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#### **RESEARCH ARTICLE**

# Who Am I Fishing For? Motivational Experiences of Bicolano Fisherfolks in the Philippines

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: Jan 11, 2025	Numerous initiatives have aimed to alleviate the persistent poverty among small-scale fisherfolk, yet the fisheries sector, notably in the Bicol Region,
Accepted: Feb 28, 2025	continues to grapple with severe economic challenges. This study examines
	a critical aspect hindering their economic progression: the mismatch between implemented interventions and the actual needs of fisherfolk. The
Keywords	research delves into the underlying motivations driving fisherfolk in their
Economic Challenges	fishing activities. Employing a combination of focus group discussions and individual interviews, this study engaged various municipalities from Albay,
Motivation	Sorsogon, and Masbate in the Bicol Region. Results revealed seven distinct
Policy Interventions	motivational themes: (1) geographic considerations; (2) sustenance for domestic consumption; (3) expectations of substantial harvests; (4)
Small-Scale Fisheries	aspirations for children's education; (5) fishing as a last resort; (6)
Family Welfare	preservation of family traditions; and (7) strong family bonds. An underlying, recurring theme in their motivations is the steadfast drive to
	support and care for their families. These findings hold potential for
*Corresponding Author:	policymakers, authorities, and concerned organizations to tailor strategies and interventions that better align with the real needs of this marginalized
sbbelardo@bicol-u.edu.ph	population, thereby significantly enhancing their quality of life. Understanding the multifaceted motivations of fisherfolk, notably the unwavering dedication to family welfare, offers a pivotal pathway for policymakers and organizations to design targeted strategies that effectively address the specific needs of these marginalized communities,
	potentially transforming their lives and livelihoods.

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Fishing has long played a vital role in human history, serving as an important source of protein (Boyd et al., 2022) and deeply influencing the social, cultural, and religious identity of many communities (Watson and Pauly, 2013). Humans have engaged in fishing for thousands of years (Hu et al., 2009), initially believing that the world's vast bodies of water: rivers, estuaries, and oceans held an unlimited supply of aquatic resources. However, this perception has shifted over time as industrialization and the intensification of fishing have led to a decline in global fish populations (Young et al., 2014). The situation has worsened with increasing demand for marine resources, rampant illegal fishing, and widespread destruction of marine habitats (Hughes et al., 2012). In response, governments, private sectors, and other concerned organizations have implemented laws and policies aimed at regulating and preserving marine life (Gezelius and Hauck, 2011). However, efforts to curb the decline of marine resources have been slow (Young et al., 2014), and the effectiveness of these measures remains widely debated (McClenachan, 2012). One of the main challenges in enforcement is the lack of proper consultation with fishers, weak supporting evidence for regulations, and poor communication between authorities and fishing communities (Arias, 2015; Li et al., 2010). Consequently, conflicts have emerged between fishers and regulatory authorities, especially when disputes become politicized (Hughes et al., 2016).

Given these issues, understanding the motivations of fishers, particularly small-scale fishers who rely on fishing for their income and subsistence is essential. The concept of motivation spans multiple disciplines, with different theories providing varying perspectives (Murphy and Alexander, 2000). The term itself originates from the Latin word movere, meaning "to move" (Neta and Haas, 2019), implying that motivation drives individuals to take action. Nevid (2013) defines motivation as "factors that activate, direct, and sustain behavior... Motives are the 'whys' of behavior – the needs or wants that drive behavior and explain what we do" (p. 288). Several theories explain motivation, including Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs, which suggests that individuals are driven by a sequence of physiological, safety, social, esteem, and self-actualization needs. Moreover, Locke's goal-setting theory argues that setting specific and measurable goals enhances motivation (Aamodt, 2016). Similarly, Skinner's reinforcement theory states that behavior is shaped by its consequences, where actions with positive outcomes tend to be repeated while those with negative consequences are avoided (Feist et al., 2018). However, this perspective overlooks internal motivations, which Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory addresses by distinguishing between extrinsic motivation, driven by external rewards, and intrinsic motivation, which stems from personal values, interests, and moral beliefs.

Several studies have examined fishers' motivations and how they influence their fishing activities. Young et al. (2016) conducted an ethnographic and cross-cultural study on fishers in Australia (recreational) and the Solomon Islands (subsistence/artisanal), finding that motivations ranged from the natural environment, food, and income to pleasure, escapism, relaxation, knowledge, skill, challenge, social capital, instinct, masculinity, and ego. While recreational fishers viewed food as a secondary motivation, subsistence fishers prioritized food and income. Interestingly, the study found that subsistence fishers in the Solomon Islands shared similar motivations with Australian recreational fishers, suggesting a strong intrinsic appreciation for nature. Similarly, Ardahan and Turgut (2013) explored the motivational factors of recreational fishers and non-participants in Turkey, identifying key motivators such as communing with nature, relaxation, health benefits, escaping daily demands, and overall happiness, which were significantly linked to demographic variables and life satisfaction. Meanwhile, Christy et al. (2021) examined fishers' motivations despite restrictive fishing regulations designed to prevent overfishing. Their findings revealed that even in the face of declining revenues, fishers continued their activities due to intrinsic motivations, including a sense of autonomy, competence, and connection to their way of life.

Although these studies provide valuable insights, most focus on recreational fishers, where intrinsic motivations are emphasized. Additionally, cultural, environmental, and economic differences separate these studies from the Philippine context, where the majority of fishers are small-scale and engage in fishing as their primary livelihood (Perez et al., 2012; Suh and Pomeroy, 2020). Many of these fishers live in rural communities under impoverished conditions (Palanca-Tan and Bongat-Bayog, 2021). According to the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA, 2023), fisherfolk had the highest poverty incidence (30.6%) among the 14 basic sectors identified in 2021, marking a significant increase from 26.2% in 2018. This raises a critical question: why are the individuals responsible for providing food security among the poorest in society? One possible explanation is the misalignment of government programs and interventions, which fail to adequately address the needs of fisherfolk.

This study aims to explore the underlying motivations of fisherfolk, particularly small-scale fishers in the Philippines. By examining what drives them to continue fishing despite economic hardships and regulatory challenges, this study seeks to provide valuable insights for policymakers, regulatory authorities, and other concerned organizations. A better understanding of fisherfolk motivations will aid in the development of more effective and well-informed policies, regulations, and interventions that align with their actual needs. Moreover, such insights may foster stronger community support for fisheries management initiatives, ultimately leading to more sustainable and improved outcomes for both fishers and marine ecosystems.

# **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

This study employs a qualitative descriptive design, which provides clear and direct descriptions of experiences and phenomena in their natural settings (Sandelowski, 2000). This approach enables researchers to remain close to the data, offering a detailed summary of events or experiences in everyday language (Colorafi and Evans, 2016). It is particularly useful for capturing participants' perspectives without imposing rigid theoretical frameworks or complex interpretations (Lambert and Lambert, 2012).

The study was conducted across municipalities in the Bicol Region, specifically in Albay (Sto. Domingo: 6, Rapu-Rapu: 6), Sorsogon (Sorsogon City: 7), and Masbate (Cawayan: 7, Milagros: 6, Esperanza: 6), with a total of 38 participants. Purposive sampling ensured the inclusion of experienced fisherfolk, enhancing data richness and relevance (Creswell and Poth, 2016; Patton, 2002). Participants were 18 years or older and active members or officers of registered fisherfolk organizations. The sample size aligns with qualitative research recommendations, as Boddy (2005) suggests up to 12 focus groups or 30 interviews for homogenous populations, while Ritchie et al. (2014) advise an upper limit of 50 to maintain data quality. Moreover, data saturation was achieved, confirming that no new themes emerged in later interviews, ensuring a comprehensive exploration of fisherfolk motivations.

To facilitate participant selection and data collection, the researcher first coordinated with the Municipal Agriculture Officer (MAO) in each study site. The MAO provided a list of registered fisherfolk organizations within the municipality, which served as the basis for identifying potential participants. The researcher then contacted the officers of these fisherfolk organizations to introduce the study and request assistance in selecting participants. The organization officers identified available members who met the inclusion criteria and were willing to participate in the interviews and FGDs. Data were collected through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and individual interviews, both of which provided an in-depth exploration of fisherfolk experiences. FGDs, which lasted 60 to 90 minutes, allowed participants to discuss shared challenges and opportunities while also enabling the observation of group dynamics (Ryan et al., 2009). Individual interviews, lasting 30 to 45 minutes, provided a more private setting for participants to express their personal experiences and perspectives (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). A semi-structured interview guide was used to maintain both flexibility and consistency, incorporating open-ended questions to encourage detailed narratives on the motivations, challenges, and opportunities within the municipal fishing industry (Creswell and Poth, 2016). The study employed thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006), a qualitative method that involves systematically identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns within the dataset.

Types of	Interview Questions
Question	
Introductory	Q. To begin, can you tell me a little about yourself and your
	background as a fisherfolk in this community?
	(Maaari ka bang magbahagi ng kaunti tungkol saiyong sarili
	at ang iyong karanasan bilang mangingisda sa inyong
	komunidad?)
Transition	Q. Could you share how long you have been involved in
	fishing? How did you start?
	(Pwede mo bang ibahagi kung gaano ka na katagal na
	mangingisda? Paano ka nagsimula?)
Core	Q. What are the main reasons that motivate you to continue
	fishing?
	(Ano ang mga pangunahing dahilan na nag-uudyok sa iyo
	upang magpatuloy sa pangingisda?)
Closing	Q. Is there anything else you would like to share about your
	experiences or thoughts on being a fisherfolk?
	(Mayroon pa bang ibang bagay na nais mong ibahagi tungkol
	sa iyong mga karanasan o pananaw tungkol sa pagiging
	mangingisda?)

All throughout the research, strict ethical considerations were upheld. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, ensuring they were aware of the study's purpose and their right to withdraw at any time. Participants' anonymity and confidentiality were safeguarded, with all collected data, including demographic profiles, interview recordings, and transcripts, securely stored in a password-protected computer. The data were used solely for research purposes and will be permanently deleted after the study's completion and publication. Additionally, participants were debriefed after the interviews to explain the study's nature and significance.

# **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The study identified seven key themes that capture the motivations of fisherfolk across various municipalities in the Bicol Region: (1) geographic considerations, (2) sustenance for domestic consumption, (3) expectations of substantial harvests, (4) aspirations for children's education, (5) fishing as a last resort, (6) preservation of family traditions, and (7) strong family bonds.

#### Geographic considerations

Location is a big factor in terms of job opportunities and livelihood creation. Most job opportunities are centralized in urban areas because of their established facilities, ease of transport, and massive investments from the public and private sectors (Badland et al., 2012). The opposite is true in rural areas, particularly in coastal villages. Coastal villages are usually far-flung, have difficult roads to traverse, and have limited facilities which make investors and job opportunities elusive (FAO, 2015). That is why most jobs in coastal villages revolve around their immediate resource which is fishing. Participants have noted that they have no other choice for a source of living other than fishing:

Anpag-padigdi hali sa Poblacion Daeng iba kundi sa dagat. Iyan an sitwasyon digdi samo, kaya mga parasira an mga tawo digdi. Wara man naiba, harayo pa kami sa Poblacion. (The only way to get here from Poblacion [town center] is by sea. This is our reality, which is why the people here are fishers. There are no other options since we are far from Poblacion.)

Sa isla kami, kaya wara na iba na hanap-buhay digdi, pagsira sana nanggad. Iyan man talaga an source of income digdi na nailing ko sa lolo ko pa. (We live on an island, so there is no other livelihood here except fishing. That has always been the source of income here, even since my grandfather's time.)

Pagsira talaga an pinakahanap-buhay samuya ta isla baga an Rapu-Rapu. Naga deliver kami kan dakop na sira sa Bacacay pa. (Fishing is our primary livelihood because Rapu-Rapu is an island. We deliver our catch to Bacacay.)

The results support existing literature on the influence of geographic location, including regional and human geography, on individuals' job-related decisions and access to career opportunities (Hägerstrand, 1970). According to Hägerstrand's concept of elementary event be-in-place-ness (Swedish: stationärfortvaro), an individual remains in the same location over time, and from a transport perspective, no geographical movement occurs. However, movement in time persists, as time continues to pass while the individual remains stationary (Ellegård and Svedin, 2012). In the case of the participants, much of their lives are confined to a single coastal community, where fishing becomes not only a means of livelihood but also a way to pass the time:

Wara man digdi ibang libangan an mga tawo kaya paghapon na ma arasikaso na kan pag pa dagat. Ini pano baga talaga an buhay digdi aro-aldaw lalo na pag maray an dagat. May kuryente man para harayo sana sa centro ta ma byahe ka sa dagat para mag saod sa Poblacion. (There is no other pastime for people here, so every afternoon, they prepare [their equipment] for the sea. This is how life is here every day, especially when the sea is calm. There is electricity, but it is far from the center since we have to cross the sea to shop in Poblacion [town center].)

This exemplifies the importance of residential proximity to employment opportunities associated with income (Immergluck, 1998). Most working individual will choose their residential location relative to their source of income (Cervero et al., 2006). However, it is notable that most fisherfolks belong to disadvantaged minorities or poor households, hence, accessibility to employment and economic outcomes are affected. Moreover, Boschmann (2011) suggested that residential choices are based on transportation mobility options rather than job location, particularly for disadvantaged individuals. As in the case of the fisherfolks, they have fewer options for getting around to find well-paying employment because the only way they can reach the city is by crossing the sea. Furthermore, from a cultural perspective, Filipinos put great emphasis on their family roots and heritage. They get attached to their homes and live in the same house for several generations (Negrillo, 2019). The happy memories they have in their homes as well as their interactions with other people in the geographic environment of the fisherfolk influences the individual's behavior and mindset of the group living in the coastal areas situated away from the highly industrialized community, particularly in their occupational choice since it is the only or the most common and available job in the

community. The access to the fishing ground as the center of their workplace drives this community sector to build their families and construct their homes in coastal areas surrounding the gulf.

# Sustenance for domestic consumption

Fish is one of the most traded food commodities as it is a vital source of high-quality protein for many people (Tacon and Metian, 2013). In the Philippines, fish is the second staple food next to rice wherein 42.2% of total animal protein intake and 18.3% of total protein intake comes from seafood products (Lagniton, 2022). Likewise, it is an affordable food for low-income households, and a significant source of protein in areas where livestock is relatively scarce (Cleaver, 2006). Thus, fisherfolks in the study have noted that they catch fish not just to sell it on local markets but most importantly for the welfare of their family:

*Pang pamilya an pagsira. Pagdakol an dakop, pambakal iyan, an tada pam-pamilya.* (Fishing is for the family. If the catch is plentiful, it is for selling; the excess is for the family.)

*Dae ka na mabakal ki panirata su dakol sakob na su pang pamilya.* (You don't need to buy other viands because the excess fish is already set aside for the family.)

*Mag dakol o diit an dakop ko, pirming may walat para sa pamilya.* (Whether the catch is plenty or not, there is always something set aside for the family.)

Through fishing, they ensure that there is always food on the table, reflecting the Filipino value of maximizing available resources and minimizing waste. According to Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943), people are motivated to work primarily to fulfill their physiological needs, with food being a fundamental requirement for survival. When these needs are unmet, the human body cannot function properly, making them the primary driver of behavior. Similarly, food embodies a culture's identity, values, religion, social history, and worldview (Vidal Claramonte and Faber, 2017). In Filipino culture, having food on the table is deeply ingrained in the collective psyche, as reflected in the common practice of ensuring that the family eats at least three times a day (Osorio, 2019). Filipinos place family at the center of their lives, emphasizing close-knit family ties and unwavering dedication to their loved ones (Jocano, 1998). As a result, they engage in hard work not solely for external rewards, but as a means to provide for their families despite economic hardships or personal sacrifices. This sentiment is exemplified by one of the participants:

*Pag tag-luya an dakop, naga pa dagat man giraray ako ta may panira lamang an mga aki ko.* (Even if the catch is poor, I still go to sea to make sure my children have food.)

In addition to meeting physiological demands, the act of seeking food serves as a kind of love language for many Filipinos. According to Negrillo (2019), creating something for someone and giving them the energy, they need to survive is a tangible expression of love. Hence, it also satisfies love and belongingness in the hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943). Furthermore, the collectivistic culture of Filipinos is extended even in mealtimes. Family members eagerly anticipate returning home to share, eat, and engage in fellowship. Fostering bonds, exchanging ideas, creating unity, and passing down values are inherent in food and meal preparations among Filipino households (Negrillo, 2019). Therefore, it is not surprising that family is the number one source of motivation for many Filipinos.

# **Expectations for substantial harvests**

It is undeniable that fishing is one of the sources of income for millions of Filipinos and that it greatly contributes to the national economy (BFAR, 2021). Despite the opportunity for livelihood and local employment, the fishing sector experiences a severe crisis, especially in domestic, economic, and environmental dimensions (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2010). According to Sletten (2010), many of the fishing communities characterized housing conditions made from woven bamboo walls and floors, leaf thatch roofs, and sandy soil, which is an indication of poverty. The same condition was observable across the municipalities that fish in the gulfs of Albay and Asid. Likewise, a huge problem that many fishing communities encounter is the decline in fish catch, shrinking of fish body size, and lack of effective management of coastal resources (Preña and Labayo, 2021). This is one of the sentiments of the fisherfolks in the study:

Kaito na panahon, maray an pagbuhay-buhay kan pagsira ta diyan sana sa tangod makadakop kana. Ngunyan duman ka na sa harayo makadakop. Dae ka pang kasiguruhan kung makadakop. (Back then, life was good for fishers because you could catch fish just near the shore. Now, you have to go far to catch fish, and there is no guarantee of a catch.)

Nevertheless, fisherfolks continue to fish as it is the only way to meet the basic needs of their family. They did not lose their hope to overcome the challenges of declining fish catch and that their perseverance in exploring the sea would one day be rewarded with a huge harvest. The majority of these fisherfolks have personally experienced bountiful harvests and describe it as God's gift from the sea known as "Big Time" or lucky day, especially during fishing season. Participants equated fishing as a form of gambling in which one can hit a jackpot. A good catch of fish is comparable to or even greater income than those working in an office:

An pagsira, one time big time noy. Pag na-timingan mo, sobra pa sa sarong bulan na sweldo kan nagaopisina sa sarong banggi na pag-lawod. (Fishing is a one-time, big-time livelihood. If you catch at the right time, you can earn more in one night at sea than an office worker's monthly salary.)

Personal experiences of good either the classical or operant conditioning framework. Intermittent schedules of reinforcement particularly variable-ratio harvest may result in the belief that fishing is an easy source of income. This was explained by behavioral theories in psychology that this behavior is governed by contingencies of reinforcement operating to increase the likelihood that a behavior will be repeated due to the unpredictability of reward. After an undetermined number of responses, a response is reinforced. This schedule produces a consistent, high rate of response. A good example of this variable-ratio schedule is gambling and lottery (Feist et al., 2018). In this case, fisherfolks continue to fish as they anticipate that a huge volume of fish will be caught, however, it is unpredictable whether they will have a good catch or not. Positive reinforcement increases the probability of fishing response being elicited and explained by the persistence of the fisherfolks in the activity. This scientific theory justifies the motivated behavior of the community in fishing particularly during peak season. This motivates the individual to persist in fishing activities with the expectation of recouping such losses or chasing losses during the off-season period. A sixty-two-year-old fisherman from Sto. Domingo, Albay shared how luck can bring fruitful outcomes to fishing:

An pagpa-dagat baga sagrado. May mga lucky days man lalo na pag tagluwas an kan kuwaw. Sobra sa bawi pag nasuswertehan. Kaya pag tagluwasan, gabos na parasira digdi naga kuwaw. Iyan an simbag sa pangadyi mi ta regalo baga kan Mahal na Dios an sira sa dagat. (Fishing is sacred. There are lucky days, especially when the kuwaw [Priacanthus] come out. When that happens, all the fishermen go out to catch them. It is the answer to our prayers, as the fish in the sea are a gift from our dear God.)

Supernatural beliefs and practices still exert a significant influence on the daily lives of modern Filipinos. (Luna et al., 2019). Such superstitions cover a wide scope of the daily lives of Filipinos such as birth, marriage, health, and jobs. They believe it will assist them in managing day-to-day happenings, events, and activities, particularly the most significant occasions. According to De Castro et al. (2012), Filipinos regard luck as a fleeting natural phenomenon, that has unpredictable arrival, and that continuous perseverance is a way to attain it. Similarly, depending on how the person uses his beliefs, belief in luck can be both positive and negative (De Castro et al., 2012). Hence, the fisherfolks ascribe a positive feeling to luck as it brings a good harvest and income, and consequently, meets the needs of their family.

#### Aspirations for children's education

Education is considered the most powerful instrument for social mobility, equality, and empowerment as it develops the human personality on a holistic level of intellectual, physical, social, moral, and spiritual dimensions (Aloni, 2011). The absence of adequate education leads to a society that is vulnerable to poverty and ignorance. Hence, obtaining an education is given a lot of importance because it is seen as one of the most important human needs as well as a means of meeting other needs, human development, and the formation of human resources (Omoniyi, 2013). This basic human right to education is often denied to marginalized populations, particularly those living in coastal areas. Poverty and other forms of vulnerability have hampered children's education in this community. In addition, the nature of fishing prevents children from receiving adequate education (Abdul Hai et al. 2010). At an early age, they are already involved in fishing-related activities to help their parents. Fishing requires important skills in navigating a boat, hoisting sails, casting the net, and working with small engines. These are best learned through the process of "learning by doing"

while being supervised by an older fisher. Boys typically need to learn these skills at a young age, or they will never be able to do so. Meanwhile, girls assist in the sale and processing of fish or spend most of their time doing household chores such as taking care of a younger sibling. These factors have contributed to children from fishing communities performing poorly or dropping out of school. Thus, the cycle of poverty, deprivation of education, and lack of job opportunities continues. This is evident from the emphasis on attaining education especially for their children, hoping that their lives will get better:

*Gusto ko man na makatapos sa pag-eskwela an mga aki, para wara man kami ki pampa-eskwela ta lima sinda. Tios an buhay digdi. Pero kung maka eskwela sinda mas maray baga.* (I also want my children to finish school, but we don't have the money since there are five of them. Life is hard here. But if they can study, that would be much better.)

Sabi ko sa mga aki ko, mag eskwela kamo lalo na sa kolehiyo. Makakabisto kamo kaan ki ibang pamilya. Makaka-agom o maagom kamo. Pwedeng maging mas maray an buhay nindo kaysa digdi na sa dagat sana kita mina asa. (I told my children to study hard, especially in college. You will meet other families. You may get married or find a partner. Your life can be better than just relying on the sea.)

Kami na mag-agom nagtatabang-tabang sa pagsira. Pero dae mi pigpapa-tabang an mga aki para mag adal sinda. Baka pano malibang sinda sa pagsira, mapabayaan an pagklase. Siyempre gusto mi na magasenso sinda sa buhay - may tinapusan. (My husband and I help each other in fishing. But we don't let our children join so they can focus on their studies. If they become too fond of fishing, they might neglect their schooling. Of course, we want them to have better lives by earning a degree.)

Several participants revealed that some members of the fisherfolk communities take out loans from lending institutions to cover tuition fees and transportation expenses for their children's education. In Occidental Mindoro, fisherfolk face economic hardships that hinder their ability to support their children's schooling, leading to reliance on financial assistance such as grants or loans (Ramirez et al., 2024). Rural banks in the Philippines, though constituting only 1.5% of the overall assets of the Philippine banking system, are essential to the rural economy by serving farmers, fishermen, and micro and small businesses (Lawenko, 2024). While government programs like the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) provide aid, with 56.66% of beneficiaries using the funds primarily for their children's schooling (De Leon, 2024), these subsidies remain insufficient, forcing families to seek additional credit. Access to loans can provide short-term relief, but financial reforms in the Philippines do not always favor low-income households, further exacerbating economic disparities (Taylor and Rood, 2024). Without sustainable livelihood opportunities and accessible financial programs tailored to fisherfolk, their dependence on high-interest loans may continue to impede long-term economic stability and educational attainment.

It is unfortunate that despite the exemplary contribution of fishers to the national economy, still many of them live in impoverished conditions. The solution that they perceive as an exit from poverty is through their children's education. Participants have expressed their sentiments of wanting to enter or finish college in their younger years but sadly most of them hadn't. Their aspirations for their younger selves are transferred to their children. They believe that finishing college would enable their children to have a stable job and income unlike fishing is unpredictable whether or not one will have a good catch in a day:

*Gusto ko makatapos sinda sa pag-eskwela ta ako kaito muya ko man mag college para dae kaya kan parents ko.* (I want them to finish school because I also wanted to go to college before, but my parents couldn't afford it.)

Lola na ako pero kan panahon mi may mga gusto mag klase sa college arog ko ta pag nag college kaito may maray na trabaho. Paanuhon ta man ta an magurang ko nalibang na sa pagsira kaya sabi samo kaito na okay man na hanap-buhay an pagsira. (I'm already a grandmother, but back in our time, there were people like me who wanted to go to college because going to college meant getting a good job. But what could we do? My parents had already become fond of fishing, so they told us that fishing was a good livelihood.)

An pagsira, swerte-swerte baga yan. Maray pag tag-dakopan, pag dae pang pamilya sana nanggad. Kaya Daeng siguradong income kumpara sa may trabaho. Kaya pig papa-eskwela ko an aki ko sa kolehiyo...sana makatapos lamang siya. (Fishing is a matter of luck. If the catch is abundant, that's good, but if not, it's only enough for the family. There is no guaranteed income compared to having a stable job. That's why I send my son to college... I just hope he can graduate.)

Participants have also noted that they don't want their children to become fishers because of the attached danger of the occupation:

Samo digdi igwa ki mga sitwasyon na naka padpad sa ibang lugar su parasira dahil kan subasko. Delikado lalo na an pagsira baga banggi. Kaya habo ko na maging parasira an aki ko. Naga eskwela siya ngunyan sa high school. Sabi niya man, ma-maestro daa siya. Kaya nag titipon-tipon kami pang college niya. (Here, there are times when fishers are carried away to other places because of storms. Fishing is very dangerous, especially at night. That's why I don't want my child to become a fisherman. He is in high school now and says he wants to become a teacher. So, we are saving up for his college education.)

According to Knapp (2016), fishing is considered the world's most dangerous occupation due to its high risk of traumatic occupational injury. Despite the financial and subsistence benefits that they obtain from fishing, the fisherfolks acknowledge the importance of maintaining the safety and security of their family. When physiological needs such as food are satisfied, people seek protection from violent conditions, health threats, or sickness (Maslow, 1943). In the modern world, people strive for economic safety such as job security, stable income, and savings. This striving for safety is manifested in the form of a "fight or flight" response. An individual decides whether they are safe or not because of environmental information. They would either feel the need to flee (flight) or make an effort to change their situation (fight). When environmental information indicates that there may be a threat to themselves, to their family, friends, property, or other things that they value, they would feel an emotional reaction that alerts them to the situation and prepares them to take action. The only way to achieve this level of safety for the fisherfolks and the action that is deemed necessary in their environment is by investing in their children's education. They believe that when their children obtain a degree or higher education, this will increase their chances of finding a high-paying career that does not jeopardize their physical safety. They are fighting against poverty and at the same time fleeing the dangerous life of fishing.

#### Fishing as a last resort

When high-paying jobs or opportunities are inaccessible, small-scale and subsistence fishing is known as the last resort for employment (Kura et al 2004). People engage in this type of livelihood activity due to poverty and a lack of alternative skills (Stacey et al., 2021). Alternative skills are frequently acquired through formal schooling, resulting in larger employment opportunities and a better chance of landing a high-paying job. However, the majority of fisherfolks come from low-income families. Because it is difficult for them to fund their education, they have no other choice but to engage in fishing as it is the only possible way for them to meet their daily necessities. These are the sentiments of the participants:

Gusto mi man kuta na mag-agom na makatapos sa pag eskwela ta dipisilon an buhay kan parasira ngunyan. Para dae man baga nag tarapos sa pag-eskwela kaya pagsira man giraray an inabutan ninda. (My husband and I also wanted to finish school because life as a fisherman is very difficult now. Since we didn't graduate, fishing is what we ended up with.)

Nag eskwela man kuta ako ki college, para dae ako nakatapos ta dae ko natapos su First Year. Kaya huni nag iiba-iba kami ni papa mag sira ta wara man ako iba na aram na trabaho. (I also went to college, but I didn't finish my first year. That's why my father and I fish together, as I don't know any other kind of work.)

Fishing is considered the only viable livelihood option that poor people have. As a last resort for employment, fisherfolks are compelled to enter the fishing sector and adopt strategies that allow them to earn a living. Unlike most agricultural and forestry lands, where specific property rights are involved, the sea is considered a common property or an open-access resource. Anyone can become a fisherman and use the resource to the greatest extent possible. They take the opportunities offered by their natural environment and the skills of fishing they have learned in their younger years. Participants were, nevertheless, aware of the unfortunate reality of the occupation they have. They have discouraging opinions, especially when their children opt to start their own families in their place that will inevitably make them succumb to fishing:

Wara man na ibang hanap-buhay digdi sa lugar mi kundi paglati saka pagsira. Kaya iyan man sana an aabutan ninda digdi kung digdi mag pamilya an mga aki ko. (There is no other livelihood here besides farming and fishing. That's what awaits my children if they choose to start a family here.)

#### Preservation of family traditions

Much of the principles and wisdom that people of today have originated from their ancestors. It is not by accident that oral traditions, skills, possessions, languages, social customs, and natural environments are passed down to succeeding generations; rather, because these things are valued and worthy of being shared with them. This passing of knowledge and heritage strengthens cultural ties between generations and fosters a sense of belonging and integration of one's identity. Families frequently engage in this behavior because it fosters a sense of belonging among its members. Children largely benefit from this family tradition as it helps them by becoming more aware of who they are and what is important to their families. Notably, this enables family traditions and history to continue even after the elders have passed away. Participants in the study have expressed that fishing is an activity that they have already known ever since they were young, indicating that it was passed down from generation to generation:

Kan panahon mi mga 1980s, an mga lalaki digdi samo Talagang nasa pagsira na talaga. Maski aki pa sinda, elementary palang halos burubanggi nasa dagat kaiba an ama ko saka mga tugang. An mga tugang ko arug kaan an gibo. An mga agom na babae naga sabat pagpaabot na an mga agom ninda na parasira. Iyo na iyan nagimatan ko na hanap-buhay digdi. Okay man baga, maski tius-tios. (In the 1980s, the men here were already into fishing. Even as young boys, still in elementary school, they went to sea almost every night with their father and siblings. My siblings did the same. The wives would wait for their husbands, who were out fishing. This is the livelihood I grew up with. It's okay, even if it's tough.)

An pagsira na talaga an pag buhay digdi kaitong panahon pa. Kaya mahiling mo pag kahapon naga asikaso na kan mga gamit pang dagat. Para sako, gusto ko man na mag mana sako, para may mga sadiring desisyon na baga an mga aki ngunyan. (Fishing has been the way of life here since the old days. That's why in the afternoon, you'll see people preparing their fishing equipment. For me, I would like my children to follow in my footsteps, but they now have their own decisions to make.)

Since fishing has been the primary source of income for many ages, participants expressed that they want their children to inherit their livelihood, particularly their fishing equipment.

Mag sira sinda ta saying kan mga pigtipon kong mga gamit. Saka okay man digdi samo ta makusog pa man an siraw-siraw. Diyan sana sa harani nakukua. (They should continue fishing because it would be a waste of the equipment I've gathered. Besides, it's still good here, fish are abundant and can be caught nearby.)

According to Lorenzo (2016), Filipinos tend to collect and keep everything because they find it difficult to part with things. Most of the time, they attach significance to anything given to them, making it impractical for them to let go. This may also be a result of the Filipinos' propensity to value what others have to say. They wouldn't want to be uncaring and throw away things. More often than not, they keep most things for the memories. The participants likely placed significant value on the fishing equipment as it may signify the memories and efforts, they have made to provide for the daily needs of the family and that passing it to their children will be beneficial for their future. Truly, parents play a huge role in guiding the career development of their children. Dietrich and Kracke (2009) found that parental support, parental interference, and lack of parental career engagement serve as the basic elements of career-specific parental behaviors. A parent must encourage their children to explore career possibilities and provide advice whenever necessary without being overcontrolling. According to Savickas (2013), children must continually learn about their characteristics and the complexity of work environments through a variety of personal experiences. Hence, participants have mentioned that they provided an environment where their children could learn about what they do for a living:

Ini na an nagimatan ko na hanap buhay. Kaya maski aki pa sinda pigpapatabang ko na sa mga bagaybagay na pagsira, arog kan pagtabang pag-ayos kan pangke. (This is the livelihood I grew up with. So, even though they are still young, I have them help with tasks like fixing the fishing net.) This is consistent with the perspective of self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan, 1985), that supportive behaviors help children explore valuable information and experiences to gain insights for future career development, and consequently, be motivated to initiate career exploration activities. This also helps children to fulfill their need for autonomy, competence, and relatedness which is a driver of intrinsic motivation and proactive behaviors (Ryan and Deci, 2000). As one of the participants has shared:

Bilang sarong ina, na-obserbahan ko na an may hilig mag klase an mga aking babae kaysa sa mga lalaki. Kaito didgi, maski naga-eskwela an mga aki na lalaki naga pa-dagat pagka banggi para mag sira. Kaya an mga nakatapos digdi sa muya mga babae ta dae naga iba sa dagat. (As a mother, I have observed that girls are more dedicated to studying than boys. In the past, even if boys were enrolled in school, they would still go fishing at night. That's why most of those who managed to graduate here are girls, as they were not involved in fishing.)

The children exemplify their intrinsic motivation in terms of what activities they enjoy performing girls enjoy studying while boys enjoy fishing. According to Christy et al. (2022), many fishers were brought up in homes where fishing was an enduring part of their childhood. The sea became their playground as their families, friends, and neighbors were all fishers. Hence, their goal was to become one of them, and they were driven to do so not just for the money but because that is "who they are and what they value."

# Strong family bonds

Being a member of a family is the most striking quality of Filipinos (Dumont and Mulder, 1998). Hence, it is not uncommon for Filipino households to have three or four generations of family members living together. It is easy to find grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins roaming around in one house or compound. They do as much as they can to be together and help each other, especially on financial matters. For instance, fisherfolks in the study have expressed their gratitude for having their family together especially when meeting their daily necessities:

Kami baga mga senior citizen na, pero naga taga buru-banwit pa man nin panira mi sa pamilya. Maray ta parasira man an aki ko ta magkairiba kami sa harong. Sa siring na sitwasyon, narereparo kami ninda ta paggurang na dakol na baga an mga pigmamati. Saka, delikado baga kun nagsosolo-solo. (We are already senior citizens, but we still go fishing from time to time for our family's consumption. It's good that our child is also a fisherman and that we live together in one house. In this situation, they can take care of us, especially as we experience more health issues with age. Fishing alone would be too dangerous.)

These close family ties can be traced back to the concept of *hiya* and *utang na loob. Hiya* is often translated as "shame" in the English language. According to Lynch (1961, p. 15), hiya is "the uncomfortable feeling that accompanies awareness of being in a socially unacceptable position or performing a socially unacceptable." However, this definition is inconclusive because it ignores the importance of understanding how affixations in Philippine languages may give a word a new meaning. The more appropriate translation is "sense of propriety" which is the way of behaving appropriately and accordingly in different situations. Meanwhile, *utang na loob* is often translated as "debt of gratitude" indicating that those who have been helped are indebted to others and are obligated to give back the favor, blessings, or grace they have received. But Enriquez (1977, as cited in Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino, 2000) purported that *utang naloob* is not obligatory but is an element of Filipino interpersonal relationships that binds a person to his or her home community. Thus, the more appropriate translation in a Filipino context is "gratitude/solidarity". These concepts are strongly related to filial piety, in which a person must observe their duties and responsibilities to ensure family harmony. For example, family members must always show respect to their elders. The opinions of younger family members or children are seen as secondary to those of their superiors. Similarly, persons in need of elder care are almost always cared for by their children or grandchildren (Kim, 2010). This is consistent with the Filipino concept of *tagasalo* wherein a person has the strong urge to assume responsibility, be a mediator, prioritize others over self, and inclination to take care of others (Tuazon et al., 2021). These are exemplified by the fisherfolks as to why they did not leave their homes, placing the needs of their family first before themselves:

Matua ako sa mag-turugang na apat, saro lang an babae. Ako Talaga an pig iiba ni papa kaito sa pagsira kaya iyo ini an naging hanap-buhay ko. Sa sarong banda, okay man ta su iba kong mga tugang may mga pamilya naman, harayo digdi sa lugar mi. Uro-aldaw kong kaiba an mga magurang ko digdi sa harong, ta ako lang an pig-aasahan mag hanap-buhay. (I am the eldest of four siblings, with only one sister. My father used to take me along on fishing trips, which is why it became my livelihood. My other siblings have their own families and live far away, so I am the only one my parents rely on for a living.)

The parent-child relationship also plays a role in this familial interaction. In general, Filipino parents employ authoritarian parenting practices, instilling in their children the virtues of *kapwa* (helping others), *hiya* (shyness), and *utang na loob* (paying back) (Alampay, n.d., as cited in Bartolome et al., 2017). This obedience to parental authority, family cohesion, and familial obligation drives Filipinos to submit themselves to parental requests, as shared by one of the participants:

Ako an panganay kaya ako an maasahan sa hanap-buhay ni papa. Saka ta pagsira an hanapbuhay digdi. Habo man ninda na magtrabaho ako sa harayo ta panganay ako. (I am the eldest, so I am responsible for my father's livelihood. Fishing is our main source of income here. My family doesn't want me to work far away because I am the eldest.)

Nevertheless, looking at it from the perspective of Maslow (1943), having close family ties satisfies the needs for physiological, safety, love, and belongingness. Fisherfolks can provide daily subsistence to their family through food and shelter. Parents provide homes for their children, and children provide food for their parents and vice versa. Parents feel secure when their children are around especially when they have health concerns. Furthermore, living under the same roof fosters communication and inclusivity, thus, meeting the need for love and belongingness.

# CONCLUSION

The study provided a detailed picture of the motivations of fishing communities in the municipalities studied. Since many of these municipalities are island-based, residents have limited employment opportunities beyond fishing. As a result, fishing becomes their last resort for livelihood, serving as the only viable means to meet their daily needs, particularly food. Despite the decline in fish catch in recent years, they remain optimistic, believing that luck will favor them and lead to a bountiful harvest. By utilizing the immediate resources of the sea, they also uphold their family tradition of fishing, reflecting the strong familial ties among Filipinos and their desire to stay close to their relatives while preserving the skills passed down to them. This deep-rooted family-centered culture drives much of their work effort, as their primary concern is the welfare of their loved ones. However, they are also aware of the risks and unpredictability of fishing, which motivates them to prioritize their children's education. They view education as a pathway out of generational poverty, believing that higher education will provide their children with better career opportunities and financial stability.

Authorities, legislators, and other interested parties can utilize this information to develop programs and interventions that address the needs of fisherfolks. Additional educational scholarships could be granted to the children of fisherfolks. This will alleviate the strain on parents who want their children to continue school as the earnings from their fishing can now be used to meet their daily needs instead of thinking about how to pay tuition fees. Alternative livelihood projects such as seaweed production, handicrafts, souvenirs, and tourism-related activities can be promoted to provide an additional source of income for the community, especially when it is not peak season for fishing. Similarly, to increase employment opportunities, farm-to-market roads could be an efficient way to shorten the journey of fisherfolks to the city. This will save costs for fishers wanting to sell their catch or seafood products to the city market. Furthermore, easing travel could attract people to visit the area, resulting in a thriving tourist attraction that would provide an extra source of income for residents in the coastal community.

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