. It focuses on the study of human beings. Anthropology is divided into two major divisions. Physical or biological anthropology is the division that gives attention to the origins of human beings, their difference in physical structure, and the variations of races. The other division, socio-cultural anthropology, specializes in the social and cultural life of human beings. It has a growing number of sub-divisions or sub-disciplines. A popular sub-division or sub-discipline is ethnography, which deals with the detailed description of culture of a particular group of people in a society.

Society is formed because of commonalities in ways of thinking and behavior, which bind a group of people together in a defined territory. This common bond is called culture. It can be observed through language, beliefs, manner of dressing, use of technology, livelihood, social organizations, and many others. Culture includes the behavioral (how we behave or act), material (the physical objects we produce), and cognitive (how we view the world/ what we believe) aspects of people's lives. Human beings are culture bearers and culture is developed by majority of people in society.

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Module 2

Coastal Anthropology: Some Important Concepts

*In the beginning, there was blackness. Only the sea.
In the beginning there was no sun, moon, no people.
In the beginning there were no animals, plants. Only the sea.
The sea was the Mother.
The Mother was not people, she was not anything.
Nothing at all.
She was when she was, darkly. She was memory and potential.
She was aluna.*

The Kogi History of Creation
(Kemf, 1993)

In Module 1 you learned that anthropology is such a broad subject one needs to specialize in a particular division or sub-division to be able to get a fuller grasp of the subject. In coastal anthropology, what do you think would be our area of concern? Well, we shall be studying societies or groups of people whose lives revolve around a coastal environment. Module 2 will discuss important concepts and approaches in coastal anthropology, which will guide us in understanding the people in our coastal communities.

A Brief Description of Coastal Anthropology

Coastal anthropology is the study of human societies and cultures in coastal environments. It is a sub-discipline of anthropology that is particularly relevant for environmental managers because human communities along the coastal zones, such as fishing communities, are a major factor in the preservation of coastal resources.

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Define coastal anthropology and its significance in the management of coastal resources; and
2. Explain the basic concepts used in coastal anthropology.

In the other courses in the Environment and Natural Resource Management program, you learned about the biological aspects of ecosystems. Coastal anthropology focuses on the socio-cultural aspects of aquatic ecosystems. This is just as important as the biological focus because much of what threatens our environment is the outcome of human activities rather than natural (or biological) phenomena. It is people who extract resources and use them in ways that, if unregulated, will result in their depletion over time.

The survival of the environment and the preservation of its natural resources depend much on how people perceive and behave towards the environment. But human behavior is complex, and it is not easy to get people to put a stop to exploitative behavior even if you inform them about the dire consequences for themselves and their children. It is important to understand why human beings behave the way they do. This is what coastal anthropology seeks to understand.

In particular, coastal anthropologists seek to understand how coastal communities perceive nature and the environment, what they believe to be true about their relationship with it, and how they have formed these perceptions and attitudes. Coastal anthropologists seek to understand the social relationships in coastal societies and the socialization process that individual members of these societies go through. Coastal anthropologists also examine in detail the material culture of these communities, seeking to understand through them what the people conceive of themselves and their surroundings.

Basic Concepts in Coastal Anthropology

From the pool of social science concepts, we choose only some that we perceive to have direct relevance for coastal communities, particularly in terms of the management of coastal resources. These include the fisherfolk's **cultural orientation** which affects their behavior and choices. The impact of physical surroundings on their lives, like how the sea provides for their daily sustenance, could influence their **worldview**. It can also explain why a new fishing technology is **adapted** in the course of time. Since the acquisition of certain values or modes of fishing practices may be connected with the new roles learned in the process of interaction with people around us, the concept of **socialization** may also prove helpful. Since projects can be rejected, accepted, or sustained depending on local decisions, the concept of **culture in politics** is crucial. It provides a general understanding of the dynamics of local politics, which is very valuable in

adopting local resources for coastal resource management. **Culture in development** is also an important concept as this can aid in understanding how culture plays a vital role in the implementation of developmental projects.

An understanding of these basic concepts is necessary when you go out to coastal communities to gather data using ethnographic techniques. I carefully selected those basic social science concepts essential for Coastal Anthropology from my experience as a socio-cultural anthropologist working with coastal communities as my area of study. Let us examine below these basic social science concepts.

Worldview

In a particular society, there are prevalent views and ideas accepted by many because such views and ideas are part of society's basic **cultural orientation**. This cultural orientation is manifested in the way people perceive their environment, and is referred to as their **worldview**. If you can still recall your lessons in Module 1, this is the cognition aspect of culture.

According to Howard (1993), "Worldview is the people's organization of ideas regarding their location in the physical world and their relation to things around them." Redfields describes worldview as, "...people's fundamental assumptions about the nature of the world, as expressed more or less scientifically in their philosophy, ethics, ritual, and scientific beliefs." Some members of the community may not share those assumptions, but a worldview is assumed to be a shared understanding of the world by the society as a whole.

Can you think of a traditional practice in your community that reflects your community's worldview? In one of my studies of coastal communities during the early 1980s, I studied the worldview of fisherfolk of Igdalaguit, Diclum, and Fatima (barangays found in the northern part of Antique) as manifested in the performance of *samba* (also called *sambayang*), a communal fishing ritual. "Its performance every start or end of the year relieves anxiety from the danger of sea accidents and a poor fish catch" (Magos, 1987). The fundamental assumption of the sacredness of the sea as a source of livelihood and the dangers that await fisherfolk going to the far seas reflects the worldview of the people in the places mentioned. Such a worldview is operationalized through the holding of a lavish *samba* ritual.

Various coastal communities observe different rituals. Some coastal communities hold lavish rituals, others do it in a very simple way, while others may not even observe rituals at all. Such differences may be attributed to the prevalent worldview or cultural orientation of the people within the coastal communities.

Adaptation

A major concern of anthropology is human adaptation. How do we define **adaptation**? Broadly it means “an individual or a group of people’s reaction to environmental conditions in order to maintain themselves, and survive.” (Cohen, 1968) The process by which human beings tap the energy potentials in the environment constitutes their **adaptive strategy**.

A good example of a social anthropological focus on human adaptation is a study made on the Bukidnon (mountain dwellers) of Central Panay. Their ancestors were sea people before they reached the interior mountains of Central Panay. How they survived in their new environment is a matter of adaptive strategy. Using their muscles, wooden dibbles, *bolos*, and spears, they live on slash-and-burn agriculture (*kaingin*), and hunt wild animals, which abound in the forest. However, since the sea and the boat-building tradition is rooted in their psyche (collective consciousness) and in their worldview, they are able to harness energy from the Pan-ay river by floating logs they cut from the forest, and making rafts or boats which carry sacks of mountain rice (*malido*), which the lowlanders like very much. You might wonder, how on earth, can mountain people used to *kaingin* and hunting make boats? Oh, yes, they can! Each village has carpenters who shape boats from logs cut from the forest. These are floated downstream via Pan-ay river. Buyers from the lowland then buy and improve the boats and sell them at a higher price, depending on the improvements made. The idea of building boats has been carried from the sea or coast up to the mountains due to the availability of the materials and the river, although the original artistic value found in the design (reflecting the owner’s social status) is no longer there. To know more about this, read my article entitled, “Sea Episode and the Boat Building Tradition of Central Panay” (*Danyag*, 1999).

Socialization

Another concept that is broad enough to embrace any kind of learning from various institutions like home, school, and church is **socialization**. This is defined as “the general process by which we learn social roles from others.” (Howard, 1993) Learning takes place from birth to death; it is a life-cycle process. We learn our social roles, including the skills, values, and norms that go with them, through instruction (formal and informal) and interaction with people around us. As we internalize them, we go through what anthropologists call **enculturation**. Enculturation is a process similar to socialization but implying internalization of learning.

In traditional societies, the knowledge and skills taught are usually similar. People go through a similar process of learning, resulting in a degree of uniformity among members as they come to share values and attitudes. “Since we acquire an image of the world that is highly conditioned by the beliefs and practices of those whom we are in frequent contact with or with those who exercise influence on us, this results in a uniform worldview among traditional or homogenous societies.” (Howard, 1993)

Our socialization can also be influenced by changes in the environment. “As societies, as well as physical and social settings, constantly change, people must also adapt to these changes. The adjustments they make will, of course, depend on the nature of the changes taking place, and the prime behavior patterns and worldview.” (Howard, 1993)

Can you think how a change in your environment influenced your learning of values and attitudes? A rapid or drastic change in the environment could mean a strong influence. Some changes in the environment can hardly be felt and their influence on our values and attitudes may take some time to be felt. Can you imagine how the once primitive island of Boracay during the 1980s underwent such a rapid change in its environment that consequently influenced the values and attitudes of its original inhabitants, including the way some of them regard the sea as a source of food? When its pristine white beach attracted so much admiration, the island not only became a popular tourist destination but also a home for many people of mixed races and cultures. The waters have become polluted and the traditional way of regarding the sea as sacred is fast waning.

Culture in politics

We Filipinos spend so much of our time on politics. Politics is embedded prominently in our culture. What is politics? Political Science professor Tomasito Talledo of UP Visayas has a non-statist definition of politics: “[It is] the ‘contest for power’; it embraces, among others, the notion of authority, gender, nationality, and governance.”

The success or failure of a development project is a political question. Strategies for managing our coastal or marine resources depend on the active and sustainable participation and cooperation of those who hold power, and those who have the ability to govern. In a coastal community, there would always be some people who are looked upon by others as opinion leaders. Their existence in the community is a binding or centripital force in a group decision; or it could be a source of dissension or what is termed in political science as a centrifugal force. Development projects for managing coastal resources should take into account their cultural impact or bearing.

Let us read a portion of a paper which addresses how development planning should take into consideration culture in politics:

There is now a move towards a holistic development planning where problem solving will move away from too much emphasis on economics, and regard social, cultural, environmental, and human development concerns as equally important. Harmonizing and sharing the power among the government, the private sector, and NGO's would result in a democratic pluralism that would address the problems of social justice, disparities, imbalances, and over-centralization of power and resources at the center. To achieve the goal of equity, participation and cooperation, education and mass media should play an important role. An important feature of this development paradigm is a community-based approach to development and resource management. Here, the cultural value of cooperation and a sense of community need to be rediscovered. The increasing population and continuing destruction of the resources makes it imperative for us to revive old traditions of communal land ownership, and the value of frugality and resource conservation. (Braid, 1994)

Culture in development

Development is not just the physical manifestation of concrete roads, bridges, structures, and new technologies. Neither growth in our GNP (Gross National Product) nor sound fiscal policies are true measures of development. From the development communication perspective (Flor and Ongkiko, 1999), the true measure of development is the human being. Hence the need to consider culture in development efforts.

Let us study closely the insights I quote below:

If culture can be defined as the totality of values, beliefs, forms of expressions, and structure, then the process of development should be culture-based. (Braid, 1991)

In a much broader sense, the concept of culture is a neglected concept of development, although it is the understanding and application of the concept which determines the failure or success of development projects. (Mojares, 1994)

Events in the 1970s showed that for development to be authentic, it should grow out of culture. For culture to be able to communicate broadly to a mass base, indigenous views and learning should be linked to the schools, and media should be able to utilize their symbols effectively to generate participation from the mass base. (Braid, 1994)

In the 1970s, as a young instructor in UP Baguio my attention was caught by a very serious conflict in the Cordillera between the *Kalinga* and the government soldiers who went there to supervise the construction of a huge dam. The government planned to construct a dam in Northern Luzon that would submerge several towns in the Cordillera. This did not push through after the tribe strongly resisted the project. It turned out that although the dam would irrigate the fields in Cagayan Valley and give the Philippine government a high GNP, the Cordillera would not benefit much from it. Worse, the ancestral graves would be desecrated. The example shows the importance of taking into consideration native customs, beliefs, and traditions in development efforts. As stated by Braid (1994), "The cultural communities in the Cordillera resisted a technological innovation that would take their land away from them in preference for their own kind of resource management which they have been practicing for many generations."

The emergence of socio-cultural conflicts in many societies has opened the eyes of government and international organizations like the United Nations to the need to consider culture in development planning. Indeed, we should take heed of the caring wisdom of our ancestors and humble traditions to synchronize ourselves with the true meaning of development.

We have discussed several basic social science concepts. What have you discovered? Yes, these concepts are somehow interconnected with each other. When we encounter the concept of worldview, we cannot isolate it from the concepts of human adaptation and socialization, since a worldview is formed as an adaptive strategy or through socialization. There are of course social science concepts other than those I emphasized in this module. But the concepts we discussed will already guide your steps as you enter coastal communities and study their people and culture. Afterwards, you may think of what approaches are best for managing coastal or marine resources.

SAQ 2-1

State the social science concept best defined or reflected in each of the situations below.

1. "The key players in the implementation of coastal resource management in Olango Island Wildlife Sanctuary are women. The day-to-day operation of the sanctuary is managed by women. The booklet that serves as an educational material about the sanctuary is prepared and administered in schools mostly by women. It is also used in the homes by women who tutor their children. The trips of school children to the sanctuary are usually guided and annotated by women. It is the women who plant *Ipil-ipil* trees in the backyard to reduce firewood gathering in the mangrove area. This very strong female presence in the protection activities of the sanctuary reflects the fact that the direct users of its resources are also women. It is the women who regularly collect food and firewood from the sanctuary. It is the women who heavily depend on the sanctuary to support the household for the men are frequently out at sea. Thus, the women are the biggest stakeholders in the sanctuary. Even most supernatural beings who figure in folklore on the sanctuary have female forms. The feminine personification of these beings can be seen as a representation of the nurturing role of the sanctuary in Olango Island." (Cola, Magos, and Natividad, 1998, p. 60)

2. "Selective harvesting is another method through which the biodiversity of the coastal environment and harvesting is either avoided or restricted in some areas. In Western Visayas, it is a common belief among fishing households that the sea is spirit-inhabited and some areas serve as abode of spirit-beings (Magos, 1994). These are the areas that have usually unique ecological characteristics: abundance of clams, presence of rare fish species, and deep portions that are feeding ground of bigger sea creatures. If fishing is not altogether taboo in these areas, it is undertaken only after a performance of the ritual and harvest is confined to a small amount." (Cola, Magos, and Nativida, 1998, p. 20)
3. Even as the fishers harvest only in small scale, they set aside a portion of their catch to share with their relatives and persons of authority. This practice is primarily a response to fish catch variability for the recipient has the social obligation to render assistance to the giver when the need arises. At the same time, this eliminates wastage and conserves fish resources. The recipient no longer has to fish himself and save the stock that he could have captured. (Cola, Magos, and Natividad, 1998, p.20)
4. Fishing is a hunting-and-gathering form of production that is largely dependent on natural regenerative mechanism. The users have little control of the rate of production and the availability of supply (Nash, 1964; Cashdan, 1989; Hunter, 1990; and Harris, 1990). The users adjust to the temporal and spatial variability of supply through their collection methods and control of the number of users. They also implement techniques to protect the regenerative mechanism of the supply. More often, the collection method functions as a protective technique too. In doing so, the users also maintain the biodiversity status of the ecosystems which support their own lives. (Cola, Magos, and natividad, 1998, p. 18)

ASAQ 2-1

Do you think you got the right answers? Let us compare your answers to mine.

1. culture in politics and socialization
2. worldview and culture in development
3. socialization and culture in development
4. human adaptation and culture in development

You're really ready to do fieldwork, right? You're doing well with our lesson and I know you will also do well in the real situation.

Activity 2-1

Imagine yourself as an ethnographer assigned to study one particular area of life in a coastal community. Choose one of the concepts discussed in this module as your guide to help you gather and organize your data. List down possible information you want to know and need to observe about the community when you go there to interact and conduct unstructured interviews with people. Be sure to give a title that relates to your study. Your report should have the following parts:

Title:

Concept:

Possible information I need to know or observe:

Comments on Activity 2-1

Let us see how well you did with your activity. Compare the report you made with the one I have prepared. You can tell during the study session why you are interested in making the study you chose for this activity.

Title: The Role of Women in a Fishing Community

Concept: Socialization

Possible information I need to know or observe:

- a. Daily/routine activities of women
- b. Specific work assigned to women alone
- c. Shared work of men and women
- d. Existing women's group or organization
- e. Highest educational attainment of men and women
- f. Special skills of women in the community
- g. How do the women learn their special skills?
- h. How do the women develop their special skills?
- i. How do the women make use of their special skills?
- j. How do the women spend their leisure hours?
- k. How do the women contribute to generating household income?
- l. Average marrying age of women
- m. Average times women marry and remarry
- n. Average children of women
- o. Migration patterns (Are most women native settlers? How did they arrive in the community?)
- p. Common complaints/problems of women
- q. Common dreams and aspirations of women
- r. Existing native tales or literature about women
- s. Existing strong female figure in the community

The list is not exhaustive. I could look into more aspects of the topic I chose.

Summary

Coastal anthropology is one of the sub-divisions or sub-disciplines under socio-cultural anthropology. It basically studies the thought and behavior of human beings in coastal settings. Like any other social science, it makes use of theories and concepts to come up with an explanation for an existing phenomenon. The basic social science concepts that are helpful for coastal anthropological study are:

- a. **Worldview**, which deals with how human beings view the world around them, or their cultural orientation
- b. **Adaptation**, which includes the strategies of human beings for surviving or sustaining themselves in their existing or changing environment.
- c. **Socialization**, which refers to how human beings learn or develop their social roles, norms, values, and attitudes through their interaction with the other human beings surrounding them;
- d. **Culture in politics**, which shows how power or authority to govern, lead, make decisions, and influence a majority of people should be addressed to generate among people full support and responsibility in carrying out developmental projects. True leadership must be above vested interests, and this will depend on the cultural orientation of the leader and the follower.
- e. **Culture in development**, which refers to how culture should be considered in developmental work because culture involves the whole aspect of human beings and because human beings are primarily the true measures of development.

These basic concepts in coastal anthropology are essential for understanding the people who are directly and indirectly involved in coastal resource management.

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Module 3

Understanding Worldview

*I leave you this word
This is my parting message
You should not forget
Always remember
When you reach there
Prepare food offerings
Ask them to partake
The sea-spirits
The under sea beings
...says Luyong Kabig,
"Yes indeed, Mother".*

*He climbed the biday
He went up to the sea vessel
Its mast reaches the sky
He is Kulabo Kulambaw
Umbaw Amantulin...*

Excerpts from *Kalampay*, a *suguidanon* (epic) of Panay-Bukidnon, chanted in archaic language by *Tu-ohan* (Federico Caballero), National Living Treasures Awardee 2000, compiled and translated into English by Alicia Magos (1999)

In the preceding module, I presented some basic social science concepts that can be used in understanding socio-cultural phenomena existing in fishing communities. Such concepts help us understand the behavior of fisherfolk, their attitudes, and their values.

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Situate the concept of worldview in coastal anthropology by reading the article of Magos (1994) "The Concept of *Mari-it* in Panaynon Maritime Worldview;"
2. Explain the factors that make the concept of *mari-it* central to the Panaynon worldview; and
3. Recommend how the concept of *mari-it* can be used in sustainable development for coastal resource management.

Module 3 is a case study of a fishing community. It focuses on this community's belief in the existence of a spirit world. Of course, as you read, you will realize that this concept alone is not enough to explain the fishing community in focus. Other concepts such as socialization and adaptation will be equally useful to explain the existence of a particular worldview. Nevertheless, the data on the worldview of this community clustering on their concept of *mari-it* would be a helpful tool in coastal resource management, especially in traditional fishing communities, and in addressing the problems of our dwindling environment.

A View of Nature

Have you seen the animated Walt Disney movie "Pocahontas"? If you haven't, I recommend that you watch it. The movie's theme song in particular is one that I would recommend to you as something to reflect on, as it reveals the worldview of Native American Indians who, like the early Filipinos, were closely linked with

nature. Vanessa Williams popularized the song. I am sure you must have heard it before. The words and music are by Alan Menken and Stephen Schwartz. If you have access to the Internet, you may visit <http://disneywonders.tripod.com/lyrics14.htm>; the site can play the song for you. The lyrics of the song are printed below. Let us read it, and perhaps even sing it.

Colors of the Wind

You think I'm an ignorant savage
 And you've been to so many places
 I guess it must be so
 But still I cannot see
 If the savage one is me
 How can there be so much that you don't know?
 You don't know...

You think you own the land whatever you land on
 The earth is just a dead thing you can claim
 But I know every rock and tree and creature,
 Has a life, has a spirit, has a name.

You think the only people who are people
 Are the people who look and think like you
 But if you walk the footsteps of a stranger
 You learn things you never knew, you never knew.

Have you ever heard the wolf cry to the blue corn moon
 Or asked the grinning bobcat why he grinned?
 Can you sing with all the voices in the mountain?
 Can you paint with all the colors of the wind?
 Can you paint with all the colors of the wind?

Come run the hidden pine trails of the forest
 Come taste the sunsweet berries of the earth
 Come roll in all the riches all around you
 And for once never wonder what they're worth.

The rainstorm and the river are my brothers
 The heron and the otter are my friends
 And we are all connected to each other,
 In a circle, in a hoop that never ends.

Have you ever heard the wolf cry to the blue corn moon
 Or let the eagle tell you where he's been?
 Can you sing with all the voices in the mountain?
 Can you paint with all the colors of the wind?
 Can you paint with all the colors of the wind?

How high does the sycamore grows
 If you cut it down, then you'll never know
 And you'll never hear the wolf cry to the blue corn moon
 Or whether we are white or copper skinned
 We need to sing with all the voices in the mountain
 We need to paint with all the colors of the wind.

You can own the earth and still
 All you'll own is earth until
 You can paint with all the colors of the wind.

The song highlights a view of nature that is at odds with the proprietary and profit-oriented view of it that is so characteristic of modern and technology-driven societies. Nature is seen in the song as something that is alive, a being in itself, composed of many wondrous creatures – plant and animal – and majestic organs fashioned out as mountains, rivers, valleys and plains. This personified Nature is a benevolent and beautiful spirit, but one that is essentially wild and free and untameable. It is one that human beings can try to control but which nonetheless will elude that controlling grasp.

The song, in articulating a view of nature, describes and prescribes an attitude and relationship with it that is essentially non-exploitative and respectful, one that is marked by a striving for a harmonious relationship with it. Do you feel the same way about nature and the environment? What is your view of nature? What is your community's view of nature? How would you characterize the modern Filipino's view of nature? Do you think it differs radically from that of ancient Filipinos? Can one talk about one worldview vis-à-vis nature and the environment holding sway in the country and the world today?

Well, by way of answering the last few questions, consider the following.

Kalampay, which comprises Volume 5 of the 10 epics documented from the Panay-Bukidnon (also known as Sulod) indigenous group, introduces Masangladon, a man of god-like attributes from the under-seaworld, who devises a plot to abduct Matan-ayon, the beautiful wife of Labaw-Donggon, the hero of the story. Masangladon directed a *kalampay* (tortoise) to swim towards the seashore frequented by *Matan-ayon* for bathing. He transforms or disguises the *kalampay* into an island full of fruit-bearing trees, so that *Matan-ayon* can be enticed to pick fruits after taking a bath. Sure enough, Matan-ayon went to pick delicious looking betel nuts to chew. Engrossed, she did not notice that the tortoise had begun to move and take her to the *panibyungan*, a jump-off point from the mouth of the spring which flows down to the under-seaworld where Masangladon lives. And the adventure continues.

Like the Mahabharatha of India, the *suguidanon* or epic of Central Panay is full of tales of human being's exploits with supernatural beings. If they have Masangladon, Greek mythology has a supernatural being who also lives under the sea. Do you know him? Yes, they call him Neptune or Poseidon.

The existence of the spirit world is a universal belief and transcends all cultures. Hence, it is a belief that binds human beings together. The spirit world epitomizes the human need to justify the human quest for immortality and the desire to rise above the physical world. Belief in the spirit world is one of the main reasons why religion was formed and became institutionalized. It continues to grow despite the many ways science and technology tries to find answers to the mystery surrounding the universe. Such a belief has existed through time. And each culture, in its own given space and situation, would have its way of understanding and dealing with the spirit world.

Our belief in the existence of the spirit world or the supernatural is linked to our belief in the idea of sacredness or holiness. We Christians associate sacredness or holiness with the Holy Bible. Jesus Christ is considered holy because He is the Son of God, and by becoming man, He fulfilled His mission to redeem the world through His death and resurrection; thus, we are born again to have an everlasting life. Of course, other faiths have their own representations of sacredness or holiness. The Chinese worship their dead ancestors and consider them holy. They believe that the soul of their dead ancestors can help facilitate favors from divine beings, because both their dead ancestors and divine beings are on the same spiritual plane already. The Muslims make the effort to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, a place they consider holy. The Hindus believe in *nirvana*, the state of complete holiness that an individual attains after going through several lives on earth.

The examples I cited should not confuse you, however, that the idea of sacredness is limited within the bounds of religious institutions. Before religion was institutionalized, or before society was even civilized, the idea of sacredness was already thriving and intense. Prehistoric tales and artifacts reflect how our natural physical environment like the wind, sun, streams, trees, mountains, fire, birds, and oceans were considered sacred and therefore worthy of respect. Many lines in the Panay epics show that the ancient folk invoked the winds when they prayed, and treated them as deified mortals.

Our ancestors' sensitivity to nature and their belief in its sacredness can be attributed to the importance they put on nature as a source of life. They knew that without nature and the many resources it provides, human survival would not be possible.

Is this view of nature archaic, even anachronistic? Do modern Filipinos no longer see nature in the same way?

The Concept of *Mari-it*: a Case Study on Worldview

Among the beautiful memories of my childhood is playing hide-and-seek with my friends. The game was doubly fun when played outside where looking for a place to hide would be an adventure. I remember that the concept of *mari-it* (i.e., sacred or dangerous places) was one that we lived by; it was in a sense one of the rules of the game. If we happened to walk towards a place that was considered *mari-it*, we would recite in a soft and courteous voice, "*Tabi-tabi, maki-raan lang po.*"

This is a show of respect for supernatural beings. Do you remember saying this yourself in similar circumstances? The gesture is common in almost all places in the Philippines. Our grandparents taught us to believe in the existence of environmental spirits. These spirits belong to the invisible world, which is also within our physical world. A tree like the *balete* could actually be a grand castle of enchanted beings. Roads prone to accidents are also regarded as *mari-it*; they could be the home of supernatural beings. A few years ago, one road sign within Iloilo City and one going to Antique had the word sign "*mari-it*" on it because the place is accident prone. We see similar road signs in interior towns of General Santos City, Saranggani, and South Cotabato. The sign warns passersby to be careful, since a careless action may disturb the spirits of the place and invite retribution through death or mysterious illness.

The concept of *mari-it* is not limited to the land, for the sea is also the subject of mysterious tales that reflect the concept. My article on the concept of *mari-it* (Magos, 1994) will give you a detailed description of how the concept of *mari-it* is central to the worldview of the fisherfolk in Panay. You may now read my article in the book, *Fishers of the Visayas: Visayas Maritime Anthropological Studies, 1991-1993* (Ushijima and Zayas, eds., 1994).

Now that you are done with your reading, let me ask you: What have you learned about the concept of *mari-it*? What do the data from the five fishing communities tell you about their worldview?

These are the factors that you should have learned:

1. The concept of *mari-it* reflects the fisherfolk's belief in the existence of the spirit world, and phenomena attributed to supernatural beings.
 - 1.1 *Mari-it* is associated with places where spirits or supernatural beings are thought to dwell.
 - 1.2 The spirit beings may be good or evil and can provide blessings when revered or wreak destruction when desecrated by human beings.
 - 1.3 A ritual is usually performed to appease and show respect or gratitude to the spirits or supernatural beings.
 - 1.4 Lucky charms or talismans are used to appease the spirits and to ask for rich blessings in the form of a bountiful fish catch and safe voyage.

2. The concept of *mari-it* is enhanced by the physical environment.
 - 2.1 Isolated, quiet and eerie places are considered *mari-it*.
 - 2.1 Deep waters pose danger and are considered *mari-it*.
 - 2.2 The distance of a community from an urbanizing/modernizing community may strengthen or weaken the concept.
 - 2.3 Certain species of trees (*talisay*) and mangroves are believed to be inhabited by spirits.

3. The concept of *mari-it* is learned through socialization.
 - 3.1 The presence or absence of a *sirhuano* (folk ritualist) who performs rituals and ceremonies can contribute to the continuance and prevalence of the *mari-it* worldview.
 - 3.1 The presence of a dynamic change agent or leader such as a priest may strengthen or weaken the concept of *mari-it*.
 - 3.2 The degree of influx of people from outside or neighboring communities may strengthen, weaken or modify the *mari-it* worldview.
 - 3.3 Social norms such as observing silence are required of people passing by certain *mari-it* places known in the community.
 - 3.4 The social role of a *sirhuano* (folk ritualist) requires him/her to act as medium between human beings and the spirit world.

4. The concept of *mari-it* has survived due to adaptation.
 - 4.1 The traditional concept of *mari-it* survives because symbols attached to the concept co-exist or are adapted to the current prevalent worldview. For example, folk Catholicism merges with animism during *padaga* or blood-letting rituals like signing the holy cross with the blood of chicken or pig offerings; and the use of incense, locks of hair from the *Nazareno*, the statue of Christ carrying a cross, or the *Santo Intiero*, the statue of the dead Christ, as a charm to lure fishes and to protect the bearer from harm.
 - 4.2 As people adapt to new and sophisticated fishing technology, another worldview like commercialism is introduced which discourages belief in the concept of *mari-it*.
 - 4.3 A positive worldview that addresses the concept of sustainable development could encourage the perpetuation of the concept of *mari-it* in the succeeding generations of fisherfolk.

The Concept of *Mari-it* and Sustainable Development

At this point, you must already have a clear understanding of the concept of *mari-it*. How can the concept be utilized to the advantage of our coastal resources?

Yes, we can use the concept of *mari-it* as a tool for sustainable development. Do you know what sustainable development means? I mention it early in the introduction of “The Concept of *Mari-it* and Panaynon Maritime Worldview” (Magos, 1994). Sustainable development has to do with the responsible use of our resources, which aims to meet the demands of present generation but with full consideration to reserve or allocate resources enough for future generations. The concept of *mari-it* is an adaptive strategy for maintaining our coastal resources. It prohibits or minimizes the use or extraction of certain resources so that what is due the next generation will not be compromised by current needs.

Although Christian beliefs have managed to influence the rituals and practices of almost all of the fishing communities studied, the concept of *mari-it* in essence dates back to an era of animism. And it is this which bodes well for the environment. Says Komoo and Othman (1997):

Animism unites man with nature through the belief that spirits dwell in the fields, hills, trees, water, and other parts of the environment. This belief, dominant in non-western cultures, instills a sense of reverence, which translates into an attitude of non-interference with nature. According to Keller (1976), animism is a major force in the preservation of the environment in the early civilizations.

The concept of *mari-it* reflects a worldview that regulates the fisherfolk's need to master coastal resources. Unlike with land where the concept of land ownership is so evident, the sea is not owned by a particular person, family, or organization. Coastal resources are still common property. Thus, because it is common to all, it is also more likely to invite people to exploit the resource as much as they can. As Garret Hardin in his article "Tragedy of the Commons" (1968) writes, "Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons." This is especially true in the social setting of the sea. But the concept of *mari-it* negates the concept of common property, as it underlies the belief in unseen beings being the owner or master of the coastal environment. Thus, rituals and ceremonies are performed in honor of the spirits or supernatural beings. Taboos are imposed to manifest social control and order. Sacred places and times are identified to regulate freedom in the use of coastal resources. All these would not be possible without the belief in the dominion of spirits or supernatural beings that are said to be more powerful than human beings.

You may further enrich your knowledge of the concept of *mari-it* and other forms of folk beliefs that relate to sustainable development by reading the articles, "Concept of *Mari-it* and its Impact to Eco-systems Protection and Sustainable Resource Management" (Magos, 1997) and "Enduring Folk Beliefs and Traditions in Relation with Sustainable Coastal Resource Management among Migratory and Permanent Coastal Dwellers in the Visayas" (Pabito, 2000). There is also a website entitled "Tragedy of the Coastal Commons," which provides a unique, virtual space for discussion about sustaining coastal resources. Perhaps you can participate by exchanging ideas and contributing some of the lessons you learned by logging in at <http://www.kenyon.edu/projects/envs61/> or you may search it under the name, Tragedy of the Coastal Commons.

Now let's test your understanding of this module with some SAQs.

SAQ 3-1

Fill in each blank with the correct word or words relating to our discussion of worldview and the concept of *mari-it*.

The existence of the spirit world is a universal _____ of human beings from all ages and places. It links us to our belief in the idea of _____. Thus, rituals are usually performed to _____ and show _____ to the _____. The traditional concept of *mari-it* survived in the fishing villages studied because it makes use of symbols adapted from _____, which is the prevalent religion in the area. Such a concept also elicits control in the use of their resources, which is believed to be _____, because of fear of danger that could befall those who disobey the norm. In a way, it also promotes _____ because it protects the resources from _____, giving resources time to renew themselves and have something left for _____.

ASAQ 3-1

The existence of the spirit world is a universal worldview of human beings from all ages and places. It links us to our belief in the idea of sacredness. Thus, rituals are usually performed to appease and show respect or gratitude to spirits or supernatural beings. The traditional concept of *mari-it* survived in the fishing villages studied because it makes use of symbols adapted from Christianity or folk Catholicism, which is the prevalent religion in the area. Such a concept also elicits control in the use of their resources, which is believed to be *mari-it*, because of the fear of danger that could befall those who disobey the norm. In a way, it also promotes sustainable development because it protects the resources from over exploitation, giving resources time to renew themselves and have something left for future generations.

Activity 3-1

Imagine yourself as an ethnologist asked to do a comparative study on the worldview of the five fishing communities discussed in the article you read. This time I would like to test how well you organize data based on your reading.

Illustrate briefly the similarities and differences of each fishing community cited by completing Table 3-1 (next page).

Table 3-1. An exercise in ethnology (Activity 3-1)

Barangay	Type of Community	Location	View of the Sea	Beliefs	Practices	Fishing Gear Used
Igdalaguit	Traditional		The deep sea is very dangerous or <i>mari-it</i> ; inhabited by harmful sea spirits, the <i>siokoy</i> (half-man and half-monster); near <i>Punta Hagdan</i> , a cliff which sharply drops down to the sea, is believed to be very deep and <i>mari-it</i> ; the sea is inhabited by <i>lawod-non</i> (sea spirits).		Deep sea fishing boats are subjected to <i>padugo</i> (blood-letting) ritual; <i>daga</i> or <i>padugo</i> is performed for both big or small boats; rituals are done with food offering; <i>cagay-anon</i> rite is performed by fisherfolk whose relatives died from sea accidents in Cagayancillo Island; a yearly communal rite called <i>samba</i> or <i>sambayang</i> is done for the community.	<i>Sibid-sibidan</i> (small boats) and motorized boats are used, the latter for deep seas near Cuyo and Cagayancillo Islands; <i>taga</i> (hook and line) and <i>lambo</i> (styrofoam box with baited hook) and nets (e.g., <i>buldos</i> , <i>sarap</i> , and <i>sahid</i>) are used near the sea coast during certain months of the year; traditional fishing gear like <i>bubo</i> (fish trap), <i>pamansi</i> (spear made of pointed sticks), <i>padamag</i> (a kind of net), and <i>pamalاران</i> (makes use of a bait at 200 fathoms at deep sea) are also used.
Buntod	Early Transitional	Near an estuary; 30-35 mins. boat ride to the nearest mainland of Roxas City, Capiz.		Spirit beings do not inhabit the friendly estuary but the land is spirit habited; certain trees like the <i>talisay</i> and the mangrove (e.g., <i>pagatpat</i> , <i>piayapi</i> , and <i>bakawan</i>) near fish-ponds are believed to be <i>mari-it</i> .		<i>Pambot</i> or pumpboat (motorized boat) for hauling nets at the estuary; <i>balsa</i> (bamboo raft) for going to the <i>tahungan</i> (breeding place for sea mussels) and <i>talabahan</i> (breeding place for oysters).

Table 3-1 continued...

Barangay	Type of Community	Location	View of the Sea	Beliefs	Practices	Fishing Gear Used
Suclaran	Mid-Transitional			Sea spirits affecting fishing activities in deep waters can be appeased by food offerings; belief in <i>tag-lugar</i> (resident spirit dwellers on land) and <i>lawodnon</i> (<i>sikoy</i> and <i>serena</i> or sea mermaid) is present.	<i>Daga sa baroto</i> (blood-letting for new boats ensures safety and a bountiful fish catch; <i>daga sa punot</i> (blood-letting for fish corral) is also performed; a chicken or pig is slaughtered depending on the economic status of the owner of the fishing gear/boat; <i>panulod</i> , a raft filled with food offerings, is pushed towards the sea during times of poor fish catch to appease the envy of sea spirits.	
Gabi	Late Transitional	Near corral reefs; 2hrs. boat ride to the nearest mainland, Estancia and Carles in Iloilo.		Presence of sea spirits inferred from the need to perform blood-letting and food offerings; certain mountains and rocks in the land are very <i>marrit</i> ; Gigante Island is referred to as the metropolis of the <i>engkantos</i> (enchanted beings).		<i>Sibid-sibidan</i> is used by the majority; motorized boats bigger than the <i>sibid-sibidan</i> are also used by subsistence fishermen; zipper and <i>hulbot</i> (motorized big boats) are owned only by two residents.

Table 3-1 continued...

Barangay	Type of Community	Location	View of the Sea	Beliefs	Practices	Fishing Gear Used
Manoc-Manoc	Urbanizing		<p>The shallow sea is friendly and a source of livelihood; a blessing to fisherfolk due to its white sand attracting visitors; though generally considered not dangerous, there are certain parts of the land near the coast considered to be <i>mari-it</i>; also certain trees (e.g., <i>lunok</i> or <i>balete</i>) are considered <i>mari-it</i> by fishermen; a resident who lives near the urbanized area and earns well through tourism says that <i>mari-it</i> is a thing of the past.</p>		<p>Though urbanized, there are reports of a <i>padaga</i> ritual done for motorized sea vessels; done with fumigation and food offering; about 85% of the fisherfolk have left fishing activity for a tourism related livelihood, so rituals are no longer/seidom performed.</p>	

Comments on Activity 3-1

Did you enjoy gathering your data and organizing them? In a real life situation, fieldwork is part of the hard work of a researcher. Part of the fulfillment is being able to relate with people and making a worthy contribution to their development. Your table should contain more or less the data I listed in my version of the table (Table 3-2, next page). If you think your data are very different from mine, why don't you try reviewing your notes and see where you may have gone wrong.

Table 3-2. An ethnologist's report (Comments on Activity 3-1)

Barangay	Type of Community	Location	View of the Sea	Beliefs	Practices	Fishing Gear Used
Igdalaguit	Traditional	Near a <i>kantilado</i> (deep sea) or shelf; 2- 2½ hrs. bus ride to an urbanizing area, Iloilo City; 6-7 km. to the nearest poblacion of Dao, Antique; faces Cuyo (Palawan) sea.	The deep sea is very dangerous or <i>mari-it</i> ; inhabited by harmful sea spirits, the <i>siokoy</i> (half-man and half-monster); near <i>Punta Hagdan</i> , a cliff which sharply drops down to the sea, is believed to be very deep and <i>mari-it</i> ; the sea is inhabited by <i>lawod-non</i> (sea spirits).	Deep waters are very <i>mari-it</i> , needing rituals to prevent sea accidents and to have a bountiful fish catch; there are both good and bad spirits, the latter playing tricks on fishermen at sea; belief in the efficacy of <i>tuob</i> (fumigation) and food offerings in the fisherfolk house for continuous good fish catch.	Deep sea fishing boats are subjected to <i>padugo</i> (blood-letting) ritual; <i>daga</i> or <i>padugo</i> is performed for both big or small boats; rituals are done with food offering; <i>cagay-anon</i> rite is performed by fisherfolk whose relatives died from sea accidents in Cagayancillo Island; a yearly communal rite called <i>samba</i> or <i>sambayang</i> is done for the community.	<i>Sibid-sibidan</i> (small boats) and motorized boats are used, the latter for deep seas near Cuyo and Cagayancillo Islands; <i>taga</i> (hook and line) and <i>lambo</i> (styrofoam box with baited hook) and nets (e.g., <i>buldos</i> , <i>sarap</i> , and <i>sahid</i>) are used near the sea coast during certain months of the year; traditional fishing gear like <i>bubo</i> (fish trap), <i>paransi</i> (spear made of pointed sticks), <i>padamag</i> (a kind of net), and <i>pamalaran</i> (makes use of a bait at 200 fathoms at deep sea) are also used.
Buntod	Early Transitional	Near an estuary; 30-35 mins. boat ride to the nearest mainland of Roxas City, Capiz.	The estuary is a friendly area devoid of sea spirits; considered a blessing due to its rich marine resources; most people fish here everyday; it is the barren land which is considered <i>mari-it</i> because it is home to environmental spirit beings.	Spirit beings do not inhabit the friendly estuary but the land is spirit habited; certain trees like the <i>talisay</i> and the mangrove (e.g., <i>pagatpat</i> , <i>playapi</i> , and <i>bakawan</i>) near fishponds are believed to be <i>mari-it</i> .	No rituals for estuary but for <i>sangha</i> (fishponds) located in the place owned by outsiders, a <i>padaga</i> rite used to be performed by a <i>sirhuano</i> (folk ritualist) living in the community who is now deceased.	<i>Pambot</i> or pumpboat (motorized boat) for hauling nets at the estuary; <i>balsa</i> (bamboo raft) for going to the <i>tahungan</i> (breeding place for sea mussels) and <i>talabahan</i> (breeding place for oysters).

Table 3-2 continued...

Barangay	Type of Community	Location	View of the Sea	Beliefs	Practices	Fishing Gear Used
Suclaran	Mid Transitional	Near corral reefs; 30-35 mins. boat ride to the nearest mainland in Iloilo City.	Two zones are recognized, the shallow zone which is friendly and the deep zone which is dangerous and less frequented by fishermen; the sea is inhabited by <i>lawodnon-dagatnon</i> (sea spirits).	Sea spirits affecting fishing activities in deep waters can be appeased by food offerings; belief in <i>tag-lugar</i> (resident spirit dwellers on land) and <i>lawodnon</i> (<i>siokey</i> and <i>serena</i> or sea mermaid) is present.	<i>Daga sa baroto</i> (blood-letting for new boats ensures safety and a bountiful fish catch; <i>daga sa punot</i> (blood-letting for fish corrals) is also performed; a chicken or pig is slaughtered depending on the economic status of the owner of the fishing gear/boat; <i>panulod</i> , a raft filled with food offerings, is pushed towards the sea during times of poor fish catch to appease the envy of sea spirits.	<i>Sibid-sibidan</i> used by the majority for shallow waters; long lines, <i>pukot</i> (gill net); <i>hud-hod</i> (push net) when water is above waistline; spear called <i>baslay</i> , <i>sibat</i> , or <i>isi</i> for deep sea fishing.
Gabi	Late Transitional	Near corral reefs; 2hrs. boat ride to the nearest mainland, Estancia and Carles in Iloilo.	Two zones are recognized, the shallow or friendly zones devoid of sea spirits and the deep zones (2 hrs. away). A particularly very deep diving area called <i>Olympu</i> , is very dangerous and inhabited by a malevolent <i>siokey</i> (sea monster).	Presence of sea spirits inferred from the need to perform blood-letting and food offerings; certain mountains and rocks in the land are very <i>mari-iti</i> ; Gigante Island is referred to as the metropolis of the <i>engkantos</i> (enchanted beings).	<i>Daga</i> for <i>baroto</i> (boat) is done with fumigation and offerings; animistic practices complement folk Catholic practices (coexisting practices); use of <i>parnglap</i> (roots, grass, twigs or flowers taken from ornaments of saints and from <i>mari-iti</i> caves in the Gigantes island).	<i>Sibid-sibidan</i> is used by the majority; motorized boats bigger than the <i>sibid-sibidan</i> are also used by subsistence fishermen; zipper and <i>hulbot</i> (motorized big boats) are owned only by two residents.

Table 3-2 continued...

Barangay	Type of Community	Location	View of the Sea	Beliefs	Practices	Fishing Gear Used
Manoc-Manoc	Urbanizing	Near corral reefs; 10-15 mins. boat ride to the nearest mainland, Catiklan, Malay, Aklan.	The shallow sea is friendly and a source of livelihood; a blessing to fisherfolk due to its white sand attracting visitors; though generally considered not dangerous, there are certain parts of the land near the coast considered to be <i>mari-it</i> ; also certain trees (e.g., <i>lunok</i> or <i>balete</i>) are considered <i>mari-it</i> by fishermen; a resident who lives near the urbanized area and earns well through tourism says that <i>mari-it</i> is a thing of the past.	Some objects called <i>pangalap</i> (e.g. peculiar twigs, vines, and objects taken from statues of saints during Lent) can give a bountiful fish catch; those staying near tourist areas no longer believe in the potency of <i>pangalap</i> ; there's a changing belief among fisherfolk who have turned to carpentry or to tourism related jobs; belief that some parts of the land are <i>mari-it</i> still exists.	Though urbanized, there are reports of a <i>padaga</i> ritual done for motorized sea vessels; done with fumigation and food offering; about 85% of the fisherfolk have left fishing activity for a tourism related livelihood, so rituals are no longer/seldom performed.	Fish spearing using <i>lente</i> (lens) and <i>pana</i> (spear); <i>hapon</i> or <i>sahid</i> (net used near the shoreline); <i>pamunit</i> (hook and line fishing).

Summary

The concept of *mari-it* stems from a worldview or cultural orientation that recognizes the presence of spirit beings in nature. Basically this worldview is concretized through:

- the holding of rituals and ceremonies like *padaga* and *samba*
- social norms like the identification of places and time which are considered *mari-it*, setting taboo practices, and use of objects for *pangalap* (talisman) to protect from dangers at sea as well as to charm fish
- social roles like participating in communal rituals or becoming a *sirhuano* (folk ritualist) to lead in the ceremony and other related activities

Cultural adaptation is also reflected in folk Catholicism which has incorporated the belief in *mari-it*. Traditional rituals and beliefs adapt symbols from the Roman Catholic religion which the majority of Filipinos follow, like the cross, medallions, and

statues of saints. The use of fumigation with incense is also common to all rituals. A priest may take the place or role of the *sirhuano* by blessing fishing boats in cases where the *sirhuano* is not available in the community. Other fisherfolk would seek both the priest and a *sirhuano* to perform the blessing and ritual, respectively.

Showing respect and reverence to spirits and supernatural beings by performing rituals reflect the human fear of danger or bad luck that may befall them when they fail to comply with the cultural and social prescription associated with the concept of *mari-it*. Thus, they try not to misuse sea or land resources or trespass in certain places which are believed to be habitats or within the dominion of the spirit world. As a result, the fisherfolk's use of coastal resources is regulated. Somehow, their worldview as shown in the concept *mari-it* is a regulating factor that encourages sustainable development for coastal resource management.

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- [<http://disneywonders.tripod.com/lyrics14.htm>] for the song *Colors of the Wind*.
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Module 4

Surviving Through Human Adaptation

Earth is the great Mother, who offers nature everything she may need and maintains biological and cultural diversity from generation to generation.

Guillermo Archibold, Spokesman
Kuna Indians of Central America
(Archibold and Davey, 1993)

In Module 2, you were also introduced to the concept of human adaptation, which is defined as the means by which individuals or population react to environmental conditions in order to maintain themselves and survive (Howard, 1994). The environment consists of physical, biotic, and social components. How human beings react to these in order to survive constitutes their adaptive strategy. The case study, “*Pangayaw and Tumandok in the Maritime World of the Visayan Islander*” (Zayas, 1994) will present to you human adaptation as lived by the fisherfolk of Gigante and its neighboring islands.

The Adaptive Strategy of Visayans

Visayan people are known for their happy-go-lucky nature. They say this can be attributed to their physical surroundings, which endow them with rich fishing grounds and fertile farmlands. This attitude also shows how they adapt to their surroundings in times of difficulty like drought or scarcity of fish catch. Let us try to get to know Visayans through their popular folk song. In case the words are new to you, I included an English translation by Evelyn Cabanban, a

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Situate the concept of human adaptation through the article “*Pangayaw and Tumandok in the Maritime World of Visayan Islanders*” by Cynthia Neri Zayas (1994).
2. Describe the adaptive strategies used by the *pangayaw* and *tumandok* fisherfolk of Gigante and its neighboring islands; and
3. Determine how the environment of Gigante and its neighboring island condition the *pangayaw* and *tumandok* fisherfolk’s survival.

noted author of Philippine children's literature, from her book, *Himig: A Collection of Philippine Folk Songs, Vol. I*, (1994). (I do hope you would also find the time to learn the Visayan dialects like *Cebuano, Ilonggo, Waray*, or *Kiniray-a* since you will encounter them when you find yourself in the field studying their coastal environment.) You may refer to the music piece arranged by Dr. Raul Sunico in the same book, if you want to acquaint yourself with the melody.

*Si Filemon, si Filemon, namasol sa kadagatan
Nakakuha, nakakuha ug isdang tambasakan
Guibaligya, guibaligya sa merkadong guba
Ang halin puros kura, ang halin puros kura
Igo ra ipanuba*

(Filemon went fishing in the sea
He caught a fish called *tambasakan*
He sold it at a dilapidated market
For an amount enough to pay for a glass of *tuba*.)

This Visayan folk song reflects how Visayan fisherfolk like Filemon cope with their environment. Evelyn Cabanban gives an interesting interpretation and analysis of the song, and provides historical data about Cebu, the setting of the song, as follows:

Si Filemon is a cheery Cebuano folk song that makes light of a not too happy situation. Filemon, a fisherman, goes out to sea and manages to catch just one *tambasakan*, a tiny fish not more than four inches long. Seafaring folk know the *tambasakan* as the fish that "skips" on the waves. But it is also known for being not at all appetizing.

It is no wonder, then, why Filemon gets no more than a measly amount for his fish catch, even if the market is a dilapidated one. Actually, the term *kura* in the song is a nickname for wartime money, which during peace time, is worthless. And that's just what Filemon's earnings were— an amount equivalent to about one centavo. But no matter...he happily spends it on a glass of coconut sap.

The song's playful melody and the clever use of repetition seem to express the cheerful, easy-going Visayan nature. No situation is so bleak that some good cannot be found in it. Nor is it any use complaining about things you cannot control or change—like Filemon's meager catch. Working harder or staying longer out at sea does not seem to come to this easy-going fisherman's mind. He is content to enjoy his *tuba* today, and hope for better luck tomorrow.

Fishing has always been a major industry in Cebu and neighboring provinces. In fact the present City of Cebu was once a fishing settlement of Rajah Humabon who ruled the area when Ferdinand Magellan came to our shores in 1521.

The legend of the origin of the province's name also has something to do with fishing. During the Spanish regime, fishermen used to grease the hull of their fishing bancas with "*sebu*" or animal fat. So the story goes that, while a fisherman was greasing his banca or baroto, a group of Spaniards sauntered along and asked him the name of the place. The native thinking that the foreigners were asking about the grease on his hands, replied "*sebu*". Thus, the fishing village (and eventually the entire island of Cebu) came to be called Cebu.

Cebuanos today bear the influences of their rich and courageous Austronesian heritage, intermingled in later centuries with other cultures of Asia, and finally with that of Spain. The Spanish conquest left a very distinct imprint of Western civilization in Cebu by introducing Hispanic cultures in music, in the arts, in government, and in the Christian faith.

That was quite an extensive review of our history, wasn't it? What have you learned so far from Cabanban's (1994) story, which you can relate with human adaptation? Did you notice that indeed the environment—physical, biotic, and social—conditions how human beings survive? It determines whether life would be difficult or easy for them. Such conditions may change slowly or drastically. The physical setting of Cebu provides a smooth navigation for people to visit the island and its surroundings. Its biotic environment, like its rich marine life, attracts people from different places to come and make use of its resources. This has resulted in Cebu's unique social environment, which is a mixture of cultures coming from various places in the Philippines and even outside. The reaction of Cebuanos to their environment in order to survive constitutes their adaptive strategy.

Adaptive strategies are evident in:

1. Beliefs and values which are manifested in the way human beings view their environment and how they interact with it. These guide them in relating to as well as in extracting resources from the environment, which is the source of their food.
2. Technology, which is shown in the way human beings use their skills and knowledge to extract the energy potentials of the environment (like food) in order to survive.
3. Social organization, which is demonstrated in the way human beings shape social relations in their community.

In Module 3, the beliefs and values of the different Panay fisherfolk communities studied are shown to be conditioned by the way they view and relate to the sea as encapsulated in the concept of *mari-it* (dangerous zones or places inhabited by supernatural beings). If you will look closely, you will also note that the physical environment of the sea determines the kind of technology or fishing gear used in these communities. When they fish in the shallow zones, they use simple gear like traps, nets, and small boats. Furthermore, since the shallow coastal environment is not viewed as dangerous, rituals are not performed daily when fisherfolk would use traps, nets, and spears in the shallow zones.

Pangayaw and *Tumandok* in the Maritime World of Visayan Islanders

The brief history of Cebu discussed earlier by Cabanban (1994) showed the exchanges of knowledge brought by foreign invasion, fishing, and trading among the natives and sojourners. The process of human adaptation was also reflected. The Cebuanos and Visayans in general easily adapt to new ideas or technology. Thus, it is no wonder that the Spaniards had little difficulty in convincing the natives of Cebu to embrace the Christian faith. "*Pangayaw* and *Tumandok* in the Maritime World of the Visayan Islanders" by maritime anthropologist Cynthia Zayas (in Ushijuna and Zayas, 1994) will give you a better picture of human adaptation in these communities.

As you now begin to read the article, consider the following data:

1. The strategic position of the Gigante islands, off northwestern Iloilo played an important role in the life of the sojourning fisherfolk, the *pangayaw*, from the surrounding islands of Panay, Masbate, Cebu, Negros, Samar, Leyte, and Bohol.
2. The periods of the year when they would come to Gigante, how they formed their settlements, and how they formed a dynamic system of economic, social, and cultural exchanges—all of these were made possible by the peculiar location of Gigante island in the Visayan Seas.

Though you will find the article quite lengthy, many of you who are familiar with fishing in coastal communities can relate with these fisherfolk. You will know some, if not all, fishing techniques used and their life as sea or coastal people. I'll raise some questions, as I discuss along with you, and feel free to go back and read again if you need more familiarity. Taking down notes will also help.

The setting

Now let us start by situating the locality of the Gigante islands frequently visited by the *pangayaw*. Locate Gigante on the map. It is at the left section of the Visayan Sea, a very rich fishing ground for fisherfolk from the surrounding islands of Panay, Masbate, Cebu, Leyte, and Samar. Can you name the islands and islets? Fisherfolk would naturally be attracted to the area due to the rich marine life. Can you name some of the major fish products? Consult your fisherfolk friends or relatives for the local names.

Fisherfolk would explore the vast Visayan Sea during the calm months. There are many islands and islets, but if you were the fisherfolk, you would choose to take shelter or to fish near the island where you can get enough food provisions, and that place is Gigante. Gigante is just two hours by boat from the bustling town of Estancia where enough provisions such as rice, gasoline, and safe drinking water, among others, are accessible.

I have been to Gigante myself; I spent 10 days there in the summer of 1991 and toured the island barangays. Gigante Norte (North) and Gigante Sur (South) have two barangays each. There is very little arable land in Gigante Sur with the rest occupied by mangroves and fishponds. Ninety-five percent (95%) of the people live on fishing.

Gigante Fisherfolk's Adaptive Strategies

Beliefs and values

As you go around the island by boat, you will see high cliffs with no less than 200 caves. They seem mysterious and mystical, especially when you listen to the stories of *enkantos* (enchanted beings), such as the enchanted gold boat. I have an article devoted to this tale "Barko nga Bulawan: Tales of the Mythical Gold Boat" in *Fishers of the Visayas: Visayas Maritime Anthropological Studies II* (Ushijima and Zayas eds., 1996). Do you know that, according to the fisherfolk, Gigante is the metropolis of the *enkantos*? As such, many places there are considered dangerous zones or *mari-it*, and are thus protected from resource exploitation.

Technology

Today, if you make a survey of the types of fishing activities in the Visayan Sea, you will note an increase in the number of commercial fishing boats. But way back in the early 20th century (1910-1920), the fisherfolk of the Gigante islands used simple fishing gear, the most popular of which were the *pamasol* (handline) and the *atob* (trapping device similar to the fish corral). The island then had a small population and marine life was more than enough.

In the 1930s commercial fishing invaded Gigantes. Different nets came to be used like the round haul seine. The *lawagan* or *lawag* (net used for fishing) was introduced from Samar, Leyte, Aklan, and Negros while the *basnigan* (boat that goes along with the big nets) were introduced from Masbate and Bantayan. Most of the fishing fleets were owned by Chinese capitalists. By 1938-1939, Estancia had become the center for *lawagan* and *basnigan*. By 1949-1950, the motorization of commercial fishing boats had become widespread. It was then that Gigantes attracted Chinese investors and became progressive. It had schools, bakeshops, movie house, and *sari-sari* stores. That is why one informant in the article you're reading referred to Gigantes as "Little America"; it had a lot of amenities and public utilities.

But times do change. If we are not careful with our marine resources, they can be depleted. We do not expect outsiders to conserve them since, basically, the *pangayaw* came to exploit and profit from marine life. As a matter of fact, the *pangayaw*, especially of the commercial type, can be seen fishing in Gigantes shores only when marine life is bountiful. By 1953-1955, commercial fishing boats had disappeared from Gigantes' waters and moved towards Palawan and Masbate. Efficient gear with developed nets (e.g., lift nets, gill nets, sein, trawls) brought by commercial fishing caused the depletion of fish in the 1960s.

Social organization

As the boat I took around the islands landed at Brgy. Gabi, where the population is concentrated, we saw numerous *kamalig*, temporary shelters of the *pangayaw* near the coast. Such shelters tend to congregate according to the place of origin of its occupants, forming enclaves. Many of the *pangayaw* eventually inter-marry with the *tumandok* (native residents). Look at their houses in the photos. You can imagine how it is to live in Gigantes. It has become home to *pangayaw* coming from different Visayan Islands. Can you guess what languages they are conversant with? Bear in mind that the island is a melting pot of many Visayans, each having their own distinct language and dialect.

The Gigante Islands' Environment as a Significant Factor in the Fisherfolk's Survival

Social environment

Imagine a group of sojourning fisherfolk from nearby Cebu or Masbate islets. A hospitable people, the *tumandok* of Gigante would naturally offer their *kamalig* or temporary shelters to the newcomers. In the long run, as the *pangayaw* stay for some weeks or months to fish, they would share their fishing technology with the *tumandok*. In return, the latter would do the same. So there is an exchange of information on fishing technology. Each one is learning from the other, yet not competing, since each of them specializes in their own gear. In the long run, the frequent interaction and the longer length of stay of the *pangayaw* encourage the development of strong relationships in the form of friendships and intermarriages between the two groups.

Consider Table 4-2 (in the article). There is a listing of hamlets or barangays in the two islands indicating their major fishing activity. Are you familiar with them? Look at the photos, too. You can see a *kitang* and *hulbot-hulbot* fishing boats. The folks are mostly subsistence fisherfolk with only a third of them owning a motorized outrigger, the *pambot* (pumpboat). The motorized boats are of six types, their names varying according to the place of origin of the owner. Since *tumandok* fisherfolk are mostly of the subsistence type, they cannot afford to acquire motors. They may either borrow capital from a middle person or the latter lends them a motor. But this would also mean that they have to sell their fish to the local middle person in return for the favor. The local middle persons are, in turn, linked to the bigger middle persons, who are mostly of Chinese descent. In return for interest-free loans, they have to sell their fish to the middle persons at a lower price. Some of the middle persons own the *kamalig* where the fisherfolk stay. Remember the Filipino value of *utang na loob*? It works well in this situation.

Physical environment

Let us examine the physical environment of the Visayan Sea, specifically the moonsoon winds as they affect the flow of migration to the Gigante islands. Let us also take note of how the sojourning fisherfolk adapt their life to that climate. There are two distinct seasons in the Visayan sea and its environs as this is affected by the moonsoon winds. Do you know them? The southwesterly wind is the *habagat* and the northeasterly wind is the *amihan*. The movement of fisherfolk is affected by these winds.

During the month of May, rain begins in the eastern side of the Visayan Sea, including the Gigantes. In the eastern side, however, particularly in Naro (Masbate) and Bantayan Island (Cebu), big waves persuade fisherfolk to leave their place and go to the Gigantes. This signals the start of the migration in the direction of the western side of the Visayan Sea where the Gigantes are located. By October, *habagat*, the southwesterly wind, starts to come into the western side of the Visayan Sea. Big waves and strong winds start to hit Gigante islands. Practically no fishing activity can be undertaken, especially between December and January when the winds are at their strongest. During these months, the winds are said to

be *kusog* (strong) and *baskog* (firm). Fisherfolk are grounded for as long as two weeks. Rice supply in the island dwindles and the subsistence fisherfolk have to seek temporary support from the middle persons. Even large pump boats cannot travel to Estancia to procure basic food needs at the height of *kusog*.

Before long, *amihan* or the northeastern moonsoon arrives. It's time now for the *pangayaw* to go back to their homes in Naro and Bantayan, the latter two hours by boat from the Gigantes and the former four hours by boat. At this time, the Gigantes fisherfolk do their own *pangayaw* to Jintotolo (Masbate) and Sapatos (Masbate) to escape the northeastern moonsoon and look for a favorable fishing site.

Biotic environment

The biotic environment of Gigantes is the main factor for the fisherfolk's survival. Marine life includes anchovies, herrings, porgies, slipmouths, eels, *tingon* (small sardines), *lagaw* (big eye), and *inid* (grouper). Do you remember Olympu, the known *mari-it* area in the deep Gigantes waters? It is believed to be the area where huge *tipay* (clams which hold pearls) are very abundant. It is less frequented by fisherfolk who fear the danger the place is associated with. Strange looking fishes are also seen there but the fisherfolk associate the unique fishes with those owned by the *enkantos* (enchanted beings). The barangay where I stayed is also named *Gabi*, after a root crop bearing the name, which abounds in the place.

The fisherfolk's reaction to the biotic environment of Gigantes is reflected in their total adaptive strategies. Such adaptive strategies are seen in the way the fisherfolks develop their social organization, how the fisherfolk introduce, adapt, and use their fishing technology, and how the fisherfolk rationalize the values and beliefs prevalent in the island.

Have you followed me closely in the discussion? Well then, it's about time to determine whether the concept of human adaptation as discussed in the article of Zayas' is clear to you.

SAQ 4-1

Here is a list of the key terms and concepts we have been discussing:

social organization	biotic environment
technology	values and beliefs
physical environment	social environment

Which concept does each message quoted from Zayas's article highlight? Write the correct concept in the blank opposite each message.

1. "The Visayan Sea is one of the most productive fishing grounds of the Philippines. Its major products are anchovies, herrings, porgies, and slipmouths." (Zayas, 1994, p.77) _____
2. "The major part of the Visayan Sea is generally shallow, the depth ranging from 14 to 131 fathoms. In the west, where lie Gigantes Islands, it is about 18 fathoms, with numerous reef ranging from one to about 20 fathoms." (Zayas, 1994, p. 77) _____
3. "Until recently (1993), small *atob*-like structure have been observed in Gigante Sur. According to an informant from Danao-danao Dos, this structure, which is used for prolonging the life of the fish or shell fish for later consumption, is called *atob-atob* (little *atob*)." (Zayas, 1994, p.92) _____
4. "For instance, white-meat fish that would cost P20.00 in the market will be sold to the middleman at P18.00 per kilo by a fisherman indebted to him." (Zayas, 1994, p. 86) _____
5. "The prosperous markets of Estancia, Cadiz, and the market in the mainland Masbate, Cebu, and Iloilo grew partly on account of the vigorous fish marketing activities in the area." (Zayas, 1994, p.77) _____
6. "The catch from these stone tidal weirs were usually shared among relatives or neighbors. In fact, one could simply ask the owner's permission to enter and gather fish. Felimon said that he did not sell his catch, but shared them with some of his relatives." (Zayas, 1994, p.92) _____

Are you sure of your answers? Let's see how you fared.

ASAQ 4-1

1. biotic environment
2. physical environment
3. technology
4. values (and Beliefs)
5. social environment
6. social organization

Now that you are already adept with the adaptive strategies of the *pangayaw* and *tumandok* Visayan fisherfolk, can you also relate how the concept of human adaptation is seen in other communities?

Activity 4-1

Gather data about the physical, social, and biotic environment of your own community. You may choose to study a city, barangay, province, or an island similar to Gigante. Show the adaptive strategies of the people. Be sure to include the sources of your data. Use this format for your report.

Name of the community:

Setting:

I. Factors or conditions in the environment

Physical environment:

Social environment:

Biotic environment:

II. Adaptive strategies

Beliefs and values:

Technology:

Social organization:

III. Sources

Informants:

Materials:

Comments on Activity 4-1

I hope you learned a lot from the community you studied while doing the activity. Below is my own report based on the data I gathered in Negros Occidental in 1999 when I visited Victorias City for a WWF-funded Sulu-Sulawesi Ecoregion Conservation Project. Let us compare our field notes. Yes, I have quite a long report. Don't worry. I don't expect you to gather as much data as I did. Just make sure this activity will help you get a clear picture of how human adaptation is shown in the communities you have studied.

Name of the community: Victorias City, Negros Occidental

Setting: Thirty-four (34) kilometers north of the provincial capital, Bacolod City, Victorias City is bounded in the north by Manapla, in the south by E.B. Magalona, in the west by Guimaras Strait, and in the east by Mt. Marapara. It is approximately 357 nautical miles south of Manila.

I. Factors or conditions in the environment

Physical environment: The dominant topographical feature of Victorias is the four rivers—Malihaw, Magnanud, Malogo, and Quinaroyan—traversing the 133.92 sq.km. town of gently rolling hills. The land pattern of the city as a whole has plenty of sloping land in its mid-section going to the mountains. The city is composed of valleys, rolling hills, and small streams and rivers that wind along the vast sugarcane plantations. The climate of Victorias is typically tropical. The city has the shortest shoreline among the municipalities in the province. It also has the smallest area of municipal water. While the southern portion enjoys humus sandy loam soil because of the flat terrain, the northern portion of the city is hilly and has a sticky Guimbala-on clay soil. Fortunately, these types of soil are suited for sugarcane plantations.

Social environment:

About 98% in the municipality have been reported to speak Ilonggo, followed by Cebuano (1.13%) and Tagalog (0.32%). Other languages/dialects are Aklanon, Waray, Chinese, Chavacano, Maranao and others. The varieties of dialects/languages show how Victorias cradles a mixture of people with migrant origins. Victorias Milling Corporation, one of the country's largest sugar mills, is the biggest supplier of refined sugar in the Philippines; it supplies about 60 percent of the nation's daily needs for refined sugar. Aside from sugar,

it also manufactures canned sardines and has diversified into other industries like cutflowers and metal sheet fabrication when the sugar industry dwindled and economy weakened. Aside from sugarcane, the people also derive income from aqua-culture in fishponds and prawn ponds that total around 185.22 hectares. These are found in the lower portion of the city facing the Guimaras Strait. Fishponds and prawn ponds yield millions of pesos yearly but recently prawnpond operators had to stop operations because of the presence of luminous bacteria which destroy the fry, as well as the fluctuation of prawn prices in the world market.

Biotic environment: Common fish catch is *tuloy*, and *tamban*. Sugarcane grows in abundance. Anthuriums are also grown for the cutflower industry.

II. Adaptive strategies

Beliefs and values: These are the Roman Catholics than people with other religious affiliations such as the Iglesia ni Cristo, which come next, and then the Protestants. The rest belong to other religious groups such as Aglipay (Philippine Independent Church), Islam, Mormon (Church of the Latter Day Saints), Seventh Day Adventist, Jehovah's Witness, Baptist, Born Again, and Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association.

The old name of Victorias is Malihaw, taken from the Malihaw River, which used to be where the *pueblo* was and the place where people were concentrated. How the name was changed is reflected in their legends or history. Tales have it that when Capitana Tutang (Faustina Gosiaoco, wife of the first gobernadorcillo, Gregorio Conlu) and her maid Micay were abducted by boatriping bandits from Panay, the two were dumped at Malihaw River. The Capitana was a good swimmer and assisted Micay in their swim towards the shore guided by a mysterious, beautiful lady. On the shore, the Capitana prayed and vowed to buy an icon of the lady who defended them. Having saved enough, she asked her husband to order an icon from Barcelona, Spain. When it arrived, she noticed it bore a resemblance to the lady who saved them. The statue was placed in the town chapel beside that of San Casimiro, the patron saint then. In 1880, two Moro vintas raided Malihaw but were met at the river's mouth by a beautiful lady with a sword and a big man with a spear on a boat. Seeing this formidable duo, the fear-stricken pirates fled. Months later, four boatloads of pirates again tried to raid the town but were repulsed by the lady and the big man. This party shifted

its attack to Manapla and took captives, some of whom were from Escalante and Calatrava. Two escaped to Malihaw and told of their ordeals, including the account of the Moros' encounter with the lady and the big man. The story spread and the priest, Casimiro Hinolan, urged the Capitan and the council to call a general assembly. The priest attributed the apparition to the Nuestra Señora de las Victorias and to San Casimiro; and to immortalize the saving of the town, he suggested the renaming of Malihaw to Nuestra Señora de las Victorias. The suggestion was received with unanimous enthusiasm and acceptance and the citizens joined the Capitan to ask the governor to approve the change of name. The governor gave his consent, but retained only Victorias as the official name. From then on, Malihaw became known as Victorias.

Even in the presence of modern fishing technology, fisherfolk still hold on to their beliefs in *pangalap* (literally, the act of looking for/finding a magic charm, the magic charm itself is also called *pangalap*). *Pangalap* is usually done during *Semana Santa* (Holy Week), mostly at the height of the procession on Good Friday. Flowers, leaves, cotton, hair, cloth and other materials which adorn the icons are the common objects of desire for fisherfolk doing the *pangalap*. It is believed that such objects are a magic charm for bountiful harvest and are hidden somewhere in the fishing boat. *Amorsikos* (a kind of thorny weed) is also made into *pangalap* and is fumigated for the fishing boat's maintenance. This is usually done very week. The fishermen believe that shortcomings and wrongdoings are cleansed by the smoke during fumigation. Thus, bad luck will not stay and accumulate in the fishing boat, promoting longer life for its motor engine. Whether the belief is effective or not, still the fishermen believe that there is no harm in continuing the *pangalap* tradition.

Because Victorias has a shorter shoreline, the fishery area is very small. The belief in *mari-it* (dangerous/enchanted) is not commonly found or well established. However, a 47-year-old informant with a successful fishing business shared his from his time as memories of areas once considered *mari-it* by the fisherfolk. He recalled that when he was still small, there was a belief that certain trees and mangroves (*bungalon*) were enchanted. Fishermen killed due to their dynamite fishing activities used to hang their things at these mangroves. Now the belief in *mari-it* is no longer strong. The old folks of Barangay Gawahon, also known as "Barangay of Waterfalls" since there are seven wondrous falls in the area, still believe in the concept of *mari-it*. Gawahon is a Hiligaynon word, which means "overlooking". The area is aptly named for at Gawahon, one literally overlooks the panoramic view of Silay City and Municipality of EB

Magalona. Lush tropical vegetation conceals the seven magnificent waterfalls, the jewels of the plains of Gawahon, the pride of the City of Victorias. The traveler goes through a well-maintained road traversing a river at Teson and sugarcane farms along the sides. However, of the seven waterfalls, only five are known to be accessible to the people. They say that once the sixth and seventh falls are reached, one has also reached into heaven. It is believed that because the place is enchanted, people find it difficult to reach there for fear that something bad might befall them. Thus, the place where the remaining two waterfalls are found remain untouched.

Technology: There are numerous fishermen in the seashore area using small boats powered with small engines which could venture further to the sea. In Barangay Daan Banua, there are deep-sea trawlers, which dock and unload their catch for sale in the municipality and neighboring cities like Bacolod City and Silay. Only 4-5 families own a big motorboat for fishing. The common methods for fishing are *punot* and *korantay* (fish gill), and super *hulbot*, particularly in the area of Estancia and Concepcion. These aforementioned coastal towns of Iloilo are both closer to the northern coastal communities of Negros Occidental like Victorias, Cadiz, and Sagay cities. The dragging type of fishing is still practiced within Victorias' coastal villages and the neighboring islets facing its shore.

There are two ports in Victorias, the Daan Banwa Wharf and the privately-owned port of VICMICO, known as VMC Dock. It is in the latter where shipping requirements of the sugar central, such as loading of its produced sugar into barges for distribution to various parts of the country, are undertaken. The Daan Banwa wharf caters to passengers to and from Culasi, Ajuy, and Iloilo City. Daan Banua wharf mainly serves as the trading port of numerous agricultural products, particularly rice coming from the various towns of Panay Island. Victorias boasts of having the biggest two-foot railway network in the world. The railway system is owned and operated by the VICMICO Railroad System. It has 40 diesel, electric, and steam locomotives with 250 railcars. The system, however, is used mainly for servicing the transport of sugarcanes from one *hacienda* to another, going through the milling central, rather than for the transportation of passengers. Rural folks from the nearby haciendas take railroad cars or the conventional *bagonitas* drawn by horses to go to and from the *poblacion* proper. VMC's sugar operations consist of two mill tandems with a combined rated grinding capacity of 15,000 tonnes of cane daily. The VMC Walker Mill or "A" mill, designed by Walkers Limited of Australia, is considered the world's foremost cane milling system. The "Constant Ratio Mill"

can grind 10,000 tonnes of sugarcane per day and has a 95% WRE (Whole Reduced Extraction) at 15% fiber in cane and 50% bagasse moisture.

Social organization: Victorias Milling Company, Inc. is an agro-industrial complex located in the City of Victorias, Negros Occidental. Out of 26 barangays of Victorias City, 9 barangays are within the VMC. Founded in May 7, 1919 by the late Don Miguel J. Ossorio, the company was among the earliest modern sugar mills in the country at the turn of the century. Its establishment helped pave the rise of Malihaw at the mouth of a river of the same name (from the abundance of Malihaw trees on its bank). Scarcity of records precludes accurate dating but the town probably began in the 1850s. Malihaw or Malijao was converted before the 1880s into a barrio of Saravia (now EB Magalona). Today, Victorias is considered one of the leading industrialized cities of Negros Occidental with its economic activities mostly centered on sugar industries.

III. Sources

Informants (based on October 22-23,1999 interviews at Victorias City, Negros Occidental):

1. Edna A. Pamine
 - City Community Affairs Officer III of Victorias City
 - 41 years old
 - native of the community
 - BSC graduate
2. Felomino A. Jundico
 - City Planning Development Council Officer of Victorias City
 - 45 years old
 - native of the community
 - BSCE graduate
3. Jena S. Arlon
 - Agricultural Technologist of Victorias City
 - 41 years old
 - migrant from Antique
 - BS Agriculture graduate
4. Daniel C. Tornea
 - SP Member of Victorias City (Chairman, Committee on Agriculture and Fisheries) of Victorias City/ Fish Dealer/Businessman/Fisherman

- 47 years old
 - native of the community but parents are migrants from Capiz and Dumangas, Iloilo
 - HS graduate
5. Joemarie L. Guanzon
- Program Coordinator of VMC, Victorias City
 - 41 years old
 - native of the community
 - BS Agriculture graduate

Materials

1. *It's not just a dream: We build Victorias, Negros Occidental.* Promotional/information brochure project of the Office of the Mayor of Victorias, Negros Occidental, 1999.
2. *Great and enchanting Gawahon Falls: The jewel of Victorias.* Promotional brochure produced by the Office of Public Affairs, Information, and Assistance, Victorias City, Negros Occidental, 1999.
3. *Victorias City...at the threshold of a new millennium* Information brochure (draft) produced by the Office of Public Affairs, Information, and Assistance, Victorias City, Negros Occidental, 1999.
4. *Victorias City socio-economic profile.* Prepared by the Municipal/City Planning and Development Office (updated data from 1990 to the present), Victorias City, Negros Occidental, 1999.
5. *VMC corporate profile.* Information leaflet prepared by the VMC Public Relations Office, Victorias Milling Company, Inc., Victorias City, Negros Occidental, 1999.

Summary

Human adaptation is the process by which human beings utilize the energy potentials of the environment for their own ends. All around the Visayan islands is the Visayan Sea, which is a vast source of energy. For generations, the Visayans have known the potential of the sea and have used it as a source of extraordinary resources. They also use the sea for traveling or sojourning as shown in the movements of the Masbate fisherfolk from Naro to the Gigante when the northwesterly winds are not at their strongest in May.

Fisherfolk from various Visayan Islands use various technologies for extracting sea resources. Starting from simple subsistence gear like *atob* (trap) and the *pamasol* (handline), which was popular during the early decades of the 20th century, they have learned other techniques or technology for fishing from the *pangayaw*. With the invasion of commercial fishing using *pambut* (pumpboat), some of them have secured motors, while others work as fishing crew in motorized boats of *pangayaw*. But they still retain their small *bancas* or *sibid-sibidan* and *baroto*, which they use to fish in the shallow waters within five kilometers from the coast. They also make use of traps and they have learned to use fishing gear introduced to them by the subsistence *pangayaw*. Such gear are

usually modified to suit their needs and they are of the stationary type made to catch fishes at the bottom of the sea.

Overall, the people have adapted to the physical environment such as the rainfall, terrain, and climate by sojourning to the Gigantes to evade strong winds, and coming back to their place when the sea is calm. As to their biotic (plants and animal) environment, they have mastered the technology of extracting fish and even gathering sea weeds and shells in the sea by sustainable means through less efficient gear. As important as adjusting to the physical and biotic environment is adjusting to the people, the social environment. The *tumandok* fisherfolk of Gigante accommodate the *pangayaw* by letting them stay within temporary shelters, the *kamalig*. In return for the favor received, the *tumandok* reciprocate by selling their fish at a low price or even sharing some for free in times of plenty.

The *pangayaw* bring in new technology, which they willingly share with the *tumandok*. The latter make modifications to fit their environment. In return, they also share their technology. Since, it is a give and take (each one mastering one's gear), there is no competition and friendship is fostered, which makes for orderly social organization.

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- Howard. (1993). *Contemporary cultural anthropology*. New York: Harper Collins College Publishing.
- Zayas. (1994). *Pangayaw and tumandok in the maritime world of the Visayan islanders*. In Ushijima and Zayas, eds. (1994). *Fishers of the Visayas: Visayas Maritime Anthropological Studies*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines College of Social Sciences and Philosophy.

Module 5

Learning Through Socialization

Our roots are deep in the lands where we live. We have a great love for our country, for our birthplace is here. The soil is rich from the bones of thousands of our generations. Each of us was created in these lands and it is our duty to take great care of them, because from these lands will spring the future generations of our people. We walk about with great respect, for the Earth is a very Sacred Place.

Sioux, Navajo and Iroquois Declaration, 1978
(Kemf, 1993)

How do we acquire our attitudes and beliefs about nature and the environment and about the world in general? How do we develop the worldview that underpins our behavior and value systems?

Questions like these are answered in a word: socialization. We become who and what we are through the process of socialization.

For coastal anthropologists and environmental planners and managers such as yourselves, understanding the process of socialization in coastal communities is important. How do fisherfolk develop their views and values vis-à-vis nature and the environment in which they live? How do they learn the technologies and practices that they use and engage in? How firmly entrenched are their attitudes and belief systems? Is it possible to change attitudes and belief systems? The latter question is particularly important for those who are attempting to influence fishing communities into adapting the modern environmentalist ethic.

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Describe the socialization process of human beings;
2. Define social role, social status, social mobility, and social and cultural change; and
3. Explain how social role, social status, social mobility, and social and cultural change are seen in the life of the old fisherman, Lolo Jose.

This module focuses on these questions. It discusses the concept of socialization in the lives of fisherfolk, specifically that of Lolo Jose, a fisherman in Botlog Island, Northeastern Panay. The story of Lolo Jose shows how fishing skills are learned, how this knowledge is retained, and how it is transferred. Lolo Jose's role in his community, his status, as well as how he and his son negotiate the social hierarchy in their community, are described. The module also discusses the limits and possibilities of social and cultural change in the community.

Introducing the Socialization Process

In Module 2, the concept of socialization was introduced and defined as the “general process by which we learn social roles from others” (Howard, 1993). Learning a role takes place by formal instruction or by interacting with others. Beliefs and practices we learned from other people, especially those close to us, condition our image of the world. During early childhood we get these beliefs and practices from our parents, or those who have direct influence on us, and later from our peer groups.

Psychologists claim that we learn basic values in the first six years of our life. Thus, one should be extra careful about what ideas and skills are taught children. Whether they will become responsible citizens of the country depends on how they are brought up. Perhaps you are familiar with the classic tale “Greystoke: The Legend of Tarzan.” His parents died in a plane crash in the jungles of Africa, and the apes took care of him and became his surrogate parents. Thus, Tarzan became a skilled jungle boy. When he was finally exposed to civilization, he had a difficult time speaking the human language because instead of associating with fellow human beings, he had socialized with animals and learned their language.

Indeed one of the skills we learn as children is language. I remember, Christine, a niece who was born and grew up in Spain. When she came to the Philippines for a vacation, I was quite amused to listen to her fluent Spanish language and accent. She was only six years old then, but she could very well compete with my Spanish professors! When I spoke to her in our native tongue, the *Kiniray-a* of Antique, she had difficulty speaking the language although she managed to understand what I was saying (thanks to her parents who taught her our language). Her difficulty in speaking *Kiniray-a* can be attributed to her different social environment in Spain, where *Kiniray-a* is rarely spoken and is limited only within the confines of her home. Out of her various social experiences, she learns

and develops into the kind of girl she is expected to be. Of course, since the Spanish language was the basic language and medium of instruction in school, acquiring Spanish language just came naturally. On the other hand, it will take some time before she can master a skill like learning *Kiniray-a* because this takes place through the aid of socialization. Unlike the Ilokano epic hero, *Lam-ang*, of "*Biag ni Lam-ang*," who learned his native tongue because of supernatural attributes and knew how to speak right after he was born, Christine has to go through a longer process of socialization in a new social environment to learn *Kiniray-a*.

Socialization is primarily a team effort starting from the home followed by the school, peers, and the church, among others. Human beings in a particular society learn how to act and think according to what that society or group prescribes as acceptable and the various agents of socialization help accomplish this. Thus, in a fishing community, a couple would most likely rear children who will also venture into fishing, assuming that they will not leave the fishing village to look for a different vocation. In a way, we mirror the society we belong to. The norm among human beings is to want to be identified with society and to conform to the group norm. Can you imagine living your life as you please without the help of socialization? Well, as the old adage goes, "No man is an island."

The adage is certainly true of Lolo Jose, about whom we will be reading in this part of the module. Lolo Jose's story shows that all of the experiences we acquire reflect the various things we have learned and have been taught by those around us. Whether we like it or not, our lives will always be interwoven with the lives of other human beings in our society.

Read about the life of Lolo Jose as he told it to Lilian de la Peña, a former student of mine in UP Visayas, Miag-ao who worked as research assistant to a Japanese marine anthropologist, Dr. Mamoru Takakuwa. The article in Ushijima and Zayas, 1994) was meant to project the concept of human adaptation but it could likewise serve as a case study in socialization.

As you read, use the set of questions enumerated below to guide you in explaining the concept of socialization.

- a. From whom did Lolo Jose learn to be a fisherman?
- b. How did he learn to be a skilled fisherman (*mananagat*) at the young age of 12 years?
- c. Who taught him the fishing skill?

- d. What about Juanito, Lolo Jose's father? From whom did he learn to fish, since his father Miguel was more of a farmer?
- e. What fishing techniques were taught to Juanito as a young boy of 10 years?
- f. Do you think Juanito also taught such techniques to his son, Lolo Jose?
- g. From whom else did Lolo Jose learn other techniques of fishing?
- h. Do you think Rudy, the eldest son of Lolo Jose, learned the techniques of fishing from his father and from fellow fisherfolk (peer group)?
- i. When Rudy left Botlog and stayed in Negros, did he learn other new fishing techniques?
- j. Was the technology he learned in Negros different from what he has learned way back in Botlog with his father?
- k. What made adaptation of the new technology easy for Rudy?

Did you find the answers to the questions I raised? Before we move on to the next discussion, let us take a break by singing a popular folk song composed and sang by Dan Fogelberg during the 1970s. "The Leader of the Band" is Dan's tribute to his father. It speaks about his sentiments of having inherited his father's love of music. The song also reflects how relationships are created and strengthened by frequent interaction between fathers and sons. As we all know, our society encourages male bonding between fathers and their sons, as well as bonding between mothers and daughters. Let us try singing the song. Perhaps you can ask a friend to sing it for you or request a DJ to play the song for you.

Leader of the Band

By Dan Fogelberg

A lonely child, alone and wild
A cabinet-maker son
His hands were meant for different work
And his heart was known to none.

He left his home and
went his lone and solitary way
and he gave to me a gift
I know I never can repay.

A quiet man of music
denied a simpler fate
He tried to be a soldier once
but his music wouldn't wait.

Learned his love
 through discipline
 A thundering velvet hand
 His gentle means of sculpting souls
 took me years to understand.

The leader of the band is tired
 And his eyes are growing old
 but his blood runs through my instrument
 and this song is in my soul
 my life has been a poor attempt
 to imitate the man
 I'm just a living legacy
 Of the leader of the band.

My brothers' lives were different
 for they heard another call
 One went to Chicago and the other to St. Paul
 And I'm in Colorado when
 I'm not in some hotel
 Living out this life I've chose
 And come to know so well.

I thank you for all the music
 and your stories of the road
 I thank you for the freedom
 When it came my time to go
 I thank you for all the kindness
 and the times when you got tough
 and Papa I don't think I said
 I love you near enough.

The leader of the band is tired
 And his eyes are growing old
 but his blood runs through my instrument
 and this song is in my soul
 my life has been a poor attempt
 to imitate the man
 I'm just a living legacy
 Of the leader of the band.

I am a living legacy of the leader of the band.

There's a certain nostalgia in the music of Dan Folgelber as he recalls the life of his musician father, who left home as a young man to become a musician, and not a cabinet-maker like Dan's grandfather. Dan took after his musician father. In this song he tells about his love and gratitude for the man who gave him the legacy of music. In the fisherman's story, Lolo Jose also recalls the story of his life as a fisherman and his pride in his son, Rudy, who took after him. Now think about your respective families. Who of you took after your father, mother, or grandparents? Consciously or unconsciously, we are molded by people around us. The home or the family is the primary agent of socialization.

Status, Role, Social Mobility, and Social and Cultural Change

We all occupy a certain place or position in the community we belong to. This is called our **status**. The behavior society expects from us given our particular status (also status-position) is what we refer to as a **role**.

Learning social roles, a process called socialization, begins early in life and goes on until death. As we grow up, our roles change and we assume more roles than we did when we were young. Our responsibilities and tasks accumulate as we go up the social ladder. For example, from a playful boy of 10 years who learned the techniques of fishing from his father, Lolo Jose moved on to his teens and became more independent when he joined the other fishermen as a member of the crew. At this time, like other young men his age, he began to attend the *binayle* (village dance), where he met his bride-to-be. Adulthood then started to weigh on Lolo Jose as he took on the role of husband to Sabira and later to his second wife, Estelita. Lolo Jose shouldered a more difficult role when he became father to his children, Rudy, Serafin, Roberto, Antonio, Nativida, Felicad (first marriage) and Caridad and Carmelita (second marriage). At one time (from 1948 to 1952), he also assumed the role of *Tenyente Delgado*, the equivalent of today's *Barangay* Captain, a role he was proud of since it also elevated his social status.

Some social roles are valued more by society; hence the difference in social status among people. In patriarchal societies like China, the first-born son gets a higher **social status** compared to a first-born daughter. Here in the Philippines a similar preference is still widespread. Also, isn't it that the eldest child, especially if a son, has a higher social status compared to the younger children? Did you notice how Lolo Jose talked of entrusting his property to Rudy, his eldest son? Rudy's role as the eldest child puts him in a higher position or social status than his younger siblings. Simi-

larly, we see **social hierarchy** at work in the wedding of Lolo Jose to his first wife Sabira and his wedding to his second wife, Estelita. You can see a difference, right? Prior to the expensive wedding of Sabira, Lolo Jose rendered service to her family (called *pangagad*), which lasted for three months. In the case of Estelita, no service was rendered to her parents, and the wedding was just simple, with only the close relatives of the couple in attendance. This can be explained this way. Estelita, being a widow, has a lower social status than Sabira who was single during the time of her wedding. Of course, at present, such a view is no longer necessarily widespread. Being a widow no longer makes a woman lower in status than a single woman. Both can have a simple or grand wedding, depending on the financial status or preference of the couple.

The way people move from one social position to another, from one rank to another, or from one status to another, is called **social mobility**. This change happens all the time in an open society, where people's ranks are not determined at birth but by their achievements. In such a society, a young man can rise from the rank and file to become president of a company. In other societies, the status of people is determined at birth (prescribed status) and they do not have to work hard to acquire what is bestowed on them. This is represented by people born with the titles of nobility like prince, sheik, *datu*, duchess, etc.

As people acquire new positions or status, they assume new responsibilities (role), learn new ideas, skills and technology, associate with a different set of people, and assume a new behavior that goes with a position. This is normal since we know that human beings need to adapt to their new social environment. Thus, roles are modified as statuses change, and because of the changes taking place in the social and physical environment. We learned earlier that Lolo Jose's father, Jacinto, was just a *pangayaw* or sojourner, whom the natives of Botlog referred to as *taga-Negros* (from Negros). Considered an outsider by the islanders, he was not invited to join the local fishing group. It took some time before Jacinto, together with his family, became accepted as part of the island.

When Rudy, Lolo Jose's eldest son, was already a married man and a successful fisherman in Negros, we see the gradual change in the status of Rudy from an ordinary fisherman to an owner of several fishing vessels. The change in status started when he got married to a teacher who initially gave him the capital to own a boat. Then he moved on to become a successful fisherman who owned several fishing vessels. Upon his return to Botlog, he introduced a fishing technology which he learned in Negros. This earned him and his father, Lolo Jose, a higher status position in the community. Even without finishing high school, Rudy was able to marry a teacher and become a successful fisherman in a community (Negros)

where he was just a sojourner. This is an accomplishment that gave Lolo Jose so much pride. In Philippine society, the measure of one's success as a parent is the accomplishments of one's children. Thus, parents suffer much when a child fails and brings disgrace to the family.

In the case of Lolo Jose, we see three generations of fishermen— Juanito (a farmer but also a fisherman), Jose, and Rudy—all learning how to fish vertically,—that is, from their fishermen fathers, peers or uncles. This is a case of social learning from the **primary agents**. In Juanito's case, although his father was a farmer migrant from Dumangas prior to his settling in Botlog, he also engaged in some form of fishing through fish corral. He also had his uncles and peers to teach him how to fish.

Socialization results in a uniformity of status and roles. As a skill or technology is taught and transferred from one generation to the next, the same skills, values, and goals are taught and shared. There will always be variations, though, because individuals are open to new choices in life. As individuals get exposed to other people, they learn new ideas and skills and technologies or ways of doing things. If the new ways are found to be better than the old, they are adopted.

The adjustments one makes and the decision whether to accept changes in technology, depend largely on a number of factors, such as:

- a. Credibility of the agent of change
- b. Cost of the dislocation
- c. Contradiction, or support, of existing value system
- d. Observable result of the technology introduced

In all likelihood, Lolo Jose's son may have considered these factors, and found more benefits for himself, which is why he decided to adopt the new technology in Negros. It somehow also elevated his social status because the new technology brought financial rewards. After some years, however, there seemed to be an enormous decline in Rudy's fishing livelihood, as reflected in the fact that he had to cope with enormous difficulties. Perhaps you can infer what challenges Rudy had to face from data about sustainable development in Module 3, and the profile of Victorias City in Activity 4-1 of Module 4. Rudy had to cope with the changes in his social as well as physical and biotic environment.

Let us see if you can explain the socialization process at work in the events in the life of Lolo Jose.

SAQ 5-1

Using socialization concepts and terms, explain the reason behind each particular situation in the life of Lolo Jose.

1. What do you think is the cause of the death of the weaving technology in Botlog island, despite the continuous supply of pineapple fibers?
2. What is the social implication of being called "*bata sang lawod*" or "son of the sea"?
3. Why is there a difference between courtship during the time of Lolo Jose and his wife, Sabira, with present day courtship?
4. Why do you think most of the fisherfolk in Botlog Island were into subsistence fishing? What influenced Rudy to introduce commercial fishing technology in the island?

There could be a number of explanations to such questions but be sure to include socialization concepts and terms in your answers.

ASAQ 5-1

1. The death of the weaving technology was caused by the death of those who knew how to use the technology. The skill of weaving was not transferred by the weavers of the past generations to the next generation. The social role as weavers died down because of the changes in the social setting such as the reduced demand for *piña* cloth caused by changes in fashion, competition posed by cheaper textiles, and the preference for RTW clothes. The loss in the demand for *piña* clothing resulted in the diminution of the weaver's role in the community. Teaching and learning the skill of weaving thus became needless.
2. Once you are called "*bata sang lawod*" or "son of the sea", it means you're a "*mananagat*." To be a *mananagat* means you have achieved a higher social status in your role as a fisherman. This status is achieved through your outstanding skill in fishing, which is well recognized in the community.
3. During the time of Lolo Jose, the roles of men and women were well defined even in courtship. Men were supposed to show their serious intentions and ability to raise a family through rendering service or labor in the households of the women they wished to marry. Men sought the approval of kinsmen before any marriage took place. It was shameful then for women to spend for the expenses of the wedding since it may imply that the women were in dire need of men. As the years progress, however, the role of women also changes. Women today can earn for themselves and in weddings they can share or even shoulder the expenses in case the men cannot afford the kind of wedding they wish to have. Men and women of legal age can even marry without their parents' consent.
4. Because the island of Botlog was isolated from the direct influence of commercialism, its inhabitants were content with subsistence fishing. This was also enough for their simple needs. The people are traditionally not very open to new ideas and *pangayaw* or sojourners are not even welcome. However, Rudy's experience in Negros exposed him to a society of migrants with broad views and in possession of various technologies. It also developed his entrepreneurial skills and adventurous spirit, which is essential for one's survival in a commercial society like Negros, particularly Cadiz City and Victorias. Also an influence was the

presence of the VMC Milling Company, which is located in the municipality of Victorias, the town where he stayed with his wife and family. Aside from sugar, VMC is known for canned sardines. Naturally, there's a great demand for Indian sardines, which thrives in the unexploited Botlog waters. Victorias is strategically near Ajuy, which is mentioned to be near Botlog Island (Lolo Jose's second wife Estelita was from Ajuy). This encouraged Rudy to introduce commercial type fishing, bringing social change to the island. However, according to the article, Botlog remained engaged in small-scale fishing despite the efforts of Rudy to introduce *arong*, which only lasted for two years. After that it became inefficient for its users because the technology employed was competing with another technology introduced also from Negros.

Were you able to give answers similar to mine? Do you now realize the importance of socialization in our lives? Perhaps, you can think of how you can contribute your skills to the improvement of society. You must also learn to be critical of the social implications of a particular technology introduced by a change agent in your society. Will it be good for the community or will it profit only the few and become a disadvantage for the majority?

Activity 5-1

Interview an old fisherman or woman in a fishing community in your area. Summarize his/her story and make a short report. Be sure to show how the concept of socialization is reflected in the story of your informant. Your report should have the following parts.

Name of the informant:

Age:

I. Setting of the fishing community:

II. The life story:

Comments on Activity 5-1

Do you have an interesting story to tell? Was your informant's life as colorful as that of Lolo Jose? I hope your story reflects the following data to consider.

- I. The setting of the fishing community:
 - A. Is it near or far from an urbanizing community?
 - B. Are its people mostly traditional or modern? Why?
 - C. What are the interesting historical facts about the community?
 - D. Is fishing the main source of income of the community? Are there other sources aside from fishing?
 - E. What type of fishing technology dominates the area?

- II. The life story
 - A. Socialization
 1. Life cycle (birth, child, adult, old age)
 2. Primary agents who taught the information his/her skills
 3. Expected value and behavior attached to the informant's role
 - B. Status-Role
 1. Identification of informant's various statuses in life (birth, child, adult, old age)
 2. Expected value and behavior attached to his/her social status
 3. How were such social statuses earned? How were such social statuses changed or retained?
 - C. Social Mobility
 1. What ideas, skill, technology, or even values and behavior were brought about by the change in the informant's social status?
 2. What factors probably contributed to the change in the social status of the informant?
 - D. Social-Cultural Change
 1. How did the changes in the informant's environment affect his/her social role and social status?
 2. What are the effects of social mobility, which affect the social prestige of the informant's environment?
 3. Are there change agents who caused or brought about social change in the informant's environment?

Summary

Socialization is the process by which we learn new skills, ideas, and social roles from others. Learning a role comes with a new status. The former refers to the expected behavior and activities which go with a status-position. Socialization is a long and continuous process, starting from birth and ending in death. The primary agent of socialization is the home where the parents, together with grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins in the Philippine setting act as the primary agents of socialization. Later on, other institutions or groups like peers, the school, and the church, add to the experience of the child or the individual to complete the process according to society's expectations. The life story of the old fisherman, Lolo Jose, is a good example of how the socialization process took place across three generations.

A change from one status to another is called social mobility. In

the article, it was Rudy, the son of Lolo Jose, who made a change in the social status of Lolo Jose's family. Because of the change in his environment, having gone to Negros where he was exposed to a new fishing technology, he acquired new skills and new associates through fishermen peers who taught him the technology.

Thus, we can say that, even if socialization results in a uniformity of status and role, as shown in the vertical transfer of status and role from Juanito to Rudy, the change in roles caused by social mobility can come in when there is a change in environment. Such environment exposes a person to a new technology and new socialization change agents. This is true with Rudy who changed his status from an ordinary fisherman to an owner of commercial fishing vessels. The changes brought about by change agents, if widespread and enduring can result in social and cultural change.

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Module 6

Valuing Culture in Politics

*Blessings on the hand of women!
Angels guard its strength and grace,
In the palace, cottage, hovel,
Oh, no matter where the place;
Would that never storms assailed it,
Rainbows ever gently curled;
For the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.*

.....

*Woman, how divine your mission
Here upon our natal sod!
Keep, oh, keep the young heart open
Always to the breath of God!
All true trophies of the ages
Are from mother-love impearled;
For the hand that rocks the cradle
Is the hand that rules the world.*

William Ross Wallace (1819-1881)
(John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*)

In the preceding modules, we discussed the concepts of worldview, human adaptation and socialization as they operate in coastal communities. Specifically, we looked at various case studies of the belief and value systems, or worldview, of a fishing community; how the members of another fishing community adapt to the natural features of their community, as well as to changes in and outside the community; and how members of another fishing community are socialized into the roles they assume in their community, as well how such roles change as their physical and social environment changes.

In reading these case studies, we have sought to increase our understanding of coastal communities in order that we may have a better idea of why and how environmental policies and projects in coastal areas may be implemented with some degree of success.

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Describe how politics works in relation to culture;
2. Define gender politics and discuss its impact on the development of fishing communities; and
3. Identify the multiple roles of women and their contribution to the sustainability of the coastal resources in their community.

In this module, we shall situate yet another social anthropological concept—culture in politics—in a case study of yet another fishing community. In particular, we shall look at gender politics in a fishing community and its implications for sustainable coastal development.

Politics and Power

Politics is traditionally identified with such entities as government, government officials, and politicians. In short, it is thought to have nothing to do with ordinary folks like us. Well, if you think this, you're wrong, says Antonio Contreras (2001). We are all political figures, he says, and politics is simply "the process by which power is produced, reproduced, and exercised." Also, "politics lies in the various struggles for power." Or, as we said in Module 2, politics is "the contest for power."

Indeed, we know that in the real world politics is found even in schools, offices, churches, and many other social organizations. Even our myths and legends, our music and our dances, have something to do with politics. Politics is embedded deeply in our culture. It starts during the process of socialization, when prestigious status-positions and roles in the government are allocated by society. That's when politics comes in. Power play, or politics, is used by people as an adaptive strategy to survive and/or maintain their particular position in their social environment or to rise to a higher status.

Power comes in many forms. In her article "Nature in the Crossfire" (in Kemf, 1993), Lewis enumerates the following forms of power:

- a. **Power of position** (having authority; having influence with decision makers)
- b. **Family power** (being from a well-connected family)
- c. **Power of knowledge** (having information)
- d. **Personal power** (being personally forceful or persuasive)
- e. **Economic power** (having financial resources)
- f. **Political power** (having a constituency)
- g. **Legal power** (having a "good" legal case and/or expert legal counsel)
- h. **Coercive physical power** (having police or military backing)

What this enumeration shows is that power is neither good nor bad. It is how we use it to our advantage that makes a difference.

With our various roles, and the different statuses that come with such roles, we can say that even if we are not the typical “politician,” somehow we also play the power game. More accurately, we are implicated in power relations, in which individuals and groups in society relate to one another and wield different degrees and forms of power depending on their place in the social hierarchy. Contreras (2001) puts it this way:

In a situation where different groups and individuals interact, common grounds are usually contested. They come in the form of entitlements—access to benefits and resources, access to privilege. In the battle for entitlements, some eventually end up as the “winners” and some as “losers.”

Who wins and who loses depends a lot on certain variables, such as class, gender, and ethnicity. Says Contreras (2001), “Rich people may end up having more power than poor people; men may end up having more power than women; and major ethnic groups or races may end up having more power than indigenous groups.”

Gender Politics

In patriarchal societies, men do wield more power than do women. Men dominate such societies, and are given higher-ranking positions and more entitlements than are women. In such societies, women are considered inferior to men and are treated as second-class citizens.

Is the Philippines a patriarchal society? Prove your answer by citing specific instances of the statements made in the preceding paragraph.

I am inclined to think that although not as patriarchal as some other societies, Philippines society is patriarchal to a certain extent. Certainly, we make distinctions in the roles as well as the status of men and women simply by virtue of their gender. This is apparent not only in real life situations but also in our myths and legends. Consider, for example, the Christian story of Creation which says that Adam, the male, was created by God in His own image, while Eve, the female, was created by God out of Adam’s rib. Some people use this as justification for saying that women are inferior to men.

You might say that distinction by sex is only natural. But do consider the fact that some creation myths do not make this distinction at all. Or when they do, the sexes are portrayed as equals, as in the Filipino myth of the bamboo splitting into two; from each side of the split bamboo emerged man and woman. Of course, there is also the Filipino myth that identifies the first man and woman as Malakas and Maganda, respectively. These reflect stereotypes of masculinity and femininity that are used even now as a justification of the differences in status that are accorded men and women.

In my many years of collecting cultural beliefs, I have noticed that most of the folk tales would describe a beautiful maiden with long tresses with half of her remaining body in the form of a fish's tail. Yes, it's the mermaids or *serena* who are popular. The *siokoy* is not described as handsome, but rather as a sea monster. Is it because fishermen would often stay long out at sea, and the image in their mind of a beautiful mermaid somehow relieves their loneliness? On the other hand, the image of a handsome merman doesn't make any romantic sense at all. Also, the ugly image of a sea monster like the *siokoy*, which is also classified as being masculine in gender, is a challenge to the masculine strength of fishermen. It also discourages women from going out to fish. After all, women are not expected to fight like men are. These just show that even our myths reflect the kind of roles assigned specially to men and women.

Of course, it is a fact that men and women have their own special capabilities that are unique to their gender. Society teaches them skills, which encourages them to fit into the role they are supposed to assume in society. But some special skills are not recognized, especially if they do not conform with the kinds of role men and women are expected to assume in society. On the other hand, it is true that as society progresses, gender (and other) roles evolve, and roles previously identified with men become assigned to women as well. This cannot but be for the better of society, as the case study you will read in this module proves.

Gender Politics in a Fishing Community

Fishing is an activity usually associated with men. Isn't it that we often use the term "fishermen" compared to "fisherwomen"? This is perhaps because society puts much emphasis on the role of men as providers. Men are expected to leave the house and earn a living for themselves and their families. Women, being the childbearers, are expected to stay home and take care of the house and the children.

However, if you visit a fishing village or community, you will realize that women do share in the fishing activities of men. Due to several factors contributing to economic changes in rural fishing communities, women have felt the need to take on additional jobs to augment their family income. This in turn results in an alteration in the social relations between the men and women of the community.

Before we proceed with the discussion, read Carolyn Sobritchea's article titled "Gender Roles and Economic Change in Central Visayas" (in Ushijima and Zayas, 1994). The article focuses on the problems encountered by women in a fishing community and how they cope with such difficulties. The article address the following questions: How have gender roles been altered by the economic changes in the fishing community studied? What is the effect on women? What are the implications on the power relationship between husbands and wives and ultimately the whole community?

The setting

To start with, let us get hold of a Philippine map and locate the province of Bohol. Look for the municipality of Loay. It is 18 kilometers from Tagbilaran City. It has a population of 12,677 (NSO, 1990), with males constituting 49% of the population and females constituting 51%. A sixth-class town, farming and fishing are its primary sources of livelihood. Out of 2,024 households, how many are mainly dependent on farming? Two-thirds, right? What about fishing? One-fourth, which means many households depend mainly on this means of livelihood. Those who are not farmers and fishermen are skilled and clerical works.

Let us now focus on the coastal community of Barangay Villa Limpia, where intensive interviews were conducted by Sobritchea. It has 185 households and a total population of 1,047 (NSO, 1990). It has a demographic profile almost similar to that of the entire municipality, having an almost equal number of men and women, and a similarly large number of children. Over a third of all households subsist on fishing, while the rest live on farming and livestock raising. The fisherfolk's houses are located near the sea and the mouth of the Loay river in the east. Can you name three or four characteristics of the fisherfolk's households?

Men's role in fishing

There are less than a hundred male residents engaged in fishing and only a third are full-time fishermen. Nearly half own their fishing equipment and boats. What fishing activities are usually considered to be the purview of men? Yes, deep-sea fishing and the use of large nets like seining and boats are mostly men's work. What fishing techniques or methods do they engage in? (Refer to Table 9.1 in the article for the various fishing techniques used.)

There are other production activities engaged in by the men aside from fishing, like carpentry and shaping of metal objects. However, in general, there are few jobs available in the area, and in view of the declining fish catch, men are either unemployed or under-employed. This situation pushes female members of the family like the wife and the daughter to assume the burden of looking for additional income to help support the family. (Refer to table 9.2 Production Activities of Adult Men and Women)

Women's role in production

Let us now shift to women's activities. There is the common perception that women are full time housewives and are generally unproductive. However, if you look closely at the range of women's activities, you will note that women engage in a wide range of activities, including those traditionally labeled as male activities. The women engage in farming, *nipa* thatching, fish trading, wage work in blacksmith shops, peddling vegetables or cooked food, gleaning, fishing using a hook and line, seining, and reef fishing with the use of scoop nets.

Note that there are work traditionally assigned to men and women, and there are those that can be performed by both sexes. Masculine roles include deep-sea fishing, blacksmithing, wood carving, and carpentry, while roles exclusive to women are *nipa* thatching and laundry service. (Refer to Table 9.4 Pattern of Gender Role Allocation) Activities commonly regarded as most appropriate to women are domestic and reproductive activities like childcare, food preparation, and cleaning the house. Note that despite the idea that masculine and feminine roles are complementary, there is still an unequal allocation of roles and unequal valuation of such roles because women tend to suffer more from multiple or double burden. (Refer to Table 9.4)

Economic changes

What was the fishing village like then and now?

Since its founding during the early Spanish period, the village has been the center of socio-cultural and economic activities in the province. The early communities consisted of farming and fishing communities, and of communities of sailors who traveled to Mindanao and the southern islands, trading locally produced items. Many turned to fishing as a main source of livelihood. However, the continued arrival of migrants, some coming from Northern Mindanao, strained local resources. Large fishing vessels would also encroach into the village fishing grounds, taking with them enormous quantities of marine resources. Fishing activities intensified as new and more productive methods of catching fish were adapted. Sobritchea's informants recalled that it was during this period when migrant fishermen introduced large gill and seine fishing and started fishing in deep waters.

A situation like this is not at all new to fishing villages in the Visayas. In a study that brought me to various fishing villages in the different islands in the Visayas, mention was frequently made of commercial fishing vessels in the municipal waters of coastal villages using efficient nets. This is prohibited by fishing ordinances/laws but it goes on unabated. The local Bantay Dagat of the fishing communities cannot effectively ward off the entry of these commercial fishing vessels because of the lack of logistics to maintain, as well as to acquire, fast motor boats to run after the commercial fishing vessels, which are owned by operators in Manila or even by foreign-owned companies.

During the 1970s the intrusion of commercial fishing vessels into the waters of fishing communities became noticeable. The increasing consumption demands expected of a fast growing population led to a decline in the harvest of marine resources. Fisherfolk felt keenly the marked decrease in fish catch. How do you think did some families survive the limited catch? They resorted to deep sea fishing. What problems did the fisherfolk encounter then? (Refer to Table 9.6 Perceived Problems of Fisherfolk) Deep sea fishing requires capital or investment, which is why only a few can resort to such fishing activities to augment their catch.

According to the fishermen informants, there are major changes in the fishing industry that have led to the disappearance of certain fish and shell products, which in turn led to the deterioration of the fishing economy and therefore to the quality of life in fishing communities in general. Can you name them? (Refer to Table 9.5 Perceived Changes in the Fishing Industry) Yes, they are:

- a. new fishing technique
- b. efficient nets and motor boats
- c. use of dynamite and poisonous chemicals
- d. electricity
- e. fine meshed net

Women's participation in gainful employment and the change in gender relations

The economic changes affected the economic as well as the social roles of men and women in the community. The greater adjustment affected the women in that they had to get extra jobs to augment the family income. Sobritchea reflects on this thus:

With women's increasing participation in gainful employment, changes in gender relation and role have occurred. As male contribution to household economy either fluctuated or declined, that of women correspondingly increased. For some, this meant **greater parity in decision making and control over household resources and personal life.** (underscoring mine)

To understand what the author meant by the statement just quoted, I would like you to read carefully the accounts of two women (in Sobritchea's article). The first account is by Dina who, because her additional work (*sari-sari*/variety store) to get extra income took time away from her family, is the object of her husband's anger. Fortunately, in the end her husband realizes that her work is for the benefit of the family. The second story is by Manang. For her, having her own money to spend from additional income made her marital life more bearable as she no longer depended on her abusive husband's earnings and found less need to relate to him.

The Multiple Roles of Women in the Fishing Community

It is difficult to know when exactly women started to participate in fishing activities because written records consider more important “history” rather than “herstory”. Our oral literature, however, does mention how women came to share in fishing related activities. An example is a folk song from Cuyo Island, Palawan.

Evelyn Cabanban (1993) in the book, *Himig: A Collection of Philippine Folk Songs*, describes what the song is all about and at the same time gives a background about the social activity of people in Cuyo. What is interesting in Cabanban’s (1993) article is that the song, titled “*Tuting*”, shows women’s participation in fishing related activities. It also strengthens the notion that women take on such roles to share with men the responsibility of being the provider, and not just the nurturer.

In this lilting folksong, a Cuyonon girl chats with her friend named Tuting. While the young man remains silent throughout the song, we come to see that the friends are seashell-gatherers on the tiny islet of Cuyo, a municipality of Palawan.

Coconut products are the main means of livelihood on Cuyo, as coconut plantations thrive along its shoreline and hillsides. So even while shell-gathering, the island folk bring along a bamboo tube filled with *tuba*, a popular drink made from the sap of coconut buds. But only more affluent families on Cuyo own coconut plantations. The simple folks make a living by fishing and gathering seashells for food, as the singer of Tuting does.

Do you think women’s participation in the fishing and fishing related activities of Cuyo Island somehow contributed to maintaining the rich marine resources of the Sulu Sea? This would be an interesting area for another study. Meanwhile, let us try knowing the coastal culture of Cuyo fisherfolk through their song “Tuting.”

Tuting

A Cuyonon Folk Song from Palawan
English translation by Evelyn Cabanban (1994)

*Tuting, ay, ay,
Ara kami y caniogan, ara kami y caniogan
Si Nanay, si Tatay pirming pamagatnan, pirming pamagatnan
Andang ing dadara ungot sanda y tunggan
Ang andang semseman kugita subingan, kugita subingan*

*Tuting, ay, ay, Tuting
Amos den sa dagat, amos den sa dagat
Patarema mayad ing dadarang garab, ing dadarang garab
Magbalon kita lamang ungot asta tunggan
Agod may semseman maski kita taeban, maski kita taeban*

*Tuting, ay, ay, Tuting
Pagparapit digue, pagparapit digue
Kutkuton ta y mayad diyang mga baras, diyang mga baras
Padalema lamang imong engkakali
Agod makita y marakeng subingan, marakeng subingan*

(Tuting, oh, oh, Tuting
We don't own a plantation, we down't own plantation
My mother and father always gather sea shells,
always gather sea shells
They bring some bamboo tubes and coconut wine
And some octopus and clams, some octopus and clams

Tuting, oh, oh, Tuting
Come with me to the shore, come with me to the shore
Sharpen your bolo well
And bring some coconut wine with you
And bring some coconut wine with you
So that we'll drink and eat when the tide goes high,
When the tide goes high

Tuting, oh, oh, Tuting
Come nearer to me, come nearer to me
Dig a deeper hole here, deeper hole here
Make a deeper hole in the sand
So that we can find a big catch of clams, a big catch of clams.)

The song is romantic, albeit plaintive, in tone and unless you are paying close attention, you will miss the reference to the fact that women work alongside men in fishing-related activities. Rodriguez (1996) is more blunt about the reality of women's lives in coastal communities:

Among the key problems and its effects on women are:

1. A degraded and depleted environmental resource base breeds poverty, results in the further overexploitation of such resources and the marginalization of women. In the past when the rivers and bay were accessible to all, women alongside men, actively fished along the shores with simpler technology, with less effort and less time. Now the mangroves are gone, and fishponds have appropriated most of the fishing ground, women fish less and are confined to edible shell gathering or work more as fish traders on consignment from the produce of fishponds. Younger women, unable to proceed with higher education, leave the villages to work as domestic helpers and factory workers in the cities and town centers. Men undertake most of the fishing activities with increasingly expensive technology that would sometimes require venturing farther out to the sea.
2. The culturally constructed gender division of labor restricts most women to reproductive work in the home and regard them as secondary or auxiliary economic producers outside the home. Men are generally regarded as "the fishermen" indeed because they seldom partake or do only little reproductive work, in terms of child rearing and housekeeping. This gender division of labor implies gender stereotyping, which results in the invisibility of women's work as economic producers and the "devaluation" of women's reproductive work. It implies a hierarchy of work and values where "fishing for income" is more valuable than "housework for the nurturance and well-being of family".
3. The stereotyped gender division of labor translates into development work, in terms of research, technology development and organizing. Researchers are blind to women's issues. Research methodologies treat men and women as respondents. Technology development focuses on capital-intensive and expert-dependent projects. Organizing on production and environmental projects target mostly the male head of households.

Access to training, technology and credit has mostly been channeled through the men.

4. Women are usually organized around child welfare, health, nutrition and food processing projects. In mixed-gender organizations where the bulk of membership may be women, women officers are assigned to serve as secretary and treasurer.
5. Poverty and environmental issues aggravate women's multiple burden while there

is only very limited support services for reproductive work. Deforestation causes the drying up of water wells, which makes fetching and housework more difficult and time consuming. Mangrove deforestation and fishpond construction result in saltwater intrusion into water wells. Pollution of potable water sources poses serious health. When family members get sick, women as caregivers must painstakingly revive them back to health while performing other work at home and outside.

In the article "Women, Community and Development" (1997) in *Proceedings of Seminar on Culture and Environment: Development Strategies for the Future* (Chew and Ah Hua, 1997), Mahfoz enumerates the various roles of women as a contributing factor in the development of a community:

- a. **Reproductive role.** This refers to childbearing and rearing responsibilities as well as household maintenance activities essential to ensure the maintenance and reproduction of our current and future labor force. Reproductive work includes nurturing and caring of children and adults through daily provision of a range of domestic services, which includes cooking, providing and maintaining water and energy sources, and securing health and nutrition for the family.
- b. **Productive role.** This refers to women's involvement and participation in economic activities. According to Moser (1993), the productive role "comprises work done by both women and men for payments in cash or kind. It includes both market production with an exchange value, and subsistence/home production with an actual use-value, but also potential exchange value."

- c. **Community managing and leadership role.** This can be defined as the work undertaken by women at the community level relating to the allocation, provision, and management of collective responsibility such as supply of clean water, sanitation, health care and education. This role is actually an extension of women's reproductive role in the home and family. Through their active involvement in community organizations and activities, they provide the leadership needed to bring about changes and development to their communities.

In performing these roles, women play a crucial role in the maintenance and sustainability of the resources within their environment. For example, a woman who knows her reproductive rights and who knows how to take care of her reproductive health can make a difference in population control in her community. Her role of taking care of her children gives her the position and power to mold proper values and attitudes necessary for the well-being of her environment.

In her role of helping provide for the needs of her family, chances are that her attitude to natural and environmental resources will be conservative rather than exploitative as she will want to ensure that something is left for the continued sustenance of her family.

Empowering women doesn't necessarily mean overpowering men. Power must be placed in the proper perspective. Both genders need empowerment in terms of managing the resources and the environment in order to survive. As our environment changes, social roles also change, and men and women will need to assume certain kinds of roles in order to survive. Of course some men and women will find it difficult to assume such new roles, especially when society still frowns on roles not accepted by the group. But eventually, new roles will become conventional roles, and be considered as part of our culture through time.

Cola, Magos, and Natividad (1998) make specific recommendations for making women active partners in coastal resource management:

<p>Women are active in parts of the coasts which are less physically dangerous. These are the on-shore and near-shore areas. The ecological systems in these areas include the mangroves, beach, seagrass, coral reef, and intertidal flats. In mangrove areas, women engaged in firewood gathering, nipa leaves and fruit</p>	<p>collection, and gleaning. In the beach area, they fish using beach seine, scoop nets and traps, gather sea shells, process fish products and repair nets. They glean in sea grass and coral reef areas, which are shallow or exposed during low tides. These activities of women are noted not only in the study sites but in</p>
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other sites as well. (Tungpalan, 1991, Illo and Polo, 1990 and Israel-Sobritchea, 1994). Being the main stakeholders, the women should be the main force in rehabilitating and safeguarding ecological systems which they frequently use. Women's income can also be improved through wiser use of the resources in these ecosystems. For instance, women nipa shingle makers can be a steward of a mangrove area to ensure their supply of nipa leaves. To facilitate the conduct of interventions, these areas used by women are delineated in GIS-generated maps prepared as part of the coastal plan.

The off-shore fishing-related activities of women are concentrated on fish trading. This is a female domain. Intervention on this activity must involve women. The income of a number of women can be augmented by improving trading operation. This is the intervention point in Barangay Kawas, Alabel in Sarangani Bay Site. A barangay government-initiated credit facility widened women's participation in the trading operation by providing access to capital to fish vendors. The input in the planning of the General Santos City fishport was provided mainly by women fish traders. Other off-shore fishing-related activities are fish processing and shellcraft making. For groups engaged in more physically demanding fish capture operation, women take

on administrative tasks and proved to be very good at these.

Because fishing households have multiple income sources, their women are also involved in a number of non-fishing activities. These activities, in fact are depended upon to shore up the household when the productivity from the male members' fishing activities hits low points. The women are engaged in credit operation, livestock raising, small-scale enterprises, farm sharing and employment for wages. These women are involved in a variety of production arrangements to partake in these non-fishing income sources. These non-fishing activities and production arrangement can be used for interventions targeting women as beneficiaries. The non-fishing activities can be expanded according to the demand of the market and the production activities can be made more efficient in generating funds. Women are also most effective in the use of informal network as a means of social control and in raising environmental awareness. They convinced relatives of mangrove cutters in Ulugan Bay/St. Paul Park to mend ways. They produced materials for school children in Olango Island. **This indicates that strategies which involved social behavior modification and value should make use of women** (my underscoring).

Let us try answering the exercise and find out if you have fully understood our discussion.

SAQ 6-1

Write what kind of role (whether reproductive, productive, or community managing and leadership) the women in the given situation project.

1. Women usually participate in reef gleaning.
2. Women's activities revolve around the work of a mother, wife, home managers, and educators, whose function is family development.
3. Women are actively involved in fish processing and fish trading as part of their share in the income-generating activity of the family.
4. Women are responsible for the biophysical development, which refers to the physical and mental development, of family members.
5. Women teach their children social skills related to cleanliness, health care, and hygiene.
6. Women's involvement in civic and religious organizations is an extension of their leadership skills at home, which also help in community development.
7. Through education and training programs, women's exposure to new ideas and skills could contribute to the development of members of the community.

Let us see if you recognized the importance of women's role in society.

ASAQ 6-1

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Women usually participate in reef gleaning. | Productive Role |
| 2. Women's activities revolve around the work of a mother, wife, home manager, and educator, whose function is family development. | Reproductive Role |
| 3. Women are actively involved in fish processing and fish trading as part of their share in the income-generating activity of the family. | Productive Role |
| 4. Women are responsible for the biophysical development, which refers to the physical and mental development, of their family members. | Reproductive Role |
| 5. Women directly influence children in teaching social skills related to cleanliness, health care, and hygiene. | Reproductive Role |
| 6. Women's involvement in civic and religious organizations is an extension of their leadership skills at home, which also help in community development. | Community Managing and Leadership Role |
| 7. Through education and training programs, women's exposure to new ideas and skills could contribute to the development of members of the community. | Community Managing and Leadership Role |

Activity 6-1

Interview at least three women in a fishing community in your area. Know how they manage their reproductive, productive, and community leadership roles as reflected in their daily activities. Determine in which roles they think they are best appreciated or valued and why they think so. Find out how such roles contribute to the management of their coastal resources. For your report, follow the outline below.

Name of the informant:

Setting/Location:

1. The multiples roles women play:
 - a. Reproductive:
 - b. Productive:
 - c. Community Managing and Leadership:
2. The role best valued and appreciated
3. How this role contributes to the management of their coastal resources

Comments on Activity 6-1

What did you discover while doing the interview? Do the women in the community you visited share the same sentiments as those in the case study of Sobritchea? In what ways are they similar or different from each other? Your data can be your guide to answer these questions. Be sure your data includes the following:

Name of the informant:

Setting/Location:

1. The multiples roles women play
 - a. Reproductive: How do they rear their children? How do they manage their home? What skills are they teaching their children and other members of their household? Are such skills the expected values and attitudes prescribed by society? Are there new skills, ideas, or technology which they teach to their children or members of their household that are necessary in ensuring their survival in the changing environment?
 - b. Productive: What works gives them payments in cash or in kind? Are they the main provider or the secondary income earners of the household? Are the income generating activities done within the home or neighborhood? Are their productive roles recognized because of the monetary value it carries? Is earning for a living welcomed by the males in the family and community? Why? What are the circumstances, that make women assume the role of a provider?
 - b. Community Managing and Leadership: Are they actively involved in community activities? What kinds of activities are these? Does the activity in the community enhance their reproductive and productive role or not? What benefits do they get in community work? How are their contribution in community work valued?
2. The role best valued and appreciated: What is the specific role best valued or appreciated by the family and by the community? Is this role valued in both the home and community? Why or why not? Is this role appreciated and valued at home and in the community? Is it a role they actually love doing? Why or Why not? What kind of role do they actually value and appreciate, and why?

- c. How such role contributes to the management of their coastal resources: How do their reproductive, productive, and community managing and leadership roles contribute to the management of their coastal resources? What specific skills, technology, and values do they teach or show through such roles, which ensures the sustainability of their coastal environment? Are they aware of their participation in the sustainability of their coastal environment? Why or why not?

Summary

In the socialization process, politics and power are at play because it is a way for individuals to hold on to their particular roles, or to elevate themselves to a higher or more prestigious status (also status-position) in order to maintain and survive in their social environment. The struggle of individuals to hold on to power is reflected in their particular cultures. Culture influences the kind of coping or adaptive behavior society draws out from individuals.

In traditional society, men and women's roles conform to what is culturally ideal for society though changes in the environment can also alter such roles.

The rise of commercial fishing activities and the attendant decline of production have affected the traditional roles of men and women in production and domestic chores, because women have to get additional work to augment the men's income. The outmigration of men due to lack of jobs in the village also affects the traditional pattern of sexual

division of labor. For the women, having to look for extra jobs gives them a better hand in decision-making and in the allocation of money. Correspondingly, these changes in gender roles affect the power relationship between husbands and wives, and cause conflict because women who are now attending to new and/or additional roles and work activity are also responsible for their traditional roles in the production and maintenance of fishing households. Indeed, it is true that in "all rural regions women perform roles of great economic significance, which often fail to be appreciated, and do not find their way into the standard calculations of GNP and allied quantities." (Ferth in Sobritchea, 1994) Recognizing the importance of gender relationships, Mac Cormack (1995) commented, "We have increasingly seen that the need for social and economic development are intertwined through increased understanding of gender relationship, which is critical to sustainable development."

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Module 7

Considering Culture in Development

I am of the opinion that my life belongs to the whole community and as long as I live it is my privilege to do for it whatever I can. I want to be used up when I die. For the harder I work the more I live. I rejoice in life for its own sake. Life is no brief candle to me. It's a sort of splendid torch which I've got to hold up for the moment and I want to make it burn as brightly as possible before handing it on to future generations.

George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950)

In our earlier discussion of culture, we emphasized that it is a societal component responsible for welding or putting people together, a bond needed for social cohesion, which is of prime importance in the success of community development projects. As stated earlier, some national development projects (e.g., the Cellophil Cellulose Project in Abra and the building of the Kalinga Dam in Cordillera) failed because people were not properly consulted. In this section, I will introduce a brief article reporting on how certain projects managed by the fisherfolk themselves, though introduced by an outside external agency (Siliman University) with the least of government intervention, became successful. An important ingredient of successful management, is the participation of the people themselves—their willingness to learn and practice coastal resource management

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify trends in the use of the concept of “development” in developed and developing countries;
2. Describe the importance of community-based resource management (CBRM);
3. Illustrate the importance of linking the traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) or indigenous knowledge (IK) and culture of fisherfolk and the scientific and technical expertise of development specialists for the sustainability of coastal resource management projects; and
4. Show how the local communities near protected areas can become partners in sustainable resource management.

because they were consulted. If people's assistance is sought at an early stage of the project, they will have a stake in the project because they are co-partners. Though people's participation in community-based resource management (CBRM) is the central focus of the report, it is obvious that people's participation is crucial and must be generated in any undertaking similar to it.

Development Through the Years

In Module 2, I quoted Flor and Ongkiko's (1999) assertion that the true measure of development is man—an assertion inspired by development thinkers of the 1970s such as EF Schumacher and Dudley Seers. Before this, there were other views on development. These views were reconsidered through the years, particularly as there was limited progress toward expected reforms and the economic results did not translate to the social well-being of the intended beneficiaries. Let us read a portion of an article (Mascarenhas, 1996) on trends in development indicators in the last few decades:

The Evolution of Development Indicators

Two events, more than any others, have shaped the evolution of development as we know it and the indicators or measures used to describe Third World development: the Great Depression of the 1930s and the subsequent World War, which led to the emergence of international institutions directed at global reconstruction. Since most Third World Countries attained their independence after World War II, it is not surprising that European and North American models for measuring development have generally prevailed.

Social indicators did not come into common usage again un-

til the mid- 1960s. Quantitatively inclined political scientists tried to provide comparative material for several statistical variables (Russet 1964). The big emphasis came after the publication of Social Indicators. The use of SIs to influence the postindustrial future expanded the use of the SI approach. Furthermore, as the SI movement was gaining momentum, the economic or market approach to development was also in the ascendant.

With the confidence brought about by the rapid progress of reconstruction in Europe and with the growing "First World" prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s, the IFIs (international financial institutions) and the industrialized countries assumed

that economic growth was secured, and that the main challenge for the state was therefore to improve the global quality of life. As the IFIs moved into the “Third World,” the basic thinking on economic growth remained within the European perspective – but without the same resources.

The top priority was to build infrastructure, agriculture had to be transformed, and the lack of industries became a crisis. In this “modernization” model all one had to do was to measure the gross domestic product (GDP) or gross national product (GNP) to determine national wealth, or rather the lack of it. There was a major flaw in this argument, however: the history and circumstances of development of Third World countries were different from those of Europe.

Human Development Indicators

By the end of the first development decade in 1960, there was widespread disillusionment with the conventional measure of development – the “GNP Approach.” The developed world was far from perfect, material progress was increasingly divergent and developing countries were gaining many of the social problems of the industrialized countries with few of the material benefits.

Market values, which usually shape development models, generally threaten many aspects of well-being and quality of life. Unlike the unimodal economic or GNP approach to development, Human Development is multidimensional and can have political, cultural, and even economic facets. It places human beings, rather than business, at the centre of the development process.

The Age of Market Reform and Development

Since the 1980s, most African states (and also some parts of Asia and Latin America) (words in parenthesis mine) have found themselves economically and politically beleaguered. This cannot neglect the fact that African governments have often accepted the need for fundamental revisions in their approach and strategies for development, as evidenced by the Lagos Plan of Action, which was subsequently worked into the World Bank’s Agenda (Adedeji and Shaw 1985). Few serious ideas and actions to accelerate development are being proposed.

Since the decade of “economic reforms” designed by the IFIs and assisted by the donor community, the main priority has been a common economic approach to solving problems. Basically, the main aims of these reforms have been to eliminate economic distortions like over-

valued currencies, fiscal deficits in the public sector, restrictions of local and foreign trade, retrenchment of inefficient and even corrupt public services and the mobilization of resources to stimulate growth (Hussain and Faruqee, 1994). At the same time, there is now a steady flow and dissemination of well-orchestrated and uncritical information. Fortunately, there is also a trickle of refreshing viewpoints challenging the smugness of economic and environmental assumptions.

People's Development

One of the distinguishing features of the conventional development indicators is that they were externally oriented, especially in their value system. They assumed that local people had

no perception of their own needs, and that communities did not distinguish, for example, between richer and poorer members of their community: yet local indicators reject this bias.

A good starting point for community-based development indicators is that most households stress self-reliance. Because of this, communities can contribute a great deal to development indicators, and to three areas in particular. The first is their concern for their environment, knowledge of environmental indicators and their efforts to manage the environment on a sustainable basis. Second are the poverty indicators, a basis for survival and guidelines for social obligations. Third is the existence of a rich traditional knowledge system.

What do you think of the changing trends in development?

Indeed, even up to the present, some of us still think of development from the point of view of developed or industrialized countries. That this is inappropriate for a country like ours has been proven again and again. In the 1980s, for example, the Philippine sugar industry collapsed and the phrase "*Batang Negros*" (Child of Negros) came to denote famine-stricken children of the *sakada* (sugarcane cutter). More recently, farmers and fishermen as well as other marginalized sectors of society are suffering the ill effects of gungho globalization in a patently uneven economic playing field. And we are all beginning to reap the ill effects of our wanton exploitation of natural and environmental resources in the name of development.

Is there hope? Well, we need to keep pace with the changing environment and be dynamic with our plan of action. And we must fully consider that we are dealing with people whose knowledge and participation in a development program is truly essential for its success or failure. Perhaps you have realized from Mascarenhas (1996) the need to focus on community-based organizations and knowledge, which provide a safety net for less privileged members of society.

Community-based Coastal Resource Management in the Philippines

Let us begin to read about some examples of communities where community-based coastal fishery management was undertaken in the hope of sustainable development. The article of Efren Flores (1994) titled “Community-based Coastal Fishery Management in the Philippines: A Review of Small Islands Coral Reef Fishery Management” (in Ushijima and Zayas, 1994) includes some case studies of these projects. Most of these communities were pilot projects for community-based resource management studies long before CBRM became a common approach in developmental projects.

My involvement with the Institutional Social Soundness Analysis in support of the Community Based Coastal Resource Management Program of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as its anthropological consultant in 1995 gave me the valuable opportunity to visit some of the communities mentioned. Why do you think did the USAID feel the need to employ an anthropologist for the CBCRM Institutional Social Soundness Analysis? What is the role of anthropology in their study?

By reading the article, you will find out why people are considered a significant factor in the management of coastal or marine resources. For now, let me just say that experience has shown that legislative measures alone do not solve problems in development since displaced resource users will always find a way to continue with their trade. Because of the minimal effects of legislation, the government has turned to users for assistance in managing their resources. Hence the CBRM approach, which was first initiated by Silliman University in Dumaguete City. Flores describes the experience of community-based coastal fishery resource management, their problems in implementation, and their successes. The type of resource management he discusses is done in three phases:

1. Community organization
2. Community education
3. Resource management of the community

The setting

To start with, let us familiarize ourselves with the four project sites located in four islands in the Visayas: Sumilon, Apo, Balicasag, and Pamilican (refer to Figure 11.1 in the article). These are all small islands with sizes ranging from 23-200 hectares. Except for Sumilon Island, the rest of the islands are inhabited by communities of varying sizes. Can you give me the population for each of the three islands?

Yes, Apo has 500 people, Pamilican has 900, and Balicasag has 400. There are only four resident families in Sumilon Island but 80 fishermen from Oslob, Cebu visit the place.

Modes of intervention

In this section, we will discuss the modes of intervention in the four islands.

a. Sumilon Island

In 1974, Siliman University in cooperation with the municipality of Oslob, Cebu put up a protected area or sanctuary in the western side of the island covering 500 miles from the shoreline. (Refer to Figure 11.2 and Figure 11.3) Why is this area called the “buffer zone”? Why were the natives nervous about the idea of turning Sumilon Island into a marine park?

Basically the natives feared eviction. Despite that, however, the university just continued its efforts to make them realize the benefit to be derived from the proper management of the coral reef resources of Sumilon Island. Were the results after four years of operation (1974-1978) positive? What did Silliman University do to carry out the management scheme of the “buffer zone”?

Yes, they maintained a caretaker to see to it that regulations were enforced. Faculty members and students also visited the island regularly for fieldwork in relation to instruction and research. And because the idea of turning Sumilon island into a marine park made the four resident families nervous, the university left the matter to the national and municipal government and concentrated instead on the proper management of the coral reef resources of the island. What was the result and the people’s reaction to the four years (1974-1978) of operation in the island of Silliman University?

Yes, there was a gradual increase in fish production, reducing people's fear. The increase in fish production became known to the fishermen of Oslob in Cebu. What happened then? What was the result of unrestricted fishing in the sanctuary? Did the municipal government who allowed unrestricted fishing realize they were wrong? What did they do as a result of this?

b. Apo Island

In 1979, Silliman University again initiated a similar project, using the same approach, but in Apo Island, an hour away by motorboat from Dumaguete City where Silliman University is located. (Refer to Fig. 11.1 and Fig. 11.2) Unlike Sumilon Island, many fisherfolk (about 90 of them) live in Apo Island.

Considering that the fisherfolk population are permanent residents of the island, Silliman University had a community base to start with. But as with any other project, the initial approach of putting up a station made the people suspect that CBRM was just a front. Thus, following the CBRM approach, Silliman University started by working with the islanders who were willing to help them and by demonstrating that the project was beneficial to the community.

It would be good to describe first the features of the community in Apo Island as these may have contributed to the project's success. What types of fishing were the fisherfolk engaged in? What percent of them were operating within the island's reef area? What projects and related activities did Silliman University introduce in the Apo Island community? Who were utilized to form the lead group of the Marine Management Committee, and who headed it? What were their responsibilities? Was the project limited only to the island's marine resources? What were the indicators that the Apo Island project was a success?

c. Balicasag Island

Let us shift our attention to the third project site, located in Balicasag Island. (Refer to Figure 11.2) Marine reserves and community development projects were also implemented in this community of 60 families, most of whom came from Bohol island during the last five decades. The island has an interesting history as it was first inhabited in 1870 when a watch tower was erected to guard the island from Moro attacks. The original inhabitants multiplied and the island is now a naval reserve under the Philippine Coast Guard. Thus, the residents built houses on cultivated lands which belonged to the Philippine government. To check population influx, they agreed on the unwritten law that only those who marry residents can reside in the island.

The Marine Management Committee does its part in ensuring that the rules on marine reserve and sanctuary are observed. The fishing gear used are similar to those in Apo Island except for indigenous gear used for deep water gathering of shells sold to tourists through middle persons.

However, unlike in the three other islands where marine reserves were put up, the Department of Tourism (DOT) put up a resort in Balicasag. What are the advantages and disadvantages of DOT's presence? What about the establishment of the Philippine Port Authority (PPA)? Can you name the advantages as well as the disadvantages in relation to the management of the marine reserve and sanctuary? Overall, do you think the CBCRM in Balicasag is a success? Why?

d. Pamilican Island

We come now to the last CBRM project of Silliman University. The report says that the Apo, Balicasag, and Pamilican CBCRM projects were started at the same by Silliman University. There are differences, however. Pamilican is the biggest, most populated island, with 200 hectares of seagrass, indicating widespread disturbance of the 180-hectare coral reef.

What type of fishing occurs when there is an absence of coral reef formation as in Pamilican? Is it right to say that the absence of coral reef formation led to that type of fishing? Or could it be due to other reasons? Explain.

Unlike in the other islands, the fisherfolk in Pamilican did not seem interested in a marine reservation. Can you give several reasons? Would you say then that the CBRM project in Pamilican was a failure?

The outcomes

Two of the four projects sites were successful CBCRM projects. Flores enumerates three reasons why the CBCRM project in the two sites succeeded and why it failed in the two others. Can you state the reasons? Let us discuss them.

Community-based projects like CBCRM (Community-Based Coastal Resource Management) depend on the people's participation. Note that of the four projects, the successful ones involved the community in the organization and consultation process. It is important that implementors (e.g., NGOs, LGUs, and academic institutions) be sensitive to the basic needs of the people. Also, the people's indigenous knowledge (IK) or traditional environment knowledge (TEK) should be put to good use. People do have

a built-in cultural mechanism to protect the biodiversity of their environment from over extraction due to communal fishing.

In the communities where the projects succeeded, the communities' sentiments and opinions were taken into consideration, together with the knowledge imparted by the researchers and scientists who specialize in developmental projects in the area. Patrick Orone, in his article "Grassroots Indicators and Scientific Indicators: Their Role in Decentralized Planning in the Arrid Lands of Uganda," (1996) explains the value of merging local knowledge with developmental plans in order to meet the true goals of development thus:

Despite the current move towards a decentralized approach to development planning based on "bottom-up" planning at the district levels, development plans based on conventional scientific indicators alone will fail to reflect the social, cultural, economic, and political realities at the local level. This dilemma is particularly evident for issues like desertification: for the local people hold a view of their environment and its desertification that is radically different from the one held by the scientists and development planners.

Popular participation in decentralized, "bottom-up" planning will only come closer to reality when tools of planning are controlled at the grassroots level. This requires combining "grassroots indicators" with scientific indicators and applying them within a decentralized participatory planning process.

Hambly and Angura (1996) put it this way:

"Knowledge is power" has become a common but true cliché in development research. As two sides of the same coin, "sharing knowledge" and "power sharing" lie at the root of problems like desertification and drought. The potential of working with "grassroots indicators" as a method and outcome of knowledge sharing may lead to new possibilities of creating new and more accurate forms of development indicators, planning and monitoring processes. This approach would also facilitate local control over the generation and use of knowledge. Grassroots indicators are defined here as measures or signals of environmental quality or change formulated by individuals, households, and communities, and derived from their local systems of

observation, practice, and indigenous knowledge. Grassroots indicators can serve to augment national and regional environmental monitoring systems both temporally and spatially. Through them, local people can collaborate with scientists and researchers to improve desertification and drought indices, and so contribute to the effort of finding a solution to these global problems.

In the past, many government projects at the community and national level failed because the concept of development was improperly or inadequately understood and pursued. Profits were preferred over human values and the welfare of the community. But in fact, as in the four sites mentioned in Flores's article, the people themselves spell the difference between success and failure. Projects fail because there is no community based on the island to carry on CBCRM and sustain it. The Pamilican project failed because the fisherfolk did not see the need for a marine reserve or sanctuary. The damage to the coral reef formation showed that there was no local regard for its value to increase fish production. Thus, deep-water fishing was prevalent even before Silliman University came to introduce the project. If people realize the value of a project, they will sustain it. For a project to succeed, it has to have demonstrable benefits to the people. In contrast, in Apo and Balicasag, people were organized and informed of CBCRM values. Traditional leadership was also considered.

The Community and Protected Areas: Partners in Developing Sustainable Resource Management

People the world over are now realizing that our development is greatly dependent on the state of our environment because it is the very basis of human life. We rely heavily on the environment for the air we breathe, the water we drink, food, shelter, income, and a lot more to make our life on earth comfortable for us all. Thus, threats to the environment are also threats to our existence as human beings. From this perspective, the protection of our environment is a necessary and urgent task. However, it is a challenging task especially when the people's means and resources are not enough to meet their needs, and they live only for their own survival without considering its implications for the future of marine or coastal resources. Community-based resources management hopes to make the community participate in sustainable development without compromising their basic means of survival.

How does CBRM do this?

A World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas has been held every decade since 1962. The objective of the Congress is to promote the development and effective management of the world's natural habitats so that they can make their optimal contribution to sustaining human society. Jeffrey A. McNeely, Secretary-General (1993) of the Fourth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas held in Caracas, Venezuela proposed 10 principles for integrating conservation with the development of local communities:

1. Build on the foundations of the local culture.

Very often, cultural elements are already available for contributing to conservation. Any law or regulation emanating from central governments should be adapted to take advantage of local predispositions. Cultural diversity parallels ecological diversity, and local traditional adaptations are often the most environmentally sound. Research on traditional means of resource management needs to be carried out as a very high priority, before these cultural elements are washed away with the tide of modernism. Traditional means of resource management also need to be put into forms that would be useful to development planners and to protected area managers; workshops should be held to train resource managers to be sensitive to cultural means of conservation and to collaborate productively with local people.

2. Give responsibility to local people.

Long-term cultural stability in the past has shown that local people are fully able and competent to enforce regulations for the benefit of their community. Local development priorities therefore should be debated in village and district councils, and development projects should be at least partially funded locally in order to build local commitment. The ultimate goal should be co-management, which involves commitment and involvement of the local people in all aspects of management. One important way to build confidence is through participatory management, which enables local people to help generate the information on status and trends in resource use that will guide management.

3. Consider returning ownership of at least some protected areas to indigenous people.

In cases where indigenous cultures have long-established land ownership rights in areas of outstanding national or even international importance, consideration should be given to recognizing their ownership of these lands legally and formally. Where it is not feasible to

return ownership to local people, protected area managers can at least recognize traditional rights over specific resources within the protected area, including water, medicinal plants, and sacred sites.

4. Hire local people.

Special efforts should be made to hire local people for work in protected areas in their region. Employment gives local people a stake in the success of the protected area and enables them to make a unique contribution to the way in which the area is managed.

5. Link government development programs with protected areas.

Each nation should review its protected area policies and legislation to ensure that human concerns are being appropriately addressed and that conservation is well integrated into other development concerns. National conservation strategies, national biodiversity strategies, and other such instruments can be effective means of coming to grips with the problems of integrating people, conservation, and development.

6. Give priority to small-scale local development.

Mega-projects, such as major dams, may be attractive to development agencies, but history has shown that they seldom bring widely dispersed and sustainable benefits. It is usually far better to concentrate at the village level, with customized development projects that can enhance productivity of the best soils and provide local sources of energy. Such development can be coupled with stronger regulations to reduce human impact on important habitats.

7. Involve local people in preparing management plans.

Each protected area should have a management plan, and the plan is most likely to be effective if it is developed in close collaboration with the local people. The preparation of management plans need not be a specialized task requiring major outside expertise. The level of protection should be finely tuned to the agreed management objectives, which should be discussed and agreed on with local people.

8. Have the courage to enforce restrictions.

Once it has been agreed on with the local people that certain restrictions (which often may be those that existed when local culture was still intact) are desirable and necessary, the regulations need to be strictly and equitably enforced. Enforcement should, whenever pos-

sible, be administered by local people, and at least a portion of any fines should go back to the village.

9. Build conservation into the evolving new national cultures.

As nations are built, literacy becomes widespread, mass media become more effective, and new cultures are formed, conservation needs to become part of every possible section of the national development process and thereby become part of the new national culture. Schools near protected areas must have sufficiently flexible curriculum to enable them to incorporate material that is relevant to the local resources. As modern nations become increasingly urbanized, new efforts are required to promote awareness of the importance of cultural diversity and the adaptiveness of local cultures to local environmental conditions.

10. Support diversity as a value.

People have long recognized that diversity is the key to their survival, using a wide range of means to wrest a living from a reluctant environment. Mixed systems, transhumance, terraces, agroforestry, local varieties, hunting and fishing, and the forestry-agriculture-wilderness interface are essential to most cultures. This diversity needs to be maintained as a matter of higher importance. What works in one place will not necessarily work in the next valley, and small countries have different imperatives from large countries. What is required is a series of local adaptations based on local cultural diversity, not a “universal elixir” to solve all conservation problems.

Do you think the community-based resource management development projects of Silliman University in the article of Flores (1994) somehow reflect the 10 principles proposed by McNeely? Do the study sites demonstrate integration and conservation with the development of the local communities? You may refer to the book, *Coastal Dwellers and Sea Spirits: Local Action for Biodiversity Conservation in the Philippines* (Cola, Magos, and Natividad, 1998), to give you further understanding of community-based coastal resource management. The publication of the book is a result of studies made on social and institutional soundness analyses conducted by the authors in support of the Community-Based Coastal Resource Management Program of USAID. Part of the book reviews and gives updates on the status of the CBRM projects cited by Flores.

Let us try doing the exercise to determine how well you understand the meaning of community-based resource management and development.

SAQ 7-1

For each item, state what principles are illustrated or should be used which can help integrate conservation with development of local communities.

1. "The municipal government, maintaining a very simplistic view that all of the island's aquatic resources were for the people of the municipality, permitted the fishermen to fish anywhere in the island. Quite naturally, the fishers' first target was the sanctuary. And consequently, their large catch at the start was short-lived; it eventually slid back to the level before the University came into the picture. Seeing its mistake, the municipal government then lobbied for the declaration of the island as a national park." (Flores, 1994, p. 363)
2. "In 1984, the Apo island project was made part of the program. Aside from establishing a marine reserve with a sanctuary, the program also introduced community development. Community development started with mobilizing the fishermen to form association, or a producers' cooperative, and strengthening the women's mat-weaving group that already existed at the start of the project." (Flores, 1994, pp. 363-364)
3. "To be sure, the people of the island have become content. The presence of a marine reserve and sanctuary guarantees them regular fish catch. When I visited the island, there was a fish scare in Bohol and Cebu because of the Ormoc Bay Tragedy. The local buyers had advised the fishermen not to catch so much fish since the price was low. So, the fishermen went out to catch only for subsistence." (Flores, 1994, p. 366)
4. "Since the fishermen in the island did not rely mainly on the catch from the coral reef area, the idea of a marine reserve with sanctuary did not gain a following. Without the participation of the Pamilacan fishermen, the municipal council of Baclayon town (to which barangay Pamilacan belongs) passed a proposal endorsing an ordinance that would set up a marine reserve in the island (Savina & White 1986). This ordinance merely gathered dust. In contrast similar ordinances for Apo Island and Balicasag Island initiated by the fishermen were passed. This shows that for a project to be realized the initiative should come from the fishermen." (Flores, 1994, p. 367)

Let us check how well you are able to integrate the principles proposed by McNeely (1993) which can demonstrate integration of conservation with the development of local communities.

ASAQ 7-1

Your answer may not necessarily be in the same order but they should contain similar principles I listed below.

1. Involve local people in preparing management plans.
Link government development programs with protected areas.
Have the courage to enforce restrictions.
2. Give responsibility to local people.
Build conservation into the evolving new national cultures.
Give priority to small-scale local development.
Involve local people in preparing management plans.
3. Build on the foundations of the local culture.
Give responsibility to local people.
Support diversity as a value.
4. Involve local people in preparing management plans.
Link government development programs with protected areas.
Support diversity as a value.

Activity 7-1

Visit a fishing community near your place. Find out if there is an existing development project in the area. Find out who the implementors are and the target beneficiaries. Learn how the culture of the community influences the success or failure of the project. What are the other intervening factors, aside from people's culture, which make the development project sustainable? Your report should have the following parts:

Name of the informant:

Setting/Location:

1. Development project:

2. Implementors:

3. Target beneficiaries:

4. The people's culture:

5. The intervening factors:

Comments on Activity 7-1

What did you discover while doing the interview? Do you think the development project in the community addresses the needs of the people? What aspect in the lives of the people does the development project address? How about the physical and biotic environment within the community – does the development project take it into consideration? Your data will enable you to answer these questions. Be sure your data includes the following:

Name of the informant:

Setting/Location:

1. Development project

What is the name of the development project? When was it established? What kind of development project is it? Is it community-based or are people not belonging to the community involved? What is the scope of the development project? What are its goals and priorities? Does it consider the importance of coastal resource management? Does it promote benefits for the whole fishing community, specialized group, or limited individuals?

2. Implementors

Who are the main implementors of the project? Why do you consider them the main implementors? What are the capability and constraints of each implementor identified during the implementation of the development project? Was the local community consulted during the planning of the development project? In what way is the local people in the community involved in the planning and implementation? Is the planning and implementation of the development project from the bottom level to the top or the other way around? Are certain powers shared among the implementors and the local community?

3. Target beneficiaries

Who are the main beneficiaries of the development project? Why were they chosen as the beneficiaries of the development project? What are their roles and responsibilities as beneficiaries of the development project? Were they required to participate or was their participation voluntary? What immediate benefits can the beneficiaries avail themselves of from the development project? Were they involved in and consulted regarding the progress of the development project? In what way?

4. The people's culture

What traditional culture exists in the fishing community? What are values and practices are manifested in the worldview of the majority of the local people? Does the development project relate or conflict with the traditional culture and worldview of the fishing community? Does the development project promote or discourage the traditional culture of the local people? Is the scientific and technical knowledge compatible with the traditional or indigenous knowledge of the local community? Explain.

5. The intervening factors

Are there institutions, NGOs, GOs, or private organizations that support the sustainability of the development project? Name these intervening factors? What are their roles and responsibility in the development project? Do the intervening factors improve the development project? Is the participation of the intervening factors in the development project geared towards their own interest or the interest of the local community? Why? Cite at least one specific example.

Summary

The meaning of development has evolved over the years. Early on, development was associated with infrastructure, sophisticated technology, modern facilities and equipment. However, development planners realized that majority of the people, especially in developing countries, are not benefiting much from this kind of development since it is modeled on the experience of industrialized countries in the West. Also, this kind of development places the welfare of the environment at risk.

Community-based resource management (CBRM) was developed to address the need to involve the local communities in development projects which can directly benefit them while preserving the environment. The Community-Based Coastal Fishery Management project initiated and implemented by Silliman University in Sumilon, Apo, Balicasag, and Pamilican islands is an example of CBRM. As shown by Flores's study, the local people's participation and

commitment are essential to making CBRM work. It is natural for the local people to safeguard their means of survival when they have limited knowledge about development in CBRM projects in their area. It is difficult to sustain CBRM when the culture of the people is not considered. Traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) or indigenous knowledge (IK) of the local community must therefore be encouraged to work closely and in harmony with the scientific and technical knowledge of development specialists.

In practical terms, CBRM is designed to restore and protect the environment from degradation without compromising the social and economic development of the local people in the community. It hopes to sustain the productive capacity of natural systems in order to maintain and/or improve the quality of the environment, such that can ensure and support human survival in the future.

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Module 8

Harnessing Culture in Response to the Challenge of Nature

*Nen pran kou je kouri dlo.
(When the nose is hurt, it is the eyes that cry.)*

Creole saying used by Haitians
to express the interconnectedness of life
(Wilcox, 1993)

In Module 7, which dealt with the concept of culture in development, I cited four case studies (two successful ones and two failures) of development projects, which used the community-based resource management (CBRM) approach. It has to be emphasized here that in any development project, the human factor is important; without the participation of people any development project is bound to fail. But what makes people work together towards attaining the goals of a development project? How do we get people to espouse and work for the vision of sustainable coastal resource development? As a Filipino, what is your share in helping attain the vision of sustainable coastal development?

As the culmination of our lessons in coastal anthropology, this final module will integrate the knowledge and skills learned in the past modules and stress the importance of harnessing culture in our efforts to save nature.

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Describe the current state of the marine environment;
2. Review the development of CBRM (community-based resource management);
3. Analyze the human and culture factors in CBRM; and
4. Illustrate through the social science concepts of worldview, socialization, human adaptation, culture in politics, and culture in development, the significance of the working knowledge and skills of local people in CBCRM (community-based coastal resource management).

Our Endangered Marine Environment

Perhaps most of you are fully aware of the danger posed by a degraded marine environment. For the purposes of our discussion, let us seriously consider the following facts given by the writer Elmer Magsanoc-Ferrer in his introductory statement to *Seed of Hope: A Collection of Case Studies on Community-Based Coastal Resource Management in the Philippines* (1996). The book documents the experience of nine CBRM programs in different parts of the Philippines:

Our Coastal Areas Continue to be at Risk

The 18,000 kilometers of coastline that surround the Philippines' more than 7,000 islands continue to be at risk. Coastal habitats are degraded and the resources therein depleted both directly (i.e. through destructive fishing practices) and indirectly by massive siltation from deforested upland areas and poor agricultural practices and inappropriate land use activities in coastal watersheds.

Most nearshore fisheries are overfished with extraction rates two to three times above sustainable levels. Of the three to four million hectares of coral reefs, about 70 percent are in poor to fair condition due to destructive fishing practices and siltation. Mangroves have been reduced to about 450,000 hectares representing about forty percent of the original cover, as a result of conversion to aquaculture ponds and other uses.

This situation is of grave concern to coastal communities and

coastal managers as the coast is where the majorities of the people live and work. More than 80 percent of the country's population resides within 50 km of the coast of the main islands.

The fisheries sector contributes significantly to the Philippine economy. It employs over one million people, or about five percent of the national labor force. Approximately 825,000 fishers (part-time or full-time) are in capture fisheries, more than 770,000 of whom are municipal or small scale. An estimated 250,000 are in aquaculture. In addition, another 50,000 people are employed in the service industries-post harvest handling, processing and marketing, boat building and equipment manufacture and distribution.

Another cause for concern is the fact that locally captured fish accounts for about 60 percent of the national protein consumption, making it second only to rice as a staple. A recent Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) report indicates that the consumption of fish has dropped from 31

kilos per capita in 1987 to 28.5 kilos in 1994. Unless urgent coastal resource management efforts are instituted, FAO predicts that the country's fish supply will drop to 940,000 metric tons from the present level to 1.95 M metric tons, and the per capita consumption of fish will plunge to 10.45 kilos by the year 2010 when the population is expected to reach 94M.

Overexploitation of the coastal areas is aggravated by rapid population increase. In 1990 the Philippines had a population of 60.7 M, the ninth highest in Asia and the thirteenth highest in the world. It is generally believed that a disproportionate population growth is happening in coastal areas. Many of them are landless agricultural workers who migrate to the coast because access to coastal resources is open and at least guarantees survival.

Moreover, legal and institutional weaknesses handicap the implementation of coastal resources

management projects. For instance, it is noted that the Philippines has the most comprehensive set of environmental laws in Asia, but few of these laws are adequately implemented. Most of the environmental and resource utilization issues in the coastal zone are partly caused by non-enforcement of laws. Also, weak coordination and lack of complementation among related national government agencies mandated to implement CRM projects persist. In some cases, government agencies actually pursue conflicting policies. An example is the management of the country's remaining mangroves, where the conservation thrusts of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) is in conflict with the Department of Agriculture's (DA) aquaculture production orientation.

This continuing pattern of decline, degradation and mismanagement of the coastal zone calls for urgent and effective intervention.

Ferrer's description of the state of the marine environment is clearly a cause for alarm. The continued pattern of decline, degradation and mismanagement of our coastal zones call for urgent and effective coastal intervention. Are we doing something about it? Whose responsibility is the marine and coastal environment? Is there any one sector or group of people whose task it is to rehabilitate marine and coastal ecosystems?

If you have been paying close attention to the preceding modules, the answer to the last question is no. The rehabilitation of our marine and coastal environment must be a collective endeavor, involving not only environmental planners and managers but also the coastal communities themselves. The book, *Coastal Dwellers and Sea Spirits: Local Biodiversity Conservation in the Philippines* (Cola, Magos, and Natividad, 1998), gives a substantial report on this point. Let us read a portion of the book below and discover why there is a need to empower sustenance fisherfolk:

Existing Biodiversity Preservation Practices

The sustenance fishers are already sustainability harvesting coastal resources. Measures to conserve coastal resources and protect biodiversity are embedded in their entire fish production process. Fishing time is limited through engagement of multiple occupations and family-based production system. The employment of multi-gear and multi-species operation and constant mobility factors that control fish stock depletion. Simple technology, small-scale and selective harvesting, sharing of fish catch and limiting the number of users regulate the extraction rate.

The degree of sustainability in the four sites (Ulugan Bay and St. Paul Park, Bohol Sea, Olongo Island Wildlife Sanctuary, and Sarangani Bay) cannot be established since the production rate of the fishery resource is not yet determined. But the situation should not be far from the situation in Lingayen Gulf where fisherfolk extracts only 10.5 tons of fish annually. On the other hand, commercial fishing har-

vests 3,348 tons of fish (Calud et al., 1989 and Ochavillo, 1989). The rate of harvesting shows who is sweeping the sea clean. The sustenance fishers take out only 0.3% of the total fish harvested while the commercial fishers haul home the 99.7 percent.

The government induces the expansion of commercial fishing operation through various economic government incentives. Such incentives have been implemented since 1920 (Act No. 4003) within the creation of Division of Fisheries (Polo, 1987). The expansion of commercial fishing operation correspondingly left the sustenance fishers with less fish to catch. This was the case of the waters around Cebu and is the occurrence that is presently unfolding in the waters around Palawan.

The government further deprives the sustenance fishers of food source by encouraging the conversion of mangrove areas into ponds. It gives away lease permits unmindful of the number of fishing households fed by the mangrove area and the importance of its ecological and cultural functions. For instance,

the vast mangrove forest in Olango Island is leased out before it is declared into a sanctuary. The loss of the sea to the commercial fishing operations and the mangrove area to the fish pond developers left many fishing households with only two alternative: search for more productive fishing ground; and scrape the exhausted fishing grounds with destructive methods. Both responses are those of an organism displaced from its own habitat. These are grasp for life and not primarily intended to serve as a suicidal death blow on their own life support system (my emphasis).

The sustenance fishers are not the cause of overfishing. They are its defenseless but noble victims. At their present state, they are unknowingly paying the price for the impact of commercial fishing operation and the attendant government policies (my emphasis). Their manner and rate of extraction indicate the sustenance fishers never view the nature of coastal resources as open access as seen by many coastal re-

source managers (Dixon, 1989; Ferrer, 1989; Pomeroy, 1991). Instead these are categorized into four: 1) owned (collection is permitted only by the claimant); 2) open (no permit is needed under any circumstance); 3) restricted (collection is permitted after ritual performance or in limited amount or under extraordinary circumstance); 4) and prohibited (collection is not permitted under any circumstance).

The presence of restricted and prohibited resources indicates the sustenance fishers are not harvesting to maximize gains at any cost. Nor are they mindless looters of the sea as seen by some scholars (McManus et al, 1992). They set aside part of these resources as insurance for the natural system to perpetuate resource regeneration. The municipal fishers are practicing sustainable development and biodiversity conservation. It is the government and the commercial fishermen who have an ambiguous stand on sustainable development and biodiversity conservation.

Cola et al. (1998) stress that it is a mistake to put all the blame for the worsening condition of our coastal environment on sustenance fisherfolk who depend on the sea for their livelihood. Instead, our sustenance fisherfolk, together with the other life forms in the coastal environment, deserve our careful attention. Development must address not only the biotic and physical aspect of the environment, but also and more important, human beings and their social environment. There is a need to strengthen the community-based approach to coastal resource management, which can give the local fisherfolk as well as the coastal environment a better chance of survival.

Review of Coastal Resource Management

Prior to 1970, the idea of a community-based approach to resource management was already recognized in our country. However, its application to coastal resources started only in the mid-1970s when conservationist saw unmistakable signs of degradation and depletion of fishery stock. Marine scientists were able to link marine degradation and depletion of fishing stock to upland deforestation and destruction of mangroves and coral reefs.

The “top-down” approach, which did not require community involvement, was used by the government to address the situation. The Natural Resource Management Center (NRMC) established “protected areas” to regulate and control resource degradation. But the approach did not work for coral reefs in protected marine parks, which continued to be destroyed by fisherfolk through destructive fishing methods. (Alcala in Ferrer, 1996)

In the last 25 years, NGOs, GOs, LGUs, academic and research institutions and international funding agencies have used various concepts and implemented management programs to address the situation, including the establishment of artificial reefs, marine reserves, mangrove rehabilitation program, and fisheries CBRM programs. CRM activities in the Philippines since the 1970s follow the pattern of management efforts in the world, as follows (Magasanoc-Ferrer, 1996):

- a. **Stage 1 – initial awareness** where the need for integrated coastal management program requires concrete signs of coastal resource degradation.
- b. **Stage 2 – growing awareness** where the need for an integrated coastal resource management program is followed by the holding of national conferences, workshops or hearings called by the government officials, academic institutions, and environmental groups.
- c. **Stage 3 – increased awareness** follows as a result of the holding of conferences, workshops or visits by international assistance missions leading to the preparation of a national study analyzing coastal resources, institutional arrangements and management options.
- d. **Stage 4 – erection of new programs** after studies on the coastal zones have been done.

- e. **Stage 5 - program development**
- f. **Stage 6 - implementation**
- g. **Stage 7 - evaluation**

The stage of initial awareness was sounded in the Philippines in the 1970s. Fisheries had declined, reefs were battered, mangrove swamps were destroyed, and coastal communities had become impoverished. The initial awareness heightened to a national conference and workshops on coastal zone management were given impetus with the holding of the “Planning Workshop for Coastal Zone Management”.

A pioneering project on coastal management in the Philippines was initiated in 1974 by Silliman University in cooperation with the town of Oslob in Cebu. The waters of Sumilon Island in Central Visayas were declared a marine reserve. Similar projects were implemented in Apo, Balicasag, and Pamilacan islands, as reported in Module 7. These CBRM projects utilized concepts in community development and of the four sites, those with community participation were deemed successful.

In the 1980s, there was a rapid acceptance of CBRM as an effective approach to the sustainable management of coastal ecosystems (including coral reefs, mangroves, and seagrass). It attracted NGOs and academic institutions who visited the successful project sites, especially Apo Island (Negros Oriental) and Balicasag (Bohol), to learn more about CBRM.

The first government-led project on community organizing was the Central Visayas Regional Project I in the 1980s. In the 1990s, two major government coastal resource management programs, which incorporated community participation, are the Fisheries Sector Program of the Department of Agriculture and the Coastal Environment Program of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR).

It is now apparent that the CBRM approach is indeed sowing “seeds of hope” for the rehabilitation and protection of our coastal environment. One reason for its success is the cooperation and empowerment of the fisherfolk who are the primary users and stakeholders. If fisherfolk are organized and made to feel that they are co-managers in this open-access resource, we tap not only their cooperation but also their skills and indigenous knowledge regarding our frail coastal environment.

The Human and the Culture Factor

By now, as a student of the environment, you will have realized that the situation of our coastal environment is serious enough to elicit the concern and participation of every Filipino. Ask yourself what you have contributed to our coastal ecology. Is your contribution positive or negative? If you are a student, you can share your awareness with your family or friends. If you are working in an LGU, GO, NGO, or an academic or civic institution, you can intensify your commitment to the vision of CBRM or share your expertise. Perhaps you can let your classmates know what you are doing in this area.

As a socio-cultural anthropologist, I have been reflecting on how my discipline can be made more relevant to coastal resource management. How can a working knowledge about people's social and cultural environment be significant to coastal resource management? Of what use is it to development planners, researchers, and community development workers? Well, consider the following points:

1. Familiarity with the local people's **cultural orientation** or **worldview** especially as this concerns environment and resource management, can help us build on the foundation of their local culture some elements of which are already available and can be adapted for conservation purposes.
2. The concept of **human adaptation** can help community development workers situate the social environment of the fisherfolk in relation to their physical and biotic environment. People move about where marine resources are plentiful so a study of the technology they use for resource extraction can inform authorities about what guidelines and policies are appropriate.
3. Knowledge of **socialization** is useful for agents of intervention who need to be informed at what point socialization effectively takes place and in what context. Knowing who are the effective and powerful agents of change can be useful as they can be utilized to help implement environmental education.
4. The concept of **culture in politics**, particularly **gender politics**, can inform agents of change and development about how power relations impact on survival and environmental depletion, and how this can be properly addressed. To quote Mabunay (1995), "It is important for planners to locate the 'focus of power and control' in gender relations as 'entry points' for interventions into communities. Whether at the

level of the family, civil society, the state, and the global system, the focus marks encounters for negotiation and debate on the issues identified.”

5. **Culture in development** is a concept that takes into account the socio-cultural component of development efforts. Among others, it seeks to redress the imbalance in GNP-led development paradigms by placing emphasis on “grassroots” indicators. These are “measures or signals of environmental quality or change formulated by individual, households and communities, and derived from their local system of observation, practice, and indigenous knowledge” (Hambly, 1996).

Environment in this context is understood in its widest sense to cross economic, social, cultural, and ecological boundaries. Such an understanding seeks to open up the rigid sectoral approach typically used to delineate environment and development indicators (Hambly, 1996).

Using Grassroots Indicators

We are all “developers” in a sense. This term broadly includes government offices, nongovernment organizations, corporations, and other social institutions whose concern is to develop a place by transforming it economically and socially. A wide range of activities are included in development, such as road building, construction, relocation, and land use schemes. Its aim is to generate wealth locally or to provide wealth for other parts of the country. But some development schemes and activities can have negative economic and social consequences for the concerned community, neighboring towns, and even provinces quite far away.

Sometime in 1979-1981, I was involved as a field researcher in an Environmental Impact Study for Cellophil-Cellulose Inc., a project utilizing hundred-year-old pine trees in the Cordilleras for a paper pulp mill in Benguet, Abra. Although the pine trees cut were in Bontoc, Kalinga, and Abra, the rivers of Ilocos province were also affected. Even rice production in Abra was affected. The sap of the logs pushed downstream poisoned the small fishes in the Ilocos rivers, and caused serious infection in the bodies of the workers who rolled the logs downstream. Many farmers from the lowland became log workers of the company due to the attraction of the cash economy; thus, there came about a shortage of rice in Abra. Some parts of the forests were burned because the natives, who were not consulted about the project affecting their ancestral land (e.g., forest and rivers), were not allowed to gather fuel and other forest products. There were many other serious environmental, socio-political and

cultural consequences. As a fieldworker, I saw with my own eyes the destruction of forests (including *almaciga* trees), and the social, economic, and cultural threat of the project to the natives. I reported honestly what I saw (as I thought the pursuance of the project would depend on an objective consideration of the data). But I learned that it takes the political will of the high officials of the land to say “No” to a project with such obvious adverse effects. In the name of national development, the government became a “collaborator” of the private corporation in this project. It was a “top down” project in the time of then President Marcos with the aim of dispersing industrialization in the province. The project was eventually halted and the government who took over the loans of the project lost no less than \$2 billion. This amount of course is something even the future generations of Filipinos will continue to pay.

It can really be difficult for development planners and frontline workers to predict the negative consequences of development projects. As well, we tend to gloss over the negative effects of projects as our attention is caught by imagined prosperity for the people. Moreover, planning such activities requires the collection of large amounts of data about the area being “developed”. Governments now require an environmental impact assessment (EIA) as a condition for the implementation of big projects. This is condition set by the banks, the government, and the funding agencies. All aspects of community life are included in the assessment. Adverse effects of the project and mitigating measures are proposed. Attention is also given to the impact of the project on the traditional or indigenous culture of the people in the project site. This is a concern of recent vintage and it is one that requires underscoring. To quote Posey and Dutfield (1996):

Out of a growing realization of the need to use resources wisely for the benefit of present and future generations, new information about traditional cultures, including traditional knowledge as it relates to the environment and to the natural resource management, can be of enormous interest to representatives of development planners. For example, in recent years, some governments interested in indigenous knowledge applied to environmental management have been supporting scientific research intended to find out more about such practices and to prove their effectiveness. (cited by Posey from Ross et al., 1994).

NGOs are also extending their activities into learning more about indigenous agricultural practices.

Posey and Dutfield might as well be referring to what we introduced earlier as grassroots indicators of development. According to Kipuri (1996):

Grassroots indicators are features of indigenous knowledge systems, which provide the means through which communities live, produce, conserve, and reproduce their natural resource bases. Indigenous knowledge systems have evolved through trial and error as a natural process of human beings interacting with environmental forces for the purpose of ensuring survival, progress, and preservation of that community. It is these systems that have contributed to ensure the perpetuation of the natural resources we now enjoy both on national and international levels.

Local or indigenous knowledge systems have been variously described as ethnoscience, traditional wisdom, etc., but they all fundamentally refer to a body of knowledge that evolves over time and is communicated orally from one generation to the next. Riddles, proverbs, songs, and other oral forms, are means by which indigenous knowledge is transmitted (Kipuri 1983). Indigenous knowledge systems refer to set of concepts, beliefs, and perceptions, comprising the stock of knowledge as well as the process by which it is acquired, augmented, stored and transmitted (Tandingar 1995). Like any other knowledge system, indigenous knowledge is dynamic and ever changing through creativity, innovation, and borrowing from other knowledge systems. It holds practical value for mounting cost-effective, sustainable, and culturally acceptable option for appropriate solving.

Local knowledge and capacity to monitor and measure environmental change are an important and valid development indicator for the following reasons (Hambly, 1996):

First, local knowledge systems offer an alternative approach to interpreting environment and development change. Entering this learning process will instruct and improved development policy and action at the local, and possibly at the national and regional planning levels. For example, eventhough there is ample evidence to suggest that traditional systems of land use in dry land Africa are more sustainable than previously recognized, development interventions through desertification control and implementation have ignored substantial local capability for assessing and reporting short- and- long- term changes in these environments.

The second motive for a focus on grassroots indicators is to transform what has been referred to as “proxy indicators”: Field level indicators identified and applied by outsiders, and often regarded as a quaint but inferior surrogate to scientific indices. Yet grassroots indicators can be a far more powerful tool to identify and possibly predict environmental change. Most importantly, grassroots indicators a method and an outcome of upholding and safeguarding local knowledge. In effect, local people make decisions using, at least in part, their own tools for monitoring and measuring problems such as land degradation, and therefore, they interpret and act on their own understanding of “sustainable development”.

A third reason for illuminating the importance of grassroots indicators is to work towards the disintegration of what has been referred to as the “three solitudes of policy, research and action. This process could involve conceptualizing research in terms of learning and action that combine secular and moral domains of thought; also taking into account policy as structures and procedures, which may inadvertently or deliberately maintain barriers between the “three solitudes”. Grassroots indicators are therefore part of a responsible form of development research, generating and sharing information which will recognize and support local knowledge and innovation.

The term “grassroots indicators” was first introduced in the context of desertification (defined as “land degradation in arid, and dry sub-humid areas, resulting from various factors including climatic variations and human activities – Agenda 21, UNCED 1992 and UN 1994) in Africa. But it is equally appropriate for CBCRM.

According to Krugman (1996), efforts at improved study of the African problem is the result of a long history of efforts to improve scientific methodology and analysis of the underlying causes and symptoms of the African problem and to develop better interventions and technologies to address these problems. The possibility that indicators can be generated locally, instead of externally, had been overlooked. The important arguments regarding its use as an approach is reduced cost in the collection of ground level information, monitoring, and enhancement of the flow of information between scientists and communities.

The differing attitudes and worldviews of scientists and local people can be difficult to reconcile but doing so is not impossible. They can meet half-way and talk about their differences, each one learning from what the

other has. Indicators from both can be combined or merged as an initial attempt to cross-fertilize scientific and grassroots indicators. But this is only possible in a decentralized participatory research and planning process.

The gap between the scientific and traditional worldview may be bridged by translating key concepts like “sustainability” and “indicators” to the local language. However, it has been pointed out that the identification of local indicators does not guarantee the reproduction of the necessary knowledge base and that the environment from which grassroots indicators have evolved will not deteriorate more quickly than the dissemination of local knowledge system (Hambley, 1996).

But as students of ENRM, we can try the idea of grassroots indicators and popularize its initial success. The success of the CBRM projects in Apo and Balicasag, if you recall, lay in the participation of people whose indigenous knowledge regarding the movement of waters had been tapped by scientist from the university. We need more of these kinds of reports. But first we should start by changing our own attitudes and worldviews. This is a difficult challenge but again, it is not impossible.

For several years, I have been trying to call attention to traditional knowledge through yearly conferences sponsored by the Center for West Visayan Studies of the UP in the Visayas in Iloilo. The last conference was held in November 2000 in the fishing town of Estancia, Iloilo with teachers and researchers in Region VI as participants. The conference theme was “Culture, Environment and Sustainable Resource Management” and the papers presented by young researchers tried to trace and/or identify local knowledge as a source of information for sustainable resource management. Once empowered, the sources of TEK/IK will become co-partners in the management schemes of environmental resource management projects. Our vision is for both the scientists and the local community to be made aware that they need each other in the successful management of CRM. More specifically, people’s TEK/IK, which had long been ignored, should already be made part of mainstream knowledge.

Lastly, let me quote from an article I wrote entitled “Indigenization: Responses and Experiences from the Philippines” (Magos, 2000) to warn us of the perils confronting indigenization, which I defined as the use or validation of useful indigenous knowledge:

But there is one more issue concerning indigenization to contend with. Like a tsunami, others would view globalization as a new wave of Imperialism. Globalization is a reality that can sweep off the hard-earned gains of indigenization efforts. Because of the inroads of modern-

izations, notably in the fields of information technology and economic integration, no society can entirely close its doors or prevent it from coming. Cognizant of some of its adverse consequences, it is imperative that a developing country like the Philippines should brace itself by strengthening the empowering, participatory, sustainable, environment-friendly, and gender-responsive aspects of its native culture(s) which had served and continued to serve its different communities in good stead through time. In view of this, the gains of indigenization should be vigorously pursued and consolidated.

SAQ 8-1

Imagine that you are newly assigned to work in a fishing village where you are going to assist in a community-based coastal resource management project. Every day of your stay, you are confronted with choices requiring you to recall and apply what you learned in coastal anthropology. Do you think you are prepared for your work as a development worker? Try making your choices below. You are allowed to make only one choice for each day. Underline what you think is the best answer.

Monday

From the mainland, you reach the island community through a two hour public motorboat ride. It is past noontime when you reach the island. Many people waiting on the shore and they notice right away your unfamiliar face. However, since you are with a well-respected schoolteacher of their barangay, your presence somehow already gives them an idea regarding the purpose of your visit. You feel glad you coordinated with the schoolteacher who is a native of the community and who has the trust and confidence of the local people.

Above all, she possesses a sense of authority, which could be helpful for the development project to work. From your study of coastal anthropology, you know that powerful figures such as the schoolteacher represent the social science concept of :

- a. Culture in development
- b. culture in politics
- c. human Adaptation

Tuesday

On your second day, you marvel at the sight of the community's wide mangrove areas. Local belief has it that the big mangrove and balete trees are castles of supernatural/enchanted beings. Thus regarded as mari-it (danger zone), the balete and mangroves trees are spared from harvesting. The people depend instead on the ipil-ipil trees, which they planted in their backyard, for their firewood needs. The preservation of the mangrove can attributed mainly to the people's:

- a. worldview
- b. socialization
- c. culture in politics

Wednesday

On your third day, you realize that the land in the island is barren. However, the island's wide intertidal flats abound with shellfish, crustaceans and sea weeds, which the local people gather for their daily subsistence, aside from the fish catch in the sea. The local people's survival depends on their:

- a. socialization
- b. adaptive strategies
- c. worldview

Thursday

You are now at home with the local people and as you experience living with them you learn a lot of things about the environment, which the local people taught you. You discover some of their local systems of observation, practice, and indigenous knowledge, which have evolved in the local community through trial and error.

From your course in coastal anthropology, you know that such local or indigenous knowledge and practices are measures or signals of environmental quality or change formulated by individuals, households, or the whole community. It is referred to as:

- a. human adaptation
- b. CRM
- c. grassroots indicators

Friday

Majority of the fisherfolk in the island are sustenance fishers. They use simple technology and small-scale and selective harvesting.

Usually the fish catch is shared among the close relatives and friends in the island. You also observe that they employ multi-gear to catch various species of fish, thus controlling the fish stock depletion. But like the sustenance fishers in the other fishing communities you have visited, the fisherfolk are having a difficult time in meeting their daily need for fish. The degradation of their coastal resources can be traced to many factors, including the:

- a. Worldview of the local people towards the sea
- b. Impact of the presence of commercial fishing operation
- c. Process of socialization showing how fishing skills and methods are taught among the fisherfolk in the local community

Saturday

Because of the rich indigenous knowledge found in the community, you are excited to involve the local people in the community-based coastal resource management program, where their knowledge can be tapped together with the knowledge of the scientists. However, upon hearing your proposal to make their island into a station for study, they initially become doubtful and fearful that the station will eventually strip away their rights to stay in the island. But then you encourage them to air their sentiments and even consult them for their suggestions through a public forum. The local people appreciate how they are being considered for the development project because the approach is:

- a. top down
- b. middle up
- c. bottom up

Sunday

On your seventh day, as part of training for the CBCRM project in the island, you suggest for bringing some of the community leaders for an exposure trip to one of successful sites of Central Visayas Resource Project (CVRP). So you prepare the necessary arrangements for your trip to:

- a. Botlog Island
- b. Apo Island
- c. Gigantes Island

Do you think you have acquitted yourself well as a development worker steeped in coastal anthropology?

ASAQ 8-1

Monday

From the mainland, you reach the island community through a two hour public motorboat ride. It is past noontime when you reach the island. Many people waiting on the shore and they notice right away your unfamiliar face. However, since you are with a well-respected schoolteacher of their barangay, your presence somehow already gives them an idea regarding the purpose of your visit. You feel glad you coordinated with the schoolteacher who is a native of the community and who has the trust and confidence of the local people. Above all, she possesses a sense of authority, which could be helpful for the development project to work. From your study of coastal anthropology, you know that powerful figures such as the schoolteacher represent the social science concept of :

- a. Culture in development
- b. **culture in politics**
- c. human Adaptation

Tuesday

On your second day, you marvel at the sight of the community's wide mangrove areas. Local belief has it that the big mangrove and balete trees are castles of supernatural/enchanted beings. Thus regarded as mari-it (danger zone), the balete and mangroves trees are spared from harvesting. The people depend instead on the ipil-ipil trees, which they planted in their backyard, for their firewood needs. The preservation of the mangrove can attributed mainly to the people's:

- a. **worldview**
- b. socialization
- c. culture in politics

Wednesday

On your third day, you realize that the land in the island is barren. However, the island's wide intertidal flats abound with shellfish, crustaceans and sea weeds, which the local people gather for their daily subsistence, aside from the fish catch in the sea. The local people's survival depends on their:

- a. socialization
- b. **adaptive strategies**
- c. worldview

Thursday

You are now at home with the local people and as you experience living with them you learn a lot of things about the environment, which the local people taught you. You discover some of their local systems of observation, practice, and indigenous knowledge, which have evolved in the local community through trial and error.

From your course in coastal anthropology, you know that such local or indigenous knowledge and practices are measures or signals of environmental quality or change formulated by individuals, households, or the whole community. It is referred to as:

- a. human adaptation
- b. CRM
- c. **grassroots indicators**

Friday

Majority of the fisherfolk in the island are sustenance fishers. They use simple technology and small-scale and selective harvesting. Usually the fish catch is shared among the close relatives and friends in the island. You also observe that they employ multi-gear to catch various species of fish, thus controlling the fish stock depletion. But like the sustenance fishers in the other fishing communities you have visited, the fisherfolk are having a difficult time in meeting their daily need for fish. The degradation of their coastal resources can be traced to many factors, including the:

- a. Worldview of the local people towards the sea
- b. **Impact of the presence of commercial fishing operation**
- c. Process of socialization showing how fishing skills and methods are taught among the fisherfolk in the local community

Saturday

Because of the rich indigenous knowledge found in the community, you are excited to involve the local people in the community-based coastal resource management program, where their knowledge can be tapped together with the knowledge of the scientists. However, upon hearing your proposal to make their island into a station for study, they initially become doubtful and fearful that the station will eventually strip away their rights to stay in the island. But then you encourage them to air their sentiments and even consult them for their suggestions through a public forum. The local people appreciate how they are being considered for the development project because the approach is:

- a. top down
- b. middle up
- c. **bottom up**

Sunday

On your seventh day, as part of training for the CBCRM project in the island, you suggest for bringing some of the community leaders for an exposure trip to one of successful sites of Central Visayas Resource Project (CVRP). So you prepare the necessary arrangements for your trip to:

- a. Botlog Island
- b. **Apo Island**
- c. Gigantes Island

Activity 8-1

Visit a fishing community near your place. Identify grassroots indicators that will be useful to a developmental project. Such grassroots indicators must feature their TEK (Traditional and Environmental Knowledge) or IK (Indigenous Knowledge) system as they produce, conserve, and reproduce their natural resource bases.

Name of the informant:

Setting/Location:

TEK (Traditional Environmental Knowledge)
or IK (Indigenous Knowledge)

1. Production:

2. Conservation:

3. Reproduction:

Comments on Activity 8-1

I'm sure that by now, you are already a familiar sight in the fishing village you have chosen for the various activities in this course. Most probably, some of your sources have asked if your report would benefit their community. Did you tell them why their culture, such as their IK (Indigenous Knowledge) or TEK (Traditional Environmental Knowledge), are now considered as valuable assets in development efforts? Were they proud to share with you their existing IK or TEK? Or was it difficult to look for their TEK or IK because it had become inactive, and only vague memories of their TEK or IK are left? The lessons you learned in coastal anthropology can help you understand the circumstances behind the waning of such important parts of the local culture. Meanwhile, let us view your answer and find out if you got the required data. Your data should serve as answers to the questions below.

Name of the informant:

Setting/Location:

TEK (Traditional Environmental Knowledge)
or IK (Indigenous Knowledge)

1. Production:

What type of traditional/indigenous tools are they using for the production of their basic needs such as food and shelter? Do they follow specific schedules and rules when they engage in their production activity, which shows their sensitive relationship with nature? How are such production skills taught to them? How often do they consult signs from nature as they do their production tasks? Do they still consider signs from nature as reliable and essential in their production work?

2. Conservation:

What are their beliefs concerning the use of their coastal resources? What traditional/indigenous methods, do they use to conserve their coastal resources? Do they view the sea as "open access" or do they have traditional/indigenous beliefs, that provide restrictions or limitations for some of them? What are these beliefs? Do such beliefs relate with the natural order of nature? Does they promote sustainable use of their coastal resources?

3. **Reproduction:**

Do they depend solely on nature for the reproduction of their natural resources? What are the existing traditional/indigenous methods for reproduction of their natural or coastal resources? Are such methods working against the natural process or not? Do they observe certain traditional/indigenous beliefs which either limit or promote the reproduction of their coastal resources? What are these beliefs?

Postscript

Now that we are finally finished with our course in coastal anthropology, I hope that what you have learned will add to your wisdom in our crusade for ensuring the survival of our Mother Earth. I know the real world will require of you much more challenging tasks than the SAQs and Activities we formulated for you.

Thus, you will do well to reflect on the words of Nicanor Perlas (2000) in his speech, *"The Challenge to the Successor Generation:"*

Do we have the courage, the boldness, and the creativity to transform the doctrine and values of the "competitive market" so as to usher in the era of the compassionate market where the soul and spirit of people and nature really matter?... Do we have the wisdom, the foresight, and the innovative spirit to ensure that civil society will have a key, constructive role to play, together with business and government, in shaping the future direction and values of this country? Or will we muddle through and be forced to mutually respect each other through conflict?

Indeed the challenge is difficult but I trust you, dear students. I know you will be among the burning lights in our universe.

To end, I will leave you with the song "Burn" from Tina Arena (1997) album, *In Deep*. As you listen to the words, imagine that it is Nature singing to you.

Do you wanna be a poet, and write?
 Do you wanna be an actor up in lights?
 Do you wanna be a soldier, would you fight for life?
 Do you wanna travel the world?
 Wanna be a diver for pearls?
 Or climb the mountain and touch the clouds above?

Be anyone you want to be
Bring to life your fantasies
But I want something in return

I want you to burn
Burn for me baby
Like a candle in my night
Oh burn, burn for me
Burn for me

Are you gonna be a gambler in deep?
Are you gonna be a doctor and heal?
Are you gonna go to heaven and touch God's face?

Are you gonna be a dreamer who sleeps?
Are you gonna be a sinner who weeps?
Or an angel on the grace?

I lay down on your bed of colds
And offer up my heart and soul
But in return

I want you to burn
Burn for me baby
Like a candle in my night
Oh burn, burn for me
Burn for me

Oh... 'coz I want you to
burn baby
No...yeah...no..yeah
Lie for me, cry for me
Pray for me, fly for me
Live for me, die for me

I want you to burn
Burn for me baby
Like a candle in my night
Oh burn, burn for me
Burn for me

Oh...I want you to burn
Burn for me baby
Like a candle in my night
Oh burn, burn for me
Burn for me...

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