SECTION 2

CHALLENGES IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PRACTICE

CHAPTER 4

RECOVERING FILIPINO PRODUCTION OF A MARITIME ANTHROPOLOGY

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> Despite the prevalence of fisheries in the Philippine archipelago, the dearth of anthropological studies focusing on this aspect of national life is a yawning gap in Philippine social science. Philippine anthropologist Ponciano Bennagen notes: "Maritime anthropology in the Philippines is young and poor relative to upland and even lowland ethnographies, which is ironic for an archipelagic country" (*UP Arcoast E-NEWS* Issue No. 2. 1998).

The Philippines is an archipelagic nation of more than 7,000 islands with marine resources under intense pressure from market-driven extraction, numerous maritime interests to protect, and pressing issues including pollution, overfishing and degradation of resources, ineffective regulation of coastal and marine resources, population growth, urbanization and poverty. Over 60 percent of the Philippines' more than 100 million population live in coastal areas. From the perspective of demography alone, the significance of the fisheries sector for the Philippine population is considerable. Yet, ethnographic work written by Filipinos on coastal fishing communities in the Philippines is surprisingly sparse. In terms of published books and academic journals, there are more non-Filipino authors than local ones. Given the Philippines' archipelagic character and reliance on aquatic

resources, an important question looms: Why hasn't the surrounding sea played a larger role in the rise of Philippine anthropology?

The Philippines is also a leader in biodiversity conservation initiatives such as setting up marine protected area networks. In these efforts, far more is known about fish stocks and behavior of marine species than about the humans that dwell there—their social identities, subsistence strategies, exchange networks and the cultural knowledge that enables sea-oriented livelihoods. Intensification and decline in Philippine fisheries was observed as early as the 1930s (Butcher 2004: 114). Fishers routinely remark on how they must go farther out to sea to bring back greatly diminished catches. Today, in fact, an urgent issue for research is: Why does fishing continue as a livelihood option in the face of uneconomic returns? Recently, foreign scholars have called for ethnography to understand the social complexity of Philippine coastal settings (Eder 2009; Fabinyi, Knudsen and Segi 2010).

We show in this chapter that a substantial amount of well-written, theoretically framed, and sensitively nuanced ethnographies based on extended periods of fieldwork already exists. However, these are mostly unpublished works in the form of MA theses, PhD dissertations and research reports produced in the course of long-term projects on coastal resource management (CRM). Examples of significant ethnographic content that can be gleaned from these resources include insights into sharing behavior among fishers; fisher mobility, sociality and access to marine resources; cultures of resource use and abuse; local knowledge related to fishing gear; and insights into changing seascapes.

This "gray literature"[1] from the unpublished margins constitutes a significant body of research on fisherfolk and their communities. This literature spans more than a century, yet remains relatively inaccessible and unknown. To understand why this is so, we begin by reflecting on our own experiences as researchers in coastal communities and our trajectories as students of anthropology from the 1980s. We then examine practices of preserving student anthropology papers in the early years of the Department of Anthropology at the University of the Philippines (UP) from 1914 until the 1960s and 1970s, and interest in indigenous resource management and customary tenure aspects of fisheries from the 1980s. From the mid 1990s to the present, we highlight in particular the contributions of Cynthia Neri Zayas in establishing a sea-oriented anthropology, and we outline the proliferation of recent research as well as further

sources of gray literature that have yet to be fully explored. Along the way, we note intersections of maritime anthropology literature with prominent individuals and concurrent discourses or debates in Filipino anthropology and social science in the Philippines in general.[2] This slightly personal exploration of maritime anthropology touches on broader themes in the history of Filipino anthropology, also exposing something of how anthropology has been practiced in the Philippine context—from socializing students into the discipline, to research, teaching and its application.

"Gray Literature" from the 1980s

We initially made a contribution to this ethnographic gray literature on fishing when we first trained in anthropological field methods. Our first exposure to long-term fieldwork was in the same fishing community on an island off southern Luzon. We picked up the vernacular in situ and spent an entire semester of roughly four months in 1984–85 on the island. This extended period of lengthy research training was pioneering in the curriculum for senior anthropology majors at the time.

For the field school we were enlisted in field methods courses in social anthropology, archeology and physical anthropology, as well as folklore and traditional and peasant communities. We were required to write all our research papers in Filipino—a language our professors considered to be more accessible to the community than English. It was also a deliberate nationalistic act to avoid using English in communicating knowledge meant for a Filipino audience, and possibly it may have also been a condition imposed by the funding that supported our field schools. Among the library materials brought to the field school was a guide on reporting research in the social sciences in Filipino (*Ang Ulat ng Pagsisiyasat sa Agham-Panlipunan* 1978), authored by social psychologist Virgilio Enriquez and anthropologist Ponciano Bennagen, two pioneers who had worked for social science indigenization during the martial law period, leading to the establishment of the Pambansang Samahan para sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino [National Organization of Filipino Psychology] by Enriquez in 1975 and the Ugnayang Pang-AghamTao [The Anthropological Association of the Philippines] (UGAT) by Bennagen in 1978.

As BA anthropology graduates who had already done fieldwork, we and five others with the same training found employment as

research assistants at the UP Institute for Social Work and Community Development for the first Coastal Resource Management Project (CRMP) in Lingayen Gulf, Pangasinan. This was a United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) funded research project from 1987–88, jointly conducted by three units focused on fisheries, marine biology and community development from UP-Diliman. Our key references were James Acheson's "Anthropology of Fishing" (1981) and David Szanton's *Estancia in Transition* (1971). More recent and relevant materials written by anthropologists may have been available, such as Alexander Spoehr's *Protein from the Sea: Technological Change in Philippine Capture Fisheries* (1980), but this was not accessible to us at the time. This reflected the "Third World" conditions of scholarship in the Philippines at the time, wherein many reference works about the Philippines were not readily available because they were published abroad. Hence pirating by photocopying and developing personal collections were and still remain necessary for research and education in the Philippines (Mangahas 2014: 117).

Before we began fieldwork, which involved ten to twenty days work every month from 1987 to 1988, we attended a lecture by a fisheries professor on the principles of "stock assessment." and Virgilio Enriquez gave us a talk on research methods. Enriquez specifically lectured on the art of gradually entering into a community and the consequent intersubjective process of transformation of the researcher from an outsider or "other" (*ibang tao*) into a "non-other" (*hindi ibang tao*) in the eyes of the community. "Establishing rapport" would be the common equivalent in most English textbooks. But the latter has a utilitarian connotation that does not capture "loss of inner anxiety" or gaining intersubjective trust (*pakikipagpalagayang-loob*) nor the relational end state of solidarity with a community as demanded by the Sikolohiyang Pilipino methodology. Enriquez also emphasized alertness to linguistic and cultural systems of classification.

During our fieldwork, we observed local practices of sharing of fish. We drafted a paper discussing diverse forms of "sharing and related social norms." For example, *pakikisida* ("asking for a few fish") and *pakikikamel* (taking a "handful of fish") were among everyday forms of redistribution or sharing encountered in all the fishing communities along the Lingayen Gulf. Such practices resulted in a significant proportion of the catch being diverted from market transaction to community sharing or reciprocal exchanges. These informal

sharing behaviors observed in CRMP field reports have been largely unnoticed by foreign fieldworkers. Sharing practices have rarely been highlighted in the maritime anthropology literature outside of tradition-based or formal sharing arrangements.

Papers were written after our fieldwork period (1987–88) on themes such as leadership, women's roles, specific methods of illegal fishing, and sharing and related social norms. Papers with senior-ranked co-authors were read at conferences. Abridged versions were eventually published in conference proceedings (Galvez 1989; Tungpalan et al. 1991; Rodriguez 1991; Hingco and Rivera 1991). However, the proceedings demanded brevity, resulting in much descriptive ethnography being edited out. Overall, these publications did not do justice to the energy devoted to long-term fieldwork. Since then, without a repository archive and 1990s digital technology rendered obsolete, many of the original field reports and academic papers became inaccessible and lost even to their authors.

On the key issue of illegal fishing with explosives, the CRMP produced a research paper by Roberto Galvez which made it into a published volume albeit in a highly abridged form, merged with other research reports on illegal fishing (Galvez et al. 1989). Galvez, based in an enclave of blast-fishers from May 1987 to April 1988, was one of the senior researchers of the CRMP. Drawing on his training in psychology and as an advocate of the Sikolohiyang Pilipino (Filipino Psychology) movement, his paper's notable features included observations on children's socialization into blast-fishing, the sharing of a successful catch among community and kin, the paradox of "fiesta atmosphere" surrounding illegal fishing, and the absorption of government agents through interpersonal relationships. The case studies demonstrated an atmosphere of shared social values amidst poverty as a significant factor undermining state efforts at coastal regulation. However, we have been unable to locate the full original paper as the author himself did not save a copy. Needless to say, the full paper has not been referenced in later research on blast-fishing.

Meanwhile, the CRMP brought to light growing interest in coastal resource management from the mid 1980s. Funding made available by institutions such as USAID, and later the International Development Research Center based in Canada for purposes of conservation also provided external stimulus for such research. The first CRMP was meant to be part of a concerted effort to formulate local policy recommendations based on research findings. These findings

were summarized into profiles and used as the basis for the Lingayen Gulf Coastal Area Management Plan (McManus and Chua 1990). However, our field reports did not play a role in the formulation of that plan; and for the most part, they never reached an audience that would have been interested in ethnographic viewpoints. Many are unpublished and some remain as personal copies, old loose notes and unarticulated memories.

Marginalization of Filipino Maritime Anthropology

The dearth of Filipino studies on maritime anthropology results not only from the inaccessibility of unpublished materials and under-appreciation of past ethnographic studies. From our experiences, other reasons include contingencies of personal priorities, scholarly interest being inclined toward land-based topics and hierarchical practices that have inhibited knowledge production.

As alumni of the CRMP, we went on from graduate studies to teaching anthropology subjects to undergraduates and subsequently completed MA degrees in anthropology. Given our commitments, we took some time to finish master's theses that were ethnographies of distinct fishing technologies and the knowledge and social organization linked to them. While some parts of these works have been published, a significant portion still remains unpublished.

Embarking on academic careers without a solid publication profile was often due to a lack of early career mentoring, guidance and encouragement, or possibly because of a lack of self-promotion. Publications were not regarded as essential for university hires at that time. Completion of a thesis or dissertation was already a sufficient accomplishment and researchers did not perceive publication as the end goal of research. Moreover we felt that with rapid changes in the field, the output was at once "preliminary" and at the same time "dated," or having historical rather than ethnographic significance. Some scholars were kept busy with their efforts to contribute to society through non-academic engagements, preferring to forego the scholastic channels in which much of their work remained untapped or undervalued. In this vein, the publications that were actually produced were aimed at socially practical, rather than purely academic utility or intellectual, engagement. Consequently, less time was devoted towards contributing to the theoretical development of anthropology as a discipline.

Another reason for the marginalization of maritime-related literature was Philippine anthropology's initial focus on "non-Christian peoples." With the exception of the Bajau, in the ethnographic works of H. Arlo Nimmo (1972, 1994, 2001), lowland groups and coastal people's histories of assimilation have tended to be subsumed by studies that were more oriented toward understanding the conditions of rural folk as peasant farmers. Moreover, as will be seen below, Filipino anthropology of fishing communities has been more inclined to focus on "indigenous" aspects of fisheries.

Previous ethnographic knowledge production on fishing communities by non-Filipino authors (Hart 1956; Mednick 1965; Szanton 1971; Spoehr 1980) had observed the minimal work done in this area despite its significance for Filipino livelihoods, and the increasing vulnerability, depletion and degradation of marine resources. *The Psychology of Modernization in the Rural Philippines* (Guthrie 1970) made a quiet nod to this prominent reality with a frontispiece photograph of a generic fisherman holding up a net even though that was the only allusion to fishers in the entire volume. From the 1950s to 1970s, there was much transdisciplinary engagement, anthropologists published in the journals of other disciplines such as the *Philippine Sociological Review* and the *Philippine Journal of Psychology*. Articles attempted to delineate a "Philippine social structure" and explored themes such as reciprocity (*utang na loob*), "smooth interpersonal relationships" and "patron-client" relations, as well as social change or "modernization." Academics based at UP engaged in vehement exchanges with proponents of "lowland Philippine values" based at the Ateneo de Manila University Institute of Philippine Culture regarding reproduction of negative portrayals of the Filipino fostered from the colonial past (also see Tan 1997; Canuday and Porio this volume). The intense debate over modernization theory and Filipino values as hindrances to Philippine development was also related to the focus on lowland farming or peasant communities.

The first fishing-related ethnography to be published by Filipino authors was F. Landa Jocano and Carmelita Veloro's (1976) "ethnoecological study" of the lakeside community of San Antonio in Bay, Laguna. Jocano belonged to the first generation of Filipinos who pursued PhDs abroad (he received his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1963). His student Veloro would pursue her degree at the State University of New York in Buffalo (Veloro 1995). From her field research in a Palawan coastal frontier settlement she later published

a paper in the first volume of the Visayan Maritime Anthropological Studies (VMAS) publications.

Meanwhile, other reasons for the lack of anthropological publications by Filipinos have more to do with the practice of research. Firstly, funds for conservation-oriented research during the 1980s were mostly controlled by non-anthropologists (e.g. biologists) or by social scientists not primarily inclined to qualitative methodology. Secondly, a frequent condition of research projects is that research assistants (RAs) are not acknowledged as authors. RAs, in fact, draft papers but may or may not receive intellectual credit. In some cases, this is even written into the research contract and RA-produced ethnographic descriptions and analysis may have to accommodate senior co-authors who never undertook fieldwork. Thirdly, in the context of large research projects with multiple publication prospects, only a few papers would be selected for distribution among other participants belonging to the different disciplinary prongs of the research. Later on, in the course of editing for brevity, ethnographic descriptions tend to be cropped from papers. Descriptive ethnographic material simply was not valued in scientific research dissemination systems aimed at brief technical statements of results and findings.

Recovering Maritime Anthropology

Valuing original fieldwork, the earliest generation of formally trained anthropologists in the Philippines had sought to carefully select, compile and preserve student papers. H. Otley Beyer, the man who initiated teaching anthropology in UP in 1914 and established the Department of Anthropology in 1917, compiled a "Philippine ethnography" collection that includes 195 volumes spanning from 1912 to 1930. According to E. Arsenio Manuel, only one complete set of these volumes survived World War II (Manuel 1990). Maritime themes abound in these papers, which span a diversity of topics such as folklore, customary laws, "superstitious beliefs," marriage practices and social customs. The collection was acquired by the Australian National Library shortly after Beyer's death in 1966 (Gosling 1997). The ethnographic series is available in the UP Main Library and at the National Library microfiche and digital collections, albeit with varying degrees of legibility.

Many of these were short papers authored by students for the General Anthropology course. They most likely did fieldwork in

their own provinces, and one can sense that they keenly engaged in documenting technologies, customary laws and folklore. We discovered that Federico Mangahas, the grandfather of the first author of this chapter, had written a paper on "St John's Day and Santa Cruz de Mayo in Hagonoy," his hometown, a coastal barangay (the smallest unit of local government in the Philippines) in Bulacan in 1930. Browsing the list turns up the familiar names of many individuals who went on to prominent careers in Philippine administration and politics. These student materials still constitute a valuable well of ethnographic information.

In a similar vein, a few good student papers may be discovered in the library of the Museum of Anthropology at UP. These are materials that were typically reproduced by mimeograph for limited circulation in the 1960s up to the early 1980s. Before the age of photocopying, mimeographing was the standard method of reproducing multiple copies of a typescript to be distributed as a reference for students and researchers. After extended runs, demand for such materials could sometimes provide justification for their eventual publication (Carroll [1963] 1968: iii; Cruz and Valera 1979: 247).

One such paper is "Blast-Fishing in Lucap," originally submitted by Jerome B. Bailen (1978) as an academic requirement for an economic anthropology course. Bailen joined blast-fishing trips in his hometown and conversed with buyers and sellers. His informants were his own relatives and their acquaintances. Guided by Raymond Firth's classic *Malay Fishermen* ([1946] 1975), and by his own professor's unpublished overview of fishing for the University of Chicago's Philippine Studies Program (Mednick 1956, cited in Bailen 1978), he compared blast-fishing with other local fishing techniques. These ranged from fish corrals to hooks and lines, fish traps and nets and were compared in a well thought out matrix of the costs and risks of using each method. Bailen's paper documented three kinds of homemade explosive technology: *suman* (ammonia gelatin from mining operations), *klorato* (potassium chlorate obtained from drugstores or grocery stores mixed with sulfur and almaciga resin, and sugar, alcohol or gasoline), and *bugi* (retrieved by specialist divers from unexploded bombs in sunken World War II vessels in the Lingayen Gulf). It included observations on relative exposure to the blast, fishing knowledge, the more dangerous variations of blast-fishing, interactions and sharing with other fishers at sea, as well as the shares system and marketing by women. It concludes by discussing the local

valuation and perceptions of blast-fishing, or how it "makes sense" to the locals (Bailen 1978).

Bailen went on to become a faculty member at the Department of Anthropology. In 1987, his native familiarity with the language made him a logical choice to head the ethnographic research component of the "Legal and Institutional" study for the first CRMP in the Lingayen Gulf led by fellow Pangasinense Elmer Ferrer, of the UP Institute of Social Work and Community Development (ISWCD). The project hired anthropology graduates from the first three pioneering batches of the one-semester UP anthropology field school (including the authors of this chapter) as research assistants for the project. Each research assistant was assigned to be the sole fieldworker to a barangay, in different municipalities located along the Lingayen Gulf. Each research site had a distinct ecological context.

Together with archeologist Israel Cabanilla, Bailen simultaneously directed the UP Anthropology Field School in Sual, Pangasinan. As part of their academic activities, the students were tasked to help administer surveys to communities along the Lingayen Gulf in which the research assistants were based. The assistants thus informally served as teaching assistants and the students as "junior research assistants" who were trained to be enumerators. The survey was administered to a stratified random sample (based on household head occupation) of the populations in the eight barangay locations along the gulf. The survey provided valuable training and experience for the student enumerators. However, its findings were consigned to the dustbin when Bailen dropped out of the research project immediately after the field school. Only the profile of respondents served as input for devising the CRM plan by the National Economic Development Authority.

Indigenous Coastal Resource Management

Two years after the first CRMP, a sequel research program called the Participatory Action Research for Community-Based Coastal Resource Management (PAR-CBCRM) was established, implemented by three institutional partners in UP. Reflecting the shift towards more applied research practices, the study focused on just one municipality along the Lingayen Gulf (Bolinao, Pangasinan) and emphasized the "participatory approach" in its implementation. Two former researchers from the original CRMP joined this team with the understanding that the data

collected could be used for their MA theses. Meanwhile, one other "alumnus" of the CRMP obtained research funding from the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (a policy think tank) to explore a new field area: traditional fishing as "indigenous coastal resource management" in the northernmost province of Batanes.

As RAs-turned-faculty-members-and-graduate-students the authors of this chapter decided to stay focused on the anthropology of fishing. For thesis fieldwork we turned to documenting long-thriving "traditional" fisheries that could also be described as systems of "customary marine tenure" or "indigenous coastal resource management": the fish corral (*baklad*) concession for siganid (*barangen*), in Bolinao, Pangasinan overseen by the local government (Rodriguez 1997), and the hook-and-line fishers of migratory dorado and flying fish in Batanes (*mataw*) (Mangahas 1994). The *baklad* or fish corral is an old technology, currently listed among the *sagisag kultura* or national "cultural icons" compiled by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA n.d.). *Mataw* hook-and-line fishing for dorado or dolphinfish in Batanes entailed the performance of rituals for the collective good fortune of fishers belonging to the same landing site or "port" (*vanua*).

Apart from appreciating their continuing adaptive significance as fishing technologies and forms of social organization, the authors were struck by the complexity of the "shares systems" in these long-standing technologies. Shares systems are routinely documented by ethnographers of fishing technologies. However, what has not been documented is the potential of these systems to evolve with changes to environmental, economic and personal subsistence patterns. Often, these systems express within themselves contradictory moral principles of social hierarchy and egalitarianism. The shares systems for these two deeply traditional methods were found to be surprisingly elaborate and constantly evolving, encompassing a large number of participants and implicated networks. As the second author of this chapter, Rodriguez, observes in her MA thesis:

> The elaborate rules and interactions on sharing schemes represented social distance or proximity to the concessionaire. Such internally defined informal character of fishers' regulations rendered the system flexible to shifts in the environment, social, economic, and political conditions that impact fishing operations until the leasing of this specific fishery lot was finally discontinued in the mid-90s (Rodriguez 1997).

Mangahas described the use of dried catch as a form of local currency, and shares arrangements that amounted to barter exchange for labor, cash, and even land in Mahatao, Batanes (Mangahas 2004).

By the 1990s, there was growing anthropological and environmental interest in biodiversity conservation and "indigenous resource management" in the Philippines. This was spurred by a number of factors such as the promulgation of Agenda 21 of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the Philippines' ratification of the ensuing Convention on Biodiversity, and the availability of funds for research and conservation efforts. The overview publication entitled *Consulting the Spirits, Working with Nature, Sharing with Others: Indigenous Resource Management in the Philippines*, edited by Ponciano Bennagen and Maria Luisa Lucas-Fernan (1996), cited studies across the Philippines, in which only three ethnographic cases for coastal resources were mentioned. These were Eric Casino's (1967) study on the ethno-ecology of the Jama Mapun, National Museum researcher Nicolas Cuadra's article on fishing rituals in a Visayan community (1992) published in a Japanese journal not readily accessible in the Philippines, and Maria Mangahas' unpublished MA thesis at the UP on the *mataw* fishers of Batanes (Mangahas 1994).

Cynthia Zayas and "Archipelagic Studies"

By this time, returning to UP with her doctorate earned at the University of Tsukuba in Japan, Cynthia Neri Zayas initiated the Visayan Maritime Anthropological Studies (VMAS) project. With Japanese government funds, she involved Japanese scholars and Filipino anthropologists in fieldwork in the Visayas (islands in central Philippines). With her Japanese mentor, Zayas eventually co-edited three VMAS volumes (Ushijima and Zayas 1994, 1996, 1998). The authors also published articles in *Yakara: Studies in Ethnology*, a journal of the University of Tsukuba. A fourth VMAS volume has just recently been published (Zayas, Kawada and de la Peña 2014).

The VMAS project brought together an earlier generation of Filipino anthropologists, most of whom had already distinguished themselves in academia, with an equal number of Japanese scholars, who by contrast were PhD candidates at the time. The Filipino anthropologists included Carmelita E. Veloro and Carolyn I. Sobritchea, both faculty members at the UP Asian Center, who had once been

students of F. Landa Jocano. Sobritchea had previously done her MA on a fishing community (Israel 1973), and her PhD dissertation is cited as a groundbreaking study of gender. Sobritchea (2002) reflects on how in her career as an anthropologist, she had at first internalized the structural-functionalist tendency to portray normative or "typical culture," avoiding issues of change and inequality. Along the way, especially when she began her PhD work at the State University of New York in Buffalo (which she finished at UP), she struggled against her previous training and eventually became a feminist anthropologist. She went on to head the Center for Women's Studies and later was Dean of the Asian Center, retiring from UP in 2014. When she participated in the VMAS project, she collected women's stories of abuse in relation to ecological deterioration and economic change, and chose to write on women's resistance (Sobritchea 1992, 1993, 1994). Aside from Sobritchea, another prominent personality among the Filipino scholars was Alicia Magos of UP in the Visayas. Magos had already authored a well-regarded ethnographic monograph on the *maaram* healer/medium of Panay (Magos 1992). Interestingly, the majority of maritime ethnographic research by Filipinos has been conducted by women.

Filipino-authored research papers published in the three VMAS volumes touched on notions of fishing success and social relations (Veloro 1995); gender and economic change (Sobritchea 1994); the notion of "dangerous" (*mari-it*) sea-oriented practices, folklore, and worldview (Magos 1994, 1996); fishing gear innovation (Cañete 2000); images of the Bisaya migrant (Abaya 2000); and changes in pottery production and trade on an island (Paz 1996). These scholars are prominent figures in Filipino anthropology, although not specifically for "maritime anthropology." Victor Paz established the Archeological Studies Program at UP upon his return from PhD studies at the University of Cambridge in 2002. Eufracio Abaya had previously been associated with research in medical anthropology and psychological anthropology, and has recently shifted focus to the anthropology of education.

On the other hand, Zayas' name is synonymous with "maritime anthropology" in the Philippines. Her very important contribution lies in illuminating the dynamic phenomenon of continuing fisher mobility and migration. This is expressed in the status relationships between sojourners engaged in *pangayaw* "raiding" or temporarily migrating to other islands in pursuit of income opportunities, and

their hosts, the *tumandok* or "original" settlers (Zayas 1994). The prominence of fisher mobility and migration in the Visayas also connects to a previously established theme for impoverished and marginalized sectors that have no secure claim to land, such that coastal areas and fisheries tend to be the "last recourse" for settlement and livelihood opportunities in the Philippines (Illo and Polo 1990; Padilla 1996).

Zayas also participated in developing an interdisciplinary policy research agenda for UP, whose Board of Regents created the ARCOAST network on August 27, 1998, to integrate "archipelagic studies and oceans policy" in the university. Zayas argued that there is an innate "maritime orientation" to be found in Philippine culture and society, specifically evidenced in a few areas: the symbolism of the boat as a vessel for human remains as preserved in certain iconic prehistoric artifacts; the historical rise of "port-polities" as centers of commerce and power; her own ethnography of the *pangayaw-tumandok* network and pattern of seasonal migration; and the linguistic reconstruction of the proto-Filipino word *isda* signifying both "fish" and "viand" (viand in this case encompassing meat). According to Zayas, an "archipelagic studies" approach must both uncover and use the underlying maritime worldview in Filipino culture.

Zayas and Magos established a course on "Coastal Anthropology" at the UP Visayas. Zayas expressed frustration at the lack of a sustainable curricular landscape in which to teach novel maritime anthropology courses and in the difficulty of finding other faculty and students interested in maritime culture. Her vision of a UP system-wide graduate program in "Marine Social Science," modeled on similar existing degree programs in universities in Sulawesi and Japan, was perhaps ahead of its time for the university.

Zayas' book *The Ethnographies of Two Japanese Maritime Communities* based on her dissertation, published by the Third World Studies Center at the UP Diliman (1999), is also significant as a Filipino contribution to the wider field of Asian area studies. Fieldwork beyond the Philippine archipelago by Filipinos is relatively rare, unless related to Filipino diaspora communities. Generally, this is because it is cheaper to do anthropology closer to home than abroad, and because there is locally available research funding and employment opportunities to go to the field.

Filipino anthropology has generally been "Philippine Studies" given numerous extant populations of "exotic" people within the

Philippines requiring attention as anthropological subjects. Such populations often have their own set of social problems connected to cultural difference and development or other intense experiences relating to acculturation and social change in the Philippine context. There is also a certain inward-looking bias towards a "nation-building" agenda for the social sciences in Philippine academia, a nationalism conceived from anti-neocolonial struggles and heightened by the student activism before and during the martial law period. This was a justification for the founding of the anthropological association Ugnayang Pang-AghamTao (UGAT) which Cynthia Zayas also actively participated in founding when she was still an undergraduate.

Trained as a practicing anthropologist during this period, Zayas has made herself equally at home in the Japanese academic tradition. According to Zayas, unlike Philippine anthropology, the Japanese have a long tradition of studying sea-oriented lore and customs. Moreover, many Japanese anthropologists have come to the Philippines for fieldwork. Over the years, a substantial amount of ethnographic descriptions of fishing and coastal communities in the Philippines have actually been produced in Japan, by Japanese scholars and written in Japanese (and are therefore generally inaccessible to Filipino scholars). There are grounds to suspect that there have been more journal articles describing small-scale fishing in the Philippines published in Japan than in the Philippines.

Given that it was only during the 1950s and 1960s that social anthropology in the Philippines turned sharply to lowland groups (also see Davis and Hollnsteiner 1969), it is not surprising that Zayas observed that Philippine anthropology is "mountain anthropology," a comment Zayas made after we encountered each other at a conference. She shared that she herself had followed this tradition but experiences during fieldwork in the 1970s made her turn to the sea. She was divested of her films by the New People's Army in the Cordillera in northern Philippines, after which she decided to discontinue research in the mountains.

VMAS's intellectual offspring in the Philippines however are relatively few in number. Possibly the project had a stronger impact on the career trajectories of young Japanese scholars than on Filipino anthropologists. Nevertheless, this research initiative continues. One junior Filipino VMAS author is Lilian de la Peña, who continues to collaborate with Zayas (Zayas and de la Peña 2012) and with whom she has co-edited the fourth VMAS volume. From our own cohorts,

Ma. Paz Palis is an alumni of the first CRMP who completed her graduate studies at the Ateneo de Manila University. This was after working as an assistant for Zayas and being mentored by Eufracio Abaya, who had also published in VMAS. Palis wrote her thesis on the nuances of identity and social relations between *pangayaw* (seasonal migrants) and *tumandok* (natives or settlers) (Palis 2001).

Zayas, meanwhile, continues to conduct research in the Philippines and Japan, most recently inquiring into material culture of sea-oriented peoples. She has been inquiring into structural and kinship connections in "water villages" and boat caravans, particularly among the Bajau, and into the extant stone tidal weirs in Japan and the Philippines, a research significant in bridging ethnography, archeology and heritage conservation (Zayas 2004, 2009).

Expansion Beyond the Visayas

With very few exceptions, Visayan fishers have generally represented "maritime anthropology" in the Philippines. Practically all published ethnographies of fishing in the Philippines are on Visayan/Bisaya peoples, including those who migrated and settled in proximate regions. In recent times, however, research by Filipino graduate students of anthropology on maritime themes has expanded beyond Visayas and Luzon to explore distinct ethnic dynamics elsewhere. These include studies among fishers in Mindanao and Palawan looking into the politico-ecological dynamics of fisher knowledge systems, as well as the processes and relationships underlying changing seascapes.

Research among the Tagbanua of Coron, Palawan, has provided insight into an indigenous sea-oriented people with extensive knowledge and conservation practices (Guieb 1999, 2000, 2010; Sampang 2005, 2007, 2010). Eulalio Guieb III wrote his thesis on Tangdol Tagbanua oral histories that tell of the renaming and altering of maps along with the histories of many places due to misunderstandings caused by language barriers between local people and American colonizers. Other obstacles and challenges mentioned in the texts refer to greedy businessmen, Tausug slave-raiders, and migrant fish workers from Cavite who "steal" local men's wives. Arlene Sampang who did fieldwork among the Calamian Tagbanua toward a master's degree in environmental science, documented ethno-icthylogical knowledge, technologies of fishing, and conservation practices. The Calamian

Tagbanua became the first Philippine indigenous group to successfully claim land and marine waters as part of their "ancestral domain" under the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) of 1997. However, enforcement of this entitlement has led to run-ins with politically dominant in-migrating Visayan fishers, reiterating the pattern discussed earlier (Mangahas 2010).

Wilfredo Torres, meanwhile, has produced historical and socially nuanced ethnographies of the Bajau in Sulu. He has examined changes in sea tenure brought about by the introduction of seaweed farming—by which the dominant group Tausug appropriated the customary use rights of the sea-going Bajau—while also examining gender relations (Torres 2004).

Maria Mangahas went on to conduct fieldwork in Samal Island, Davao (Mangahas 2000). Her findings reiterate the migration pattern involving Visayan and also Muslim fishers from other parts of Mindanao, stimulating innovation in the local fishing technology and leading to diminishing catches and rapid turnover in methods used. The fishers frame this in terms of the fish "getting smarter" such that fisher knowledge has to adapt to fish learning (Mangahas 2003, 2008).

Rosa Castillo, inspired by her research experience at the UP Anthropology Field School (Castillo and Ragragio 2001), explored fisher knowledge and the distinct perceptions of compressor divers in a community on an outer reef of Danajon Bank in Bohol for her MA thesis at the UP Diliman (Castillo 2009). These fishers' knowledge and bodily "enskillment" were derived from diving and engaging with the depths of the sea, rather than fishing from the surface, using the risky compressor technology. She later returned to her informants to follow up on their experiences of climate change, discovering that due to poverty, they had "no other choice" but to migrate and then come back (Castillo 2011).

Eulalio Guieb III went on to do fieldwork in Bohol for his PhD dissertation (2008). He recently published on "Competing Narratives of Place in Malampaya Sound," (2014) tracing historical conflicts between differently situated groups claiming rights over space and resources within the Malampaya Sound, particularly as seen in filed legal cases.

Nelson Turgo is also interested in "place" and on how there may be multiple "spaces" within, such as in fish-trading houses in a coastal town located at the fringes of Quezon, a place associated with "structural economic marginality" (Turgo 2012a). Fishmongers visited museums, watched plays, and attended seminars to compensate for

their lack of formal education. They also joined socio-civic groups. Still, contestation between their own people and those from the town center are inevitable when unspoken desires are unmet. Coming from a place associated with deprivation, obstacles to attaining middle-class status persist (Turgo n.d.).

These insights on class and occupation add nuance to what we know of actors and agency in markets, apart from transactions (Davis 1973; Blanc-Szanton 1972; Kawada 1994). In his unpublished paper, Guieb further explores the geography of rights across fisheries trade networks, he writes that the fishing community

> is, by and large, a site of exchange of resources (natural resources and people). It is also a circulation site of cash and rights. The village is inextricably linked with inter-village, intra-regional and global networks of trade and discourses on marine resource practices. This space of flows also encompasses a geography of rights that provides the borders and frames within the resource access, use, management and alienation rights are distributed, awarded, "trafficked" or denied (Guieb III n.d.).

Both Guieb and Turgo are well known in the field of Filipino creative writing as prize-winning writers and mass media practitioners. Turgo describes his research as doing "homework" in his hometown as his father was a fisherman. He has published several articles on "fieldwork at home," reflecting on the benefits along with the limits of such positionality (Turgo 2012b, 2012c).

Most of the persons discussed above have connections to UP. They pursued their PhDs abroad and are currently publishing academics. Still, we expect there is relevant knowledge production especially where seaside universities offer anthropology and social science programs, or where there may be CRM or conservation projects such materials would be found in the records of government agencies and non-governmental organizations. It is clear that the scope of our search should be much wider. A colleague from the University of San Carlos enjoins us to look into the unpublished papers and monographs written by their students and faculty (Zona Amper, personal communication, 2015). We have not explored knowledge production by graduate students of Silliman, a university that has strong programs in marine biology and anthropology and at least one prominent maritime anthropologist in Enrique Oracion (2005). Neither have we ventured into the University of the Philippines

Visayas (also see Cichon n.d.), which offers degrees in fisheries and marine affairs and where Zayas was based during the VMAS project in the 1990s, much less colleges and universities in other coastal areas where research may tend to the production of ethnographic knowledge.

Meanwhile, there are anthropological materials produced by students and professors identifying with other disciplines such as archeology (Bolunia 2013), history (Lorenzo-Abrera 2002; Ango 2014), geography (Saguin 2008), sociology (Lamug 2005), folklore (Rola 1980), linguistics, and psychology, many of which are also unpublished. There are also other maritime themes that we have not looked into in this paper such as seafaring and boatbuilding, which should also be drawn into the domain of Filipino maritime anthropology.

Developments within Philippine maritime anthropology continue to expand and proceed apace. A new professional master's program in Tropical Marine Ecosystem Management has run three cycles at UP since 2015; initially for practitioners with specialization in Marine Protected Areas, it incorporates courses with anthropological perspectives (Mangahas 2017; also see PM TMEM 2014, UP 2014). In October 2015, UGAT held its 37th annual conference on the theme "Dagat ug Kinabuhi: Maritime Cultures, Spaces, and Networks" with Cynthia Neri Zayas as convenor, at Silliman University, Dumaguete City. The conference, jointly organized by UGAT and the Philippine Geographical Society, has surfaced more maritime-oriented research (also see UGAT/PGS Conference 2017 Book of Abstracts). Some of the papers mentioned in this chapter are no longer in the "gray" zone, having since been published in UGAT's official journal *Aghamtao* (Roldan 2016; Mangahas 2016; Turgo 2017).

Conclusion

Delayed attention to ways of living with the sea in Philippine ethnographies can perhaps be attributed to coastal communities occupying an "unexotic" space associated with assimilated lowlanders. Nevertheless, formative experiences like the anthropology field school thrust some students in the direction of coastal resource management and maritime anthropology by way of serendipitous encounters with funding opportunities or professional appointments.

Some of the structural reasons for why anthropological observations and ethnographic material remained in a gray zone have to

do with change in the relative prominence of anthropology vis-à-vis other disciplines, compartmentalization between the sciences, and the priorities within anthropology subject matter and advocacy. Time-consuming and hierarchical practices and intermittent access to project funding often lead to a shift of attention from one sphere of knowledge to interest in others on the part of researchers. Unfortunately, the output from fieldwork for academic requirements and applied research projects like the CRMP and PAR-CBCRM remain as underutilized ethnographic material that contributed little to published literature and theorizing on maritime anthropology. Undoubtedly, there are many CRM initiatives nationwide that produce hidden ethnographic literature and a significant amount of "gray" material that deserves closer inspection. Until Philippine universities embark on digitization of such materials for open online reference, theses and dissertations will tend to remain unpublished and out of sight.

"Archipelagically oriented" ethnographic research has received belated appreciation in the Philippines because, as Zayas notes, our American and European anthropology orientation is largely terrestrial-oriented as compared to other academic spaces such as Japan, which by contrast has a longstanding tradition of folklore research on the sea. Zayas is one of few Filipinos who received a graduate education in an Asian context. It is interesting that a link with another Asian country was the impetus to initiate academic and publication-oriented "maritime anthropological studies," though it seems that interest in this topic may have been greater from the Japanese, at least initially. The research in marine contexts for our (the authors') fieldwork on the other hand is consistent with the government and international emphasis on biodiversity conservation since the 1990s.

The maritime anthropological knowledge that we have surfaced reveals conscious intention to indigenize ideas, privilege local knowledge, and craft and claim one's own grounded practice. In this, our chapter echoes the insights of Canuday and Porio (this volume) that there has been a recurrent theme of counter-hegemonic discourse simultaneously stimulated by outside scholarship, which dates back to the time of Isabelo de los Reyes and José Rizal. Our experiences in the 1980s of being honed to do fieldwork in coastal communities, asked to read studies by Filipinos, trained to be sensitive and respectful of the knowledge gained from people we encounter, and even compelled to express thoughts using Filipino, are consistent with the deliberate

efforts by local scholars to assert a separate "Filipino-ness" and to actively engage and negotiate with the representations of external discourses that Canuday and Porio also discuss. However we are also aware that our particular experiences may not be identical to those of the current generation of Filipino students of anthropology.

Engagements in addressing marine resource conservation and livelihood sustainability as well as in documenting practices from diminishing heritage traditions has been instrumental in the gradual "maturation" of maritime scholarship. Current maritime issues such as climate change and sustainability combined with geopolitical tensions in the West Philippine Sea are bound to add impetus to developing interest on the anthropology of the sea.

As our survey of maritime anthropology in the Philippines suggests, despite its marginalization, this literature has important theoretical and empirical contributions to scholarship. Student papers archived from the second decade of the twentieth century, for example, provide an important record of indigenous maritime practices. Later work in this field of studies contributed to theorizing indigenous coastal resource management and addressing issues such as cultures of illegal fishing or resource abuse; the dynamics of fisher mobility; and even what is now termed "multi-species ethnography" (e.g. incorporating interactions and relationships between humans and fish). From the 1990s onward, there have been attempts at promoting systematic thinking about maritime or archipelagic anthropology in the face of anthropology's otherwise "inland bias" in the Philippines.

By tracing ethnographic material produced by local authors, along with our own personal experiences, we hope to have heeded the call to fill the yawning gap in maritime anthropology observed by Ponciano Bennagen decades ago. We also hope to have responded to the renewed recognition of the merits of ethnography in addressing marine "resource management" issues. We take this as a much needed step toward the indigenization of anthropology in the Philippines, an old but still unrealized call (Bennagen 1980). Anthropology students in the Philippines are not usually guided by overview and reassessment of their Filipino intellectual heritage, and sometimes have no access to the original material such as in the area of maritime anthropology.

It is our hope to make ethnographies from the late 1980s to the present accessible for wider public appreciation. In fact, we found it difficult to end this paper as we have continued to unearth more material in the process of writing, and knowing that there are still

numerous places to scour for seemingly voluminous gray literature. This, then, is not the end, but merely the beginning of an endeavor to bring to light historical and contemporary Philippine maritime anthropology.

Notes

1. "Gray literature" is defined as: "produced on all levels of government, academics, business and industry in print and electronic formats, but which is not controlled by commercial publishers." For this reason it is relatively difficult to access. [Grey Literature Report, *The New York Academy of Medicine*; http://www.greylit.org/about].
2. Several histories and overviews of "Philippine Anthropology" have already been written over the years. For the field of social and cultural anthropology in particular, the reader is directed to Lynch and Hollnsteiner 1961; Davis and Hollnsteiner 1969; Zamora and Arcellana 1971; Zamora 1976; Panopio and Bennagen 1985; Abaya, Fernan and Noval-Morales 1999; Tan 2010; Tatel (2010, 2014). The University of the Philippines, University of San Carlos, and Silliman University are the three universities that have long-standing academic programs (of at least 50 years) in anthropology as a "four-field" discipline.

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