



Shingu: A Study of a Japanese Fishing Community.

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the Western notation system (pp. 54–62) raises the question of the three-way relationship between song for work, at parties, and in song competitions. This relationship is a primary dynamic in the process of song transformation already mentioned.

This volume contains many valuable insights of a musicologist but slights the poetic aspect of song. This shortcoming is attributable more to the limitations of the disciplines through which Westerners discuss the performing arts of Japan than to the failings of an individual scholar. Perhaps only when an outlook like that of Winn's gains currency will song as poetry find its place as a fit object of study in English.

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Shingū: A Study of a Japanese Fishing Community. By ARNE KALLAND. London: Curzon Press (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, No. 44), 1981. xii, 198 pp. Tables, Maps, Illustrations, Figures, Appendixes, Notes, Glossary, Bibliography. \$16.25. (Distributed in U.S. by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J.)

The administrative town of Shingū lies on the eastern border of the city of Fukuoka in northern Kyūshū. One of its constituent villages, also named Shingū, was the site of nearly a year's anthropological fieldwork by Arne Kalland, which forms the basis of this valuable ethnography. Despite the subtitle, his book is not a community study, and Shingū is not a fishing village: only 30 of the 250 households in Shingū had an active commercial fisherman in the mid-1970s. Nor is this a recent development: in 1692, only 58 of the 165 registered households were fishermen. Kalland's focus, then, is on the minority of men (and recently their wives) who have fished the waters around Shingū and their changing place within the larger community.

His substantive chapters cover a wide range of topics: the organization of Shingū as a community; fishing household structure and kinship; fishing technologies and annual fishing cycles; the statuses and roles of people on the fishing boats and in the net groups; the institutional features of the coastal fisheries; and what he terms a "model of growth and decline" for the fishing household economy. He treats each of these in historical perspective to argue that more egalitarian relations on the boats and among fishermen have emerged as the fishermen themselves have become increasingly marginal to the wider community.

In the Tokugawa period Shingū appears to have been a large coastal marketing village; the majority of households were engaged in trading or craft production. There was some hook-and-line fishing, but the principal species (sardine and sea bream) were caught with large beach nets. Kalland's report is of particular interest for his description of these "net-groups," the larger of which were organized by major Shingū merchants. As *ami-moto* (net-owners), they financed the nets and dried and marketed the sardine catch as fertilizer. The four merchant households whose fortunes he describes were also sake brewers and used fisherman labor during the winter season; they further consolidated their positions by serving as village or district headmen and involving themselves in the many fishing territory disputes that erupted among the coastal villages. Such was the incorporation of the fishing households into the commercialized village economy.

Trading declined in the early twentieth century when residents were drawn to employment in Fukuoka and Kitakyūshū, but fishing still engaged about 100 persons in 60 to 70 households in 1930. New species (sand lance and yellowtail) replaced the declining sardine, and the large purse seine, requiring several boats to set and take up, became as important as the beach net. Merchants, however, had abandoned net ownership; net groups were formed by individual fishermen, *dozoku* kin groups, or shareholding cooperative enterprises.

By 1976, these net groups had been dissolved or were inactive. A smaller purse seine (the *gochiāmi*) had been adopted that could be worked by single boats with crews of 1 to 3 persons, and Kalland details the roles and working relationships on the twelve *gochiāmi* boats. Cooperation survives only as informal arrangements among boat crews in the brief, but highly lucrative, season for a particular sea bream fry and in marketing through the fishing cooperative. Despite the ability to exploit this new niche, *gochiāmi* boats are economically viable only if operated with family labor, and wives have come to work beside husbands on five of the twelve boats. Even so, prospects are bleak for Shingū fishermen. It is difficult to attract spouses. In twenty-five fishermen marriages before 1960, the average male was 26.3 years old and the average female, 23.5 years; from 1965 to 1978, it rose to 33 years for both. The wife was the older in seven of the fourteen marriages from 1960 to 1978, and these fourteen marriages have produced only 16 children. It is no wonder that "few people in Shingū have any idea of what it is to be a fisherman" (p. 63).

Kalland's ethnography is admirably focused and historically sensitive, despite his occasional lapses into conjectural history, e.g., the sex ratio imbalance in the 1825 population figures can hardly be explained as sex-selective infanticide among the fishing households when fishermen were a minority of the population (pp. 44–45). Also I do not believe that Kalland is particularly well-served by the analytical language with which he has chosen to couch his material. The frequent references to the "resources relevant to a status" (p. 88) and the "actors . . . allocating their resources" (p. 146) imply a transactional exchange theory of social behavior, but such a theory is never applied rigorously, and the vocabulary by itself remains unconvincing. His "model of growth and decline" (pp. 146–53) may describe the sequence of choices that a boat operator confronts, but it does not account for the constraints and opportunities that form the context of those choices. Fortunately, these stand out elsewhere in his book: industrial development, coastal pollution, and overfishing (pp. 13, 89); changes in regional employment (pp. 95, 153); shifts in markets for fish (pp. 185–86); reforms in fishing rights and increasingly strict licensing (pp. 89, 135–36); and growing tensions within the fishing cooperative (pp. 140–45). Taken together, these provide much more convincing explanations for the precarious position of the Shingū fishermen and will ring true with any student of rural Japan.

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Organized Workers and Socialist Politics in Interwar Japan. By STEPHEN S. LARGE. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981. viii, 326 pp. Appendix, Notes, Glossary, Bibliography, Index. \$49.50.

In this new age of "Japan as Number One," we sometimes forget there was a time when Japanese labor was not a respected partner in an efficient, harmonious system of