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Tsukuba City, Japan

## INTRODUCTION

The original materials in this monograph were taken from my master's thesis submitted to the University of Tsukuba Institute of History and Anthropology in 1986. The present monograph is written with two aims in mind. One is to provide foreign researchers a basic framework in the study of Japanese contemporary coastal community. The other is an attempt to analyze certain problems arising from the continuity of small-scale coastal fisheries in the context of technological change in the past one hundred years. The former implies a methodology for the study of a post-peasant fishing community in a highly developed and urbanized setting. It proposes to look at change from the view point of urbanization and technology. Aside from field data, historical documents have been utilized in order to situate the community in a *historico-developmental perspective*. The latter provides an ethnographic picture of an enduring traditional small-scale fishing community that is threatened by industrial expansion.

This paper limits its discussion to the present socio-economic condition of Isozaki within the context of the total structure of Nakaminato City. Isozaki is a small fishing community of 797 households. It is located on the northeastern part of the city of Nakaminato, Ibaraki Prefecture on the mainland of Honshu in Japan (see Map 1).

The method of research undertaken in this study is two-fold:(a) an analysis of historical documents pertaining to the rise of towns and cities along side the technological development of fisheries in this region, and (b) field research through the participant-observation method. The actual field research began in the middle of April 1986. Intensive investigation began from July to September. Sub-

sequent field visits were undertaken to check ambiguous data.

## THE PROBLEM

The basic problem posed by this paper is a methodological one, i.e. how to study a fishing community in an urban setting. Two major themes were taken into considerations: urbanization and fishing tradition, both of which are premised on a developmental perspective. This researcher believes that in studying a community, a village, a town, or a city in Japan, it should be seen in a historical perspective before a synchronic study can be undertaken. Fishing tradition means a body of accumulated knowledge which is passed on from generation to generation within a socio-economic and environmental milieu. In a historical time frame, the rise of towns and the development of fishing technology are contiguous to each other as society transforms itself and as man learns to refine his tools in harnessing his environment. As towns rise to prosperity, a corresponding increase in population and a gradual expansion of territory have been observed in a number of samples the world over. The growth of towns tend to form centers where the main activities in socio-economic reproduction predominate. Simultaneously, peripheral areas tend to move toward the central direction thus creating sub-centers or sub-peripheries on its close fringes and peripheries in its outskirts. Among the centers, port towns, (Minato machi, Minato) seem to be the most vulnerable to new ideas by virtue of their role as crossroads to commerce and communication. These towns are much more open and dynamic compared to inland towns.

This study can be best understood when discussing the notion

of peasantry. One of the early definitions of the term peasantry in Anthropology was forwarded by A.L. Kroeber. He defines the peasantry as part-societies, part-cultures who are definitely rural but live in relation to market towns. They retain their old identity, integration and attachment to the soil and their cult (Potter et.al., 1967:2). The structural notion of town and country or market town and rural community was further refined by Robert Redfield in his idea of folk-urban continuum which corresponded to Little Tradition and Great Tradition respectively. Both the peasant society and the urban society comprised the total structure. The peasant is said to be a part of the larger society and is used to the existence of the city (Ibid.,11). Raymond Firth (1966:5) clarified the definition of peasant with reference to peasant economy. He differentiated the oriental peasant from his occidental counterpart as one not only undertaking land cultivation, but also engaging in fisheries or or some other craft following the calendric cycle. This oriental version of the peasant had earlier been defined in terms of the Japanese peasant community as studied by John Embree in the 1930s. He noted:

A peasant community possesses many of the characteristics of a preliterate society, e.g., an intimate local group, strong kinship ties, and periodic gatherings in honor of some defiled aspect of the environment. On the other hand, it represents many important differences from the simpler societies; each little peasant group is part of a larger nation which controls its economic life, enforces a code of law from above, and, more recently, requires education in national schools. The economic basis of life is not conditioned entirely by the local requirements but by the nation, through agricultural advisers. The farmer's crop is adjusted to the needs of the state (Embree, 1972:xx).

More than 50 years later, Embree's peasant community is now situated in a highly industrialized and urbanized society. In spite of the post-peasant nature of the communities, the characteristics of intimacy of local groups, strong kinship ties, as well as the regular gatherings in honor of the village god, the notion of that community in the past may still be workable. This is true in Isozaki. One reason for Isozaki's continuity may be in its communal ownership of the means of production, in this case, access to a specific fishing territory. Concretely, communal ownership is best exemplified in the mechanism of cooperation among neighboring household groups and extended kinship ties. Taking into consideration the peasant and post-peasant character of Isozaki and its position as a peripheral area in the whole structure of Nakaminato and the marginality of its fishing production in terms of the city's total production, Isozaki is able to maintain a certain degree of economic independence and cultural integrity. Yet, as part of the wider society it is being threatened by the encroaching process of industrialization.

The question that this study would like to answer is two-fold: First, as a marginal community, what are the reasons for Isozaki's independence from Minato's aggressive capital and market penetration? Second, what are the possible reasons behind the continued existence of small-scale coastal fisheries?

## PART I CONNECTIONS

### CHAPTER I A TOTAL STRUCTURE OF NAKAMINATO CITY

#### THE SETTING

Nakaminato is located in the Pacific Coast of Ibaraki Prefecture, 110 kilometers from Tokyo. Situated in the middle of the Prefecture's 160-kilometer coastline where the Naka River empties, the city has an area of 25.98 square kilometers. On its northeastern part is a continuous table land rising from 20 to 25 meters above sea level. On this elevated land are residential houses, agricultural lands, hills, and forests. The climate, favorable for agriculture, is generally warm with an average temperature of 12.9 degrees centigrade. The main agricultural product is sweet potatoes which are usually sliced and sun-dried in November and December (Ibaraki-ken Nakaminato-shi, 1985:38).

Nakaminato City has a rich coastal and marine environment. The marine life off its coast brings sufficient income for seasonal fishing activities. The coast faces the Kashima Open Sea where the oyashio 'cold currents from the north' and the kuroshio 'warm currents from the south' meet. Migratory species of sanma 'saury pike' and iwashi 'sardine' are trapped and caught within this convergence called shionome 'current rip'. The presence of these currents enable Nakaminato to have tropical, sub-tropical, and temperate marine species.

According to the 1980 National Census (Nakaminato-shi, 1983:6), the city has a population of 33,324 or 8,778 households with an average of 3.87 persons per household (see Table 1).



In a twenty-year span (1960-1980), agriculture and fisheries are among the declining industries in terms of manpower statistics. In contrast, construction, manufacturing, retail business, and service industries have increased (labor force in the fisheries decreased from 2,804 workers in 1960 to 1,438 workers in 1970, and finally to a mere 728 workers in 1980).

## HISTORY OF NAKAMINATO CITY

### FROM PORT TOWN TO CITY

The present day Nakaminato City started as a small port town in the Edo Period, called Nakamura. Its mura 'village' status later was elevated to machi 'town' and called Minato machi. The machi was composed of Nana-chome, Wada-cho, and Ushikubo (these blocks form the present Minato or in the past, the Kyu minato 'old port' ). It gained more territories in 1950 by acquiring Hetano mura, and Yanagisa mura. In 1954, Nakaminato machi, Hiraiso machi, Maehama mura, and Mawatari mura were all combined to form Nakaminato City (see Diagram 1). The city is now divided into four districts: Minato-cho, Hiraiso-cho, Isozaki-cho, and Ajigaura-cho (see Map 2).

The origin of the word Nakaminato is derived from the name of the river and the role it had as a port in ancient times. The earliest record indicating the existence of Minato goes as far back as 1355. It was only in the beginning of the Edo Period (1603-1868) that a place called Minato became popular as a trading port. The port played as an entreport between Edo and the far flung regions of Ouchi (now Tohoku) and Ezochi (now Hokkaido) in the north (Horiguchi, 1985:1-11).

The inland waterways and the sea lane via Minato facilitated

a safe and efficient exchange of goods between the north and the south. The development of a railway network paralyzed the once active riverine highways. Among the major effects of this change were the bankruptcy of the shipping agencies and the gradual decline of trading houses. The port turned to the tobacco industry only to be monopolized 20 years later by the government. It was only after the tobacco collapse that the port town turned to fishing as its main industry. The industry dealt with actual fishing, marine food processing, and trading of marine products. From the early 1960s to the present, sea food such as boiled octopus and frozen food are its main product. According to the 1980 statistics 20 percent of the total production in the city is attributed to sea-food processing industry.

#### HISTORY OF FISHING

The beginning of fishing in Minato has been attributed to the popular belief that the black currents moving from southern Japan towards the north brought fishermen from Kishu (now Wakayama) to Choshi (Chiba) and move upwards to the Ibaraki coast<sup>1</sup>. The Kishu fishermen were supposed to have taught the Choshi and Ibaraki inhabitants one method of fishing. The earliest recorded account of net fishing dates back to the early part of the 17th century. The people were engaged actively in aguriami 'lampara net' which was first introduced to the village head of Isohama (now Owarai)

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1. Basic material pertaining to the history of fishing was taken from an article by Ichiro Kashimura, "History of Nakaminato Fisheries". Unfortunately, no source have been affixed on a photocopy of the article which I obtained from Nakaminato City Hall. Unless otherwise noted, information regarding this subject is taken from Kashimura's article.

and spread to the 17 villages of Mito. The aguriami was later revised and named hatsuzakaami 'eight-sloped net'. There were other native nets that the villagers used, for instance, the kojiami 'small tongue-shaped net'.

Initially large-scale net fishing was confined to the aminushi 'net owners' who were also landowners. But when trading in the port town prospered, merchants invested in fisheries. They hired a sendo 'fishing leader' to manage and join the fishing group on their behalf. This approach was different from the past when boat owners rode and fished with their men. The merchant in this status was called okano oyakata 'absentee owner'. The new absentee boat owner secured his position through (i) kakeuri, a form of advance money given to a fisherman to guarantee his participation in the fishing expedition, and (ii) the acquisition of fishing rights over certain territories, boat, equipment, crew, and mujin a form of lottery savings. Fishing calendar was from March to September for bonito angling; September to April for tuna long lining; and August to October for saury pike. Big boats caught sardines and bonito. Due to an over supply of sardines, these species were converted into fertilizer.

The catch was shared 60:40, 60 for the owner of the boat and equipment while the rest was divided in the following fashion: 2-3 shares for the sendo, 1.5 shares for the main crew, and 0.2-0.6 share to the ordinary fishermen. A small portion of the catch was given to the fishermen for okazu 'viand' (Kashimura, n.d.:135,137 and in Nakaminatoshi Shi, 1977). As new boats and new nets were used, the share of the common fishermen further decreased. The 60:40 sharing agreement continued but the owner now gets 4-5 shares from the 40 as his share from the use of new gadgets. During the first decade of this century, larger boats were built. As a

result, fishing grounds expanded. In the Meiji Period (1868-1912) fishing was done as far as Miyage in the north and Chiba in the south. As a consequence fishermen worked away from home and sold their okazu 'viand' shares. Along side this change, new species and new fishing calendar was sought and followed. Annual fishing activity was divided into three periods: (i) haru shoku 'spring employment' from January to April for tuna fishing, (ii) natsu shoku 'summer employment' from May to September for bonito pole and line, and (iii) aki shoku 'autumn employment' from September to November for saury pike and sardines.

The latter part of the Meiji Period saw one of the greatest sea disaster in the Kashima Open Sea. A storm in March, 1910 resulted in the loss or damaged of 23 boats; of the 1447 persons on board, 556 died or were lost at sea; only 829 were saved (Sato,1983).

The above incident underscored the need to fully modernized the industry and look closer into the welfare of the common fishermen. By 1926 steel boat construction had began. Fishing grounds further expanded to Miyako (Iwate Prefecture), and to Hachiojima (Tokyo). Preservation facilities such as refrigerators, oxygenated tanks and refrigerated warehouses were promoted. However, an increase in capital investment meant a further slide in the fisherman's share. Out of the original 40 share for the fishermen, onakakeihi 'operational expenses', i.e., cost of fuel and baits were deducted from the gross income before the 60:40 split.

Ironically, fishing efficiency and abundance of sardines resulted in iwashi tairyo bimbo 'poverty due to over production of sardines' between 1932 and 1942. During this period sharing was 50:50. However, there were more deductions for

office management, onakakeihi and cost for the maintenance of boats and nets.

During the war years, not much fishing was possible since the military took control of the boats for the war effort. After the war, the Occupation Forces prohibited offshore fishing but later lifted the prohibition when the condition of pacification was stable. Boat owners were encouraged to increase their tonnage and boat building boom ensued. This period also saw fishermen unrest, or unionism and union busting, poverty due to over production of saury pike, and a general decline in the gross income of Nakaminato. Steel boat utilization was very evident in the 1960s. Maguro haenawa 'tuna long lining' with several lines of 10 kilometer long lines signaled the shift from inshore fisheries to high seas fisheries. Maguro haenawa was conducted in the Pacific Ocean, Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean. As fishing technology advanced so did the labor disputes between management and workers. . The problem in the industry became more evident in the 1970s when the energy crisis and and the 200-mile fishing limit greatly reduced the volume of fish production. Large boat owners sold their rights until only a few of them were left. Meanwhile many unemployed fishermen became individual coastal fishermen.

#### PRESENT STATE OF FISHERIES

Fisheries in Nakaminato today is no longer a progressive industry as reflected in the significant decrease in the number of households engaged in fishing. The 1983 local census revealed a decrease in households engaged in fishing in Minato, Hiraiso, and Isozaki (Ibaraki-ken Nakaminato-shi, lbid.:9). The Isozaki area has 57 households or 4.2 % of the total, Hiraiso area has 48 households or 3.5% of the total, and Minato area has 22 households or a meager 0.35% of

the total.

Most of these fishing households augment their livelihood by other forms of activity such as kitchen or backyard vegetable gardening, construction work, factory work inn-keeping, leisure fishing and boat cruising, and some farm work. Fishermen in the three areas are organized into fishing cooperative associations. The exploitation of marine resources has always been under the protective care of the local people and the state. The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry through the Gyogyo Kyodo Kumiai 'Fishing Cooperative Association' (kumiai hereon) has promulgated laws and agreement based on their respective local customary laws and the present ecological factors affecting the performance of fishing activity. For instance, in some seasons certain gears are used to catch only specific species. Some kinds of nets are not allowed in some fishing grounds (see Map 3). Such regulations have resulted in a fishing calendar that follows a conservation perspective and respect for local boundaries among fishing cooperative associations (see Table 2).

## CHAPTER II INTERCOMMUNITY STRUCTURES

### CHARACTERISTICS OF FISHERIES

Fishing could be characterized from the point of view of technology, management system, and labor needs. Fishing technology refers to the type of boat and the equipment needed to undertake fishing. Management system refers to the size of boat and the number of people needed to operate the boat, and the operation of the boat itself. Furthermore, households that operate each boat fall into three categories: exclusive, mainly, and marginal fishing

households. These categories respectively mean that the household derives its source of income solely from fishing; a household derives its income mostly in fishing but have other sources of livelihood, and a household derives its minor income from fishing while its major source comes from other sources.

Bearing the three points, the three areas may be characterized as Isozaki type-- coastal-oriented fishing that concentrates mainly in fishing which utilizes less than one ton and three to five ton class boats (known as kobune and kogata sen, respectively), where the household is the mainstay of labor needs. Hiraiso type-- mostly offshore fishery where exclusive and mainly fishing occupations occur side by side. As a consequence, a dual technology in terms of tonnage of three to five ton and 100-200 ton class boats are used thus calling for a labor from within and without the household. Minato type-- open sea fishing that supports small-scale and large-scale fisheries as indicated by the occupational structure wherein exclusive and mainly fishing come into the picture. Due to the fact that this open sea type of fisheries require large boats, a large number of employees is also needed (see Table 3).

Based on statistics between 1939-1972<sup>2</sup> the historical fishing grounds of the three areas reveal that Isozaki specialized in coastal fisheries; Hiraiso concentrated in territorial as well as neighboring prefecture offshore

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2. Basically the data was taken for the years 1939, 1955, 1973, and 1979. These years were the most complete in terms of the three areas that were compared. The following sources were respectively consulted: Usui, 1982:249-50; KNKITJJ, 1956:84-87; and TNKITJJ, 1980:22-27, 58-63.

fisheries; and Minato pursued overseas fisheries. Coastal fisheries involved the use of kobune 'dingy boat' with sokobikiami 'trawl net', the diving for sea shells and abalones, and the gathering of seaweeds. Its fishing grounds are up to 200 meters away from the coast. Offshore or offing fisheries along territorial waters use katsuo ip-pontsuri, maguro haenawa, sanma boukeami, maki 'surrounding net' and others. It is undertaken in areas 200 meters away from the neighbouring prefecture or near the prefectures of Fukushima, Iwate Chiba and Shizuoka. Open seas or overseas fisheries go beyond territorial waters of the prefecture and the country. The technologies utilized are teichigyogyo 'stationary fisheries', large-scale bonito pole and line, tuna long lining, and saury pike stick-held dip net among others.

The forms of fisheries mentioned earlier are directly correlated to the occupational structure, the management unit, and the employment structure. This reveals a correspondence in terms of the mode of production as to what forms of technology are to be used. In the data taken between 1970 and 1979<sup>3</sup> (See Tables 4,5 and 6). Sixty-one percent of Isozaki fishermen fall under the category of mainly fishing. Although fishing is the major portion of their income, it does not support the household. In the Isozaki area, fishermen's wives cultivate small kitchen gardens and work as part-timers in fish processing factories in the nearby towns of Owarai during the off-fishing season. Some also work for relatives who own sweet potato gardens during the harvest

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3. Fishing occupational structure in Japanese statistics is categorized as gyogyo nomi, gyogyo ga shu, and gyogyo ga ju or exclusively fishing, mainly fishing, and marginally fishing respectively.



and drying season. When fishing is not so productive, fishermen either repair tools, go with bigger boats for open sea fishing, or find part-time work in construction sites and factories.

Hiraiso shares both exclusive fishing, 42 percent, and mainly fishing, 43 percent, as its dominant occupational forms. This indicates an advanced form of economic specialization since fisheries can support at least almost half of those engaged in it. This maybe due to the presence of large portions of agricultural lands under cultivation.

Minato area shows mainly fishing at 50 percent and exclusive fishing at 30 percent. Mainly fishing accounts for the small boat owners while the latter, exclusive fishing, refers to those engaged in overseas fisheries. Both groups have their own particular kumiai.

In a wider view, the Isozaki and Hiraiso areas can be characterized as engaged in hanno-hanggyo 'half agriculture-half fishing'; Hiraiso differs slightly since it is in full-time exclusive fisheries. The Minato area is involved in large scale fisheries in one extreme and small scale-fisheries which is mainly fishing, in the other extreme.

Management unit here refers to the size of the fishing vessel. Vessel size can dictate the type of fisheries it could undertake and the number of crew it could accommodate and its corresponding labor needs in the harbor. If we look at Table 4, it shows that Isozaki are is heavily concentrated in the kofune and kogata type boats. The Hiraiso area is predominantly in the kogata and ogata 'large' type boats, and the Minato area is strong in the ogata boat specially between 200-ton and 500-ton boats.

Fifty percent of Isozaki households depend upon family labor. This household enterprise consists of the fisherman, his wife, and a son or a relative who will succeed the fisherman. The average number of people in this household is usually 2.5 persons.

The Hiraiso area has a dual structure of labor that is dependent on both family and outside labor. Note that fishing household that derives its income mainly from fishing is supplied by family labor while exclusive fishing household depends upon outside labor.

The Minato area shows that a majority of fishermen are employed by big ocean-going vessels. In other words, employed fisherman predominate the labor requirements of large scale-fishing activities (see Table 6).

If we compare the changes in the number of boats and tonnage, in the twenty-year span, 1960-1980, it is safe to say that fishing as a major source of income was comparatively stable. Particularly in Isozaki, such changes brought about committed fishing households who not only fished, but found alternative sources of income in factory work, tourism-related business, etc. At present Isozaki fishermen are catching particular species of fish such as flat fishes, flounders and other bottom fishes intended for the gourmet market in Tokyo. This type of household survived due to their flexibility in combining jobs and catching particular species of fish for a specific market. Comparing further the occupational structure (see Graph 1) and the management unit (see Graph 2) in terms of boat tonnage in a twenty-year period, it may be said that in spite of the declining number of households engaged in fishing, those who stayed combined various jobs with fishing. The Isozaki FCA report of 1984 (Nakaminato-shi Kikakubu Hen, 1986) noted that there were 58

kobune owners, and 17 kogata sen owners. At the time of this fieldwork, kobune decreased by two while kogata sen remained unchanged. The total income did not come from fishing alone, but from minor sources such as kitchen gardening and inn-keeping among others. Comparing the percentages of increase of the kobune and kogata incomes, kobune operators registered a high percentage increase from other sources other than income from fishing while kogata operators had a high percentage increase from fishing income outside prefectural waters. The latter is logical since kogata fishermen need to fish far from the coast to earn a viable income. Yet on the whole, considering the total income, the percentage of income for kobune is higher than that of kogata inspite of the fact that they have very close rates of increase in terms of fishing expenditure (Ibaraki-ken Nakaminato-shi, *ibid.*:52).

## CHAPTER III STRUCTURAL CHANGE

### THE ECONOMY

There have been some fundamental changes in fisheries in the past century. The institution of aminushi 'net-owner' vis-a-vis funanushi 'boat-owner' has been transformed into independently operating groups. The fishing grounds which used to be confined in the shore and offshore areas expanded as far as the Seven Seas. Migratory sardines that were considered prime catch have been replaced by shallow and bottom species intended for the gourmet market. Boats that were made of wood are now built with steel or fiber glass materials. Fishing equipment that needed 40 people to operate have been replaced by mechanized rollers and winders that only one person can manage. These changes mostly took

place in the Minato area and to a certain extent, in the Hiraiso area. The peripheral zones' social relations was not really affected since they continued to engaged in small-scale fisheries. This does does not mean that technological innovations did not affect them. They, in fact, slowly adopted some innovations that were useful, for example, net rollers, wireless communication equipment, radar, fish finders, and others. However, on the whole, they were flexible in accommodating innovations that were useful and thus helped sustain an egalitarian social relations which could have been jeopardized due to the introduction of such innovations. For instance, Arne Kalland observed that the advent of modernization during the Meiji Restoration brought about the decline of the power of amimoto 'net group'. He cited three reasons: (i) increased economic opportunities and a wider range of objects available for investments, (ii) increased physical and social mobility, and (iii) changes of the laws and administrative apparatus (1980:2). This gave way to as more egalitarian organization of the fisheries and to the establishment of fishing associations that had control over three resources: capital, market, and fishing rights (ibid., 2-3).

In the past Isozaki's mode of production was basically oriented to both the land and the sea. Fishing and farming were the main forms of subsistence. The products were not directly linked to the market. The fishermen owned and managed their boats, while in certain seasons of the year when fishing was not possible, they undertook small-scale cultivation. The kind of social structure that evolved out of this condition was semi-feudal where the kosaku 'small cultivator' was at the same time the boat owner and fisherman whose access to the land and the sea is through payments of rents or taxes to the village administration.

Hiraiso, on the other hand, had a definite feudal structure where the landlord undertook both farming and fishing simultaneously, utilizing the peasants as cultivators (kosaku) and fishermen. The social structure is characterized as jinushi 'landlord' type. The jinushi controlled the kosaku who later became norikumiin 'boat crew' when larger boats were used.

Minato, the center of the region, basically engaged in mercantile trade where fishing was a minor industry. At the height of trading, merchants invested in fishing until finally it became its major industry. Merchants turned funanushi and was assisted by a sendo in managing the boat. This produced the oka no oyakata 'background boat owner' who indirectly controlled the funakata through the sendo. This transformation is reflected in the Diagram 2 in which the nature of production and the social arrangement played important roles.

The changes that developed in fishing technology, e.g., from wasen 'wooden boat' to steel boat, further intensified the social animosity between the boat owners and the crew in the Minato and Hiraiso areas specially when fish was not used as food but as industrial fertilizer (sardine was converted into guano). Furthermore, the utilization of larger sail boats and bigger nets developed a hierarchical structure among boat crews. As investments for boats and equipment increased, the shares for each of the crew decreased. In the Hiraiso area, fishermen's income was supplemented by kitchen garden cultivation.

Since Isozaki had the lowest productivity among the three fish extracting areas, the market mechanism within the city could not dictate on Isozaki. Isozaki is a negligible producer in terms of the whole production system of the

coast.

## CULTURE AND SOCIETY

At present the positions of the three areas are reflected in their village ambience and in the performance of their festivals. The peripheral zones (Isozaki and Ajigaura) exemplify the Little Tradition while the core zone (Minato) possesses the Great Tradition. Hiraiso which maybe characterized as being in the middle of these two extreme poles. Isozaki and Ajigaura have a quiet village center with only a long line of street shops that does not qualify to be called a shotengai 'shop lined street'. This commercial center supports only the basic necessities of the two areas. Hiraiso has something that can be called a shotengai. Along the main street, old aminushi houses still stand. There are no such houses in Isozaki and Ajigaura. The present ambience of Hiraiso could have been Minato before the war. The present Minato has the trappings of a city atmosphere. Its shopping area is clearly demarcated; food processing factories is located in a special zone along the water front. Old buildings with roofs painted black still smell of sake 'rice wine' and fish.

## VILLAGE FESTIVAL

Another difference between the three areas is in the way they celebrate their matsuri 'village festival'. It is during these festivals that the people thank their gods and again ask them for a successful crop for the next harvest. Festivals of harvests are manifestations of community solidarity where the relations are renewed among community members and with their environment and their gods. Summer festival is the biggest celebration in the city. Generally, it is performed with a two-day procession around the town

carrying an omikoshi 'portable shrine' and dashi 'mobile floats'. In celebrating the summer festival, each community has a different ambiance. Isozaki has a restrained gaiety. The streets specially the one that leads to Sakatsura Jinja was decorated with white paper and bamboo branches. Each block association decorated their floats and went around the town inviting people to join their celebration. The dashi ornamented by young girls singing and playing musical instruments of drums and flutes, stop at the houses of their patrons (sponsors who have given some amount of money for the funding of the celebration), and the young boys and girls dance on top of the floats. Isozaki does not possess a village omikoshi. The omikoshi in Sakatsura Jinja belongs to the ujiko 'parishioner' of Hiraiso. Isozaki and Hiraiso are both parishioners of Sakatsura Jinja. Yet each block association of Isozaki maintain a miniature portable shrine.

Hiraiso celebrated its festival in an atmosphere of boisterous merriment. Its floats were much more older looking and ornate than that of Isozaki's. Aside from the float and portable shrine, Hiraiso also had a kagura 'sacred float' that stopped at houses who requested blessing from the gods. Minato is very proud of its long history of summer festival. It has the oldest omikoshi and a special rite of sea water purification is done by the youth at the end of the festival. The matsuri is very colorful and showed much fanfare and affluence. The brightly decorated floats were graced by the presence of hired geishas. According to Isozaki and Hiraiso residents, they hired in the past but economic condition and prohibitive fees prevent them from doing so today. Children now play the drums and sing in place of the geishas. The most spectacular festival is definitely that of Minato, followed by Hiraiso, Isozaki, and Ajigaura.

## FESTIVAL ORGANIZATION

The Nakaminato village festivals' organizational structure is based on age-grade classes<sup>4</sup>. Ideally, the age-grading system is an egalitarian way of status-role differentiation, as one gets older, one's status rises. The organization committee is headed by the saijicho 'festival head' who is a titular leader and usually a respected man in the community. He belongs to the osewanin 'honorable patron' class of senior citizens in the 55-year-old age bracket. Below is a group of osewanin whose is in the same age bracket as the leader. The leader and osewanin plan the festival in conjunction with the shrine authorities. The osewanin take charge of collecting membership fees from households organized into buraku associations. Under the honorable patrons are the sewanin 'patron' with ages ranging from 40-50 years old. They implement the plans of the elders and supervise street traffic during festival day. Further down the line are the wakaren 'young adult' married men who are above 30 years old but less than 40 years old. They carry the omikoshi and pull the dashi. The number of officers in the osewanin-sewanin-wakaren age grouping depend on the number of buraku association. For example, Shimizu-cho in Hiraiso has 250 households with 40 osewanin, 20 sewanin, and 20 wakaren. In both Minato and Hiraiso areas, these age-groups are composed of rich and distinguished members of the community such as merchants, professionals, or politicians. In Isozaki they are fishermen, shopkeepers, blue collar-workers, or farmers. The composition of the organizing committee reflects the population composition of each area.

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4. For a more detailed discussion on age-grade system see Edward Norbeck's "Age-grading in Japan" in American Anthropologist 1953,55:373-384.



## SUMMARY

The various linkages that the core and the periphery have undergone through time have been discussed. For one, the core has penetrated the fishing industry which was once the main activity in the peripheral zones. It has also subordinated the traditional markets by absorbing the produce within the market system of the old port town. It also made the periphery as a source of cheap part-time labor for its seafood processing industry. Yet, inspite of this penetration, not all peripheral communities became totally dependent to the core, as exemplified by Isozaki and its continued existence as a marginal coastal fishing community. Isozaki's products did not reach sizable amount for the core's market. It produced for its own consumption and searched its own market. Paradoxically, the part-time jobs available in the core area provided for extra income during the off-fishing season for the periphery. Seasonal livelihood in the form of tourism-related service industry also enabled the periphery to subsist.

## PART II DISJUNCTION

### CHAPTER IV ISOZAKI COASTAL FISHERIES

#### METHODS AND GEARS

The fishermen of Isozaki undertake three general types of fishing techniques<sup>5</sup> : sashiami 'gill net', tsuri 'hook and line' and hikiami 'trawl net'. Gill net is a kind of netting which is spread in a rectangular fashion in the water to intercept and gill and entangle fish. In Isozaki, the most commonly used net is the sokobiki sashiami 'bottom gill net'. The boat used is kobune of less than one ton and operated by one man. This boat fish in waters with a depth of 30-60 meters.

Hook and line fisheries is the most versatile of the tools used by Isozaki fishermen. It can be undertaken in deep seas, strong currents, and rocky bottoms. Two kinds of tsuri 'hook and line' have been observed in Isozaki: (i) ippontsuri 'pole and line' and haenawa 'long lining or trawl lining'. Principally, ippontsuri is composed of one strong line, several hooks, a weight balance, and some accessories. For instance, netsukigyo ippontsuri 'toggle for suspending a pouch from the line' and akalka ippontsuri 'red squid long line' with a bulb attachment that is encased in a waterproof container, are a few modified gears. Haenawa line is towed on the surface or the near surface of the water with hooks at the end of the line. This long line or trawl line

5. For a detailed description see Zayas, C.N. 1986.

is of two kinds: (i) drift long line, e.g., tako taru nagashi 'octopus barrel drift, long line' and (ii) bottom long line, e.g., tai uki haenawa 'sea bream bottom long line'. Another variation of of trawling called korobashi use gears made of steel pole with many hooks that moves through an aid of a wheel-like contraption.

There are two kinds of trawl nets: ebi itabikiami 'shrimp bottom trawl net using a rake-like contraption attached to a pocket net'. There are other forms of fisheries besides these major ones that have been mentioned. Traps or weirs called anago sen 'sea eel weir' and saibo 'abalone diving' by awabitori 'abalone divers' are also. These various fisheries specify the type of boats that are used and the time of the year they are to be undertaken. In consultation with the local fishermen the fishing calendar have been formulated (Table 2).

## MARINE RESOURCES

The marine resources of the Isozaki area are controlled by the kumiai. Territorial waters stretch from the tip of the cape to about a radius of 1,000 meters toward the open sea. Various species of fishes inhabit this water. From the senkai 'shallow waters' which is 20 meters outwards, seaweeds and shellfish can be gathered. From 10-20 meters abalone, mussels and wild oysters abound. From 50 meters further out are species of rock fish such as mebaru 'gray rock cod', kasago 'cabezon', ainame 'rock trout', suzuki 'sea bass', sayori 'half beak', and others. Species of flat fish such as hirame and karei are found 100 meters away. From 200 meters out, there are saba 'mackerel'. From 400-600 meters further are sanma, aka ika, katsuo, meji 'young tuna', okiami 'krill', ika 'cuttle fish', anago 'sea eel', shirasu 'white bait', and others.

## FISHING GROUNDS AND LABOR NEEDS

There are two types of coastal fisheries engan gyogyo 'coastal fishing' and kinkai gyogyo 'near waters fishing'. Engan gyogyo could be done for a day but kinkai gyogyo can take a week or more. Fishermen engaged in engan fisheries usually own less than three-ton boats which are equipped with aides that make fishing efficient, e.g., wireless radio communication, radar, fish searcher, and robin rollers. They engage in gill netting, trawling, long lining, and angling. To be viable it needs at least two persons, a man and his wife. Fishermen who do kinkai fisheries own more than three-ton but less than five-ton boats. They undertake various forms of hook and line, long line, boat seine and other forms of trawling. The most ideal number of labour force for this type of fishing is three, e.g., a man, his wife, and another male who could either his successor or a hired employee.

Engan fisheries is similar to a sedentary form of subsistence. Almost 70 percent of the total work is spent on the shore, thus it is conducive to informal group formations. Fishermen mingle with each other easily specially since their boats are moored side by side. Kinkai fisheries, on the other hand, is like a semi-nomadic form of livelihood. Fishermen spend most of their time at sea. Most of the contact with other fishermen is possible only among band members. Kinkai fisheries own more than three-ton but less than five-ton boats. These boats coordinate their fishing expedition and travel together to fishing grounds of their choice. This band is headed by the most knowledgeable man who is also much older than band members.

In spite of the viability of fishing as a major source of household income, its seasonality demands minor sources, of

income in order to reproduce an annual fishing cycle. To supplement their incomes, Isozaki households have resorted to at least 11 job combinations with fisheries that range from tourism-related business, vegetable gardening, part-time work in farms and factories, (see Table 7), and others.

## FISHING COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

As stated elsewhere, fishing activities revolve around the regulations handed down by the fishing cooperative association. An old fisherman looks at the relationship between the kumiai and the fisherman as an oya ko 'parent-child' relationship. As a governing body of the fishermen, the kumiai regulates the use and the exploitation of its territorial water resources, issues licenses for the use of less than five ton boats and its facilities. It also markets the catch, buys equipment in bulk, and retails them to members at cheaper prices. Through the funds and the license fees, the annual dues of its members and the percentage from the catch, the kumiai functions administratively. The kumiai is governed by a five-man board headed by a chairman, all of whom are selected by regular members for a term of three years. The board is assisted by a staff of ten who do clerical work and the marketing of the catch. The association is composed of three smaller kumiai: (i) kogata sen kumiai with 17 members, (ii) kobune kumiai with 56 members and (iii) saibo kumiai, a group of abalone divers numbering 19 who are also either with the kogata or kobune kumiai. There are two auxiliary groups within the FCA: (i) fujin-bu, an association of fisherman's wives and (ii) kenkyu kai which is a study group for improving their gears and skill and where young fishermen learn fishing skills from their elders ( see Diagram 3).

## MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the FCA requires residency in the area, knowledge and devotion to fishing, and ownership of a boat. Prospective applicants go on apprenticeship with a regular member, but the sons who will inherit their father's position and who have trained under their fathers are almost always accepted. There are two kinds of membership within the association: regular and semi-regular members. The former derive their major income from fishing while the latter get a minor portion of their income from fishing. At present there are 67 regular members while eight are semi-members. Membership acceptance is decided by the rijikai 'board of directors' of the FCA.

## SMALLER ASSOCIATIONS WITHIN THE KUMIAI

Kobune kumiai member boats are moored side by side on the western section of the harbor. This mooring place is called funashikiba (funahikiba in standard Japanese). Each mooring space is inherited from father to son or his successor. According to an old fisherman, mooring positions have been determined since the Meiji Period. In this space an informal grouping has been observed. It is a group of five neighboring boats similar to tonari gumi 'neighborhood association'. Each member exchange goods and services. Each group is named in an ordinal manner from north to south, e.g. dai-ichi gumi, dai-ni gumi and dai-san gumi, first group, second group and third group respectively.

There are three main cooperative endeavors that each gumi 'group' undertakes. First, when a boat leaves port an extra hand is needed to push it toward the water. Anyone in sight, specially a fellow gumi, has the duty to help push the boat out. In the same manner it is one's fellow member's obliga-

tion to pull it back with the help of a winchi 'mechanized pulley' when it returns to shore. Second, since a major portion of the work on shore is cleaning the net, those who finish earlier help the others. Cooperative work in net cleaning is important because there is a deadline for the fish to be brought to the FCA market. Live fishes are placed in oxygenated tanks of the kumiai and the dead ones need immediate refrigeration or ice. Third, fune no tsuyo 'bean paste soup' seasoned with the day's catch is prepared by one of gumi members. The soup is later shared in a convivial breakfast. While the fishermen's wives continue cleaning the nets, gumi members eat their breakfast and share the fune no tsuyo. These are some of the observed cooperative endeavors shared by each members. There are other ways of sharing among fellow fishermen, finding a fishing spots, for instance. There are several occasions when the fisherman compared notes on the basis of the data registered in the electronic fish searcher. Membership in an informal grouping does not restrict interpersonal relations among kumiai members. This grouping is flexible. Non-gumi members can join another gumi's breakfast, help other group members clean nets, or tow boats.

Kogata sen kumiai member boats at the time of research were not moored at the Isozaki harbor but were in the Minato harbor. During the study, the harbor was under repair for extension so that boats bigger than three tons could be accommodated. Space was limited for shore work such as repairing and cleaning nets or equipment. Kogata sen owners bring their nets for cleaning in their backyards. Although large gears are stored in the communal storage building beside the FCA office building, smaller gears are left in the mooring place covered with oiled cloth. Small boats are moored in the bigger port of Minato. But if there is a reason to be in Isozaki they come and stay. The space allowed to them on

the southern side of the harbor is limited to five boats at a time. They moor in Isozaki when the fishing area they intend to fish is in the northern part of the prefecture. When they want to fish towards the south, they moor in Minato harbor. There is therefore a need to commute between Isozaki and Minato for replenishment of supplies. Most of fishermen's wives drive a motor vehicle.

As kogata boat fishermen are a mobile fishing group, they seldom have a chance to develop intimate relations with their other small boat owners with the exception of those in their informal fishing group of three or five crafts. This informal grouping is headed by a leader referred to as oya 'parent'.

Saibo kumiai 'abalone divers association' performs the most strenuous work during the diving seasons. They are known as awabitori 'abalone divers' in the local dialect. Divers learn to dive at an early age. Fathers usually teach their sons the skill of extracting abalones and finding the sumika 'habitat'. The Isozaki coast is marked by rocky terrain where seaweeds, sea urchins, and rock fish dwell. The strong waves that break into the rocks make the water clean and the stones smooth. Abalones thrive in clean and smooth stones and Isozaki abalones are reputed for their good quality. The depth of the sumika 'rocks where abalones and shell fish cling or inhabit', range from 5 to 10 meters deep. The FCA rules that diving can only be done from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. during summer time. Divers are not permitted to wear oxygen tanks for this may result in over exploitation of the species. Other gears such as wet suits, small knives, and metal extracting tools maybe utilized (see Drawings 1-3). In line with abalone conservation, the legal size of awabi that can be plucked is 11 centimeters. A measuring device made of wood called shako is provided



annually by the kumiai. Awabitori can harvest 5-6 kilos to 10-15 kilos in three days of diving. Divers also gather other shell fish such as egai 'mussels', tennen kaki 'wild oysters', and uni 'sea urchin'. The shell fish are not intended for sale unless there is an order from the buyer. In the summer months inn-keepers and small hotel owners order for these species intended for tourists. Awabi is not sold directly by the FCA. The divers sell their catch to a middle man who comes daily to the port after the diving period is over. Several years ago divers and their wives peddled the produce themselves until one concessionaire requested the Saibo kumiai for a monopoly right of buying everything from the members. At present the same company is procuring almost all abalone produce of the community.

#### DIVERS AND THEIR KNOWLEDGE

Experienced divers have a deep knowledge of the various sumika which have been given with descriptive names. According to an informant, there are different ways of naming stones. Divers give special names (usually secret) to the stones that they frequent. Stone names given by the divers differ from what ordinary people use. For example, a stone, called nawade by the divers is known as ona to non-divers. Nawade is a line of rocks that stretches from the shore toward the open sea. This rock formation can easily be seen during low tides. Stones have different functions for divers. Some are used as a reference for direction at sea. For example, chikusho iso, the only rock formation tilted toward the south is a very prominent point of reference. Concretely, the rocks lying on its southern side are called chikusho iso no minami me guchi, those on its northern side are called chikusho iso no kita me guchi, and on its western side, as oki iso 'stone in the offing'. Stones are also reckoned in terms of resemblances with certain objects.

Chinchin is a penis-shaped stone. Shishi is a stone that looks like a dragon head. Stones may also be an object of veneration by the local people. In particular, the fishermen, as a group, pay homage to a deity, Myojin-sama who is believed to inhabit the rock located at the point before the boat enters the harbor. In this particular place fisherman take special care not to hit this rock for it may cause the boat to run aground. On New Year's day, fishermen come to this stone and pour sake over it as way of appeasing and asking the stone for a safe voyage and bountiful catch. This practice is called desome 'the first trip of the year '.

#### AUXILIARY ASSOCIATIONS

Fujin-bu literally means wives's section. It is an auxiliary part of the FCA composed of 39 housewives. The women are taught by the staff of the FCA how to file individual income tax. They also help the FCA office for its year-end book keeping reports. In times of disaster, fujin-bu members keep office and prepare food for people involve in rescue operations. The housewives also are responsible for the cleanliness of the harbor's surroundings. Being only an auxiliary member, they could not participate in the election of FCA officers. They pay monthly dues of 200 yen. The wives learn various domestic skills such as cooking, knitting, and other domestic skills.

Another auxiliary group is the kenkyukai 'study group'. The members are full time kumiai members numbering 35 in all. The study group is a voluntary learning circle. The members learn from the older and skillful participants. They also develop or improve new gears for the exclusive use of the members. Any new innovations or gear improvements are presented to a bigger study group of the prefecture .

In this way the group take take pride in their efforts by announcing their reports to the body. Outstanding works are recognized and awarded prizes.

## FISH MARKETING

Marketing is generally handled by the FCA. There are three ways of handling the fish catch: (i) through the local FCA market, (ii) through the joint-FCA market of the three FCA of Nakaminato City (but only for small boat fishermen), and (iii) through direct sale by divers to a middleman. Most of the kobune fisherman's catch is sold in the following manner:

when the morning catch is ready the fisherman or his wife brings the catch directly to the clearing house at the back of the FCA office. A kumlai staff sorts it out into, ka-tsugyo 'live fish', sengyo 'fresh fish but without life', and for some, according to species and sizes. On the basis of this classification, the catch is weighed and recorded in the mizuage no dempyo 'catch voucher'. The voucher contains the names of the boat, fish with its corresponding weights and the date. Most of the catch of kobune fishermen are rock fish and bottom dwelling species particularly hirame, suzuki and tai.

According to the FCA accountant, hirame between 1.5 kg. to 2 kg. commands the best price. It is the most appropriate size for sashimi 'sliced raw fish dish'. Lifeless fish is valued one third of the price of live ones. The dead fish are not sold directly to the bigger market but stored in an iced water tank or slightly frozen for about three days. When there is enough to be sold, it is brought to Tokyo via a hired refrigerated truck. Live fish are picked up daily.

Since the Tokyo Central Fish Market opens in the early morning, the afternoon catch is not sold immediately but is transported early the following morning. The fish which are brought to Tokyo are coursed through a licensed fish broker in the central market.

Kogata sen fishermen deliver their catch directly to the Small Boat Fish Market Cooperative Sales Center located in front of the Minato Harbor for small fishing boats. This sales center was organized by the three FCA (Isozaki, Hiraiso, and Minato) a few years ago. The fish are sold through bidding by the center licensed middlemen. These brokers are all from the city who are either small market vendors, restaurant owners, or connected with big marine processing factories. Bidders are required to post 10 percent of the total amount they can purchase as a bond. FCA funds come mainly from the commissions it levies on the sales of the catch. In the case of kobune fishermen, transportation, ice, oxygen, and boxes costs and the broker's commission deductions are fixed at .55 percent and from the net sales 5 percent is the FCA's commission. For kogata fishermen, the market management deducts 5 percent as sales charges of which 2 percent goes to the local FCA and the remaining 3 percent is the market's commission and service charges.

## CHAPTER V ISOZAKI COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

### THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Japanese village community is found where individualistic production predominates with certain amount of cooperation based on communal ownership (Fukutake, 1967:84). Communal

ownership of the means of production such as fishing territories, forest land, source of water for irrigation, etc., has a long history. In the early Modern Period (1560-1868) the sea was regarded as an extension of the land making it an integral part of a feudal domain. Administratively, access to a fishing territory defined a village as a fishing village (Kalland, 1984:12). Thus, the Isozaki community as used here refers to a group of households sharing a specific territory, i.e., Isozaki-cho owning collectively a part of the sea that extends from the outermost tip of Isozaki Cape to a radius of 1,500 meters towards the Kashima Open Sea, and exploiting the sea resources through the intercession of the Isozaki Fishing Cooperative Association. The common territorial bond of Isozaki community is reinforced symbolically through the village shrine, Sakatsura Jinja, the patron gods Ebisu-sama and Daikoku-sama are worshipped regularly by the villagers .

## GEOGRAPHY

Isozaki community is a fishing village by virtue of its access to the marine resources inspite of the fact that not all residents are fishermen. There are small cultivators, small-scale merchants, shop-keepers, inn-keepers, blue, and white collar workers, and others in the village. Isozaki-cho is a geo-political label of a hilly cape on the north-eastern section of the city facing the Kashima Open Sea. The word Isozaki is derived from two Chinese ideograms meaning shore and cape. Like place names in Japan, its meaning usually indicate the topographic and geographic feature of the place.

When the coastal road was built in the 1950s most houses were relocated in the present blocks of Arachi-cho and

Isoai-cho. Only a few houses remained in the place now. However, old residents still refer to themselves as hamabe 'born and raised along the shore'.

At present the fishing households that owned cultivable lands no longer cultivate fully their property, but rent it out to their fellow fishermen or relatives since household members have decreased in numbers. Isozaki has the least space for land cultivation, but, its coastal area is a rich source of shellfish and sea weeds.

Isozaki is divided into six blocks (see Map 4): Nagisa-cho 'beach block' were fishermen's houses that turned into seasonal inns and restaurants. Arai-cho 'wasteland block' is a hilly area where a panoramic view of Ajigaura beach can be seen. Minami-cho 'south block' lies between Isoai-cho and Naka-cho on the table land. Naka-cho 'central block' is where the main street is located and where large and old houses stand. It is also the center of small-scale commerce. Finally, Kami-cho 'head or top block' is where the Sakatsura Jinja is located. A large land area is occupied by the shrine precinct. The presence of Sakatsura Jinja which is believed to have existed as early as 746 A.D. in Isozaki indicate that the place may had played an important role among coastal dwellers of Ibaraki during the ancient times. Fishing and farming may have been an ancient occupation since the patron gods of the shrine are the gods of the farmers and fishermen.

#### VILLAGE ASSOCIATIONS

Neighborhood association is the smallest socio-political grouping in the community. In Isozaki, a jokai 'neighborhood association' is usually composed of ten households. In one block of 140 households, for instance,

the jokai has 14 households. These households are usually labeled by their yango 'house name'. A group of jokai compose the chonaikai 'block association'. The groupings of all the chonaikai make up the village organization of Isozaki community (see Diagram 4).

#### THE FISHERMEN'S ROLE WITHIN THE ASSOCIATIONS

Fishermen have taken an active role within the buraku 'block' socio-political activities. Some heads and members of the jokai, and chonaikai are also officers of the FCA. They are active participants of all community activities.

#### RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS

It is in this religious festivities that the ties of the community are further enhanced. Fishing as an occupation is clearly represented in two village institutions: the kumiai and the jinja 'shrine'. In the shrine, the ujigami 'titular deity' is enshrined. It is the deity that look after the welfare of the parishioners or the community residents. Theoretically all residents are members of the ujiko 'association of parishioners'. Ujiko is an organization of parishioners which was originally referred to as,

the entire membership of a clan possessing common ancestral gods, (which was later used) to designate all parishioners of a given temple who were born and lived within the territorial boundaries of its parish (Herbert, 1967:461).

#### UJIKO MEMBERSHIP

Basically there are three types of ujiko members, namely:

age grade class, occupation, and a group that promotes the welfare of the community (see Diagram 5). Age grade class is composed of the kodomo kai 'children's association', seinen kai 'youth association', fujin kai 'women's association', and rojin kai, 'senior citizen's association'. The members of the kodomo kai make lanterns and light them during the festival, and clean the shrine precinct with the help of the senior citizens. The members are both male and female whose age range from 3 to 12 years old. The seinen kai carry the portable shrine and pull the mobile float during the festival. They are male whose ages range from 18 to 40 years old. The youth association, with an age range of 13 to 17, are exempted from the festival activities due to school entrance examination. The fujin kai distribute the rice wine to the parishioners during their visit to the shrine on the festival days. Lastly, the rojin kai, who are above 65 years old, help the children in keeping the shrine clean.

There are three occupational groups, namely, Isozaki Fishing Cooperative Association, kinsenko 'Agricultural Cooperative Association' and the shotenkai 'shop-keepers association'. The farmers prepare the sea produce for offering to the shrine while the farmers prepare the produce of the land. The shop keepers beautify the streets and lower the price of their products during the festival.

The safety and the welfare of the community is under the care of three groups: kotsu anzen kai 'traffic safety association', bohan 'sargeant-at-arms', and the shobodan 'fire brigade'. All three groups are exclusively male. As their name implies, they perform their duties during the festival days and even on ordinary days when necessary.



## VILLAGE FESTIVAL AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The organization of the annual shrine festival reflects the way the community is organized in the secular period. There are correspondences between the shrine-based festival organization and the ujiko with that of the socio-political associations (see Diagram 6). The village festival is headed by a kai-cho 'festival chairman' among the leaders of the chonaikai. The chairmanship is rotated to all the leaders of the block associations. Under the chairman is the organizing committee which is composed of the block leaders or hosenkai whose leader is called the hosenkai cho. These people coordinate their plans with the sodai 'lay man' association that administers the shrine.

### FROM THE BOAT TO THE COMMUNITY

The basic management unit of Isozaki fishing is the boat. The boat is a unit that relates to other units within the fishing group and production unit. A boat produces in relation to other boats efficiently in a cooperative way. This cooperative mechanism occurs between neighbouring boats, among members of a mooring group of five boats or gumi, within the same boat category, and among members of the same fishing cooperative in general. Within the kobune kumiai, cooperative undertaking is best seen in the mooring area where fishermen help each other. Those who finish early in their shore work help those who are a little behind specially when the market is nearing to a close. Breakfast is a communal activity among gumi members. Abalone divers or members of the saibo kumiai go out to dive in pairs for safety. Kogata fishermen always go in groups of three to five for a long period in the sea. They fish within a certain area where the leader divides the fishing spots among themselves. It is common among colleagues to share informa-

tion on fishing techniques but seldom on rich fish spots. Nevertheless, information on fishing skills is shared among members through the study group.

## HOUSEHOLD

A household maybe defined in terms of kinship relations which may either be consanguinal and or affinal. Japanese households branch into vertical and horizontal lines in kinship relations as well as into the hontaku 'main house' and shintaku 'branch house'. Vertical relations or dozuko is composed of a group of household that are related to the main branch of the family. Horizontal relations refers to the household which perpetuates itself through the numerous obligations and duties within the ie 'family'. The members of the main and the branch houses are united symbolically during the observances of the obon 'festival for the soul', higan 'equinoxes, and on New Years' celebration. The household is a corporate group composed of a man and his wife, their children, and or parents of the man or the wife if her husband is an adopted son of the family. The head of the household inherits the property of the ie including the house, fishing rights, memorial tablets or tombs among others. His obligation is to promote the welfare of its members, increase its wealth, and improve its social standing in the community. He is usually the eldest son but in cases of no possible successor, an adopted son through marriage in the family is possible.

## CONCLUSION

The present fishing activities that characterizes each village in Nakaminato City run parallel to the historical metamorphoses that took place in the past one hundred years. Minato had a fishery management system in the form of merchants turned boat owners who ran their fishing enterprise from the background, leaving the actual operations to the managers. On the other hand, Hiraiso had a management system where the landlord and boat owner/net-owner joined in fishing and directly managed it. The difference between the two systems is that while the aminushi-funakata system of Hiraiso was supported by land cultivation, the funanushi-funakata system of Minato survived and depended on the cash returns of the catch. The most affected party in the two relations of the Minato system were the funakata 'fishing crew' who were most impoverished. Isozaki had barely enough historical documents for investigation. The only clue is a short passage which mentioned the kojiami 'tongue-shaped net' and many forms of traditional fishing gears. On the basis of contemporary materials, small-scale coastal fishing must have been an economic tradition in Isozaki for a long time. At present, there is only a handful of large-boat owners in Isozaki compared to Minato and Hiraiso. Isozaki too must have provided the fishing crews of the large boats and when the fishing industry declined, the Isozaki fishermen continued to operate smaller boats along the coast. On the basis of their individual past it maybe said therefore that:

1. Isozaki has continuously pursued its coastal small-scale fishing ground activities, while Hiraiso shifted from distant waters to offshore fishing grounds, and Minato continued operating in distant overseas fishing grounds.

2. Isozaki continued fishing as a major source of income while Hiraïso and Minato relied on it as an exclusive and main source of incomes.

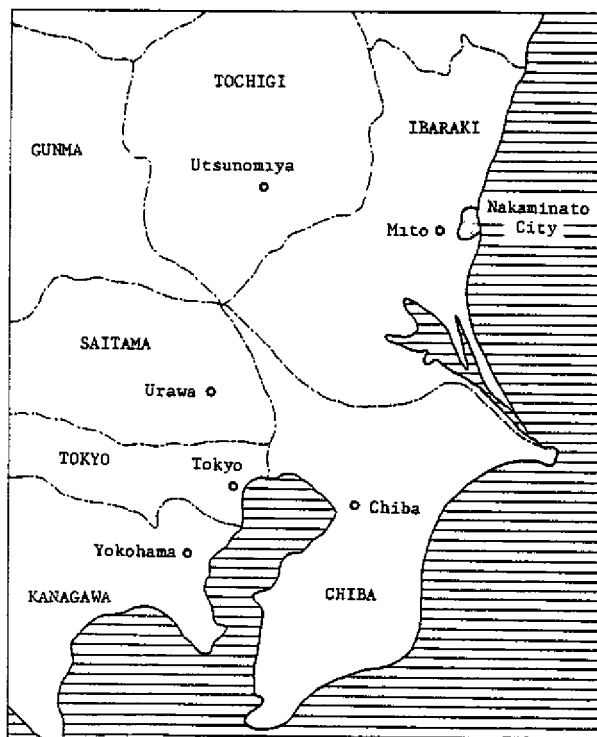
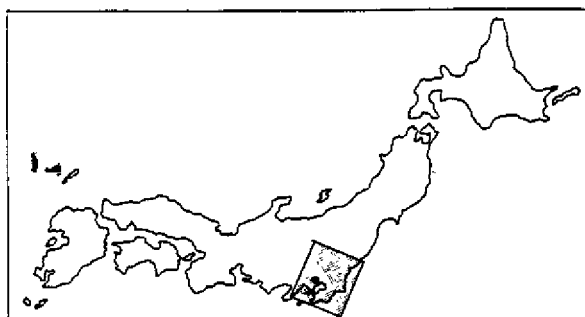
3. Isozaki retained the source of its fishing labor within the household making it a household enterprise while Hiraïso and Minato have been dependent on both household and outside labour sources.

In terms of acceptance of technological innovations the three communities may be characterized as advanced Minato, moderate Hiraïso and conservative Isozaki types. The last character proved to be an asset in this modern age where industrial pollution has destroyed the environment. Isozaki to day has protected its coastal resources from the havocs of industrial life since there is no other fishing grounds for them to exploit. Abusing it tantamounts to collective fishermen's suicide.

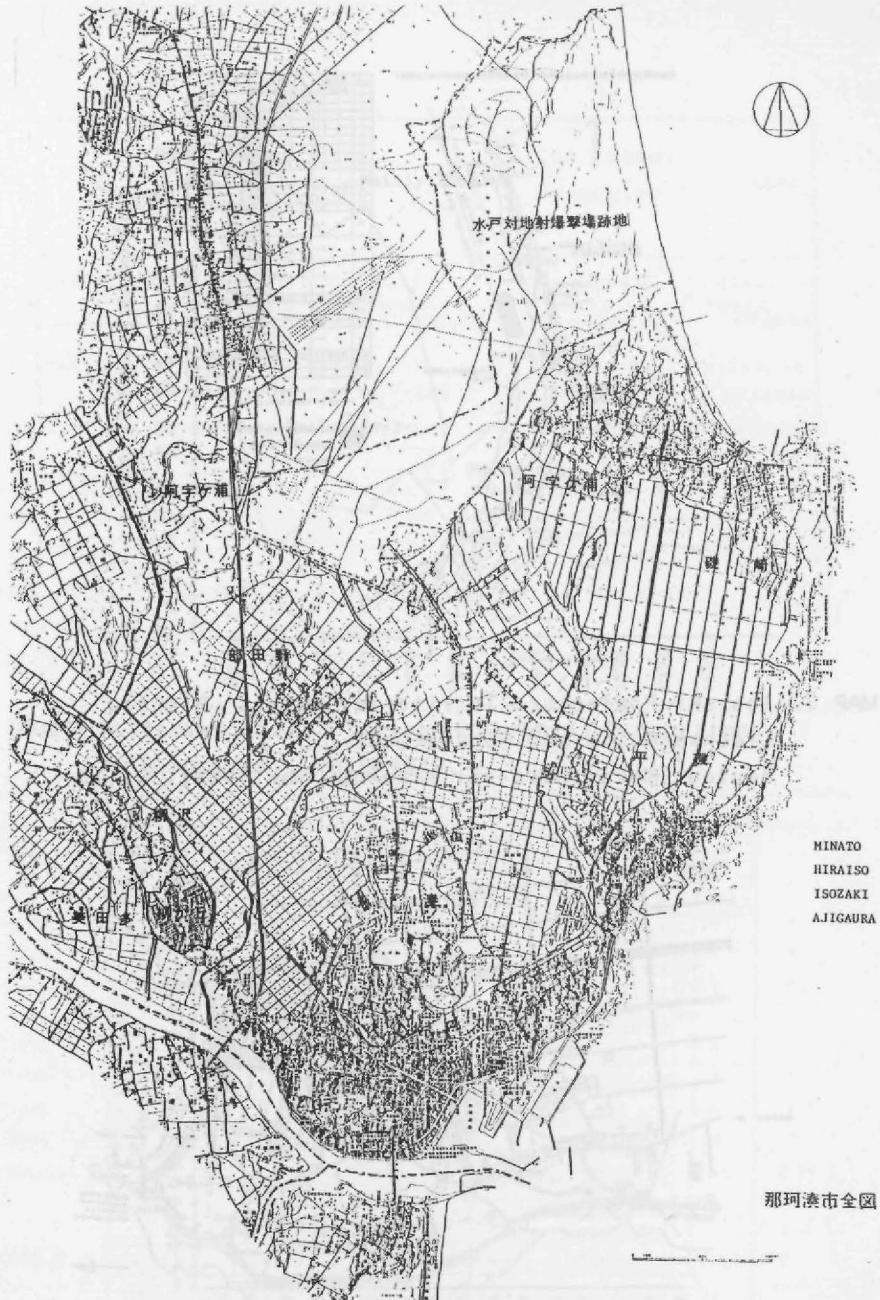
What may have helped Isozaki maintain its coastal small-scale fishing could be traced in its initiative to directly market its produce without the dictates of the Minato market and its ability to combine other forms of occupation. But a more deeper reason may lie in the relations between the fishermen and sea and in the way they have organized themselves to extract marine life.

But as Japan continues to grow at a high speed, conservative Isozaki may be engulfed by urban sprawl and industrial expansion of a nearby town. There is a Nuclear Power plant a few miles from Isozaki and a technological city with a large international port is under construction beside Ajigaura. The most obvious harm to the coastal fishermen is the effects that these changes may have on the ecological niche of marine life and the corresponding loss of livelihood. Unless

the people themselves realize these threats, they may become part of the blue collar workers or absorbed in the service industry catering to summer tourists from the nearby Metropolitan Tokyo.



MAP 1. Nakaminato City, Ibaraki Prefecture, Japan  
Line drawing by Mieko Matsumoto



MAP 2. Detailed map of Nakaminato City

Source: Nakaminato-shi Chimei Kenkyukai, 1986:36-37

茨城海区漁獲免許海域および許可漁獲高区域圖(昭和19年11月1日現在)



| 区域  | 漁獲免許 | 漁獲高 | 漁獲高 |
|-----|------|-----|-----|
| 1   | 1    | 1   | 1   |
| 2   | 2    | 2   | 2   |
| 3   | 3    | 3   | 3   |
| 4   | 4    | 4   | 4   |
| 5   | 5    | 5   | 5   |
| 6   | 6    | 6   | 6   |
| 7   | 7    | 7   | 7   |
| 8   | 8    | 8   | 8   |
| 9   | 9    | 9   | 9   |
| 10  | 10   | 10  | 10  |
| 11  | 11   | 11  | 11  |
| 12  | 12   | 12  | 12  |
| 13  | 13   | 13  | 13  |
| 14  | 14   | 14  | 14  |
| 15  | 15   | 15  | 15  |
| 16  | 16   | 16  | 16  |
| 17  | 17   | 17  | 17  |
| 18  | 18   | 18  | 18  |
| 19  | 19   | 19  | 19  |
| 20  | 20   | 20  | 20  |
| 21  | 21   | 21  | 21  |
| 22  | 22   | 22  | 22  |
| 23  | 23   | 23  | 23  |
| 24  | 24   | 24  | 24  |
| 25  | 25   | 25  | 25  |
| 26  | 26   | 26  | 26  |
| 27  | 27   | 27  | 27  |
| 28  | 28   | 28  | 28  |
| 29  | 29   | 29  | 29  |
| 30  | 30   | 30  | 30  |
| 31  | 31   | 31  | 31  |
| 32  | 32   | 32  | 32  |
| 33  | 33   | 33  | 33  |
| 34  | 34   | 34  | 34  |
| 35  | 35   | 35  | 35  |
| 36  | 36   | 36  | 36  |
| 37  | 37   | 37  | 37  |
| 38  | 38   | 38  | 38  |
| 39  | 39   | 39  | 39  |
| 40  | 40   | 40  | 40  |
| 41  | 41   | 41  | 41  |
| 42  | 42   | 42  | 42  |
| 43  | 43   | 43  | 43  |
| 44  | 44   | 44  | 44  |
| 45  | 45   | 45  | 45  |
| 46  | 46   | 46  | 46  |
| 47  | 47   | 47  | 47  |
| 48  | 48   | 48  | 48  |
| 49  | 49   | 49  | 49  |
| 50  | 50   | 50  | 50  |
| 51  | 51   | 51  | 51  |
| 52  | 52   | 52  | 52  |
| 53  | 53   | 53  | 53  |
| 54  | 54   | 54  | 54  |
| 55  | 55   | 55  | 55  |
| 56  | 56   | 56  | 56  |
| 57  | 57   | 57  | 57  |
| 58  | 58   | 58  | 58  |
| 59  | 59   | 59  | 59  |
| 60  | 60   | 60  | 60  |
| 61  | 61   | 61  | 61  |
| 62  | 62   | 62  | 62  |
| 63  | 63   | 63  | 63  |
| 64  | 64   | 64  | 64  |
| 65  | 65   | 65  | 65  |
| 66  | 66   | 66  | 66  |
| 67  | 67   | 67  | 67  |
| 68  | 68   | 68  | 68  |
| 69  | 69   | 69  | 69  |
| 70  | 70   | 70  | 70  |
| 71  | 71   | 71  | 71  |
| 72  | 72   | 72  | 72  |
| 73  | 73   | 73  | 73  |
| 74  | 74   | 74  | 74  |
| 75  | 75   | 75  | 75  |
| 76  | 76   | 76  | 76  |
| 77  | 77   | 77  | 77  |
| 78  | 78   | 78  | 78  |
| 79  | 79   | 79  | 79  |
| 80  | 80   | 80  | 80  |
| 81  | 81   | 81  | 81  |
| 82  | 82   | 82  | 82  |
| 83  | 83   | 83  | 83  |
| 84  | 84   | 84  | 84  |
| 85  | 85   | 85  | 85  |
| 86  | 86   | 86  | 86  |
| 87  | 87   | 87  | 87  |
| 88  | 88   | 88  | 88  |
| 89  | 89   | 89  | 89  |
| 90  | 90   | 90  | 90  |
| 91  | 91   | 91  | 91  |
| 92  | 92   | 92  | 92  |
| 93  | 93   | 93  | 93  |
| 94  | 94   | 94  | 94  |
| 95  | 95   | 95  | 95  |
| 96  | 96   | 96  | 96  |
| 97  | 97   | 97  | 97  |
| 98  | 98   | 98  | 98  |
| 99  | 99   | 99  | 99  |
| 100 | 100  | 100 | 100 |

注：1. 区域1、2、3、4、5、6、7、8、9、10、11、12、13、14、15、16、17、18、19、20、21、22、23、24、25、26、27、28、29、30、31、32、33、34、35、36、37、38、39、40、41、42、43、44、45、46、47、48、49、50、51、52、53、54、55、56、57、58、59、60、61、62、63、64、65、66、67、68、69、70、71、72、73、74、75、76、77、78、79、80、81、82、83、84、85、86、87、88、89、90、91、92、93、94、95、96、97、98、99、100は、それぞれ異なる漁獲高と免許条件を有する区域を示す。

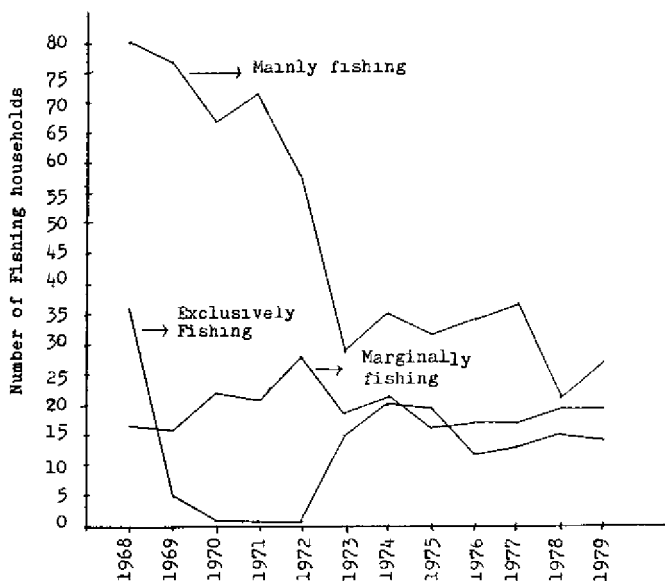
(凡例)  
 1. 漁獲免許区域  
 2. 漁獲高区域

MAP 3. Ibaraki Prefecture Territorial Waters' Fishing License Rules and Regulations  
 Source: Nakaminato-shi Kikakubu Hen, 1985:135-136

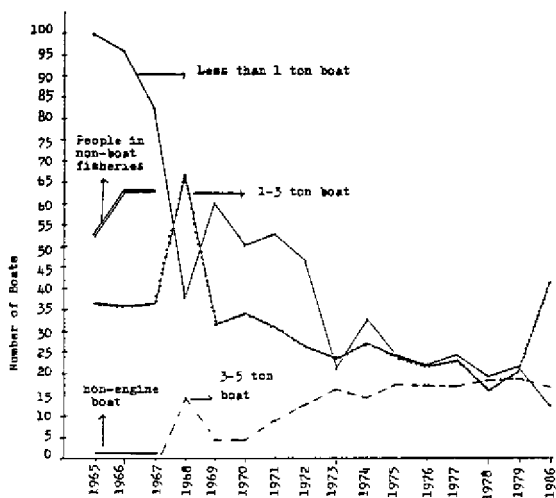


MAP 4. Isozaki-cho and its various blocks





GRAPH 1. Isozaki Area Fishing Households Occupational Structure, 1968-1979



GRAPH 2. Isozaki Fishing Boats Management Unit, 1965-1986

| AREA     | NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS | POPULATION |        |        |
|----------|----------------------|------------|--------|--------|
|          |                      | MALE       | FEMALE | TOTAL  |
| MINATO   | 5,950                | 10,589     | 11,282 | 21,871 |
| HIRAISO  | 1,487                | 2,822      | 2,997  | 5,819  |
| ISOZAKI  | 797                  | 1,584      | 1,614  | 3,198  |
| AJIGAURA | 544                  | 1,162      | 1,274  | 2,436  |
| TOTAL    | 8,778                | 16,157     | 17,167 | 33,324 |

TABLE 1. Nakaminato City Population Statistics, 1980

Source: Nakaminato-shi, 1983:6

| BOAT TONNAGE                   | FISHING METHODS   | MONTHS |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|--------------------------------|---|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|--|
|                                |   | 1      | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |  |
| Less than 1-ton boats          | ヒラメ・マコ網漁業<br>Flounder gill net                          |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | 網付魚一本釣漁業<br>Togaku-ou a. line                           |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
| 1-ton to less than 3-ton boats | 筏 船 漁 業<br>Abafone diving                               |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | タコ筒渡し漁業<br>Octopus barrel long line                     |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | トビ・カツオ曳釣漁業<br>Tome/bonito ccou line                     |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
| 1-ton to less than 3-ton boats | スズキはえなわ漁業<br>Yellow tail long line                      |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | アサガイイ・ろけし漁業<br>Ack shell & crakling trawl               |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | フナル・フイー一本釣漁業<br>Black roke species hook/line            |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
| 3-ton to less than 3-ton boats | ササガ 船曳網漁業<br>Half peak boat seine                       |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | カフネ・マジ・イナダ曳釣漁業<br>Kamifune/maji/inao tail trawl angling |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | ヒラメ網漁業<br>Flounder gill net                             |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
| 3-ton to less than 3-ton boats | アサガイイ一本釣漁業<br>Red squid hook and line                   |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | エビ 船曳網漁業<br>Shrimp board trawl net                      |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | タイはきばえなわ漁業<br>Sea bream bottom long line                |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | ヒラガイ貝網漁業<br>Clam rake-trawl net                         |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |
|                                | アナゴ 罾 漁業<br>Sea eel weir                                |        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |  |

TABLE 2. Isozaki FCA Annual Fishing Calendar

Source: Ibaraki-ken Suisan Shikenjou, 1977:174-175

| Area    | Historical Grounds | Occupational Structure | Management Unit         | Labour Needs          |
|---------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Isozaki | coastal            | mainly fishing         | less 1 ton & 3-5 tons   | household             |
| Hiraiso | offshore           | exclusive & main       | 3-5 tons & 100-200 tons | household & employees |
| Minato  | open sea           | exclusive & main       | 200-500 tons            | employees             |

TABLE 3. Characteristics of Fisheries in Minato, Hiraiso, and Isozaki

| Year    | Exclusive Fishing |         |        | Mainly Fishing |         |        | Marginal Fishing |         |        |
|---------|-------------------|---------|--------|----------------|---------|--------|------------------|---------|--------|
|         | Isozaki           | Hiraiso | Minato | Isozaki        | Hiraiso | Minato | Isozaki          | Hiraiso | Minato |
| 1970    | 1                 | 19      | 12     | 67             | 47      | 26     | 22               | 10      | 1      |
| 1971    | 1                 | 25      | 12     | 72             | 37      | 23     | 21               | 9       | 2      |
| 1972    | 1                 | 23      | 12     | 58             | 33      | 18     | 28               | 15      | 5      |
| 1973    | 15                | 22      | 24     | 29             | 25      | 3      | 18               | 6       | 3      |
| 1974    | 20                | 27      | 15     | 35             | 22      | 9      | 21               | 14      | 8      |
| 1975    | 19                | 23      | 13     | 32             | 23      | 6      | 16               | 6       | 9      |
| 1976    | 12                | 22      | 7      | 34             | 19      | 13     | 17               | 4       | 9      |
| 1977    | 13                | 22      | 7      | 36             | 21      | 12     | 19               | 8       | 8      |
| 1978    | 15                | 18      | 8      | 21             | 19      | 18     | 19               | 4       | 1      |
| 1979    | 14                | 19      | 7      | 27             | 21      | 16     | 19               | 8       | 2      |
| Average | 11                | 22      | 13.75  | 47.33          | 22.9    | 20.75  | 19.25            | 8.4     | 7.33   |

TABLE 4. Minato, Hiraiso, and Isozaki Fishing Household Occupational Structure, 1970-1979

Source: Kantou Nousei Kyoku Ibaraki Toukei Juhou Jimusho (KNKITJJ), 1880:22, 24, 26

| Year | Tonnage of Fishing Boat |    |    |       |    |    |       |    |   |           |   |   |           |   |   |
|------|-------------------------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|---|-----------|---|---|-----------|---|---|
|      | less than 1             |    |    | 1 - 3 |    |    | 3 - 5 |    |   | 100 - 200 |   |   | 200 - 500 |   |   |
|      | I                       | H  | M  | I     | H  | M  | I     | H  | M | I         | H | M | I         | H | M |
| 1970 | 50                      | 21 | 16 | 34    | 27 | 18 | 4     | 19 | - | 2         | 4 | 2 | -         | 5 | 7 |
| 1971 | 53                      | 18 | 15 | 31    | 22 | 14 | 8     | 23 | - | 1         | 6 | 2 | 1         | 2 | 7 |
| 1972 | 46                      | 19 | 13 | 26    | 16 | 14 | 13    | 28 | - | 1         | 4 | 2 | 1         | 4 | 8 |
| 1973 | 21                      | 8  | 5  | 23    | 9  | 13 | 16    | 27 | - | 1         | 4 | - | 1         | 3 | 7 |
| 1974 | 33                      | 18 | 13 | 27    | 8  | 7  | 14    | 31 | - | -         | 2 | - | 2         | 5 | 7 |
| 1975 | 24                      | 11 | 12 | 24    | 8  | 3  | 17    | 28 | - | -         | 1 | - | 2         | 5 | 2 |
| 1976 | 22                      | 6  | 12 | 22    | 7  | 4  | 17    | 27 | - | -         | 1 | - | 2         | 4 | 7 |
| 1977 | 24                      | 10 | 12 | 23    | 3  | 4  | 17    | 33 | - | -         | - | - | 1         | 5 | 5 |
| 1978 | 19                      | 4  | 8  | 16    | 4  | 6  | 18    | 27 | - | -         | - | - | 1         | 6 | 3 |
| 1979 | 21                      | 6  | 10 | 20    | 7  | 3  | 18    | 30 | - | -         | - | - | -         | 5 | 6 |

TABLE 5. Isozaki(I), Hiraiso(H), and Minato (M) Management Unit Number of Households, 1970-1979  
Source: KNKITJJ, 1980:22, 24, 26

| Year | Number of People Engaged in Fisheries |     |      |        |     |    |          |     |     |
|------|---------------------------------------|-----|------|--------|-----|----|----------|-----|-----|
|      | Total                                 |     |      | Family |     |    | Employee |     |     |
|      | I                                     | H   | M    | I      | H   | M  | I        | H   | M   |
| 1970 | 223                                   | 633 | 1007 | 144    | 112 | 42 | 79       | 521 | 965 |
| 1971 | 214                                   | 582 | 868  | 141    | 104 | 43 | 73       | 478 | 825 |
| 1972 | 202                                   | 524 | 790  | 133    | 105 | 43 | 69       | 419 | 747 |
| 1973 | 141                                   | 463 | 671  | 81     | 74  | 42 | 60       | 389 | 629 |
| 1974 | 158                                   | 369 | 657  | 93     | 87  | 36 | 65       | 282 | 621 |
| 1975 | 146                                   | 327 | 564  | 83     | 74  | 31 | 63       | 253 | 533 |
| 1976 | 137                                   | 304 | 538  | 77     | 18  | 32 | 60       | 236 | 506 |
| 1977 | 174                                   | 320 | 544  | 81     | 74  | 31 | 93       | 246 | 513 |
| 1978 | 156                                   | 298 | 258  | 68     | 55  | 34 | 88       | 243 | 204 |
| 1979 | 134                                   | 270 | 460  | 74     | 66  | 31 | 60       | 204 | 429 |

TABLE 6. Isozaki(I), Hiraiso(H), and Minato(M) Employment Structure, 1970-1979  
Source: KNKITJJ, 1980:22-27

| Household      | Egan Fishing |      | Kinkai Fishing |      | Tourism Related Activities |        | Vegetable Gardening | Factory | Farm | Construction |
|----------------|--------------|------|----------------|------|----------------------------|--------|---------------------|---------|------|--------------|
|                | Net          | Dive | Net            | Line | Angling                    | Cruise |                     |         |      |              |
| A              | +            | -    | +              | +    | -                          | -      | -                   | +       | +    | -            |
| B              | +            | +    | -              | -    | -                          | -      | -                   | +       | +    | -            |
| C              | +            | -    | +              | +    | +                          | +      | -                   | -       | -    | -            |
| D              | +            | -    | -              | -    | -                          | -      | -                   | -       | -    | -            |
| E <sup>#</sup> | +            | -    | +              | +    | +                          | -      | -                   | -       | -    | -            |
| F              | +            | +    | -              | -    | -                          | -      | +                   | -       | -    | -            |
| G <sup>#</sup> | -            | +    | +              | +    | -                          | -      | +                   | -       | -    | -            |
| H <sup>o</sup> | +            | -    | -              | -    | -                          | -      | -                   | -       | -    | -            |
| I <sup>o</sup> | +            | -    | -              | -    | -                          | +      | -                   | -       | -    | -            |
| J <sup>*</sup> | -            | +    | -              | -    | -                          | -      | -                   | -       | -    | +            |
| K <sup>#</sup> | +            | -    | +              | +    | -                          | -      | +                   | -       | -    | -            |

TABLE 7. Isozaki Household Income Source

[ OLD IBARAKI-KEN ]

5 GUNS '1874'

NAKA-GUN

4 Large divisions

4 Smaller divisions

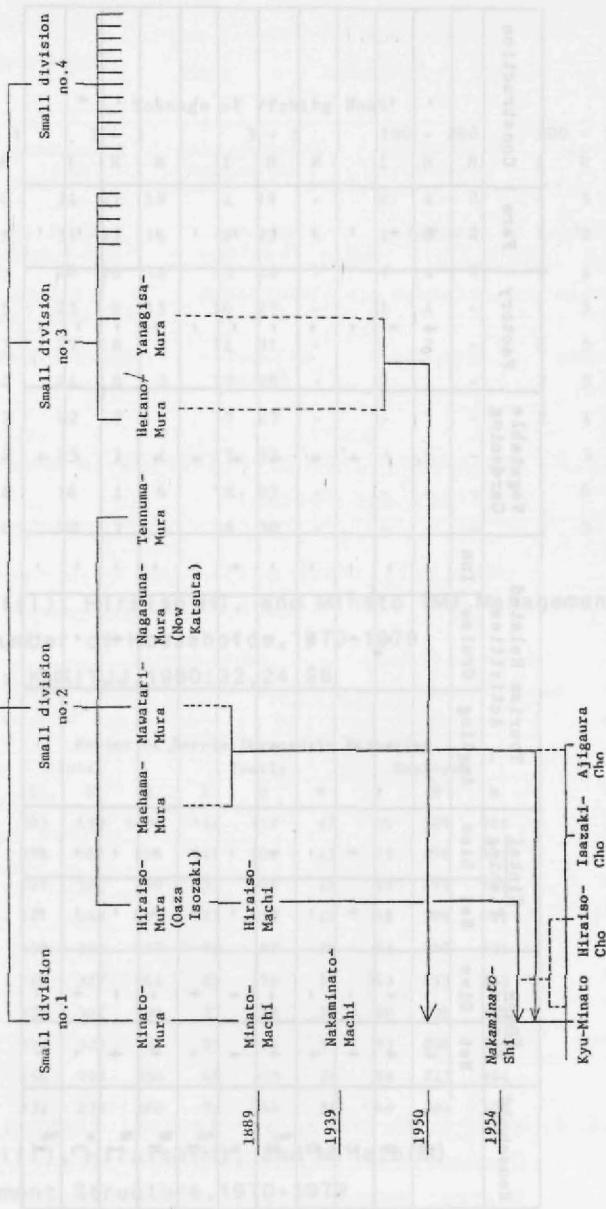


DIAGRAM 1. Metamorphoses of Nakaminato City, 1874-1954

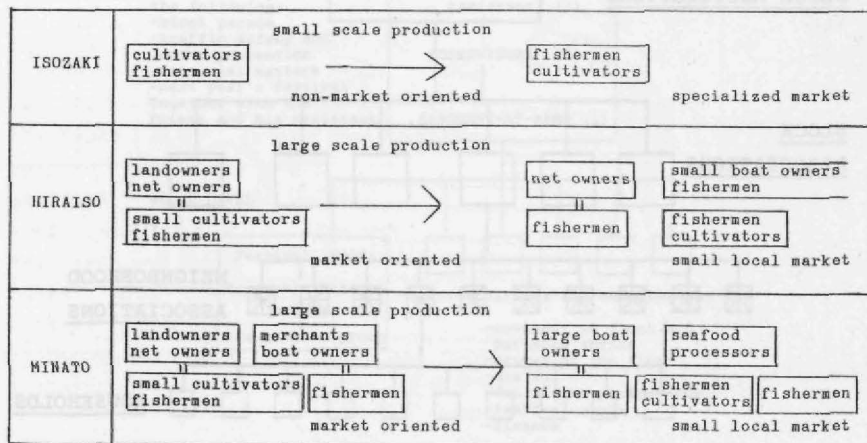


DIAGRAM 2. Social and Economic Transformation of Nakaminato City

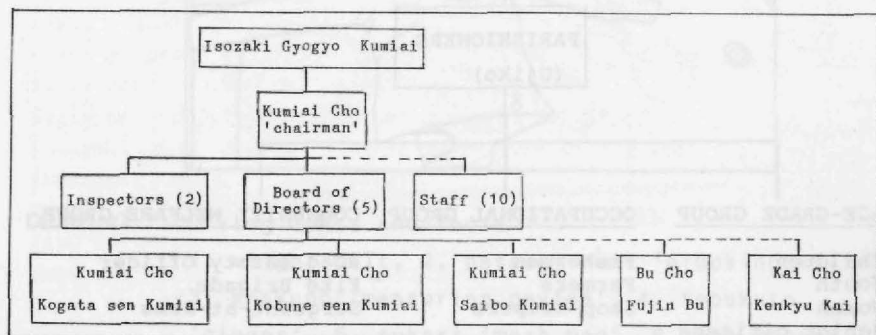


DIAGRAM 3. Isozaki Fishing Cooperative Association

LEAGUE OF  
BLOCK ASSOCIATIONS

BLOCK  
ASSOCIATIONS

NEIGHBORHOOD  
ASSOCIATIONS

HOUSEHOLDS

DIAGRAM 4. Isozaki Community organization

LAYMAN'S GOVERNING  
COMMITTEE (SODAI)  
6-men-member

-----> Shinto Priets

PARISHIONERS  
(Ujiko)

AGE-GRADE GROUP

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

COMMUNITY WELFARE GROUP

Children  
Youth  
Women  
Senior citizens

Fishermen  
Farmers  
Shop-keepers

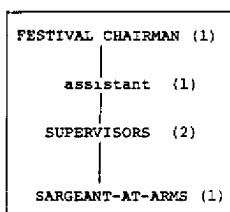
Road safety officer  
Fire Brigade  
Sargeant-at-arms

DIAGRAM 5. Isozaki Ujiko Organization

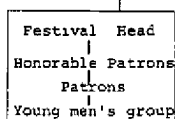


VILLAGE LEVEL

Plans and Coordinates the following:  
-block parade  
-traffic safety and crime prevention  
-financial matters  
-next year's festival  
Together with the Priest and his assistant



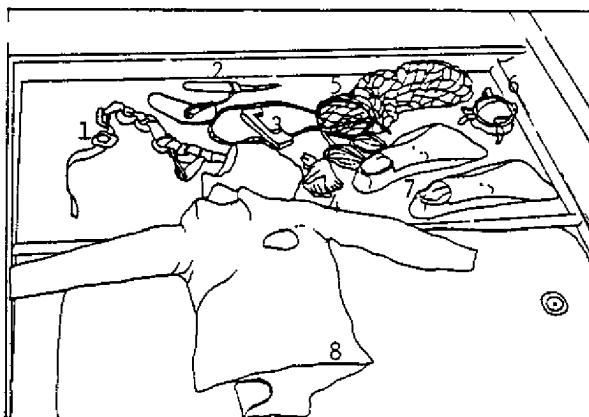
BLOCK LEVEL



----- Directs and executes the ff:

- movement of float and portable shrine
- driver of the float
- traffic
- dance-drum performance
- festival shade
- finance

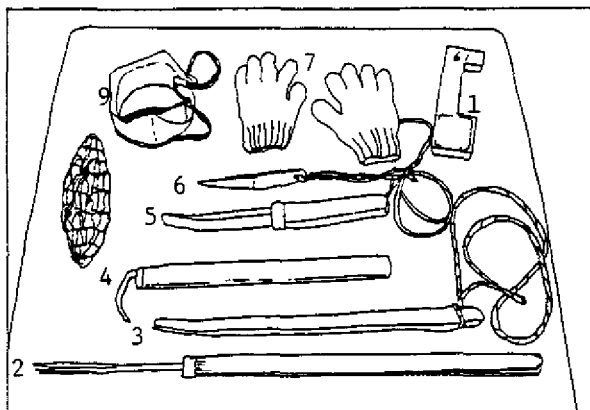
DIAGRAM 6. Isozaki Village Festival Organizational Chart



DRAWING 1. Diving Gears and Tools

1. weight belt, 2. nasashi nomi 'plucking knife',
3. shakugo 'measuring device', 4. tebukuro 'gloves',
5. sukari 'mesh bag', 6. ama megane 'diving mask',
7. hire/bera 'diving fins.'

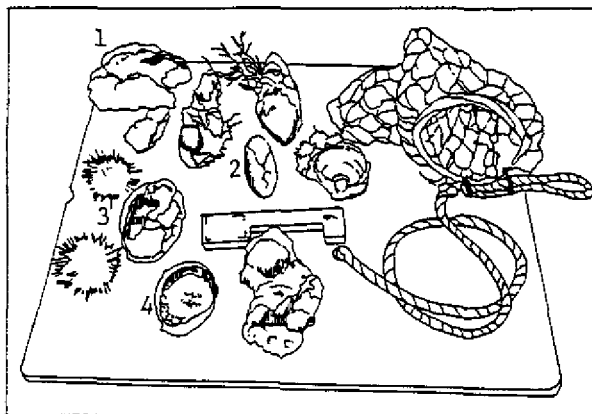
Line drawing by Mieko Matsumoto



DRAWING 2. Diver's Basic Tools

1. shakugo, 2. yasu 'spear', 3. nasashi nomi,
4. kagi 'hook', 5. nasashi 'small plucker',
6. sho nasashi 'tiny plucker', 7. tebukuro,
8. sukari, 9. ama megane.

Line drawing by Mieko Matsumoto



DRAWING 3. The Diver's Haul

1. tennen kaki 'wild oysters', 2. shure/egai 'mussels',
3. uni 'sea urchins', 4. awabi 'abalone'.

Line drawing by Mieko Matsumoto

## GLOSSARY

- aguriami あぐり網 lampara net  
 ainame アイナメ rock trout  
 aka ika アカイカ red squid  
 aki shoku 秋職 autumn employment  
 amimoto 網元 net group  
 aminushi 網主 net owner  
 anago (nago) アナゴ sea eel  
 awabitori あわびとり abalone divers  
 bohan 防犯 seargent-at-arms  
 buraku 部落 hamlet  
 chikusho iso 畜生磯 abnormal rock formation  
 chikusho iso no kita me guchi 畜生磯の北目口 north side of  
 the rock  
 chikusho iso no minami me guchi 畜生磯の南目口 south  
 side of the rock  
 chin chin ちんちん stone in the shape of a penis  
 chonakai 町内会 federation of neighborhood  
 association  
 dai-ichi gumi 第一組 first group  
 dai-ni gumi 第二組 second group  
 dai-san gumi 第三組 third group  
 dashi 山車 float  
 desome 出初め first fishing trip of the year  
 ebi itabikiami えび板びき網 shrimp bottom trawl net  
 egai エガイ mussels  
 engan 沿岸 coast/coastal  
 engan gyogyo 沿岸漁業 coastal fishing  
 fujin kai 婦人会 women's association  
 fujin-bu 婦人部 fishermen's wife association  
 funagami iso 船神磯 stone patron god of the boat  
 funanushi 船主 boat owner  
 funashikiba/funahikiba 船曳き場 mooring place  
 fune no tsuyo 船のつよ bean paste soup  
 geisha 芸者 female entertainers  
 gumi 組 group  
 gyogyo ga ju 漁業が従 marginally fishing  
 gyogyo ga shu 漁業が主 mainly fishing

gyogyo kyodo kumiai 漁業共同組合 Fishing Cooperative  
 Association  
 gyogyo nomi 漁業のみ exclusively fishing  
 haenawa はえ縄 long line/trawl line  
 hanabe 浜辺 born and raised along the shore  
 hancho 班長 block/faction leader  
 hanna-hangyo 半農半漁 half agriculture half fisheries  
 haru shoku 春職 spring employment  
 hatsuzakaami 八ざか網 eight sloped net  
 higan 彼岸 equinox  
 hikiami 引き網 trawl net  
 hiragai ketaami ヒラガイ貝桁網 bottom trawl net with  
 rake-like contraption tied to a net  
 hirame/shirame ヒラメ/シラメ specie of flounder  
 hontaku 本宅 main house  
 hosenkai ほせん会 festival organizational planning group  
 ie イエ/家 house  
 ika イカ cuttle fish  
 ippontsuri 一本釣り hook and line  
 iwashi イワシ sardine  
 iwashi tairyo イワシ大漁 over production of sardine  
 iwashi tairyo bimbo イワシ大漁貧乏 poverty due to over  
 production of sardines  
 jinushi 地主 landowner/landlord  
 jokai じょう会 neighborhood association  
 kagura 神楽 sacred dance  
 kaicho 会長 association head  
 kaikei 会計 fundraiser  
 kajibo 舵ぼ driver of a float (see dashi)  
 kakeuri 掛売り form of advance money  
 karei カレイ flounbder  
 kasago カサゴ kabazon  
 katsugyo 活魚 live fish  
 katsuo カツオ bonito  
 katsuo ippontsuri カツオー本釣り bonito pole and line  
 katsuo tsuri カツオ釣り bonito angling  
 keibi 警備 sargeant-at-arms.  
 kenkyukai 研究会 study group  
 kinchakuami 巾着網 purse seine

kinkai gyogyo 近海漁業 near waters fishing  
 kinsenko きんせんこ agriculture cooperative association's  
 ko 子 child  
 kobune 小船 dingy boat  
 kobune kumiai 小船組合 ding boat FCA  
 kodomokai 子供会 children's association  
 kogata sen 小型船 small boat  
 kogata sen kumiai 小型船組合 small boat FCA  
 kojiami こじあみ small tongue-shaped net  
 korobashi ころばし bottom raking trawl  
 kosaku 小作 small cultivator/tenant  
 kotsu anzen 交通安全 traffic safety  
 kumiai 組合 cooperative association (abbr. FCA)  
 kuroshio 黒潮 warm currents from the north  
 machi 町 town  
 maguro haenawa マルオはえ縄 tuna long lining  
 maguro nagashimi マグロ流し網 tuna drift net  
 makiami 巻き網 surrounding net  
 matsuri 祭 village festival  
 mebaru メバル gray rock cod  
 neji メジ young tuna  
 mizuage no dempyo 水場伝票 catch voucher  
 mujin 無尽 a form of lottery saving  
 mura 村 village  
 natsu shoku 夏職 summer employment  
 nawade なわで stone name  
 netsukigyo ippontsuri 根付魚一本釣り toggle on  
 a line  
 norikumiin 乗り組員 boat crew  
 obon お盆 festival for honoring the ancestors  
 odori-taiko 踊り太鼓 dance-drum  
 oka no oyakata 岡の親方 absentee owner  
 okazu おかず viand  
 oki iso 沖磯 stone on the offing of chikusho iso  
 okiami 沖網 krill  
 omikoshi お神輿 portable shrine  
 onakakeihi 大仲経費 deduction for operational expenses  
 oona おおな name of a stone  
 osewanin 大世話人 honorable patron

oya 親 parent  
 oyashio 親潮 cold currents coming from the north  
 rijikai 理事会 board of directors  
 rojin kai 老人会 senior citizen's association  
 saba サバ mackerel  
 saibo さいぼう abalone diving  
 saijicho 祭事長 festival chairman/head  
 sake 鮭 salmon  
 sanma boukeami サンマ棒受け網 saury pike stick-held dip net  
 sanma nagashiami サンマ流し網 saury pike drift net  
 sanma tairyō bimbo サンマ大漁貧乏 poverty due to over production of saury pike  
 sashiami 刺し網 gill net  
 sashimi 刺身 sliced raw fish dish  
 sayori サヨリ half-beak  
 seinen kai 青年会 youth association  
 sendo 船頭 fishing leader  
 sengyo 鮮魚 fresh fish  
 senkai 浅海 shallow waters  
 setsue 設え provide(s/r) festival shade  
 sewanin 世話人 patron (see Osewanin)  
 shakugo 尺ご wooden measuring device for abalone  
 shinko gakari 進行係 controls the movement of dashi  
 shintaku 新宅 branch house  
 shio no me 潮の目 current rip  
 shirasu シラス white bait  
 shishi 獅子 dragon head  
 shobodan 消防団 fire brigade  
 shotengai 商店街 shop-lined street  
 shotenkai 商店会 shop-keepers association  
 sodai 総代 layman's group who manages the shrine  
 sokobiki sashiami 底引き刺し網 bottom gill net  
 sokobikiami 底引き網 trawl net  
 sukari スカリ abalone mesh bag  
 sumika 棲みか habitat (see awabi sumika)  
 suzuki スズキ sea bass  
 tai ukihaenawa タイ浮きはえ縄 sea bream bottom long line  
 tako taru nagashi タコ樽流し octopus barrel long line

teichigyogyo 定置魚業 stationary net fishing  
tennen kaki 天然カキ wild oyster  
tonari gumi 隣組 neighborhood association  
tsuri 釣り hook and line  
ujigami 氏神 titular deity  
ujiko 氏子 association of parishioners  
uni ウニ sea urchin  
wakame/wagame ワカメ sea weeds (Undaria)  
wakaren 若連 young adult/young men's group  
winchi ウィンチ winch  
yango 屋号 house name

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日本の伝統的漁業に関する基礎的研究  
—茨城県那珂湊市磯崎の沿岸漁業の事例から—

シンチア・ネリ・ザヤス

本稿は茨城県那珂湊市磯崎において沿岸漁業に従事する漁民団に関する研究である。この地域では過去数百年にわたって技術的な変化があつたにもかかわらず、沿岸漁業という漁業形態が一貫して存続してきた。この研究では、そうした連続性を支える様々な問題を分析し、存続の基盤を明らかにすることを目的としている。

那珂湊市は旧湊、平磯、磯崎、阿字ヶ浦という4つの地域からなり、磯崎における漁民のコミュニティは、沿岸漁業を営む、他の隣接地域と、社会的、政治的、経済的、宗教的な全ての側面において深い結び付きを有している。

しかしながら、漁業活動の展開様式についていえば、これら4つの各地域は、独自の歴史的発展を遂げている。旧湊は商業の発達した都市で、現在は遠洋漁業の拠点となっている。平磯では、現在でも沖合漁業が中心になっている。磯崎と、阿字ヶ浦の一部の人々は沿岸漁業を営んでいる。磯崎は、古来、漁民が、半農半魚の生活を続けてきた。

本稿では、主として磯崎の持つ、社会経済的、あるいは文化的な諸条件の考察を進める。そこでまず、磯崎と、他のコミュニティの結び付きを検討し、磯崎の位置づけを明らかにするため、那珂湊市の4つのコミュニティを都市化、近代化の進展という観点から比較した。遠洋漁業の拠点である旧湊では、商業資本の発達により都市化が急速に進展し、隣接する平磯もその影響を強く受けているが、その影響は地理的に離れるに従って弱まり、磯崎では、伝統的な要素が強く維持されている。こうした状況を鑑み、中心（core）一周辺（peripheral）概念を導入してみると、4つのコミュニティの位置関係が明確になる。「コア」はその市場システムのもとに「周辺」を組み込むことにより、「周辺」の伝統的諸市場を統合してきた。「周辺」は「コア」の産業に必要な原料と安い労働力の供給源となっている。磯崎は「コア」との関係からいえばマージナルな地域であり、年間のある時期に副収入源としての賃労働に従事することはあつても、全体として、その従属下におかれることはなかつたといえる。磯崎のこのような連続した独立性を支える重要な要素は、漁民の海洋資源利用方法にある。磯崎では小規模な漁業が主で、この

ことが、彼らの関係様式や組織化の方法に影響を与えている。

次に、漁民の使う技術、労働プロセスおよび、魚の性格と用途などの点から磯崎の漁民と、漁民以外のコミュニティ成員とを統合する諸関係を考察した。那珂湊における漁業の近代的技術による変化は、次の3タイプに代表される。即ち、①最も近代化した湊型：舟主一舟方関係による近代的な雇用関係を基礎とする。②中間的な平磯型：網主一舟方関係による近代的な雇用関係を基礎とする。③伝統的な磯崎型：漁民が各自の舟を持ち、独立的に漁業を行う。③の磯崎型では、漁業への新しい技術の導入はかなり遅い。しかし、これは彼らが新しい技術に消極的であるというのではなく、利用できる資源を維持しようとする、漁民の意識的な努力の現れなのである。以上のようなことから、結論的に次のようなことが指摘できる。

①磯崎はその独立性を存続させる基盤である、独立した漁民による小規模な漁業が展開していたため、漁業生産高は低く、「コア」の市場への統合を免れていた。

②地域の市場が発達した結果、地域内で完結する漁業が可能になり、この結果、漁民全体の代表である組合により漁法と漁場、対象魚種、漁期が指定され、自発的に地域内の資源管理が行われた。

③漁期以外の時期は漁民の労働力が他の活動に向けられ、農業や民宿経営、観光事業に携わる漁民もおり、コミュニティ内の漁民以外の成員との関係も深く、漁民の社会的なモビリティが高い。

④近代的技術の導入にも資源保護を基準とした制限が加えられる。このとき重要な判断の基準となるのが、地域の海に関する伝統的な知識と技術である。

⑤このため、その知識と技術を有する年長の漁民は社会的に重要視され、リーダーシップが与えられている。この年長の漁民を頂点とした社会構成（年齢集団）は、一見階層的であるが、長期的にみれば、全ての漁民がその立場にたつ機会が与えられているという点で平等主義的であり、磯崎コミュニティの特徴を形成している。

⑥伝統的な知識と技術を持った年長の漁民が、社会的なリーダーシップを有する結果、近代的な技術の導入に際し、彼らの判断基準による選択が支持されやすい。このため、資源保護との兼ね合いから新しい技術の導入が制限される傾向にある。

これらの諸側面の相互連関により磯崎型の漁業が存続してきたといえる。このようにして、統制された平等主義が磯崎の沿岸漁業を支えてきたのは、磯崎の漁業が社会生態学的な側面からの資源保護という考え方に基づいているからにほかならない。