



## FRAMING VERNACULAR MEMORIES OF THE WOMEN FISHERFOLKS: A VANISHING CULTURAL HERITAGE IN NAMAYAN ISLAND, PHILIPPINES

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**ABSTRACT** – *Pamamaklad* (scooping of fish in an enclosed area), depicting the nightlife of the women fisherfolks, is a vanishing cultural heritage that has to be retold in the midst of urbanization. This qualitative study captures the vernacular memories of the women *namamaklad*, and their fishing practices that crafted their lived experiences in the small island of Namayan, Malolos City, Philippines. Anchored on the framework of vernacular memories, 5 women *namamaklad* were subjected to non-participant observation and interviews to find meanings put on their fishing practices. Emerging themes include close family relations, enterprising couple, risk from nature and urbanization. Describing the characteristics of women elucidates understanding on the value they put on their fishing practices. Vernacular memories require historical space to highlight the significance of the women in small scale fishing industry.

*Keywords: cultural heritage, namamaklad, vernacular memories, women fisherfolks*

### INTRODUCTION

The term *vernacular* means different things to many people. It can refer to tales and legends of the streets, urban literature, and history, or traditions of urbanism as expressions of collective memory (Stangl, 2008). Vernacular as used in this paper refers to the heritage of the everyday (Byrne, 2009), primarily intangible heritage, including places and objects. Based on 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, intangible cultural heritage is composed of three parts: practices, expressions, and knowledge and skills. Its context includes instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces, and the owners are the communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals.

Due to rapid economic development, the vernacular of the everyday has been pressured by urbanization, technology and environment issues. This paper, using the women *namamaklad* (manner of fishing boat as instruments, and the estuarial fish corral as cultural space are threatened by development. Moreover, side by side with community intangible heritage is declining participation of the women in corral fishing as they focus on career and education.

This paper is significant as it seeks to recognize the role of women as partners in fishing, given the reality that are considered unheard in the fishing industry. It highlights the vernacular memories of the women fisherfolks within the context of urban pressures. It communicates how these vernacular memories capture the difficulties of women amidst economic and environmental backdrop.

In the spectrum of economic activities, fishing is considered as one of the most hazardous occupations (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2007) and globally, fishing is considered a masculine activity (Geeji, et al., 2017). The importance of women in fishing is overlooked and de-emphasized as it is considered a male-dominated activity due to exposure of the fisherfolks to the harsh conditions of the sea. Accordingly, Coastal Wiki (2014), in its study on “Women and Social Cohesion in Coastal Communities,” acknowledges women’s vital role and provides significant contributions to the fishing industry, particularly in the social aspects of the fisheries evident on both onshore and offshore activities, specifically on fish production and marketing, and heritage preservation. However, it seems obvious that more-often women remain unrecognized or less recognized by lawmakers and implementers as well as the common people.

The perception “fishing as *masculine* activity” is based on the fact that men are given the opportunity to ride and sail in the fishing boats, and women are expected to tender the needs of their households and anticipated to be waiting for their husbands by the shore. This notion makes a very minimal, if not almost “NO” participation in the catching of fish.

Women in the Philippine fishing communities, as practiced worldwide, participate mainly in post-harvest activities. Women are often involved in the gathering and extraction of shells, fishing in rivers using spear like gears, scoop net fishing; these pursuits are considered as near shore activities (Villacorta, 1998). Women from Batan, Aklan (Lopez-Rodriguez, 1996) are considered as secondary workers who assist their husbands in simple fish handling tasks like fish dealing and net repair; while seaweeds cultivators in Calatagan, Batangas find women jobs as supplemental jobs since they see their tasks as extension of their household chores (Arandez-Tanchuling & Durano, 2006).

In fishing communities, both men and women have clearly defined the activities to perform on a daily basis. The men take pride in sailing out in the vast sea, tagging along their different types of fishing equipment, while women are more engaged in their household tasks and have seldom or no active participation in actual fishing activity. The superiority of the male gender in the fishery and coastal setting is evident in the fact that fishing involves high-risk activities and usually entails individualized pursuits that require tedious and physical male roles (Browne, 2002).

Women’s significant roles in pre- and post-capture activities have been given little attention, which leads to the almost invisibility of women as contributors to the fishing sector. De Silva (2011) stated that in the case of developing countries, due to insufficient capital equipment, women are expected to facilitate fish processing and marketing. Other activities of women include net mending, fish vending, and fish trading. Sumudra (1995, as cited in Medard, et al., 2002) claimed that failure to acknowledge the role of women in the fishing industries is a way of unrecognized their possible contribution to improve the fishing industry. Therefore, one of the challenges in the fishery sector is the recognition of women empowerment as a salient factor in the coastal resilience, as well as their inclusion in coastal environment.

Fishing is a nature-dependent economic activity. It is a life-threatening activity since most of the fisherfolks go out to work in the middle of the night and risk their lives to harvest fish amidst unfavorable working conditions. They are exposed to the cold wind, unstable weather condition, with the stars and dark night as working companions. Together with catching fish are the boats, fishing nets, fishing skills,

patience, strong body, and stable personality.

Fishing may be viewed as an ordinary livelihood, and many are unaware of the dangers that go with it. The fishermen's role is to bring food on the table, but the harshness of their working conditions is not reflected on the food they catch for the people. The culture attached to fishing is unrecognized, as they are framed as routinary and ordinary; but the fisherfolks, the sea, the boat, the nets, and the skills form part of the vernacular heritage that needs to be valued as they are significant parts of fishing cultural practices.

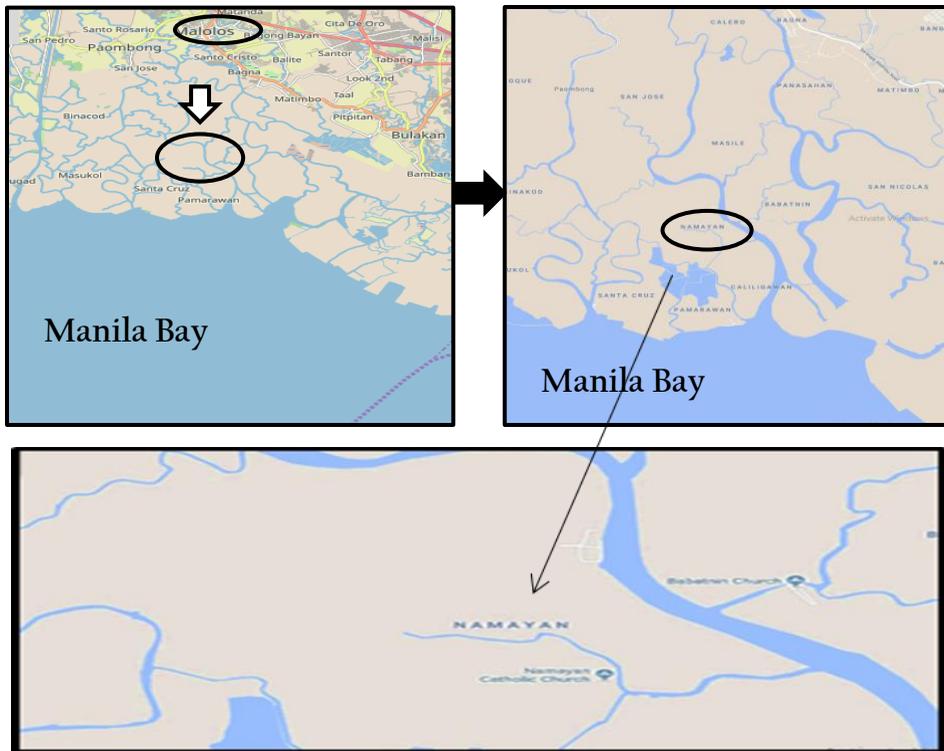
The women *namamaklad* go beyond the harvesting and marketing of fish. The Manila Bay estuary, as the spatial and cultural platform of the undocumented experiences of the women in corral fishing, forms parts of the vernacular heritage in the small fishing island of Namayan. The sorting experiences of the women articulate their difficulties of fishing in the middle of the night, their patience with nature, the love for family, and need for economic survival. The sorting of the fish harvest as the layer of experience frames an understanding to the "night life" of the women fisherfolks in the estuarial fishing ground as the "workplace". In the long run, however, the number of women *namamaklad* is declining as younger women lose interest due to risk-taking conditions. The objective of the paper is to understand the vernacular memories of the women *namamaklad* in a small fishing island along the estuarial Manila Bay. Specifically, it sought to describe the characteristics of women *namamaklad* with their fishing gears and boats. It also intends to describe the nature of their fishing engagements. Moreover, the study aims to explore on the narratives of women and find meanings in their fishing experiences.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

This qualitative study is part of an ethnographic-exploratory research conducted on women fisherfolks and their engagement with the everyday heritage. This is due to the fact that they are taken for granted as they are commonly given minor fishing-related tasks. Ethnography is a qualitative design where the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs, and language are being described and interpreted by the researcher (Creswell, 2013). The unit of analysis is the group of women fisherfolks who call themselves *namamaklad*.

*The Manila Bay estuary.* It is famous for its sunset, ports, and harbors and fishing industry. Despite being a natural heritage, the estuary has become a catchment basin of all the pollutants in Metro Manila, Central Luzon, and other parts of Luzon. The estuary as an economic and social space has been used and abused but despite its pollution level, the Manila Bay provided the coastal areas with food, job opportunities, fishing industry, and livelihood. In the island barangays of Malolos City, people are dependent on the marine resources of the Manila Bay.

Barangay (smallest political unit in the Philippines) Namayan (Figure 1) is located along the estuary of Manila Bay, offshore of Malolos City, Central Luzon, Philippines. Namayan, a fishing island, has a population of 771 people based on the 2015 Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) with an annual growth rate of 2.46% (2010-2015 PSA Census of Population). The barangay has 250 households (2014 Demographic Surveillance) and the average household size is 4, with Tagalog as the principal language spoken. Geographically, the island is bounded by Masile on the north; Babatrin on the east, Municipality of Paombong, Bulacan on the west; and the island of Kaliligawan on the south. Topographically, the island is relatively flat with wet and dry seasons.



**Figure 1.** Geographical location of the island barangay of Namayan along the estuary of Manila Bay (*Source:* Created from Google Maps).

Namayan is a community of salt makers, fish pond workers, fish corral fisherfolks, fish vendors, or boat drivers. A long narrow river connects the island to the mainland Malolos City, and the same river is used as transportation hi-way of the residents. The island has a single street where houses are lined up along its path. Among the five neighboring barangay islands, Namayan is the only island where the wives accompany their husbands to fish. Ninety percent women in the island of Babatnin are dressmakers; the women in the island of Pamarawan are shell gatherers, fish sellers, salt makers, or fish driers; whereas the women in the island of Caliligawan are salt makers, fish driers, and fish sellers. Finally, in Masile, women are not engaged in fishing activities as most of them are workers abroad.



**Figure 2.** Spot map of the island barangay of Namayan (Source: Created by the Namayan Barangay officials).

### ***Data gathering procedure***

A semi-structured interview and a non-participant observation of the community were conducted to gather data. A *robotfoto* was prepared to present the age, education, family members, number of years as *namamaklad* and number of years married. Moreover, a guide question tool was prepared, and the interview lasted for two hours in the residence of the five women.

The selection was based on information-rich-case, where women were able to articulate their experiences with corral fishing and drawing out meanings from those experiences. The recorded interviews were transcribed, and a spot-checking procedure was performed to validate the recording with the transcripts. The study used unfocused transcriptions to provide an overview of the women's narrative. From the narratives, coding was crafted to extract out themes where meanings were framed and highlighted.

### ***Ethical considerations***

Every key informant prior to the interview was given a brief explanation of the nature of the study and its purpose. Verbal consent was sought for taking photographs during the interview, and around the vicinity. The confidentiality and anonymity of the interview were emphasized, and the women were assured that the data gathered from the study will be used for research purposes only. Every participant was guaranteed of privacy and was assured of her freedom and right to withdraw should she choose to. Each of the participants was given time to read the consent form before signing. Participants' awareness and willingness to take part in the study are always confirmed and renegotiated as needed. They were also assured that no harm will be inflicted upon them and that all participants will be equally treated. Due

diligence was also observed in transcribing and translating data gathered from the interviews to assure accuracy in conveying the true meaning of their language. The researcher made sure that *Tagalog* and/or other dialects translated in English as verbalized by the respondents exactly reflected the true meaning of their responses from the interviews. All participants in the data gathering received a token of appreciation.

The interviews were transcribed into field text. Analyses were done in three ways: significant statements, data categorization, theme development and theme validation. Significant statements were read from the transcripts to draw out categories of experiences. From the categories, codes were identified to further understand the experiences of the women fisherfolks, and then followed by crafting of themes from the codes. The mode of analysis is presented in matrix form to provide a clear picture of the human experiences.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There are 15 couples in Namayan who still engage in *pamamaklad*. However, a selection of five women *namamaklad* presently residing in the island was chosen based on the number of years as “practitioners”, their skills in the sorting of fishes, their residency in the island, and ownership of a fish corral and fishing boat. Table 1 shows the *robotfoto* of the participants.

The selected women fisherfolks finished elementary education in Namayan as this was the only level of formal education offered in the island before. According to key informants, high school education is available in the mainland (City of Malolos), and sea transportation was expensive and inaccessible during their time. Thus, after primary education, women were expected to help in the household or work menial jobs. Through time, these women got married to the residents of Namayan who own fish corrals. As practiced in the island, the women accompany their husbands in corral fishing and lived experiences as *namamaklad* began.

**Table 1.** Robotfoto of the women *namamaklad* of Namayan.

Age	Place of Birth	Education	Number of years Namamaklad	Age when first become a Namamaklad
82	Atlag, Malolos	Graduated Elementary	5 years	12 years old
43	Hagonoy, Bulacan	3rd Year High School	35 years	18 years old
57	Namayan, Malolos	Graduated Elementary	24 years	27 years old
48	Namayan, Malolos	Graduated Elementary	31 years	17 years old
47	Navotas, Metro Manila	Grade 5	24 years	23 years old

The women have to leave their children at home in the middle of the night, return home in the early morning, and sleep the whole morning to rest. They accompany their husbands every time the latter scoop in the fish corral. The peak season of corral fishing takes place during the northeast monsoon, basically from October to May. Marine animals are abundant during these months, and the harvest is good that husbands and wives would start fishing around midnight, deliver the harvest to the fish landing, and return to scoop again until early morning. The *namamaklad* are very active during the fishing season but worry about food and financial expenses during the rainy season.



**Figure 3.** Baklad (Source: researcher-generated photograph).

*Baklad or Fish corral.* The fish corral is like a catchment area for trapping fish. It is a big fish pen protected by bamboo fences covered with nets with small opening that traps marine animals such as *biya* (*Glossogobius giuris*), shrimps (*Metapenaeus ensis*), or *alimasag* (*Portunus pelagicus*). The corral fishpen measures around 90-100 meters in length and around 60-80 in width. Corral fishing is active during the northeast monsoon following the dry wind direction (roughly from October to May). Meanwhile, the fish corrals are dismantled during the rainy season (June to August or September) as it is dangerous to fish during weather disturbances. The lay out of the *baklad* (fish corral) is per *purok* (smallest political division in the barangay), and owners pay tax to the local government from three hundred to five hundred pesos (1 U\$ is 51.00 PhP) as user fee. The fish coral is inherited by the son from the parents, and the former is expected to continue the tradition of corral fishing.

The fish corral owners in Namayan have two fishing sites: one in the area called *capiz* located along the river hi-way of Pamarawan (near Namayan island) and the other one further towards the “laot” (open estuary) of the Manila Bay. Those located in the open estuary are dismantled during the rainy season, while those located along the waterway are retained except during typhoons.

*Fishing gear.* Fishing gears are important as they protect the fisherfolks from the harsh environment in the estuary. The women fisherfolks protect their face by covering it with t-shirt called *takukung* (figure 4c) or wear bonnet. They wear long-sleeved shirts and long pants to protect themselves from salty water and cold wind. They put head light (Figure 4d) as it is easier and faster to sort fish. In the local language, the participation of women in fishing is the use “supot” (*net*) (Figure 4a), “sulo” (*light*) and “salok” (*scoop*) (Figure 4b).



**Figure 4.** “Supot” (a), “Salok” (b), (c) Woman Namamaklad wearing Takukung on her head and (d) head light. (Source: reseracher-generated photographs).

*Fishing boat.* The fishing boat (Figure 5a) is usually made of wood or fiber glass that measures around 9.8 meters in length and 1.5 meters in width, with a depth of almost 1 meter. The boat is not too big as it should fit in the fish corral to facilitate scooping of marine animals. The woman *namamaklad* is usually positioned in the middle of the boat (Figure 5b). The boat should also accommodate ten people as it is used as passenger boat during off season.



**Figure 5.** a) Fishing boat and b) woman namamaklad’s position in the boat (Source: reseracher-generated photographs).

*Fishing nets of different sizes.* Fisherfolks use different sizes of nets for a variety of marine animals. Both small and big nets are used. Fine nets (Figure 6a) are used for shrimp (*Metapenaeus ensis*) and biya (*Glossogobius giurris*); bigger nets (Figure 6b) are used for crabs (*Portunus pelagicus*).



**Figure 6.** a) Fine nets and b) bigger nets (Source: researcher-generated photographs).

*Namamaklad practices.* Corral fishing in Namayan is basically done by the husband and wife. The wife accompanies the husband to facilitate sorting of the fishes. Pregnancy is not a hindrance to the women, as they still accompany the husband even if they are heavy with their child, or four months after giving birth.

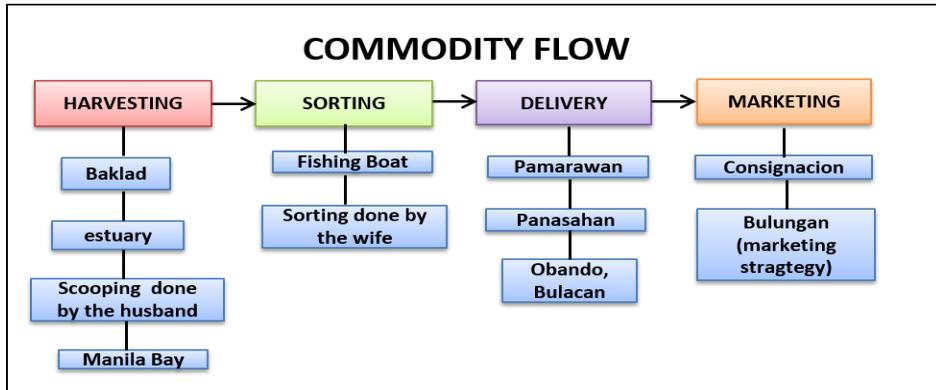
Waiting time is significant to the couple in the corral. This is their “we time” to talk and reflect about the status of their children, the fish catch, finances, and other concerns. The husband talks about money, while the wife talks about family problems. The husband complains about the quantity of the fish catch, while the wife argues that the fishes are just down below.

*Sorting of fishes.* Sorting is an important skill developed by the women in corral fishing. They learned it through hands-on experience. Time is important in fishing, so the women have to be quick and efficient in sorting fishes. After sorting, the couple immediately delivers the harvest in the fish landing. Sorting means that the wife sits at the middle of the fishing boat then prepares several nets, hanging them on the fence of the corral. It takes time to sort the harvest as one has to be skilled in doing so, while the husband places the harvest in the fishing boat. Accordingly, the most expensive fishes are to be sorted with care in the boat by the woman. By the time scooping is done, sorting is also finished and ready for delivery. As expert sorters, the women should have clear eyesight with fast moving hands.

*Ang gusto po naming ay magkasama kaming mag-asawa. Tagapamilya ng titinda.* (We want to be together always also in choosing the commodities that we are going to sell).

Moreover, according to the woman fisherfolk, they wanted to sell together and choose the buyer. Figure 7 shows the commodity flow.

The flow of goods passes through the different stages from the corral to the market. Harvesting from the fish corral is the main source of income (fish harvest) by the couple through their thorough maintenance and well management. The corral is normally handed down by the parents of the husband to the couple. Sorting, as the second stage includes the segregation of fishes which is skillfully done by the women as the husband scoops and place the harvest in the boat. If the nets are full, the couple will immediately deliver the fishes to the fish landing. The delivery of the evening’s catch is the third stage which usually takes place in the middle of the night to the various fish landing in Pamarawan Island,



**Figure 8.** Commodity flow of goods from harvesting to marketing.

Panasahan, Malolos City, and the municipality of Obando. If the fish harvest is small, the couple goes to Pamarawan, the nearest fish landing, to sell their produce. If there is enough harvest, they bring it to Panasahan, in mainland Malolos City, but if they have abundant harvest, they will bring it to Obando fish landing. If the couple senses that they can still harvest because of abundant supply in the corral, they will go back and scoop again. Marketing is the selling of the harvest to the *consignacion* (middle men) which is the final stage. Marketing of fish harvest is done through whispering in the fish landing. Upon arrival, the couple approaches the *consignacion* to sell their produce, and the latter dictates the price of the fish harvest. The *consignacion* sells the commodities to the *baculero* (market vendor). Price negotiation is done by whispering, if both the *consignacion* and *baculero* agree with the price, the couple can go home with their money.

Nonetheless, off-season fishing starts roughly from June to October during the *habagat* or southwest monsoon. Off season means that the fish corral has been dismantled because of the monsoon rains. Though the bamboos and nets of the fish corral in the estuary are dismantled during the lean season, the husband and wife team catch fish from their corral in the *capiz* area (nearer the river hi-way). It is dangerous to fish during rainy season in the open estuary, thus fisherfolks work in inland fish pond, as carpenters, or use their boat as transportation vehicle from the mainland to the island as alternative livelihood called “*taxi*”. Some of the women sell food during off season, go to the city to look for jobs, or spend time net mending or shrimp paste making.

The nightly *pamamaklad* goes beyond scooping and sorting. The time consumed in the fish corral is not only for fishing but a major factor for husband-wife dialogue on family matters. Though there are marital misunderstandings among the couple, the wife cannot avoid assisting the husband during the fishing period. Scooping of the fishes means money; it means food on the table and education of the children.

“*Hay sana maraming huli*” (I wish there will be plenty of fish catch), is the popular chant of the women before scooping the fishes. Every couple prays for abundance of fish harvest.

Sorting in the middle of the night is a risky undertaking, under the spell of the cold or warm air and unstable weather conditions. It takes skills, balance, creativity, and strong body for the women to do such task in the limited space of the fishing boat and risky corral. Thus, fishing is more efficient if the wife facilitates the sorting as the couple aims together for higher income and welfare of the family.

The themes crafted from the narratives of the women on how they viewed corral fishing were summarized into the following (Table 2): family relations; enterprising couple; sense of risk; pollution and urbanization.

**Family relations.** Corral fishing became an instrument for bonding of the husband and wife. As both are immersed in the difficulties of fishing, husband and wife share experiences only they understand. As business partners in fishing, they protect each other, argue about family matters while waiting for the low tide in the estuary. As fisherfolks, they work hard so they can send their children to school. However, the children do not want to follow the footsteps of the parents as fishing is a difficult job without health services and security of tenure.

**Enterprising Couple.** The couple takes advantage of the fishing season. They have to work as a team during the favorable season, as fishing is not all a whole year-round job. Thus, they harvest as much fish as possible because life is difficult in the island during the lean season.

**Risk.** Looting of fishes in the fish corral is also a vernacular of the everyday. The couple goes early to the fish corral to monitor their corral. However, the couple has to be careful in dealing with the looters as they can harm the fisherfolks.

*Yong mga nangangapa, ay aming binabantayan* (we monitor the looters around the corral) told by one of the women fisherfolks. “We cannot openly fight them for they might retaliate and our safety is in danger” she added.

Another risk in fishing are the sudden weather disturbances that affect the quantity of the harvest.

**Urbanization.** The women mentioned that children prefer the urban life in the mainland. The fisherfolks complained that reclamation of the coastal areas affected the water level of the shoreline. They complained that together with the fishes and crustaceans are diapers and plastic sachets. The fisherfolks are vulnerable to coastal environmental problem.

**Table 2.** Narratives of women and how they view their fishing experiences.

SIGNIFICANT STATEMENT	CATEGORIES	THEMES
<i>Naguusap kami tungkol sa mga bata</i> (We talk about the condition of the children);	Dialogue on the status of the children and their education	Close family relations
<i>Para mapag aral ang mga anak</i> (So we can send our children to school);		
<i>Maski nagaaway basta maraming huli, bati na</i> (Even if we are not in good terms, the plentiful harvest of fish can patch our differences);	Plenty of fish harvest can be a way to patch up misunderstandings	
<i>Naghuhuntahan kami tungkol sa mahuhuling isda</i> (We talk about the fishes they we may be able to catch);	Working together for the family	

**Table 2 (Continued).** Narratives of women and how they view their fishing experiences.

SIGNIFICANT STATEMENT	CATEGORIES	THEMES
<i>Pag walang huli, gagwa ng paraan para magkapera</i> (Together we find means to have more money if there are no fish catch).	Both are resourceful and help each other	Enterprising Couple
<i>Ang asawa ko nanghuhuli, ako naman ay nahihawalay ng isda</i> (My husband scoops and I sort the fishes);	Division of labor among husband and wife	
<i>Pagmarami pa, babalik pa kami uli sa baklad</i> (If there is plenty to harvest, we still go back and scoop again).	Take advantage of the abundance of fishes in the corral	
<i>May nangangapa, may nagbutas sa baba ng baklad</i> (Some loot the fishes inside the corral);	Looting of fish corral	
<i>Mahangin, biglang uulan</i> (Windy, sudden rain); <i>Hinihintay namin mag low tide</i> (Wait for the low tide to scoop).	Weather disturbances Disrupting fishing schedule	Risk from Nature
<i>Yong mga gagawing airport sa Bulacan makakaapekto ng huli</i> (The construction of the airport in Bulacan starts to affect the fish catch);	Infrastructure	Urbanization
<i>Maraming basura ang nahuhuli</i> (We can also scoop solid waste);	Solid waste problem	
<i>Yong mga bata nagaaral sa taas at gusto tumira doon</i> (The children wanted to study and stay in the city).	Education and career	

The number of women *namamaklad* is decreasing as young women lose interest in going out as *namamaklad*, and instead choose career, education, or domestic chores over fishing. Families know that education improves their lives, thus parents send their children out of the island to study until they finish education. The young women know the risks of going out into the sea as some of them tag along with their parents when they were children. But as they grow old, they focused on education, family or career. Thus, *pamamaklad* a major source of income for the wives is left to the older generation. However, in the family, male members have to continue the tradition of corral fishing compared to the women who opted to study or get married.

Transportation facilities improved and mobility in and out of the island is easier; hence, students and employees can return home daily in the evening. With the accessibility of river transportation, young women are now free to move in and out of the island.

The dwindling participation of the young wives in *pamamaklad* practices, will greatly affect the husband-wife relations, such as: the partnership of the couple during “working hours”; the “we time” during waiting period as valuable element of family relation; discussion on financial matters while waiting for the water to recede; and hope to reconcile, there and then as they scoop many fishes. The participation of women in *pamamaklad* is important as she is in-charge of the fish trading, including money matters in the family. Experiencing the sense of togetherness and emotional support from the husband and wife in the vastness of the estuary, will soon be a thing of the past.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The heritage of the everyday will remain in the fishing industry, such as: the estuary as cultural and economic spaces, corral fishpond as place of livelihood, or the boats and nets as instruments of economic opportunities. However, the decline of women participation can create a setback in the heritage of the everyday of the community, such as: division of labor between husband (scoops the fishes) and wife (sorts the fishes), the shared experiences of the couple in viewing financial opportunities in fishing; and closeness of the couple as they help and support each other in the middle of the night. The fisherfolks have no cooperative and organized group to protect them; hence, husband and wife have to protect each other during fishing hours.

Surely, life in the island will be different with rapid urbanization and reclamation along the estuary of Manila Bay. Women *namamaklad* recall their threatening experiences with looters, unpredictable weather, and losing interest of the next generation in *pamamaklad*. Their closeness to the sea made them realize that food security is at stake as development takes place in the mainland. The fast economic development in the city of Malolos will provide more economic activities to the young generation in Namayan. Land-based jobs are more lucrative than seasonal fishing, and city environment looks better than the vulnerable island.

Soon, what will remain in Namayan are the ageing women *namamaklad* who take care of their grandchildren while the parents are working in the city.

Fishing is more than food on the table or livelihood. It is about cultural and family values, patience and skills. All these are reflected on how the couple wait for the right time to fish in the middle of the night and move in unison with the movement of the seawater within the risky space of the corral and fishing boat. With the declining interest on *pamamaklad* among the young women, the intangible practices associated with corral fishing, will be soon a memory of the past to the women of Namayan.

## STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

The first author determined the study site, objectives, framework and methods. The other authors identified the scope, did community observation, interfaced with the key informants, provided literature and assisted in the crafting of the journal article.

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