

EXPLORING TOURISM AS A POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR AN ARTISANAL FISHING COMMUNITY IN THE PHILIPPINES: THE CASE OF BARANGAY VICTORY IN BOLINAO

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Development strategies for remote artisanal fishing communities in the less developed world often promote tourism as an alternative livelihood. However, little is known regarding the perspectives of fisherfolk in these communities on tourism as a potential livelihood. Furthermore, there is a paucity of research into fisherfolks' understanding of tourism, how they identify their roles for potential involvement in tourism, and their desire to be "developed." This article reports on a case study of Barangay Victory, a remote fishing-based community in the Bolinao region of the Philippines. Twenty-one face-to-face semistructured interviews were conducted with community members. Methods were grounded within participatory action research and phenomenological inquiry. Interviews were recorded and transcribed. Using a deductive approach, data sets were manually coded and a thematic analysis was conducted. Results demonstrate that residents rely heavily upon marine resources but, despite a reported declining fishery, the majority of fisherfolk remain satisfied with fishing as an occupation. Furthermore, although respondents stated a general willingness to engage in tourism development, the understanding of tourism (both the term itself and its potential role as a livelihood) was minimal. Thus, when considering the potential of tourism as a development strategy, though participant responses were positive, the results from this study have been interpreted as a yes that means a no. This lack of understanding of tourism as well as the expressed contentment with fishing as an occupation needs to be carefully considered when development strategies propose a livelihood shift towards tourism.

Key words: Artisanal fishing; Tourism potential; Development strategy; Philippines

Introduction

Remote coastal communities in the less developed world typically have a high dependence on

artisanal local fisheries activities as their primary livelihood (Turner et al., 2007). In many cases these artisanal fishing-dependent communities are experiencing hardship associated with declining

fish catches due to degradation of coastal ecosystems, overfishing, and destructive fishing activities (Johnson et al., 2013). A range of responses to this pattern has been proposed, including investment in more effective fishing technologies and techniques (Dyll, 2009), the establishment of marine protected areas (MPAs) in an attempt to restore fisheries (Oracion, Miller, & Christie, 2005) and the establishment of alternative livelihoods. One alternative source of income promoted is tourism (E. A. Mensah & Amuquandoh, 2010). It is argued that tourism is inherently more sustainable than extractive activities such as fishing and that, in particular, tropical and subtropical island destinations can be attractive tourism destinations (Orams, 2004; Samonted-Tan et al., 2007).

Many fisheries-dependent coastal communities in the Philippines face hardship and an uncertain future due to overfishing and the use of destructive fishing methods (White, Vogt, & Arin, 2000). At greatest risk are remote villages that are highly dependent on small-scale artisanal fishing where there are few alternatives for food and income. The need for alternative or supplemental livelihoods is a high priority for such villages in order to reduce pressure on the local marine ecosystem (which is in decline) and increase the resiliency and viability of these communities (Turner et al., 2007).

Tourism, more specifically community-based tourism, has long been suggested as an alternative or supplemental livelihood for coastal communities in less developed nations such as the Philippines (E. A. Mensah & Amuquandoh, 2010; Samonted-Tan et al., 2007). Although tourism appears to be an attractive alternative or supplemental livelihood to fisheries, there are few practical examples of programs or models that have been successfully implemented in the less developed world. One of the few published works that explored tourism as an alternative livelihood is that of Fabinyi (2010), who studied fishing communities in the Calamianes Islands in Palawan, the Philippines, where tourism has become well established. He concluded that the transition from a fishing-based economy to a tourism-based economy is not simple and may fail to benefit the intended marginalized and depressed fishing communities. A further study of relevance is that of Quiros (2007), who reviewed the impacts of whale shark-based tourism development in Donsol, Luzon Island, the

Philippines. Findings from this work conclude that although fisherfolk were absorbed into the tourism industry, compliance with code of conduct regulations designed to protect the species are often sacrificed for the economic benefit of tour operators and the long-term effects on the whale shark populations are likely detrimental (Quiros, 2007). An in-depth look at multiple community-based management schemes throughout the Philippines found that economic gain from tourism was a possible effect of establishing community-managed MPAs; however, the overall and long-term success of community-based management projects remains minimal (Junio-Menez, 2001).

Thus, while many authors argue for the potential benefits of tourism as an alternative livelihood for the less developed world (e.g., Bauer, 2005; Croes & Vanegas, 2008; Laws, 2009; E. A. Mensah & Amuquandoh, 2010; Mograbi & Rogerson, 2007) and some even go as far as contending that tourism is a wealth redistribution mechanism (from the developed to the less developed nations) (Ashley, Boyd, & Goodwin, 2000), there is little empirical evidence for these lofty claims. Regardless of this lack of evidence and the known potential limitations of tourism-based development strategies, there is no shortage of efforts and suggestions for community-based coastal tourism initiatives (e.g., Chen, 2010; International Fund for Agricultural Development [IFAD], 2005; Pine, 2007; Smith, 1981).

Despite the lack of practical examples and successes, the popularity of tourism as a suggested development strategy is understandable. The potential of tourism as an alternative or supplemental livelihood for coastal fishing communities is clear. It could allow the host communities to maintain their coastal residences and utilize their existing infrastructure and ecosystems (e.g., vessels, beaches, lagoons, and reefs) (Cheong, 2005; J. V. Mensah & Antwi, 2002). Furthermore, the transition from fisheries activities to marine tourism-based activities does not require a fundamental lifestyle change for these peoples whose culture, history, and focus has, for many generations, been the sea. Additionally, tourism has the potential to alleviate pressure on marine resources by reducing fisheries effort, discouraging destructive fisheries techniques (e.g., the use of explosive devices and fine mesh nets), and promoting conservation strategies that render

the marine environment more attractive for tourism (e.g., MPAs).

Cruz-Trinidad, Geronimo, and Alino (2008) note that transforming fisherfolk into tourism workers is more realistic than transitioning to other skilled industries such as aquaculture. Furthermore, they argue that the diversity of the tourism industry allows different opportunities for communities to engage in an array of tourism products and services. There is also potential for growth within a tourism industry in the form of offerings such as tours (e.g., nature based, community based), accommodation (e.g., home-stays), food/hospitality (e.g., cafes, home-based meals, street vendors), and entertainment (e.g., cultural shows, dances, and displays).

While the concept behind community-based tourism is often conveyed as simple (e.g., creating a low-cost product or service to gain entry into an established tourism market), the success rate of community-based tourism initiatives in coastal fishing communities is low. The social implications associated with these changes are often scantily addressed. For example, resource use conflicts such as the creation of MPAs that often parallels coastal tourism developments create many social complexities and challenges in impoverished areas (Christie, 2004). There is a need for research to explore the practicality of implementing tourism development as a poverty alleviation and resource conservation strategy. In particular, remote fisheries-dependent communities in the less developed world are a high priority. Aswani (2011) emphasizes the importance of integrated approaches for successful fisheries management schemes, calling for “management regimes that are more adaptive and effective and that move toward holistic, ecosystem-based marine conservation” (p. 11). As a consequence, the research presented in this article explores the potential for tourism as a development strategy and, more specifically, investigates the primary perceptions and understanding of tourism as a potential scheme for livelihood diversification of members from fishing households in a remote fishing village in Bolinao, the Philippines. This article builds on previous research by adding perception-based data that seek to document, not only the potential economic and environmental costs and benefits, but also the perceived social costs and benefits associated with tourism development.

Research Design and Methods

Research Paradigm

We (the researchers) hold the view that, for the human subjects of this study, reality has a socially constructed dimension. For remote fisheries-dependent communities in the Philippines and elsewhere, the impact of traditional views, communally held and reinforced ideologies, and lifestyles is reality. Thus, we consider it imperative that the reality that is experienced and perceived by the host community should take precedence in the design of any development strategy and should be the basis for our research.

However, we also accept that there are realities that should be viewed as absolute and factual (as opposed to constructed) in the context of this research. For example, the number of fish being caught, the health and status of the marine ecosystem (as measured by biomass, nutrient loads, productivity, and so on), the age, mortality, dietary intake, and income of the community members are all objective measures. These measures (while socially constructed units) are held as actual objective and true measures of reality, which measure demonstrable effects on the human subjects.

As a consequence, this research accepts and adopts both postpositivist and phenomenological epistemologies (Racher & Robinson, 2003). A phenomenological approach allows contradictions in the data to be addressed to best depict the reality and experiences of the community (Husserl, 1929). Whereas this approach is uncharacteristic to fisheries and livelihoods research, such a qualitative research paradigm is most appropriate here, because the research focus is to gain insights into participant perceptions and realities. Thus, research outcomes depend on our interpretations of the views, actions, and perceptions of the host community. Therefore, a phenomenological approach as summarized by Creswell (2009) was adopted as an appropriate means to explore the research objectives.

This research was further grounded within the principles of participatory action research. This choice was based on one of Lewin's (1946) first academic descriptions of action research in which he noted, “there exists a great amount of good-will, of readiness to face the problem squarely and really to do something about it” (p. 34). Relative to this research, we, acting as marine conservationists, set out to better

understand the challenges associated with livelihood diversification within a remote fishing community in order to further the discussion on livelihood development strategies. In addition, the characteristics associated with action research, specifically the sensitivity towards the subjects (McTaggart, 1997) and the focus on perception-based outcomes (Kesby, Pain, & Kindon, 2007), add support for the phenomenological approach used in this study.

Research Objectives

1. To explore the understanding of marine tourism among a remote artisanal fishing community in the Philippines.
2. To gain insight into perceptions of members of a remote artisanal fishing community in the Philippines with regard to the potential development of marine tourism as a supplemental livelihood.
3. To consider the practicality of implementing a development strategy based on marine tourism for a remote artisanal fishing community in the Philippines.

Study Site

The Republic of the Philippines is an archipelago of over 7,100 islands located in the western Pacific Ocean. It has a population estimated at over 100 million people with over two thirds of these residing in coastal communities (World Bank, 2005). The Philippines is divided into three main regions from north to south: Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. The main regions are further divided into administrative divisions, provinces, municipalities, and then *barangays*. The *barangay* is the smallest administrative unit in the Philippines and is headed by a *barangay* captain who is supported by a *barangay* council. The population of a *barangay* is typically less than 2,000 people. Within the *barangay*, there may exist an active People's Organization (PO). As stated in the Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines: "People's organisations are bona fide associations of citizens with demonstrated capacity to promote the public interest and with identifiable leadership, membership, and structure" (Estrada, 2010, p. 2).

The study site was chosen based on Stake's (1995, p. 4) recommendations of accessibility and the presence of prospective informants or brokers.

Thus, the site selection is considered pragmatic. The research was located in Barangay Victory, part of the Bolinao Municipality, which lies within the Pangasinan province, falling under the Ilocos administration in the Luzon region (see Fig. 1). Victory is one of seven *barangays* located on Santiago Island, less than a kilometer off the Bolinao coast. The population of Victory is estimated at 1,327 people creating around 300 households. The common dwellings of fisherfolk are simple structures made from a mix of wood, concrete blocks, and corrugated tin, covered with a roof of woven palm fronds and dirt floors. Communication is largely done via Short Message Service (SMS) on cell phones, which is affordable (just over US\$0.02 per message); it was common for family members to share a single cell phone. Electricity is available in Victory; however, not all households have this. Traditionally, the men go out to sea to fish, while the women tend to family needs and participate in side businesses, known locally as sideline activities, such as gleaning or mat weaving.

Santiago Island is accessible by public water taxi, or by small fishing boats known locally as *bancas*, also spelled *bangkas*. Motor vehicles are limited on Santiago Island, and tricycles provide the most common form of intrainland transport.

The Bolinao municipality hosts a growing domestic tourist market in Luzon, Philippines. Bolinao is easily accessible from the capital city of Manila (pop. 11.85 million) via well-maintained roadways; multiple daily trips are available via public bus transportation. From 2010 to 2011 the number of tourists booking formal accommodation rose from 2,056 to 11,757, with the majority of these represented by domestic travelers (Bolinao Tourism Office, 2011). Beginning in 2004, the Municipality of Bolinao has worked to develop community-based tourism that seeks to promote the municipality's "rural life and to explore natural landscapes and the least visited natural areas, hand in hand with excellent hosts, while learning with the traditions and way of life of the local population" (Aguila, 2011, p. 1).

The Bolinao Tourism Office has completed an inventory of points of interest and tourism-related establishments and services, which includes natural resources (e.g., beaches, waterfalls, caves) as well as museums and the University of Philippines

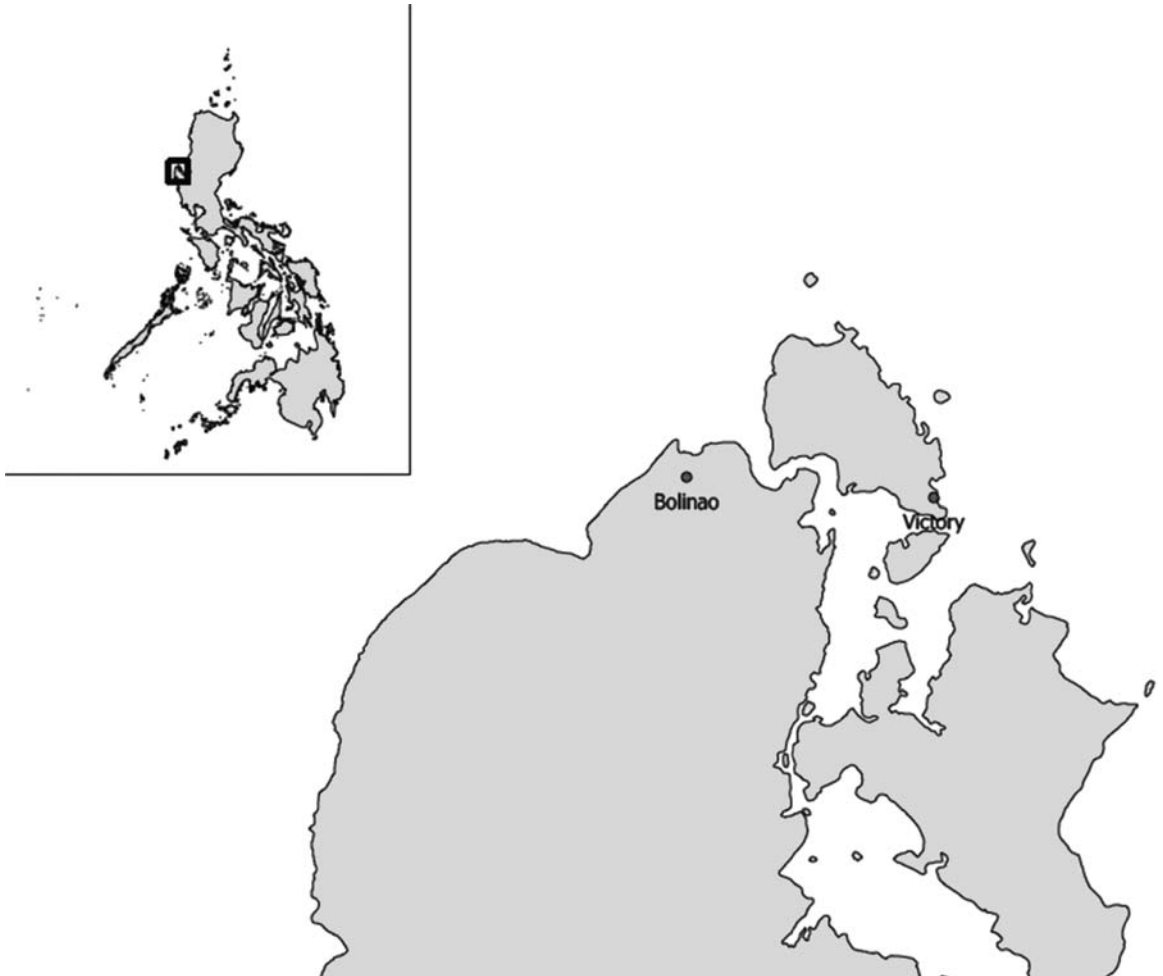


Figure 1. Map of Bolinao town proper and Barangay Victory. The enlarged area is depicted in the small side box as a reference to the location of the study site in relation to the Philippines.

Marine Science Institute (UPMSI) research sites and facilities (e.g., giant clams ocean nursery, UPMSI laboratory). The Kaisaka Organisation, a federation of multiple local people's organizations, was originally founded to represent the people of the coastal communities during the coastal development planning in the late 1990s. Kaisaka has remained politically active, addressing mainly marine issues as they arise and has since expanded to fulfill an entrepreneurial gap in the community. Kaisaka currently offers ad hoc package tours that frequent these points of interest, as well as other unlisted marine-based locations, including a seaweed farm and milkfish mariculture facilities. Such tours are advertised by word of mouth via the public and accommodation

operators (A. Echarez, personal communication, October 26, 2011).

Though the marine environment is a highlight of the Bolinao tourist experience, the fisheries of Bolinao have been heavily exploited due to overfishing and the high-density mariculture of *bangus*, or milkfish (Cruz-Trinidad et al., 2008). UPMSI has responded to the overexploitation of certain fish stocks with species replenishment projects, as well as pilot projects that teach local communities low-scale mariculture technologies to produce high-value fish export species (e.g., Victory Sea Cucumber Ranch). Many of the UPMSI project areas are located just off the coast of Bolinao and in the near-shore waters of Santiago.

The tour offerings of the Kaisaka Federation utilize many of the UPMSI projects around Santiago Island; for example, boat-based tours include stops at UPMSI's projects for giant clam restoration and coral gardens (A. Echarez, personal communication, October 26, 2011). Likewise, UPMSI research sites are advertised on the official Bolinao tourism map (personal observation, February, 2012). However, overall, tourism on Santiago Island remains largely undeveloped. The Municipality of Bolinao website in 2011 promoted tourism on Santiago in full as "ideal for boating and watersports activities."

The primary economic activity of Victory residents is fishing. To date, Victory has remained off the "tourist map," although Victory currently hosts low numbers of sporadic visitors. The majority of these visitors are international exchange-learning visitors organized through UPMSI (e.g., Maria Lourdes San Diego-McGlone, personal communication, November 8, 2011).

Logic for a Case Study

The use of a case study affords the researcher(s) closeness to real-life situations. Flyvbjerg (2006) advocates that context-independent theories within the social sciences are lacking and, thus, the social sciences rely upon the context-dependent knowledge created by case studies. Although it is a long-standing belief that findings from case studies are limited in transferability, Stake (1978) argues case studies "often be the preferred method of research because they may be epistemologically in harmony with the reader's experience and thus to that person a natural basis for generalisation" (p. 5). Flyvbjerg (2006) agrees that cases are indeed transferable, emphasizing the consequence of a critical case, or one that completely dispels existing theory. In the context of this research, a single case was chosen in order to explore the research questions in depth.

Research Design

Semistructured interviews were conducted with 21 members of fishing households from Barangay Victory between October 2011 and February 2012. As each interviewee represented an individual household, the unit of analysis is considered a single household within the case study. Interviews were

based on a common set of questions, which were written in an interview schedule (see the Appendix). Each question was asked in the same way and in the same order. Study participants were encouraged to answer each interview question in their own time and to elaborate and expand on the theme for each question if they wished. The instrument was pretested on site and refined to ensure maximum participant understanding. All questions were asked by the principle researcher in English and translated by a local interpreter into Tagalog, the national language, and/or further translated into Bolinao, the local dialect. Interviewee responses were then immediately translated into English to allow the researcher the opportunity seek clarification or ask participants to elaborate further, if necessary, on their responses. To improve the trustworthiness of the instrument, the primary researcher and the interpreter did not volunteer information and avoided "correcting" participants' responses. As a result, some participant responses were single-word answers; this associated simplicity was interpreted as an important part of the data.

Purposive and snowball sampling were used to collect data from adult members (18 years and over) of active fishing households. While purposive sampling may be seen as a form of bias within the data, Barbour (2001) argues that purposive sampling can instead enhance the coverage of the sample and "offers researchers a degree of control rather than being at the mercy of any selection bias inherent in pre-existing groups" (pp. 1115–1116). To achieve the sample, the Victory People's Organisation provided a list of fishing households for Barangay Victory that fish using a net deployed from a *balsa*. The *balsa* is a bamboo raft lashed together with microfilament line that is used for near-shore fishing; these types of vessels are rarely motorized. Nine members from the list were interviewed; the other 11 participants were recruited by snowball sampling (verbal recommendations from existing participants) or through random household visits. Despite differences in vessels, all respondents participated in a mixed-gear fishery that targets multiple species.

Interviews were planned as one-on-one interviews; this was achieved with eight participants. However, due to the culture of the community, it became common for other members from neighboring households to join in and participate during the interview process, sometimes creating small focus

groups. This was the case in six interview sessions where other members of the community (e.g., children and adults) were present as observers. In these cases, group size varied from two to a maximum of five people. Some interviewees, who were unsure of how to answer a question, or who were confused by a question, or seemingly shy, often looked to bystanders for encouragement, input, and/or clarification. In all cases the bystanders were female family members. When this occurred (e.g., others contributed to and/or significantly influenced interviewee responses), this was noted in the research journal and has been subsequently considered in the results and analysis sections of this article. For the purposes of reporting, bystanders who contributed to the data are referred to as secondary participants.

The instrument explored interviewees' awareness of tourism by asking questions regarding familiarity with the term, exposure to tourism, potential tourism attractions within the community (e.g., cultural sharing, local handicrafts), valuation of the existing natural resources as they relate to tourism (e.g., beach, coral reefs), and the potential environmental, social, and economic benefits and risks associated with tourism. The willingness to engage in tourism as an alternate employment activity was explored by asking participants to indicate their satisfaction with their current livelihood, their desire to be involved in tourism, as well as the benefits they perceived were associated with tourism employment.

As the study was qualitative in nature, the goal for this sample was to achieve saturation in the data (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Morse, 1995). Morse (1995) emphasizes, "the *quantity* of data in a category is not theoretically important to the process of saturation. Richness of data is derived from detailed description, not the number of times something is stated" (p. 148). Guest et al. (2006) suggest that distribution of knowledge and experience is inversely related to the number of participants required. For example, a widely distributed experience such as participation in a remote fishery would require fewer participants than a more unique experience (e.g., a fisherfolk who moved or changed industries).

Ethical Principles Followed

Small-island economies are both volatile and vulnerable due to an often limited export base,

isolation, and environmental fragility (Chowdhury, 2009). Remote fishing communities in the Philippines may be considered vulnerable groups due to low-income levels, lack of exposure to outsiders, and vulnerability to poverty. Baticados and Agbayani (2000) found research in Filipino communities to be hindered by a lack of understanding of the concept of research as well as failure to understand a realistic timeline regarding potential benefits and research outcomes.

To minimize risk to the community, the primary researcher explained (with the assistance of a translator) the reasons for conducting the research and answered any questions or concerns raised by participants including those who joined the interviews and those who approached the researcher while she was in the community. Additionally, participants were able to choose to receive a copy of the research report. Written consent was obtained from all participants.

Data Analysis

Interview time varied from 11 to 35 minutes and depended on group size and the interviewee's depth of knowledge on interview subjects. All interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed. Transcription records were used, along with the primary researcher's notes and reflections, to conduct a thematic analysis. According to Boyatzis (1998), "Thematic analysis enables scholars, observers, or practitioners to use a wide variety of types of information in a systematic manner that increases their accuracy or sensitivity in understanding and interpreting observations about people, events, situations, and organisations" (p. 5). Thematic analysis is dependent upon a coding system in which the data are subdivided and categorized (Bell, 2005; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The coding system allows the data to be organized into manageable "chunks" that can be retrieved and revisited as they relate to a particular theme. By coding the data, the value is placed on the meaning of the words rather than the words themselves. Data sets were manually coded and categorized following the conventions described by Braun and Clarke (2006). Once coded, the pieces of data or statements were reinterpreted and recontextualized "within broader frames of reference" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 207) as themes.

Results

Age and Gender

Participants' ages ranged from 24 to 64 years. The majority of primary interviewees were male (16 out of 21). The mean age of male participants was 44 years ($SD = 13.51$) and the mean age of female participants was 32 years ($SD = 7.23$).

Daily Catch and Fishing Effort

Participants were asked to report their household effort and daily catch and fishing gear(s) used. Participants reported the daily catches were as a range; this range varied by 1–2 kg. Four participants noted that their catch may double or triple as a result of "good weather," or more specifically, good fishing conditions. In a few cases, the average catches provided were not consistent with the stated income. It is noted that all reported average catches were less than 5 kg or over 10 kg; no one reported catches in the range of 6–9 kg.

All respondents reporting fishing at least 5 hours per day and some up to 12 hours per day. Vessel types were limited to *banca* (small outrigger boats with outboard engine) or *balsa* (bamboo rafts) and gear types used included monofilament mesh nets, hand-held hook and line, longline, spear, torch, fish trap, or combinations thereof. Some of the

participants make and sell their own gear, while most do their own repairs. Figure 2 depicts the averages of reported catches by gear types.

To understand daily catch as a function of perception, interviewees were asked if they felt their household daily catch was sufficient. Eight interviewees felt that their catch was enough to maintain a subsistence livelihood, while six felt that it was sometimes enough. Five felt that the current catch was not enough; two responses were missing. Those that responded stating the catch was not enough were asked to expand. These justifications included competition, illegal fishing, and seasonality of the fisheries. As one interview stated, "Every year, there is more illegal fishing, so there are no more fish near shore." To understand daily catch as a predictor of occupation satisfaction, participants were asked how they felt about fishing as an occupation or livelihood.

Emergent themes that influenced occupational satisfaction are reported in Table 1.

Income

Daily income is presented in Figure 3. Respondents were all members of households in which fishing is the primary livelihood, although many also participated in fisheries-associated activities and sideline activities (e.g., gleaning, mat weaving,

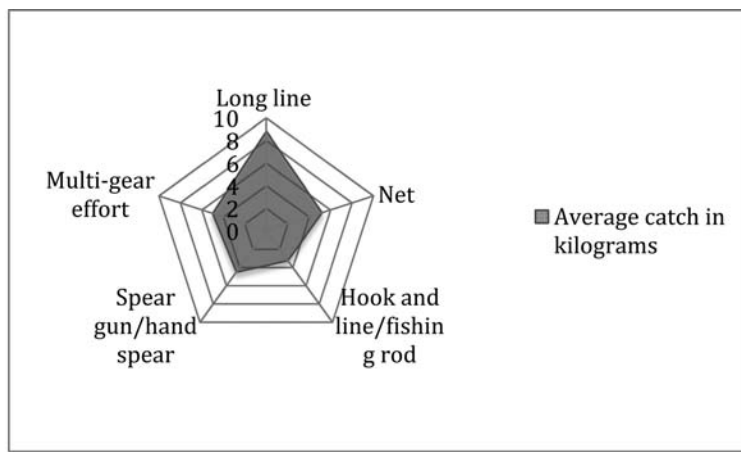


Figure 2. Average catch in kilograms. Multigear efforts included the following combinations: Squid trap, long line, net (2.5 kg average); fish net, fish trap (2 kg average); fish net, hand picking crabs, spear (5 kg average); petromax torch, fish net, hook and line (7.5 kg average); fish net, hook and line/fishing rod (4.5 kg average).

Table 1
Familiarity With the Concept and Term “Tourism”

	Familiar With the Term Tourism	Not Familiar With the Term Tourism	Somewhat Familiar With the Term Tourism	Identified Tourist Spots, but Unfamiliar With the Term Tourism
Male	7 (36.8%)	4 (21.1%)	2 (10.5%)	2 (10.5%)
Female	3 (15.8%)	0	1 (5.3%)	0
Total	10 (52.6%)	4 (21.1%)	3 (15.8%)	2 (10.5%)

fish vendor). Part of the catch is kept for sustenance, while the remaining is sold to a local fish dealer. Most fishers caught a mix of reef fish species, known locally as *sari-sari*; this type of catch sells for around US\$1/kg.

Daily expenses included food and basic necessities, specifically rice and coffee. Some families spent money on education for their children; education-related expenses include uniforms, transportation, food, and school supplies. It was noted that on more than one occasion a household would go into debt, borrowing money from relatives or friends, to buy formula milk for a new child, because some felt that breast milk should be supplemented with formula. Health care access is limited; therefore, there are conflicting approaches to infant nutrition and needs. Some of the confusion may be attributed to larger corporations that aggressively promote various infant formulas and childhood milk products (personal observation, January 2012–January

2013). Participants without families to support, as well as those who averaged higher catches and therefore had higher incomes, stated that the extra money was sometimes spent on alcohol or gambling (e.g., cock fighting). One participant applied profits from surplus catch towards a type of food savings by purchasing extra rice.

Education

A degree from a local university program was the highest level of education recorded. One respondent had obtained a 2-year college qualification from a local university in business management, two respondents were high school graduates, and 11 respondents had achieved some level of high school education. Three respondents were elementary school graduates and one had achieved a grade four level education. Three interviewees did not respond to this question.

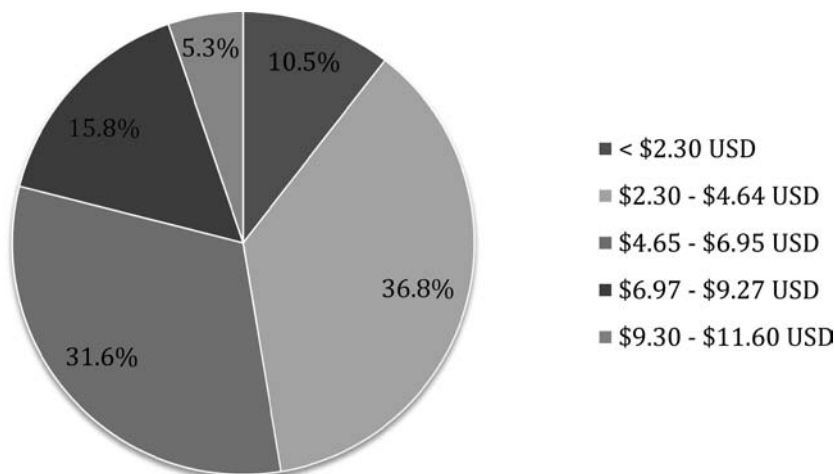


Figure 3. Average daily household income. During the time of data collection, US\$1 was equivalent to approximately 43PhP.

Table 2
Tourism Knowledge Acquisition

Female	"There are many foreigners visiting the sea ranch and mangroves."
Male	"I learned about it here in Bolinao and [in] my home place through traveling."
Male	"Watching TV."
Male	"Watching TV."
Male	"From the municipal town."
Male	"I learned when we had visitors."
Female	"I learned the word from the neighbor."
Male	"I learned through personal experience."

Tourism Awareness

There are many drivers for livelihood diversification in the fisheries (Martin, Lorenzen, & Bunnefeld, 2013). Although many of these are not well understood, this research focused on the perceived viability of diversification opportunities, specifically tourism. To document this, participants were asked questions concerning their overall awareness and understanding of tourism. This section presents results based on the perceived attitudes towards and general participant knowledge of tourism.

Before interviewees were asked their opinions or perceptions about tourism, they were first questioned about their familiarity with the term "tourism." To avoid influencing the responses, at the guide of the primary researcher, the interpreter did not offer any explanation of tourism beyond the inclusion of the local term for visitors. The goal behind this question was to identify a level of exposure to the concept. The majority of responses were a basic yes or no (see Table 2).

Participants who offered voluntary explanations of tourism often demonstrated confusion about the term, rather than an understanding of the term. For example, one interviewee stated, "Tourism is related

to the environment. I have some ideas about tourism. In Baguio there are foreigners there because of climate, the Koreans [visit there] and also in Manila." Two participants claimed to not know or understand the term tourism; however, they were able to list tourism attractions. This was coded as a partial understanding. After analyzing these narratives, it was apparent that even those stating a full understanding of the term may have been confused or have an entirely different perception of tourism than those from a Western context. For this reason, one label was assigned to participants who declared a full or partial understanding.

To expand on the claimed understanding of the term tourism, respondents that stated a familiarity with the term tourism were asked how they learned about the concept or came to know the term. Of the 15 respondents familiar with tourism, eight provided a source of understanding. These results are presented by themes in Table 3.

Interviewees claiming experiential exposure included those who had traveled or who had received visitors either directly or had indirectly observed visitors in their community. Experience was the most common theme. Exposure through media was limited to television. Social exposure included communication sources from neighbors and from the Municipality.

To further explore the general understanding of tourism, participants were asked through two separate questions to name tourism attractions or areas where visitors are present in the both Bolinao Municipality, as well as on or around Santiago Island.

The Bolinao Tourism Map, which is a permanent fixture at the Bolinao bus station and is distributed in print form at various locations throughout the Municipality (but not seen on Santiago Island),

Table 3
Participants' Knowledge of Local Tourism Locations

Bolinao	No. of Respondents	Santiago Island	No. of Respondents
Resorts	7	Resorts	1
Beaches/seashore	8	Beaches/seashore	11
Museum	1	Sea ranch	5
Waterfalls	2	Coral gardens	1
Bolingasay River	1	Islands (e.g., Magsai sai, Silaki)	2
		Mangroves	1

lists six tourist attractions (Bolinao Falls, Balingasay River, Bolinao Museum, UPMSI, Bolinao Lighthouse, and Patar White Sand Public Beach) in addition to accommodations and restaurants. Sixteen participants were able to identify one or more tourism locations; however, three participants were unable to identify any tourism locations on or around Santiago Island or within the Bolinao Municipality.

The beaches and seashore were the most commonly listed attraction both in Bolinao and on Santiago Island ($n = 19$). Resorts ($n = 8$) were the second most identified attraction in Bolinao. One of the participants identified resorts as an attraction on Santiago Island; however, to date there are no resorts or formal accommodations offered in this location. Five interviewees mentioned the sea ranch. Island hopping and the Bolinao waterfalls

were mentioned twice each, while the Balingasay River, Bolinao museum, Coral garden, and Mangroves were each mentioned once.

To expand on the idea of tourist attractions and gain insight to the values assigned to the natural resources, participants were asked what potential tourists would like to see if they arrived at each of the respective research sites as tourists. It was recognized during the first two interviews that this question caused confusion. In immediate response, this question was explained by shifting the conversation to first person and asking, "If I came here for a visit, what would you show me?" Responses are organized by themes and subthemes and presented in Table 4.

The responses varied from simple responses such as the name of a place, to more elaborate responses, in which it was apparent that the interviewees were

Table 4
Perceived Areas of Interest for Visitors

Gender	Perceived Interests of Visitors	Existing Tourism Products
Female Male	Sea ranching, mangroves, and lives of the people. If there are visitors, we will teach them how the seashore in Victory is nice and scenic views. The sea ranch, we are proud to have the sea ranch here in Victory.	
Female	They would learn about different sources of income, not only fishing but also other activities in the area.	We are living in a barrio place. It is a small place too far from the municipal town. We could share the food, the fish is fresh, not spoiled fish.
Female Male	(Agreed with the previous response) Give us fresh fruits.	A clean environment. We would show that Victory is a quiet place.
Male Female Male	Anywhere and everywhere (laughing). The sea ranch, mat weaving, and the shells.	It depends, but I have no idea.
		We will show the wonderful sea of Victory, we will swim. We will show you the white sand. And to a swim spot with a huge rock on an island. <i>Researcher</i> : 'How do we get there?' On the bangka! (At this point the wife of the second brought three cowry shells and said 'For you, souvenir!')
Male	White sand beach.	Dried fish, taste it!
Male	Mangroves.	
Male	Clams, sea cucumbers.	Shells, dried fish.
Male	I don't know, maybe companionship. Living and laughing together.	White sand beach, Magsi si Island.
Male	The people here are friendly and hospitable.	If you come here, I will show you our character and hospitality.
Male	The sea.	The beach.
Female	I don't know.	I will introduce you to the other people here.
Male	I don't know.	I could show you shells.
Male	The marine management projects.	Our projects, sea cucumber, mangroves because we are planting
Male	The beach.	The beach.

imagining the possibilities. For example, one participant, with enthusiasm, exclaimed, "We will show the wonderful sea of victory. We will swim! We will show you the white sand. And take you to a swim spot with a huge rock on an island!" In four cases, participants prefaced their comments with "I don't know"; however, three went on to elaborate on potential tourism opportunities; the other stated "anywhere and everywhere."

The two emergent themes were *social* and *environmental*; these were further divided into sub-themes. Under the main theme *social*, "culture" was the most reported subtheme, followed by "food" and then "livelihoods." Within the theme *environmental* the most common subthemes were "scenery," "projects," and "fauna," respectively. Responses themed as culture focused on participants' ideas of sharing the Victory way of life. As one participant explained, "The people here are friendly and hospitable. If you come here, I will show you our character and hospitality." Another interviewee bridged all three social subthemes (culture, livelihood, and food) stating, "They [potential tourists] would learn about different sources of income, not only fishing but also other activities in the area. We are living in a barrio place. It is a small place far from the municipal town. The food, the fish, it is fresh fish, not spoiled fish." Fish and fruits were listed as potential food attractions. References to livelihoods were often more oriented towards a general way of life, yet specific descriptions included fishing and mat weaving. The sub-theme "projects" referred to marine management projects (e.g., sea cucumber ranch, clam farm, and mangrove restoration) and was, therefore, grouped under environment due to their direct involvement with the resources. References to scenery and fauna were likewise considered to be environmentally centric. While scenic references were the most common, the responses were often simplistic. For example, "The sea. The beach." Another participant said, "A clean environment." Excerpts from the field notes contradicted some of these statements; it was noted that Victory coastal area lacks beaches and that litter throughout the *barangay* was common. Respondents identifying fauna as potential attractions referenced only invertebrates, with the most common reference being towards seashells and not the actual organism.

Effects of Tourism

This section focuses on results from questions that concerned the potential environmental, social, and economic effects of potential tourism development as a livelihood strategy for remote fishing communities. These results offer a perception-based account of the risks and benefits from a potential livelihood shift towards tourism. To document participant awareness of potential effects from tourism development on the marine environment, those participants who stated partial or full understanding of tourism were asked through various lines of questioning to explain the potential social, environmental, and economic effects of tourism. It is important to note that neither a specific kind of tourism, nor an actual scale of tourism, was mentioned at anytime during the interview, nor did participants request this information. This was left up to the interpretation of the participants. Results are presented in Table 5.

All respondents questioned about the potential effect of tourism on the marine environment claimed it would have no effect, or more specifically

Table 5
Feelings Towards Hosting Visitors

Female	Happy. If there is tourism here we can get some extra livelihood, like renting boats.
Male	Happy. There are only a few foreigners coming. Because new faces, new look, new color, and new friends. [When we see] some neighbours, we just look at each other. Everyday, every time, it's the same face [not in a good way].
Female	Happy. There are new people to come visit our poor place.
Female	Proud. Even though we are a poor <i>barangay</i> and far from municipal town proper, we are happy that there are still foreigners like you who visit.
Male	Happy. Because we see a new face.
Male	I am happy because you are beautiful to see. It's a new look and a new face.
Male	Happy, because it's new face, new person and a beautiful woman.
Male	For me, happy. We are proud of our place.
Male	Happy, if someone like you comes.
Male	It's ok, we are proud when people come.
Female	When we were kids we were fascinated to see foreigners, we loved to see foreigners, I cannot explain why but we were star struck. Were amazed that someone from another part of the world would come here.

no negative effect, on fisheries or the marine environment. Two of the respondents provided detailed explanations. One of these explanations was directly related to the potential effect of tourists and tourism on the marine environment: "There is no effect on the marine environment because the visitors are just looking or visiting and do not destroy the environment."

The other response did not reference the environment and instead indicated (and was coded as) a potential economic gain from tourism: "[Smiling] Sometimes if there are visitors here in Victory, we are happy, because they can serve as an extra income. If we catch fish, the visitors will buy it at a higher price."

The questions concerning social aspects sought to document perceived social benefits and ethical risks associated with tourism development. Nine participants stated no effect. Additionally, there were no social risks identified by participants, only gains. Potential social benefits included a fun atmosphere associated with visitors, the chance to share their place, and the ability to see new faces. As one woman said, "I remember when we were kids; we were fascinated to see foreigners. We loved to see foreigners. I cannot explain why we were star struck. I guess we were amazed that someone from another part of the world would come here."

When asked how tourism might affect their livelihoods, no negative responses were recorded. While five interviewees felt that their livelihoods would be unaffected, nine stated there would be the potential for economic gain. One participant felt that would expand their market for selling fish or fish products. Another participant thought that the Municipality could possibly include tourism as a development project to stimulate the Victory economy. The remaining seven participants answered simply that tourism would be of economic benefit to their livelihoods and provided no further explanation. However, not all responses referred to economic changes. One respondent again addressed perceived social benefits saying: "I could have new friends. Tourism would affect my life because I could see some beautiful faces and I will be happy."

There were multiple cases in which the responses referenced a realm (environmental, social, or economic) unrelated to the question. For clarity, such

responses were coded and grouped under the appropriate realm despite the line of questioning.

In conclusion, and to provide further evidence for understanding the reported risks and benefits, participants were asked to state their willingness to be involved in tourism.

Sixteen of the interviewees indicated some level of desire to engage in tourism with a common response being a straightforward "yes," or a less committal "why not?" Though two participants were undecided, none of the respondents stated an unwillingness to be involved in tourism. Those who were reported as undecided noted their household's commitment to the fishery. As one woman said, "My husband is a fisher so he cannot change fishing"; however, she realized that through involvement in tourism she would "have more opportunities to sell my sideline business [boneless milkfish/bangus]." The other interviewee expressing hesitation stated, "It depends. I am a full-time fisherman." Two participants noted the social benefits of tourism in the responses regarding willingness to be involved in tourism. However, it is noted that in both of these cases, the respondents additionally referenced an economic benefit. As one participant expressed: "I would love it. I could have new friends. Tourism would affect my life because I could see some beautiful faces and I will be happy. Tourism would benefit us as a family. We could rent our boat to take people to the sea ranch."

Closing the Interview Sessions

To conclude each interview session, participants were asked if there was any additional information they wanted to share or if they had any questions to ask. Nine participants responded to this, one who was a female secondary participant. The themes drawn from these comments included hope ($n = 4$), pride ($n = 3$), and masculinity ($n = 2$). Those categorized as hope included responses that referenced the return of the researcher and the research as well as the expectations of change as a result of this research. Responses categorized as pride included pride in place, products (dried fish), and social achievements. For example, a secondary female participant stated, "We are happy because you visited us. And we are proud because we met

other people we did not know. We are lucky!” An example of a comment categorized under masculinity was a male participant who asked the primary researcher “Are you married?”

Throughout the study all respondents communicated positive attitudes towards visitors and tourism as a livelihood activity. Though the majority of participants claimed some familiarity with the term tourism and/or the concept of visitors, not all participants were able to list a nearby tourism attraction. The partial ability to name tourism attractions represents the limited awareness of tourism in the area. This is likely a result of the worldview of participants. Sixteen of the participants were born on Santiago Island. Although the mainland is easily accessible via a short tricycle ride and 10-minute boat ride, due to the relative costs, travel occurs only out of necessity (e.g., medical, family). For a family, the cost of one-way travel to the port, across the lagoon, and to Bolinao town proper often exceeds a single day’s earning. Only commerce or family emergencies dictate such travel. Although overall participant responses indicate a willingness to engage in tourism activities, the lack of understanding of tourism as a concept and the inability to consistently identify existing or potential tourism opportunities indicate that these results are likely a case of participants responding with an uninformed yes. We have therefore interpreted the data as such and assume that in the case of the fisherfolk of Barangay Victory that tourism for leisure purposes is a poorly understood concept and that, at the present, community members would have difficulty intrinsically placing value on the expectations of tourists and succeeding in the industry.

Discussion

The catch data combined with reported daily income and expenses describe a subsistence fishery in Barangay Victory. The average daily catch (Fig. 2) has dropped significantly since the 1970s, during which time municipal fishers of the Philippines reported average catches of 20 kg per day (Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations [FAO], 2004). An accurate account of actual fishing effort and catch was difficult to capture. For example, when asked how often they fished, participants indicated a high level of effort

of 6 or more days per week as long as the weather was good, with most taking Sundays off for church. However, when questioned about fishing during the day of the interviews, which were never conducted on Sundays, most participants had not been fishing. During bad weather when the seas are rough due to strong winds or storms, which occur during the prevalence of the Southwest monsoon (June–September), many household heads engage in contractual menial work or farming. There were slight winds and slight to moderate seas during days when the interviews were conducted. Such contradictions are not thought to have affected the interpretation of the data as the reported catches correspond with more recent catch data (FAO, 2004) and the apparent decline in the fishery is supported in the literature (e.g., Baticados, 2004; White et al., 2000). Instead, the misrepresentations of effort and possibly catches are interpreted as a consequence of fishers’ lack of formal record keeping and adherence to a regular schedule. Such gaps or discrepancies in the data are not surprising as artisanal fisheries data are notoriously difficult to capture due to the nature of the fishery (J. V. Mensah & Antwi, 2002).

Remote subsistence communities are difficult to assess with regard to their economic status. The most recent census by National Statistical Coordination Board (2011) showed that a Filipino household of five requires the equivalent of US\$172 per month to avoid poverty and US\$120 per month to maintain subsistence. The daily incomes revealed in this study place the majority of the surveyed fishing households below the national poverty line. However, these statistics do not take into account the sustenance provided by fishing. Despite the minimal reported incomes, in general participants were able to meet basic food needs. Fishing provided sustenance for the fisher and other members of the household, and any surplus catch was sold in order to purchase other basic food necessities. While some participants felt they were part of a “poor” *barangay* and others requested opportunities to improve their livelihoods, desperation was not inferred from any of the responses. This may be a result of complacency or general satisfaction with the fishing way of life or it may be a result of a subtler cultural nuance. Filipinos are often described in print and elsewhere as a happy and resilient people (personal observation January

2012–February 2012) and tend to avoid conflict in any form, even complaint (Roces & Roces, 2009). Because this research included questions about the occupational satisfaction of fisherfolk, the researchers were able to draw further interpretations from the data. Many of the respondents reported a partial or general satisfaction with fishing; therefore, the researchers interpreted the data as depicting a community with a simplistic way of life, rather than a community living in despair or poverty. As a result, the researchers avoid the label “poor” and refrain from describing the participants’ situation as desperate. While it is expected that an increase in income, be it from higher catches or supplemental livelihoods, would translate to an increase in savings, this may not hold true within the case studied. Participants noted extra money was often spent gambling or on alcohol; therefore, an increase in purchasing power may not necessarily be of social benefit to the households or contribute to economic gains. Overall, the majority of study participants expressed a general contentment with their livelihoods, although most indicated they would take advantage of a new and better opportunity if it presented itself. Based on the reported occupational satisfaction of participants, which is supported in previous literature (e.g., Fabinyi, 2007; Muallil et al., 2011), it is questionable whether or not fisherfolk would even desire or succeed with formalities required by a different livelihood (e.g., showing up on time, abiding to a consistent schedule).

It is a long-held notion that an important livelihood quality for fishers is the ability to be their own boss (Muallil et al., 2011). The fishing way of life is, in itself, a culture. Beyond the independence of self-leadership associated with fishing, Fabinyi (2007) describes other pull factors of fishing stating, “fishing is a gamble and an opportunity for male fishermen to demonstrate their masculinity, economic prowess, and value” (p. 519). While many fishers in the Philippines, including some of the participants of this study, are financed, meaning that they are indebted to a financier and are therefore not “their own boss,” they still have the ability to choose when and where to fish. Therefore, the results, when framed within the reality of the community, suggest that development (and the change that is an essential part of it) is not necessarily desired.

Despite the perceived contentment with their livelihoods, the high dependency on the marine resources creates an environmental concern and ultimately affects the resiliency of the community (Kronen, Vunisea, Magron, & McArdle, 2010; Turner et al., 2007). As suggested by Kronen et al. (2010), economic diversification may help to alleviate pressure on marine resources while improving overall resilience. Unfortunately, the reported occupational satisfaction from community members will likely impede any development initiatives designed to produce a livelihood shift. This is an important issue, as the universal and unquestioned objective of government and international development agencies is to provide economic development and alternative livelihoods for these remote and impoverished communities.

Interviews revealed that there was little understanding of or concern for the potential effects of tourism on the fisheries, the coral reef, or the general marine environment. It appears that the marine environment is viewed mostly by fisherfolk as a food source and that these fishers consider their use of the resource to have little or no consequence of effect. As one interviewee stated, “The gears have no effect. They [the net] won’t hurt the coral reef, but the coral reef will destroy the net.” This lack of understanding of consequences for the marine environment is in contrast to the findings of Launio, Morooka, Aizaki, and Liguni (2010), who found Filipino fishers felt a civic duty to protect the marine environment as well as a willingness to support MPAs and marine conservation. This is not surprising as the proconservation attitudes reported in Launio et al. (2010) are in direct contrast to the actual behavior of many Filipinos (Dalabajan, 2009). There is widespread and continued use of illegal and destructive fishing methods in the Philippines (White et al., 2000), with over 10,000 cases daily of blast fishing (Antiporda, 2012) despite widespread advocacy and work to reduce such destructive practices.

Whereas participants in the current study had difficulty identifying potential environmental effects associated with tourism, their abilities to identify potential tourism assets, and more specifically the marine resources as a valuable tourism asset, varied. One study participant suggested that a visitor would want to taste dried fish, while other interviewees

identified their potential friendship to visitors as an asset. One participant household (husband and wife as a secondary participant), who sidelined in the shell trade, discussed the concept of souvenirs and gifted clean cowrie shells to the primary researcher. The same participant household, when asked, was able to identify the sea as a valuable tourism resource, identifying potential tourism activities such as beaches, swimming, and island hopping. This household's response suggests that an indirect exposure to the tourism market may be a predictor of tourism awareness understanding within fishing communities. Thus, ways that local people are exposed to tourism may offer further insight into their general understanding of the concept and is an area for further exploration. Participants, when asked how they came to know tourism, listed experiential, media, or social exposure. The majority of participants who indicated an experiential exposure had observed or heard about visitors. Primary participation in a tourism exchange was minimal. Based on the lack of experience and awareness, it is thought that accessing the tourism market may pose additional challenges within a remote artisanal fishing community. Outside of the one household who realized the opportunity to sell souvenirs, there was little mention of entrepreneurial opportunities with the exception of one other participant who stated that he could rent his boat to tourists. This general lack of commercial motivation is thought to be a result of a low level of understanding of tourism and is likely, in part, due to a difference in culture and lifestyle—that is, a culture and lifestyle that is not focused on material possessions or the acquisition of wealth.

A potential change in lifestyle is an important issue when suggesting alternative or supplemental livelihoods. Previous research within the Philippines has shown that fishers may not be willing to forfeit their fishing lifestyle (Muallil et al., 2011) and more specifically may be against tourism development for fear of exclusion (Fabinyi, 2010). The research of Muallil et al. (2011) documented a high heterogeneity in willingness to exit the fishery, finding that fishers were likely to continue fishing despite declining catches; However, even when offered theoretical monetary incentives, some fishers were unwilling to exit the

fishery despite the substantial monetary rewards. Compared to Muallil et al. (2011), our study presented tourism as a potential and/or supplemental livelihood with no monetary incentives attached or described. The stated willingness to exit the fishery may be a result of the difference in commitment to a supplemental livelihood versus a complete shift in livelihood. It could also be a case of participants not fully understanding what they are committing to. Some responses, in particular “why not?,” are likely a result of the respondents entertaining the questions of the researcher and potential gender biases towards the researcher. It is common in Filipino culture that a “yes” has layered meanings and can even be meant as a polite “no” (Roces & Roces, 2009, p. 8). Some interviewees reported participation in opportunistic sideline jobs such as construction or painting, with the draw being consistent pay (set amount per day). Therefore, in spite of the possible “yes” factor and the minimal understanding of tourism, we feel that, based on the current involvement in sideline activities and the lack of negative responses towards a livelihood shift, some participants would take advantage of an available opportunity for consistent employment if given the means to do so. However, although a livelihood shift towards tourism may be plausible, it is likely to present many challenges and is not necessarily the “win-win” solution with widespread benefits (mainly economic and environmental) promoted by local governments in the Philippines (Fabinyi, 2010).

The perceived social benefits found in this study were limited to a single case. However, the findings suggest that the distribution of social benefits needs further attention. The social value of visitors was the most prominent theme throughout the data. The majority of participants surveyed were “happy” at the idea of hosting visitors and many mentioned the joy of seeing a new face. In the context of remote fishing communities, it is assumed that a tourist or visitor provides a break in the monotony of day-to-day life where external stimulation (e.g., Internet, television, radio) may be limited or nonexistent. This highly reported social value of seeing a “new face” is notable when compared to the lack of mention of monetary benefits. These results suggest that creating opportunities for fisherfolk within tourism

development schemes for social interaction with tourists may facilitate initial access to the industry. However, the issue of masculinity requires further attention, as the level of influence on the social benefits was not clear. The findings from this case suggest that shifting the current focus of development strategy from monetary and/or environmental benefits to social benefits is worthy of additional exploration.

The depth of knowledge of tourism and its associated economies within the surveyed fishing community was extremely limited. Though there was a basic familiarity with the concept of tourism among the respondents, there was a general lack of understanding of the industry, and the associated environmental, social, and economic benefits and risks. Although this finding could be a result of communication issues associated with the instrument, participant responses overall demonstrated a general familiarity with the concept of visitors. As visitors to the community are rare, it was understood that the excitement of seeing new faces likely overshadows the associated risks or potential negative influences on the community. It is instead thought that inability to cite potential risks associated with tourism is a result of remoteness and the community's lack of exposure to a functioning tourism economy. While it has been suggested that education be used to provide training in business skills for communities lacking such knowledge (Narain & Orfei, 2012), such a process would require a long-term commitment and a significant financial investment to effectively provide the necessary extensive education, ongoing communication, assessment, and institutional support to thoroughly engage the community. Even then, there would be no guarantee that such preparation could sufficiently prepare the community to access and cope with tourism activities. Further, our findings indicate that the community may not actively be seeking such benefits from development, tourism or otherwise.

In reality, there are numerous risks associated with tourism. Such risks may be exaggerated in remote areas where external social influences are normally limited. The interpreted naivety towards risks may be specific to this case; however, Cheong's (2005) description of negative externalities observed during fishing communities' transitions towards tourism

would suggest that our findings likely represent a more widespread phenomenon. Resource use conflicts between the fishing and tourism industries following the introduction of tourism have been well described in the literature (see Chen, 2010; Cheong, 2005; Christie, 2004; Majanen, 2006). Identifying the perceived potential risks is an important step in any livelihood development; however, as our results demonstrate, an educational component that describes lessons learned may be a necessary initial step within a tourism livelihood diversification project for a remote fishing community. If tourism becomes the chosen path for development, then educating host communities regarding the potential risks may improve project outcomes (Cheong, 2005).

Although our results indicate that accessing tourism may prove difficult for Barangay Victory, the proximity of existing tourism activities (largely domestic tourism) coupled with the ability to access tourism amenities (e.g., beaches, islands, MPAs) creates potential for the community (Cheong, 2005). Additionally, community-based tourism development has been suggested by the Bolinao Tourism Office (Aguila, 2011), thus the opportunity is recognized by local officials. Community members themselves in this study expressed an interest in sharing their community and resources. However, educational, language and cultural barriers coupled with lack of experience in tourism and inadequate infrastructure to support visitation to the area (e.g., transport, accommodation, water, food, suitable vessels, and so on) would hinder the community's ability to host foreign tourists. In the case of Barangay Victory, focusing on domestic tourism may lessen some of these barriers, namely language and cultural barriers. While a livelihood diversification using tourism as a strategy would likely have positive impacts on the local economy and potentially lessen the dependency on the marine resources, it may not be the quickest or most appropriate way to achieve community development and resource management goals.

Conclusion

This study revealed that, although members of an isolated artisanal fishing community in the Philippines were interested in improving their livelihoods

through tourism, there was a lack of basic knowledge about the associated benefits and risks of tourism at the community level. At this point, this is the most important constraint to any tourism development-based initiative. This constraint is supported by Easterly's (2006) assumption that the majority of current development projects are idealistic and fail to address on-the-ground realities. To continue to consider tourism as an appropriate livelihood diversification strategy for remote fishing communities, there remains a need for formal risk management procedures; a stated willingness of a community to engage in tourism should not be considered sufficient. The instrument applied in this research is suggested as a suitable method to create comparative cases in other locations for future studies seeking to achieve similar research goals and to determine the actual transferability of this case.

The results show that, in any case, the perceptions of fisherfolk are critical components for any attempts to transition fishing-based communities towards another livelihood. Although this may appear self-evident, there is an array of developmental strategies and approaches that do not engage local community members in a meaningful way. The fisherfolk surveyed in this study were generally satisfied with their lives and their expressed desire to create additional and supplemental livelihoods was not founded out of desperation. Instead, the most common reaction to the idea of increasing the number of visitors to their area was the social value placed on hosting visitors (e.g., as expressed by the recurring theme of "the joy of seeing new faces").

Continued degradation of the local fishery will likely increase poverty and hardship for this community and, as a consequence, alternate sources of income are needed. Development options are limited in locations such as Barangay Victory and, despite the many challenges associated with it, tourism may remain one of the few options for livelihood diversification within this and other remote fishing villages. What is needed at a fundamental level is a review of current tourism development strategies. The findings from this study, while limited to a single case, suggest that tourism development as a strategy may require a shift in current thinking. First, we feel that the reported perceived social benefits of tourism need further exploration and definition. The

voyeuristic requests of the participants in this study may be satisfied through an indirect exposure to tourism and may not require a direct engagement in the industry; however, providing opportunities for social interaction with visitors may serve to provide a primary engagement for tourism within this community. For example, tourism programs that focus on existing behaviors and activities of the community (e.g., cultural tourism) may offer community members the chance for social interaction, while providing a simple livelihood diversification. In the case of Barangay Victory, emphasizing the social elements associated with tourism development may provide the catalyst for a long-term transition away from dependence on a declining resource toward a more sustainable livelihood.

Reflecting on the findings from this study (including in situ observations as well as from the interviews), we suggest that an important consideration may be missing from the myriad of developmental efforts that seek to transition so-called poor, less developed communities to ones that are more developed and economically viable. Such approaches (development strategies) are likely based on a Western (developed world) understanding of development and livelihoods as desired outcomes rather than the desires of local community members. A basic question, which tests a commonly held assumption regarding the desire for development, is: Do local communities wish to be "developed"? In this context and in lieu of the findings from this research, the terms development and livelihood require further clarification particular to each case or community (e.g., career satisfaction, income, living conditions).

Much of the literature suggests that tourism is an important mechanism for supplemental or alternative livelihoods for fisherfolk, as well as a tool for marine conservation. If the goal is to improve livelihoods, the desire for improvement must be present and a careful consideration of what type of improvement or change is desired needs to be undertaken within each local community. These results showed that the needs of members from a community living in government-defined poverty are not necessarily economically defined. Instead, the participants of this study placed a high value on the social aspects associated with a potential livelihood diversification through tourism.

The findings from this research emphasize the importance of aligning development goals (Aswani, 2011). If the goal is to improve the fishery and the marine environment, money may be better spent on enforcement of existing legislation and direct conservation measures such as ecosystem protection, habitat restoration, and conservation management. If the goal is social development through the improvement of quality of life, then greater focus should be placed on the needs of the community through a holistic approach that addresses the social desires of its members.

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Biographical Notes

Brooke Porter's research focuses on innovative approaches to marine conservation utilizing participatory approaches. Her primary research interest is developing access points into sustainable tourism markets for fishing communities in less-developed nations. Brooke's other areas of interests include ecotourism, interpretation in wildlife tourism, and community outreach.

Mark Orams is a Professor and Associate Director (Coastal and Marine) of the New Zealand Tourism Research Institute at AUT University in Auckland, New Zealand and was Brooke Porter's supervisor and mentor for her Doctor of Philosophy degree. Mark's research interests lie in the marine tourism realm and he has a particular interest in marine protected areas and conservation of the marine environment.

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Appendix

Semistructured Interview: Fisher Profile and Experiences

Social

Sociodemographics

- a. What is your age?
- b. What is your first language, what other languages do you speak?
- c. Where were you born?
- d. Where have you travelled?
- e. Where has your family travelled?
- f. Are you a member of the people's organisation?
- g. Are you a member of the village council?
- h. What is your weekly/monthly income?
- i. What type of education do you have (formal/informal)?

Perceptions of livelihoods

- a. What is your primary occupation?
- b. Do you participate in any other sideline activities or jobs?
- c. How much time is spent on each activity?
- d. Are you a gleaner? Do you sell any products from gleaning (shell, meat)?
- e. Are you a member of a fishing cooperative or are you financed?
- f. How would you describe fishing as an occupation/job?
- g. Are you satisfied with your current occupation? If no, why?
- h. If there were new opportunities to change your occupation, would you leave your current occupation?
- i. What are your expenses?

Experience in the fishery

- a. How long have you been fishing?
- b. Are you registered as a fisher?
- c. Do you own or rent a boat?
- d. What fishing method do you use (e.g., boat or gleaning)?
- e. What types of fishing gear types do you use?
- f. Do you think these gears affect the environment? How?

- g. What is your daily catch? Is this enough? If no, why do you think you are not catching enough fish?
- h. How have the fisheries changed in the past 10 years?
- i. What species do you target? Is this different from 10 years ago?
- j. Have your fishing practices changed since you began fishing?
- k. Where did you fish when you started fishing?
- l. Where do you fish now?

Development programs

- a. Are there NGOs or academic institutions in your community that implement developmental programs? Which ones?
- b. If so, what projects do you participate in?
- c. Does the Barangay Council or People's Organisation (PO) have projects related to marine conservation?

Environmental

Marine management awareness

- a. Are there any marine management projects on Santiago?
- b. Who is responsible for the near shore marine management and enforcement?
- c. Who is responsible for fisheries regulations?
- d. How is the *barangay* involved in marine management?

Active conservation

- a. Are some fishing methods more sustainable or environmentally friendly than others? If yes, why?
- b. Which fishing methods are illegal?
- c. Why do you think people use illegal methods?
- d. Why are these methods illegal?
- e. What other issues affect the marine environment? (e.g., run-off, derelict gear, effluent)?

Tourism and the marine environment

- a. Are you familiar with the term tourism? If yes, how did you learn about it (e.g., TV, family, travel)?

- b. How do you feel about tourists (tourista/visita)?
- c. What kind of tourism exists in Bolinao?
- d. What kind of tourism exists in Santiago?
- e. How does tourism affect the fisheries?
- f. How does tourism affect the marine environment?

Perceived lifestyle changes associated with tourism

- a. How do you feel about tourism in the area?
- b. How might tourism affect the community?
- c. How would you feel about visitors coming into the community?
- d. What do you think visitors would be interested in learning about when they visit Victory?
- e. If I were a tourist/visitor, what would you show me?
- f. What kinds of opportunities are available for you in tourism?
- g. What opportunities exist for tourism in Victory?
- h. How do you think tourism would affect your livelihood?
- i. Would you like to be involved in tourism? Why or why not?

Is there anything else you want to tell me? Did you understand all of the questions I asked?

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