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SUMMARY OF WHALE MEAT AS A COMPONENT OF THE CHANGING JAPANESE DIET IN HOKKAIDO

The attached report contains important information on various aspects of the small-type whaling in Japan. The Government of Japan, therefore, submits this report as one of its documents to the IWC Working Group to consider various aspects of the small-type whaling.

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Summary of whale meat as a component of the changing Japanese diet in Hokkaido

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ABSTRACT

The distinctiveness of the Japanese whaling cultural complex is historically centered around the extensive use of whale products for human consumption in the coastal whaling communities. In contemporary Japan the small-type whaling operation maintains the traditional role as a local food producer for the people in these communities. This report summarizes new and detailed anthropological understanding of the Japanese food culture and the role of whale meat in the general dietary habits presented in a research report by Ashkenazi and Jacob. Their report reviews the findings of the extensive interviews in six cities in Japan and concludes that Japanese people favor whale meat for particular, stated reasons and that eating whale meat is undeniably a part of Japanese culture, with special significance at the regional and local level. Their report also provides comments on the relationship currently existing between the customary whale meat cuisine and local people's identity as members of small-type whaling communities.

INTRODUCTION

Since pre-historic times the Japanese have utilized a wide spectrum of seafood, from a large assortment of fish, crustaceans, mollusc, seaweed, and marine mammals. The study described here was intended to examine the uses of one component of seafood utilization — whalemeat — in the Japanese diet, and to see how changes in this component of the diet are viewed by native Japanese.

Two main points were examined. First, we were interested in identifying changes in modern (1990-1991) consumption of *okazu* (accompanying dish) and their socio-cultural implications. Second, we were interested in seeing how these changes were viewed by the respondents in terms of their own dietary preferences.

METHOD

The research was conducted over two sequential periods of one month each by two researchers. To provide for comparative data, six cities (Abashiri, Kushiro, Asahikawa, Sapporo, Yuzawa and Tokyo) were sampled. Small, medium and large cities were compared with each category including one community with historical ties to whaling

and another with no such ties at each size category.

Three main research instruments were utilized: interviews, a household consumption schedule, and observation. Interviews, both semi- and non-structured were conducted with 119 individuals.

Forty families were asked to fill a household food-consumption schedule. This was intended to provide for a more rigid assessment of household consumption against household preferences as elicited in interviews.

Both methods above were supplemented by rough surveys of marketing patterns in fish shops and supermarkets in all six of the communities noted. Areas that were surveyed for the serving of whalemeat in restaurants and drinking establishments were selected on the basis of a size that could be handled comfortably by a single researcher. The same was essentially true for shops and fishmongers: all those shops within a thirty-minute walking radius were surveyed, and a fraction of owners/operators then interviewed.

BACKGROUND

Whalemeat has been eaten in the Japanese islands since prehistoric times. During the Edo period (1600-1848), technological improvements increased the number of whales caught by coastal communities using nets. The arrival of European whaling fleets in the north Pacific brought about a general decline in the whale population and apparently a consequent reduction in the catch. The catch rose again with the introduction of Western whaling methods. During, and particularly after World War II, with the Japanese economy in a shambles and food supply a major problem, whaling fleets were enlarged to provide protein for the population. This included both pelagic and coastal whaling of large species and coastal whaling of small species (STCW). As a consequence, whalemeat became broadly available to the Japanese public. During the 1950s whalemeat was served as a matter of course in institutional meals: hospitals, dormitories, prisons, and most significantly, schools. A decline in the numbers of whales available for exploitation led to world-wide limitations on most whaling. This essentially came about in two phases. Roughly, in the period between 1977 and 1986, with an increased limitation on large-scale whaling imposed internationally, meat from STCW became more prominent. And, since a complete moratorium on commercial whaling in 1986 (taking effect in 1988), the meat of small species caught off the coast of Japan has been severely limited.

By many Japanese whalemeat was characterized as an everyday kind of foodstuff; an identity that has consequences for whalemeat's place in Japanese cuisine. By the time the supply of whalemeat had decreased with the cessation of large-scale whaling, whalemeat had become appreciated by the Japanese not solely because it was an economical source of food, but for itself: its taste, its versatility, and its ease of preparation (it was sold as boneless, skinless fillet). It had metamorphosed into a desirable foodstuff.

Whalemeat, which had been a common food item in Japan until recently, is of particular interest. The general thrust of change in food consumption has been towards the addition of foodstuffs to the Japanese diet. Until the latter half of the twentieth century, Japanese with access to marine and freshwater foodstuffs rarely ate animal products. The post-war average Japanese diet has been characterized, narrowly, by the addition of meat (pork and beef), milk and milk products, and bread and other wheat products, previously enjoyed by very few. Of the few cases of deletion, or limitation of foodstuffs, the case of whalemeat is a single massive occurrence of the forced dropping of a foodstuff from the Japanese diet.

DISCUSSION

The data presented focuses on only one issue among many in Japanese cuisine. Understanding the consequence and processes of forced change such as the consumption of whalemeat illuminates other aspects of a cuisine. Some of the findings can be discussed here.

First, whalemeat has been a constituent of Japanese cuisine, and continues to be so. This is emphatically and particularly true in areas where whalemeat has been traditionally eaten, though not solely there. Whalemeat was, and is eaten in all the locales studied, but its relative importance varies greatly both from locale to locale, and for individuals and families within a given locale. The percentage of those who enjoy whalemeat is obviously higher in those area directly related to whaling (e.g. Abashiri), but is also high elsewhere.

One reason that whalemeat was a common foodstuff in Japan is its versatility. In the form of *sarashi kujira* (parboiled tailmeat), it can be used to give flavoring to soups and stews. Its red meat can be cooked in all the ways used for pork, beef, or chicken. It can be fried (*kujira karaage* and *kujira* cutlet), boiled (*kujira tsukudani*), stewed (*kujira shabu-shabu*), sauted (sweet and sour whale), and grilled (Korean barbecue-style whale). In addition, it is also amenable to all the ways of preparing fish, as sashimi and even *sushi*.

It was not only as fresh meat that whale was utilized as foodstuff. Processed, its meats found its way into fish sausages or ham. Canned as unflavored *mizutaki*, it was a convenient staple to have on hand, and one seasoned it to suit one's needs. As well, it was canned already flavored: as *yamato-ni* stew, or spiced with ginger, or as corned 'beef'. The ventral groove (*unesu*) was also made into bacon.

The blubber was boiled down into oil, and until the mid-50s, the oil used for cooking tempura. Blubber was also made into margarine. The crisp bits of blubber that remained after oil was extracted are called *koro*, once commonly eaten as an afternoon snack by Japanese now in their early fifties. *Koro* is still an ingredient of Osaka-style *oden* (a fish and vegitable hodge-podge). Even the tongue, called *saezuri*, was utilized, and is a Kaga-area speciality.

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In addition to actual consumption patterns, people's preferences are important as well, since expressed preferences yield information about the directions changes can and are likely to take. Here too, there is a great variety. The variation in preference is a function of two factors. The history of availability of this particular food is important, and related to that, the availability of other foodstuffs. In other words, the entire food history of modern Japan must be considered in order to understand this particular aspect. Insofar as the first factor goes, individuals who ate and enjoy whalemeat during its period of plenty, and during the period when few other animal proteins were available tend to look on whalemeat nostalgically. Individuals who ate whalemeat only as a high-cost, essentially luxury item, tend to classify it as such, and tend to view other animal protein as fair substitute.

The almost exclusive preference for fish had begun to shift to a preference for meat. That is, younger Japanese still eat a great variety of fish with great enjoyment, but they tend to prefer meat in increasing numbers. Even their preference for fish has shifted, as noted, to those fish which are easy to eat, meaty, and boneless. Paradoxically enough, this has probably not reduced the preference for whalemeat. Viewed traditionally as fish, whalemeat was an exceptionally fine fish. Viewed simultaneously as a mammal, whalemeat is desirable as a meat. As one restaurateur said, whalemeat was eminently versatile: it could be successfully prepared in all ways intended for fish as well as for meat. In either case, whalemeat is recognized as a specially Japanese item, one which almost none but the Japanese prefer to such a degree.

The dual image of whalemeat as cheap and expensive goes well beyond the relatively minor point that some people did and other did not care for it as children. The semantic difference between different perceptions of whalemeat is of much greater importance. As we have seen above, whalemeat is both fish and meat. As meat, it retains its cheapness as a foodstuff. The price of whalemeat certainly compares favourably with comparable meat from other sources. That is, of stewing meats, whalemeat is one of the cheapest. As an *otsumami* (drinking snack) , it compares favourably with other meaty drinking snacks, and the same is probably true of the price of (whale) steak. Of no less importance is the fact that it retains an image of cheapness, to the point that expensive eating establishments — always good weathercocks in a culture that regards its cuisine as an important aspect of its uniqueness — will not consider serving it.

The same is not true when we examine whalemeat as fish. At that point whalemeat in all our research sites becomes a high-priced, often unavailable, limited food. It is served as sashimi and must be compared with the finest sashimi commonly available. This difference of course is reflected in the price difference, but, far more importantly, it is reflected in the image consumers have of the food. "Whale is expensive and out of reach" means that whale sashimi, whale as a desired choice of food, is out of the average individual's reach, or nearly so.

Modern Japanese consumers are increasingly knowledgeable of the dietary value of the foods they eat. A common food value guide (Kagawa 1991) gives nutritive values for whale roughly comparable to the best fish and not far behind beef. For many, this sort of information effectively supports their belief that "... whale is good for you".

Several implications arise from the data and are well worth examining. First, there is no question that on the whole, Japanese enjoy eating whalemeat. This would not, in itself, be an analytical factor but for the fact that the sentence encompasses a set of implications and relationships that are material for the entire range of Japanese cuisine. Whether or not whalemeat is the perfect food, as some of our informants see it, is not important. The underlying reasons for such a view are, that within the rules of preference of Japanese cuisine, raw minke does come close to being the perfect *okazu* (accompanying dish). It has those qualities that Japanese consumers associate with tasty food. Now, this is of course more prominent in areas such as Abashiri, where raw minke, in whatever qualities, was readily available.

We have tried to trace some of the compound, and often conflicting mutual influence of economic factors, perception, and differences in the population on the consumption of whalemeat. The absence of whalemeat from the average Japanese dinner table is not likely to change the desirability in a single element of Japanese culture. As we have seen, different populations — youth and older people, Abashiri locals and those from other areas — have different perceptions of what whalemeat is as a food. The demand for whalemeat in Abashiri is obviously greater than elsewhere, for nostalgic, historical and personal reasons. But the demand for whalemeat is based on far more than just local happenstance. Because of certain specific and identifiable qualities that are inherent in Japanese food culture, whalemeat is desirable to Japanese as a whole. That it is more desirable, perhaps in Abashiri, is an accident of history and geography.

LOCAL PREFERENCES IN ABASHIRI — THE EMERGENCE OF A CUISINE

Abashiri, a small town on the northeastern coast of Hokkaido, represents one extreme in the preference for whalemeat. It is exceptional among the study sites in that it has been, for a fairly lengthy period of time, a whaling town. Besides large-scale commercial whaling and flensing, which have long since disappeared from the town, two STCW catcher boats have operated out of Abashiri before the moratorium and are still berthed there.

It should be noted that the utilization of whalemeat in Abashiri is considered, by its natives, to be relatively non-varied. That is, for the average local consumer, whalemeat represents, in retrospect given the current limitations on availability, two dishes only: *kujira* sashimi and *kujirajiru*. Whale sashimi, like all sashimi, consists of thinly sliced raw flesh. It would normally be served on a bed of shredded giant radish and eaten with soy sauce and horseradish dip (though some Abashiri respondents preferred grated ginger in their soy sauce). By and large this is considered a daily dish, that is, it is not used to mark or signify any special occasion on the social or ritual calendar. The same is not true of *kujirajiru* (blubber soup). This is manifestly a festive dish, normally served as an integral part of New Year festivities. The various dietary and cultural implications of New Year dishes, *kujirajiru* included, go beyond the intent of the fieldwork. However, two points must be raised. First, a preference for blubber soup significantly marks off Abashiri residents from those of other study sites. Second, the consumption of *kujirajiru* for many Abashiri respondents included images of homely warmth and family togetherness: the abashiri equivalent of the Christmas goose or Thanksgiving turkey, or, in the Tokyo context, *toshikoshi soba* (New Year noodles).

Limitations on the availability of whalemeat since the moratorium have obviously affected this preference. Fresh whalemeat is no longer available, and many respondents nostalgically recalled the sound of the boat sirens (announcing a catch) and their salivary and gastronomic responses.

The preference for whalemeat, as we noted above, is a matter of choice that derives from qualities associated with the meat. This is much more strongly focused when we examine the specific case of Abashiri. Factors such as texture, colour, and taste come into focus when we examine the particular preferences of Abashiri residents.

For most research site consumers, the type of whalemeat available was of no significance. Consumers were rarely aware of the type of whale consumed in five of the six cities surveyed. This was emphatically not the case in Abashiri. For Abashiri residents, 'whale' meant minke, and no other species.

Most Abashiri respondents directly involved in whaling stated that while minke was available, they usually ate whalemeat at least once a week. Abashiri informants from non-whaling-involved households stated that they ate whalemeat at least once in ten days. Recipients of whalemeat as gifts would eat the whalemeat as sashimi as soon as received. If there was not enough to make a dish, then it was frozen and kept until more was received to make into one dish.

Beside the historical connection with whaling, other factors emerge from the Abashiri case. The colour of whalemeat — light for minke and other baleen whales vs. dark for toothed whales — was a major factor for Abashiri respondents. They definitely expressed a preference for light whalemeat, specifically that of minke. This preference for minke was true for all Abashiri respondents. One Abashiri wholesaler, who only sells his stock within the city, said emphatically when asked if he sold other whalemeat than minke, *"minku igai no kujira, kangaeta koto nai"* (I wouldn't consider any whale but minke).

In effect, Abashiri represents an interesting case of a nascent culinary tradition that has been interrupted. As can be seen from the data, a definable population has evolved, over a fairly short period of time, a set of culturally defined preferences for a particular foodstuff and for a particular food. A set of presentational rules accompanies the food. Moreover, the food is woven into an important cultural behaviour — gift giving — which is part of the larger culture of which Abashiri is part. In effect, by using whalemeat, Abashiri residents were accomplishing two things: taking part in shared cultural behaviour with all Japanese, while at the same time emphasizing their own cultural uniqueness. It is, we might add, immaterial whether they were doing so consciously. Cultural factors emerge as the result of the cumulative daily practices of individuals within a given environment. It is material that Abashiri residents were aware that this particular aspect of their cuisine (and therefore, their culture) set them apart slightly from other Japanese.

While it is clear that a complete cuisine had not emerged in Abashiri at the time of the moratorium, the interrupted development of Abashiri's sub-cuisine allows us to examine some of the factors in its development. It is clear, for example, that Abashiri residents chose particular foodstuffs for food. As we have seen, certain types of whale and certain parts of desired whale did not enter the cuisine, even though Abashiri residents knew well that they were perfectly edible. Moreover, by indicating an almost absolute preference for certain preparation methods, they were, in effect, cumulatively creating a culinary preference. The continued absence of preferred whalemeat from their diet might well mean that this initial preference will never be elaborated as fully as it might have been.

CONCLUSIONS

Studying cultural change is inevitably problematic. The dynamics of human societies are not as well understood as they might be. Forced change, particularly sudden forced change is invaluable in helping us to understand these process. Such a change came over Japanese society with the moratorium on whaling.

First, while this study did not address the economic, social and political effects of the whaling moratorium on Japan's coastal whalers, it is clear that they were the ones most greatly affected. However, for the whalers who live in a complex modern society, the change in their livelihood also reflected a change in non-whaler's habits. A ripple effect is created, of which we studied only one aspect.

The town of Abashiri, which had consumed a particular

product, ceased consuming that product. With the absence of whalemeat, a part of Abashiri's local history and local culture effectively faded. For some people this did not matter, but for a segment of Abashiri's population, this reduced some of Abashiri's intangible uniqueness. Most small towns in Japan struggle to retain their populations. The ability to do so is directly related to two aspects: economics, that is, the existence of local industries and workplace, and the image the town presents as a place different from others, uniquely itself.

In the larger context — i.e., Kushiro and Asahikawa and other contiguous cities — the total effects of the absence of a particular item of diet — whalemeat — are less felt as a whole. Here too, however, the dining preferences of individuals and families are affected, to lesser or greater degree. The ripples created by a change in the cultural complex diminish as the distance from centers of whalemeat consumption grows.

A preference for a particular product is predicated on a number of factors. The preference for whalemeat derives from the qualities of the foodstuff itself. In a number of definable ways, whalemeat can objectively be shown to meet major criteria for a preferred food in Japanese cuisine. It is not ingrained habit which makes whalemeat palatable for the Japanese, it is whalemeat's palatability that makes it a habit. Food preferences are obviously a matter of habituation and choice. But like any cultural item, once entered into the cultural inventory, it becomes a part of the culture. Eating whalemeat is undeniably a part of Japanese culture, just as eating pork is a part of European culture. And the two preferences are related in another way as well: not eating pork defines a segment of mankind (including Europeans) just as not eating whales defines another segment. Thus eating whalemeat for some Japanese contraposes 'Japanese' with 'non-Japanese' in a deeply felt, emotional way. Cetaphagy may or may not be moral for any of a number of reasons, but for many Japanese informants it is moral because it is something done by them as a minor albeit intrinsic part of their culture.

In addition to the economic factors, the cultural factor is also significant. Food culture, as a whole, plays a large part in daily Japanese life. Most people are aware of, and try to adopt to seasonal food specialities (e.g., bonito in late summer, wild vegetables in spring). This food culture pervades society at all economic levels. Besides cookbooks and journals read by professional and amateur gourmets, there is a host of other information available about good cooking and good food.

For many Japanese, this applies to the consumption of whalemeat as well. Food, as Goody (1982) and Murcott (1982) have noted separately, is not merely food: it is a statement of identity as well. The foodstuff, preparation, rules of presentation, and events concerned, all conspire to help individuals identity themselves as members of a group. The preference for fresh, raw whalemeat helps identify Abashiri residents to themselves, part of a large and encompassing set of customs peculiar to that particular small town. In the absence of such practices that are specific to them, Abashiri is less of a cohesive cultural entity than it would be otherwise. Losing access to fresh whalemeat (even in limited quantities) means that many residents are losing access to an important part of their identifiable natal culture: a part that is also particularly intimate and has strong emotional aspects. Lack of access to fresh whalemeat will obviously not destroy Abashiri, nor will it ruin local culture. It will, however, make it different in significant ways from what it was.

Finally, to return to the issue of cultural change. This comes in may guises, and must be viewed at many levels. For the level that concerned us here, the level, in so far as we were able to deal with it, of individuals, change is deleterious in one area of their lives. That the change was forced, for what seems to them mistaken reasons, simply makes the change more painful.

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COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WHALE MEAT — AN OVERVIEW —

The Government of Japan
1992

At the last meeting of TECHNICAL COMMITTEE WORKING GROUP ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS AND SMALL-TYPE WHALING held in May 1992 in Reykjavik, some participants requested that information on the proportion of certain grades of meat not consumed locally, but sold in more distant markets be provided (Chairman's Report of the 43rd Meeting). In response to the question, following are our answers:

1. WHY SOME PART OF THE MEAT FROM STCW (SMALL-TYPE COASTAL WHALING) SOLD IN DISTANT MARKETS? WHAT IS THE RECENT ESTIMATION OF THE QUANTITY OF MEAT SOLD OUTSIDE OF THE REGION?

Generally, the relatively small quantity of product available on any given day was not attractive to distant buyers wishing to serve the large metropolitan markets, as the quantity available was too small and the uncertainty in supply of whale meant that only small-scale distributions were attracted to this particular fishery (Government of Japan, 1990a).

However, in the last few years due to interruptions in supply of whale meat throughout Japan, distortions have occurred in marketing such that, combined with the attendant rising price, some of the minke meat has been purchased by brokers for sale to more distant markets.

There is a second reason for sale of STCW whale meat outside of the meat-producing community, and this relates to price. Whale meat are graded by quality, e.g. four grades of red meat (A through D). The most expensive grade (A) and one of the middle-grade red meats (C) was hardly saleable in the local communities: the A grade was too expensive, the C was expensive relative to the better-quality B grade meat. On the other hand the poorest quality meat (D) was so inexpensive that it was all consumed locally, and the B quality meat was suitable for all culturally significant culinary and ritual purposes. So grade A and C meat, for which no large demand existed in the local whaling community was sold outside. This is adaptive in two important respects: obtaining higher price for some of the meat outside of the STCW community in a sense subsidized the local consumption of meat by allowing local consumers to enjoy lower meat prices and secondly, ensuring any periodic oversupply of meat does not adversely distort the price structure in the local community (Government of Japan, 1990a).

Just before the moratorium, overall Ayukawa wholesalers and boat owners agree in their latest estimates that about 30% of the red meat from minke whales landed in Ayukawa and sold through the Fish Market remains in the region and the rest go into inter-regional or national distribution. In Hokkaido, approximately 60% of the whale products is distributed and sold within Abashiri and its surrounding area, and a further 30% elsewhere in Hokkaido (Akimichi et al., 1988).

2. WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE OF COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN STCW AND OTHER TYPES OF WHALING?

The STCW fishery has been directed to meeting the consumption needs for *fresh* whale meat in the local communities that can reasonably be served by that restricted scale of operation. Minke meat spoils quickly and so would reach discerning consumers in an unacceptable condition unless the carcass is quickly flensed after capture of whales (Government of Japan, 1990a).

LTCW (Large-Type Coastal Whaling) produces large quantities of meat from each boat voyage far greater than the small local community could consume. The LTCW landing stations usually had the capacity of freeze, salt, can, or otherwise process the meat eventual sale elsewhere. Apart from the lack of local capacity to consume the large quantities of meat produced from LTCW operations, the local food culture was based predominantly on whale meat produced from the STCW fresh-meat fishery (Government of Japan, 1990a).

However, the main contrast occurs in the manner commercial distribution was controlled. The LTCW companies were involved in capture, processing, distribution and wholesaling of the whale product; they controlled each phase of the operation and so the role of local or distant-market middlemen was largely excluded. Decisions as to where and when to market the product to maximize the economic return were made from a corporate markets in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Fukuoka, Nagasaki, or elsewhere. The product, being frozen or processed, could be held back from markets to be released when prices were higher. On the other hand, the STCW companies only produced the carcass, and in some case undertook to also flense the whales. The STCW companies do not undertake commercial

processing, distribution, or wholesaling; this is carried out by local processors or distributors, having their own customers (e.g., retail stores, hotels, inn keepers, etc.) (Government of Japan, 1990a).

Pelagic whaling, the other forms of Japanese whaling, was characterized by a centralized, national distribution network. The whale meat from pelagic whaling was landed at central ports in freezer ships and belonged to urban, centrally controlled national corporations. The product was transported to central wholesale warehouses from where it was trucked to wholesale markets to be auctioned to the highest bidder. The product was marketed primarily to consumers in large urban centers. STCW whale meat however, is landed (unfrozen) at one of the STCW communities and passes through local distributors and markets. The bidders for the whalemeat are generally local buyers (Braund et al, 1989).

3. WHAT IS THE NATURE OF COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WHALE MEAT FROM STCW?

Before considering this subject, it should be noted that some IWC participants pointed out in the previous discussion on STCW that (1) even barter is commerce, (2) in any economy with high value placed on sharing and gifting, one cannot clearly distinguish between commercial and non-commercial transactions because of the importance accorded the use to which a product is subsequently put, and (3) that using cash is to some people seen as somehow wrong, but carrying out the same economic transaction without cash is somehow acceptable.

Japan has been a monetized society for many centuries, and it is difficult to imagine how any contemporary community could continue to function without the extensive involvement of monetized commercial transactions.

Commercialized transactions involving whale meat from STCW take place only at certain stages in the chain of harvesting, processing and consumption of whales, and are part of a distributive system that is itself characterized by a high degree of emphasis on important pre-existing social relationship between buyers and sellers (Akimichi et al., 1988).

It is worth emphasizing here that whaling in Japan is distinctive in many respects compared to whaling in other societies, and that the basis of these differences in the Japanese case have deep historical roots. Since its earliest net-whaling beginnings, Japanese whaling enterprises constituted important commercial and economic institutions, indeed in feudal times whaling groups formed the largest industrial enterprises in Japan. In the Japanese whaling, the use of cash has long been important traditionally as a way of creating social acceptance or solidarity between the various parties needed to co-operate to ensure a successful whaling enterprise. Thus it can be seen that the economic practices sustaining and being sustained by Japanese STCW exactly mirror the practices having taken place for almost four centuries and maintained since that time (Government of Japan, 1990a).

4. WHAT IS THE NON-COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WHALE MEAT IN THE STCW COMMUNITIES

In addition to the commercial distributions, there are other customary and socially obligatory exchanges throughout the whale harvesting cycle. Such exchange involve a large number of people who live in the whaling community concerned, but who may not be directly connected with whaling itself (Akimichi et al., 1988). It is often said in Ayukawa that "Fish are to be bought but whale meat are given free". From a survey in Ayukawa, one estimation can be made that approximately 12% of the total quantity of meat was used for such exchange without any commercial distribution (Government of Japan, 1990b; Braund at al., 1990). Further, there are unknown additional amounts of meat that are purchased and then enter into gifting cycle (Government of Japan, 1990b).

At the same time, however, there are critical questions on such quantitative approaches. Can quantitative surveys impute a measure (agreeable to all) for 'cultural value' placed on the purchase or use of whale meant? How are we to know whether a small quantity of whale meat used in a religious or ritual ceremony has less (or more) cultural value than much larger amounts consumed in a family meal or dining out with friends at a restaurant? It should remembered that formally served meals in restaurants are a normal way of celebrating many culturally important social and ceremonial events in Japan. Those answers cannot be obtained and were they to be attempted their interpretation would likely be endlessly disputed (Government of Japan, 1990a). In light of this, we have prepared and are submitting various documents using the more reasonable approach commonly found in the social sciences.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF EVERYDAY FOOD USE

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THE IMPORTANCE OF EVERYDAY FOOD USE

Among the more important reasons traditional whale-dependent societies continue valuing whale products is in order to maintain their customary diet. This food dependence is not merely the result of the high nutritional content of edible whale products. Rather, the importance of whale-based foods in these particular societies results from the distinctive cultural valuations variously associated with the harvesting, processing, distribution, preparation and consumption of the product. It is these cultural attributes associated with, more especially the consumption of, whale meat for which substitutes do not exist. This report only considers the cultural value of consuming whalemeat, not its production or distribution. As has been argued in earlier reports (see below), these cultural attributes are of such traditional importance that their non fulfilment causes varying degrees of social, cultural and psychological damage to the members of the affected communities. In certain cases these impacts in aggregate dangerously undermine the continued viability of the total communities.

A Brief Summary of Earlier Relevant Reports to IWC

A number of past reports to the IWC have detailed the more important cultural and social characteristics of Japanese small-type whaling (e.g. TC/38/AS2; IWC/39/25; IWC/40/23; TC/41/STW1; TC/41/STW2; IWC/41/SE3) and the consequent negative socio-economic and cultural consequences of a continuing zero-catch quota of minke whales (e.g., IWC/41/21; IWC/41/SE1; TC/42/SEST2).

However, as the cultural nature of these Japanese societies is unfamiliar to many, and the anthropological understanding upon which the research was based is likewise generally unfamiliar, some Working Group members indicated that difficulties remained in interpreting the results. This difficulty centred upon appreciating the cultural significance of everyday food use.

How Culturally Important is Everyday Food Use?

As a consequence of the particular problem expressed concerning the cultural significance of everyday food use, additional material was subsequently provided in TC/43/SESTI. This later report, by making reference to a number of authoritative published studies, indicated that experts in the appropriate social science fields, when studying the cultural and social importance of food, do not restrict their attention to highly festive (and invariably low frequency) meals or feasts. On the contrary, food cultures are constituted and distinguished more especially by those high frequency practices which provide the characteristic distinctiveness of everyday-meal form and content.

Discussion of TC/4-3/SEST1 indicated that some continued to question the cultural and social significance of staple items in a peoples' customary diet. Accordingly, the present paper will attempt to better explain, by reference to findings readily available in published scholarly sources, the fact that everyday staple dietary items are believed by specialists in the appropriate science fields to possess highly significant cultural and social importance. This importance extends beyond the individual, and operates also at the level of the group, including the family, household, community and in some cases, the wider ethnic or national group.

Sources Consulted to Ensure this Report Is Authoritative

To better ensure that no important social science authorities were overlooked when writing the present paper, a leading anthropologist of food (Professor Eugene N. Anderson, at the University of California) was asked to provide explicit source references to the issue of the cultural importance of everyday food. He responded by letter (dated December 12, 1991):

> "... any good general anthro [pological] text from the old days should do.... Trouble is, it's such an anthropological truism that I don't know where to get a quick reference for it.... It was one of those points that was so thoroughly kicked around in the classic days of Tylor, Durkheim, Frazer, W. Robertson Smith, et al. that no one bothers to talk about it now. The most famous comment is in Levi-Straussí Totemism...."

The earlier paper (TC/43/SEST1) referenced the works of twenty-seven leading social scientists, including such scholars as Margaret Arnott, Marvin Harris, Francis Johnston and Margaret Mead (all from the U.S.A.), Mary Douglas and Jack Goody (U.K.), Claude Levi-Strauss (France), and Lenore Manderson (Australia). A number of additional authorities are cited in the present paper which attempts to explain, in response to questions asked about TC/43/SEST1, why everyday food use is considered by specialists to have significant cultural and social importance to the maintenance of individual, family and community identity and wellbeing.

The Evidence so far Provided: A Brief Review

In 1990 TC/42/SEST8 was tabled; the 38-page report, prepared by S.R. Braund and Associates, of Anchorage, Alaska, described the results of a questionnaire-based survey carried out in three communities adjacent to and within the traditional localized whale meat consumption

area supplied by Ayukawa-based whaling operations. The survey was based upon methods successfully adopted to quantify the culturally important uses of whale meat in Alaska.

The results indicated that of the 30 empirically identified culturally significant uses of whale meat in the non-whaling households surveyed, about half the uses have decidedly Buddhist or Shinto religious significance. More than half the remaining whale meat uses (which also help sustain locally important social and cultural traditions) also had minor religious significance.

In addition to these community-wide functions carried out by non-whaling households, there also exist extensive gift-giving obligations among the small number of whale boat owners. Though these formal gifting practices necessarily involve smaller amounts of whale meat than that utilized by non-whaling households, such behavior (despite the small quantity of meat involved) nevertheless makes a very significant contribution to sustaining community solidarity and locally important traditional cultural institutions.

Quantifying the Cultural Need for Whale Meat Consumption

The cultural demand represented by the assessed frequency of whale meat use in these communities, was converted to the required quantity of meat by adopting conservative meal-serving weights for the six main whale-meat preparation methods used in this particular food-culture district. Considerable space in TC/42/SEST8 was devoted to a critical discussion of the methodology utilized in this quantitative study.

This informant-recall survey (employing an accepted methodology in food science studies) was based upon a sampling method capable of providing results accurate within four percentage points with 95 percent confidence. Satisfactory corroboration of the results was obtained from a survey carried out at the same time, in one of the three communities, which was based upon whale meat consumption in 1988-89.

Questions Arising from Discussion of the Cultural-Need Study

One of the thirty culturally significant uses of whale meat identified in the study reported in TC/42/SEST8 was consumption in everyday meals. As whale meat is a staple dietary item in whaling communities it follows that a greater quantity is consumed on a daily basis in everyday meals than for other lower-frequency calendrical events (say at funerals, or at New Year or on All Souls Day).

However, discussion of TC/42/SEST8 suggested that for some people, everyday use of staple items is believed to have limited cultural significance. To further explain the cultural and social importance of everyday food use, the following year TC/43/SEST1 was tabled. This 1991 report was in two parts: the first part explained the cultural importance of everyday food use in more generalized, global, terms whilst the second part addressed the cultural importance of everyday food use within the context of Japanese food culture and that of STW communities in particular.

The general case considered. By reviewing the current social science literature, it is apparent that specialists recognize that diet exerts a stronger cultural influence upon human affairs than do other cultural influences, including language. The reason for this is because the form and content of the meal, to which members of society are enculturated at an early age, inter alia signifies and reinforces such important basic social organizational features as family and gender relations. Equally important, dietary decisions are suffused with society's ethical and moral orientations, through such notions as good and bad, or permissible and non-permissible.

The profound effects on the individual, the family or household, and the community that may be associated with changes in dietary practices were also discussed in the paper. In particular, the several negative implications of destroying viable rural adaptations based upon food-extractive activities was introduced, a matter having important environmental, social and health policy implications.

The Japanese whaling community case. The second part of TC/43/SEST1 focused attention upon the specifics of eating whale meat and blubber in the Japanese STW context. There are six separate criteria that require to be satisfied when choosing the appropriate food items, food preparation methods and eating occasions. When comparing high-frequency everyday food use and low-frequency ceremonial use it is seen that whale products are able to provide culturally appropriate attributes satisfying the required criteria in each case.

Given the prevailing and slow-changing cultural beliefs found in traditional Japanese whaling communities, substitute foods can only partially satisfy the required sets of cultural criteria that whale products are able to fully satisfy. The result of imposing the need for food substitution is a diminished sense of wellbeing that translates into the social, psychological and health problems variously documented in earlier IWC reports (e.g. IWC/41/21; IWC/41/SE3).

Why is Selling Whalemeat Considered so Important at the IWC?

Despite the large amount of cultural activity associated with whale meat, it is observed that most attention during discussion of STW focuses upon the manner in which whale meat moves from producer to consumer. It is important to question the justification for directing so much attention, during discussions about Japanese small-type whaling, toward only one aspect of the economic activities of whalers, namely the selling of whale meat in the communities.

In an overall assessment of cultural need, within the context of overall community needs, one single aspect of the economic behavior of the half-dozen boat owners would seem to merit minor attention, relative to the far more diverse and locally important cultural, social, economic,

nutritional and health benefits that potentially thousands of community members derive from these productive activities.

The Cultural Importance of Everyday Food Use: Further Evidence

In the interest of improved understanding of the cultural, social and health consequences of the continued imposition of the zero-catch quota, the remainder of this report further expands upon the reasons for considering that everyday customary food use has significant cultural value.

The notion that food is important, even basic, in both ordering and maintaining social relationships is an ancient one in the social sciences. About fifty years ago, American anthropologist John W. Bennett wrote:

> "In the literature covering the sociology of diet there is a growing tendency to consider food as an indicator of cultural values and social processes. In all societies, whether folk or urban, attitudes toward food tend to become implicated in the social structure — food is both object and subject of the social structure."
>
> (Bennett 1943: 561)

In a recently published review of cultural aspects of food and diet, a specialist on the topic has summarized the accepted contemporary understanding in these terms:

> "Food choices imply shared meanings among members of a culture or sub-culture. The use of particular foodstuffs may indicate social distinctions in a society and the degree to which the society interacts with others and may serve as a locus and indicator of social roles and ideology... food choices are among the most persistent of cultural facts. Main food items are retained under great pressure to change, even when items of lesser significance for the culture are dropped, modified or adopted from the outside... the choice of the food event... in its totality relates to aesthetic and cultural concerns which go well beyond questions of food availability. Food choices... are inevitably constrained by cultural practices... meals in different cultures are constructed according to sets of identifiable rules which reflect a variety of ideological, symbolic, social or other concerns in a culture."
>
> (Ashkenazi 1991: 287-288).

Given this degree of integration of foodways into the very fundamental ordering of all societies, there is little wonder that dietary patterns are generally conservative, though of course, changes do occur. These changes to the diet occur when the alterations do not challenge the gastronomic rules that reflect a community's social, symbolic, moral and esthetic norms. A leading British authority on the study of food wrote:

> "... enormous changes have taken place in society at large in the last 50 years.... One would expect food habits to have changed commensurately. But the literature... emphasizes the very opposite. It seems to be taken as axiomatic that the British public is conservative in its food habits. Those who would promote new food are conscious of strongly entrenched attitudes... one gets the impression that when everything else changes, food systems are stable. However open-minded a population may, after the event, prove to have been in its readiness to adopt new crops, clothes and transport, in matters of food it... is likely to display a diehard conservatism."
>
> (Douglas 1975: 13-14).

In the health policy area this 'diehard conservatism' toward familiar foods is well known and can prove problematic: people continue eating various health-compromising foods despite knowing of the potential dangers. It is too often the case that people find it quite difficult, virtually impossible in fact, to fundamentally change customary eating habits. People, it seems, cannot be entirely 'rational' about diet. It is reported in England, for example, that "in spite of people being bombarded with facts about healthy diet, chip [fried] potatoes are still as popular as ever and are included with 30 percent of all meals."

(Heald 1987: 75).

The Cultural Value of the English Breakfast.

In order to better appreciate *why* people seek to retain traditional patterns of everyday food use, which is important to an appreciation of why whale meat consumption remains of such great importance to members of Japanese small-type whaling communities in particular, some examples can be provided from the sociological literature. As has been suggested earlier, it is apparent that beliefs concerning the nutritional value of particular foods are not the only reasons for the maintenance of traditional dietary habits. Indeed, if this were the case, then substitution of foods having equal or greater nutritional value would be relatively easy to accomplish.

Foods or meals that were once regarded as indispensable may be retained in the diet, as an ideal, long after a seemingly rational (viz. nutritional) basis of that belief has been disproved:

> "Few Englishwomen, trained to use all their intellectual facilities at Oxford University, stop to question the truth of what they assert with such authority to their husbands and children, that a *hot* breakfast of porridge, bacon and eggs is essential for proper nutrition regardless of the millions outside England who subsist without these items in the morning. And few equally well educated Americans would challenge the allegedly scientific basis for the importance for optimal human efficiency of a daily glass of orange juice."
>
> (Pyke 1968: 37).

In fact there are millions in Britain for whom breakfast is not a hot cooked meal, but a cold snack (Douglas 1975: 16-17). The hot cooked breakfast is an ideal (despite the

damage that eggs and bacon can cause the human cardio-vascular system), relating not to (erroneous) nutritional standards but rather to social class, which remains an important feature of British social structure.

This belief in the need to perpetuate an important dietary norm or ideal, because of its association with an important non-dietary cultural value (namely membership in a particular social group) illustrates the important relationship existing between a mundane everyday meal and a basic feature of social structure. In such ways do everyday food items or meal events assume their elevated cultural importance. Below, we point out the relevance of the well-known stratification (emphasizing class distinctions) existing in British society and the extreme hierarchical nature (based on other criteria of rank) of Japanese society.

The Cultural Basis for Believing Cows' Milk to be Important

To further elaborate on the notion of 'symbolic' or 'associational' importance of particular foods, an important aspect of the fidelity to a whale meat diet found in certain regions of Japan, it is helpful to consider the status accorded to fresh milk in American and certain European diets.

Indeed, cows' milk has been accorded the status of a superfood (at least for children) in North America (Bryant et al. 1981: 84; Scrimshaw 1983: 236). Yet, before pasteurization, or refrigeration was widely available, cows' milk was dangerous to human health, and more especially to infants' and children's health (Pyke 1968: 77-78). The answer to this seeming puzzle is to be found in milk's symbolic or associated social values, and not its physical properties.

To understand this statement it is important to remember that in earlier times fresh milk was not a common commodity, even on farms. This shortage resulted from the limited ability of cows to produce milk (before animal breeding overcame this biological limitation), and associated problems of holding and transporting fresh milk to market. Thus the presence of fresh milk in sufficient quantity to be able to drink it (rather than convert it to butter or cheese for sale) was a symbol of farming or financial success and consequent superior social status in the community.

Furthermore, in explaining the growth of milk drinking in the generally unhealthy cities of the day, the use of fresh milk was more than just an indicator of comfortable economic status: it became an important symbol of healthy rural, and even healthy urban, living to which people naturally inclined (Bennett 1943: 563).

Food and Cultural Convictions

Even though infants throughout the world feed on mothers' milk, the utilization of animals' milk is by no means universal. In some cultures, milk of other animals is viewed as an undrinkable animal excretion, as repugnant as urine or feces (Bryant et al. 1981: 75). In similar vein, the flesh of some (and in some cases, all) animals is considered dirty, disgusting and uneatable by whole societies.

Indeed, such views on the unacceptability of meat as food may be held by a small proportion of people in those societies otherwise characterized as possessing meat-based cuisines: to some American and European vegetarians, the meat of any animal (although sometimes excluding fish and invertebrates) is disgusting, unhealthy and unthinkable as food. That such groups of people are often very active in promoting their dietary beliefs indicates once again the very close association between everyday dietary practices and matters of a significant cultural and ideological nature.

Food and Belonging

An extensive anthropological and sociological literature makes it quite clear that foods and meal events, even of a perfectly commonplace nature, are strongly associated with creating and maintaining close interpersonal relationships. Indeed, membership in social groups, or a desire to be accepted, is often marked and reaffirmed by offering food, as with the confection taken as a gift when visiting, or entertaining a visitor with food and drink. This is especially the case in business relationships where the nature of the interpersonal relationship may involve risk and uncertainty:

> "We know that in many cultures no business can be discussed, from the simplest to the most complex, until food and drink have been shared. It is said... that this sharing of food implies a kinship between participants which should predispose them toward positive interrelationships... [on the other hand] the aura of kinship which sharing a meal evokes, the social acceptance and general cordiality implied, account for the strong opposition to sharing not only a meal but an eating place as well, which some groups exhibit toward those they hold as enemies or inferiors."
>
> (Shack 1978: 220).

Though this symbolic and affective importance of food sharing is probably universal, in societies where regional cuisines or ethnic diversity is marked, food serves especially important functions. For example, for one country largely peopled by immigrants it has been observed:

> "Few subjects occupy a larger place in the American consciousness than food. In both a literal and figurative sense, food serves to define individual and group identities; culturally acquired and nurtured matters of taste demark ethnic, regional, racial and spiritual differences between Americans that otherwise might lack concrete expression. Indeed, within the maze of identities that characterize contemporary American society, food offers one of the oldest and most evocative systems of cultural identification."
>
> (Camp 1980: 141).

Immigrants invariably seek to maintain their valued ethnic identity by means of selected distinctive foods from their homeland cuisine. However, this is accomplished not by way of the exotic foods or elaborate feasts formerly served at high holidays in their countries of origin. But rather, it is accomplished by keeping in the dietary the

everyday, commonplace foods that provides unmistakable affirmation of distinctive cultural identity: German sausage, salt herrings, goulash, tacos, gefilte fish, pasta, perogies, lingonberries."

(e.g. Lowenberg et al. 1979)

The importance accorded the food item involves the degree of multidimensional association that food item (usually a staple enjoyed since childhood) invokes and reaffirms. The more everyday or commonplace the food, the more effectively it invokes a variety of important cultural values.

Fidelity and Resistance to Change in Local Foodways

In the case of the American 'melting pot' society, it has been observed that the distinctive foods in an ethnically diverse metropolitan city do not meld one into another. Though it is possible to find restaurants that serve meals from geographically diverse areas (Chinese and Anglo, or Greek and Lebanese foods say) the dishes remain quite distinct, often listed on separate pages of the menu.

It is almost invariably the case that mainstream American cooking remains basically Anglo in nature, and that "each of the foreign cuisines remains isolated in its own context. They do not borrow from one another, they do not merge their separate styles into a common amalgam" (Kalcik 1984: 55). Thus in a restaurant serving both Chinese and Anglo foods for example, a diner is not offered bread or ketchup with a Chinese meal, nor green tea or soy sauce with an Anglo meal. Even these mundane, everyday foods and condiments serve their culturally defined appropriate role.

Food, Meal Events and Hierarchical Societies

Particular everyday foods and meal events not only serve important defining characteristics of ethnic or regional groups. Earlier, reference was made to the importance of a particular everyday meal, the English breakfast, in relation to individuals' involvement with the class structure of that particular society. Indeed, in stratified societies, where caste, class or formal rank are highly developed and clearly signalled by such markers as, e.g. speech, dress, occupation, etc., then foodways are among the most distinctive of all cultural distinguishing features.

> "A salient feature of the culinary cultures of the major societies of Europe and Asia is their association with hierarchical man. The extreme form of this differentiation is found in the allocation of particular foods to specific roles, offices or classes, swans to royalty in England, honey wine to the nobility in Ethiopia."
>
> (Goody 1982: 99).

The list of commonly known English and Anglo-American food markers include such 'high class' foods as pate, caviar, and smoked salmon, and lower ranked foods such as macaroni and cheese, bologna/sausage, fish and chips. And of course, 'real men' don't eat quiche!

Given the strength of association existing between particular foods and rank in these stratified (i.e. ranked) societies, then eating the foods of people of higher rank is one vicarious but safe way of 'moving up' in society. In this regard, as the middle class developed and grew in Europe, an important growth industry was the writing and publication of cook books which allowed the new middle class to indulge in the foods until then associated with the higher-ranked class (*ibid*: 152).

This last discussion is entirely relevant for an informed consideration of the cuisine of Japanese small-type whaling communities (discussed in a companion report available to the Working Group). There are few human societies more hierarchical in nature than those in Japan, where the measured etiquette of bowing on meeting and leave taking, the precise choice of speech honorific, the extreme care taken choosing a gift and gift-wrapping or arranging appropriate seating at a meal, all attest to a ranked structure maintained by everyday observances requiring attention throughout the day as individuals engage in social interaction. Indeed, this awareness of hierarchical ranking (based not on class, but on a host of other social criteria) pervades all aspects of Japanese social behaviour and "without consciousness of ranking, life could not be carried on smoothly in Japan, for rank is the social norm on which Japanese life is based" (Nakane 1973: 33).

Conclusion

This report has reviewed current social science understanding of the relationship existing between the everyday use of appropriate and familiar foods and matters of fundamental social and cultural importance to human group existence. Though the discussion has been theoretical in nature, rather than focusing attention on the Japanese situation alone, it is quite evident that these conclusions apply in equal fashion to the cultural and social circumstances existing in Japanese society, which issue is explicitly addressed in a companion report available at this meeting.

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A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CASH ECONOMIES AND SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The Government of Japan
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ABSTRACT

Controversy surrounding the term 'subsistence' results from its widespread misuse in everyday speech as well as in many jurisdictional situations where it is applied in the absence of an appropriate definition. Despite these misunderstandings, the term subsistence is usually well defined and unambiguously used in the (specialist) scientific literature.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a full explanation of how the term subsistence is currently defined and used in recent scientific studies, and to make clear the relationship that exists between subsistence and those economic systems with which it is integrated in varying degree.

Much of the critical research on the nature of subsistence has been carried out in Arctic hunting and fishing societies, most of which are heavily dependent upon harvesting and consuming marine living resources. In view of this, particular attention will be given to those recent research understandings of subsistence that are likely to assist in resolving the continuing definitional problems encountered during IWC discussion.

INTRODUCTION

The International Whaling Commission (IWC) recognizes three forms of whaling: those conducted for either commercial, aboriginal-subsistence, or research purposes. The IWC is empowered by contracting parties to set harvest quotas for stocks of certain species of whale that are subject to either commercial or aboriginal-subsistence whaling interest. At the present time a zero quota (i.e. a whaling moratorium) applies to all stocks of baleen and sperm whales subject to commercial exploitation.

Aboriginal-subsistence whale fisheries are not subject to this whaling moratorium. This exemption even applies to so-called 'protection stocks' which, under IWC management rules, are considered so seriously depleted as to require full protection. In such cases, quotas are set at low levels in order to partially satisfy the subsistence need of the whale-dependent communities and at the same time allow recovery of the depleted whale stocks to occur.

However, at the present time IWC has a problem in providing a similar selective exemption in order to accommodate the subsistence needs of whale-dependent communities when the community members are non-aboriginal people.

This paper looks at some of the reasons underlying this present difficulty. For example, it appears that some participating in IWC discussions fail to recognize that non-aboriginal people also practice subsistence. There is a failure to recognize that 'subsistence' and 'commercial' are false opposites and therefore cannot alone provide an inappropriate basis for regulating whale fisheries.

Over the past several decades definitions of 'aboriginal-subsistence' (at the IWC) and 'subsistence' (in North American legal and regulatory practice) have changed as changing circumstances and scientific understanding improved. This report is offered as a contribution to better decision-making in respect to subsistence whale fisheries, whether conducted by aboriginal or non-aboriginal people.

SEMANTIC AND CLASSIFICATORY MUDDLES

The term 'subsistence' in everyday speech commonly implies bare existence or a livelihood that only provides in minimal degree life's necessities. This is only one of several definitions of the term 'subsistence' provided in dictionaries of the English language. (See Note 1.)

In the context of the IWC, 'subsistence' is generally linked to an equally ambiguous term 'aboriginal'. Ambiguity exists, not only because the term 'aboriginal' is not defined, but because it is considered as interchangeable with terms such as 'indigenous' and 'native' which in fact have quite different meanings that vary according to context.

It seems likely that making a critical distinction between the terms aboriginal, indigene and native in whaling matters could indeed be useful, for in many fishery and wildlife regimes preferred access is often provided to users who demonstrate long-term dependence upon and priority use of local resources.

It appears that for many it is difficult to accept the idea that non-aboriginal people engage in subsistance activities. Though in IWC documents the terms 'native' and 'indigenous' are used interchangeably with 'aboriginal', only *some* natives (e.g. Inuit/Yuit, Greenlanders and Bequians) are permitted by IWC to practice subsistence, whereas some *other* natives (of Iceland, Japan, Korea, Norway or Spain) cannot do so.

The main reason for this distinction appears to relate to the belief that aboriginal and non-aboriginal people can be categorically distinguished by reference to a simple classification system involving such opposed characteristics as:

"primitive:advanced (in respect to technology)
simple:complex (social and political arrangements)

traditional:non-traditional ('culture'; see Note 2)
non-commercial:commercial (economic transactions)
non-monetized:monetized (economic exchanges)
local:non-local (resource acquisition)

From this it seems that aboriginal whaling, at least in idealized form, is characteristically 'primitive', 'simple', 'traditional', 'non-commercial', 'non-monetized' and 'local' in nature. In contrast to this ideal type is 'commercial whaling', also treated as a single idealized, and equally unreal, type.

However true such characterizations of aboriginal whaling might have been in the past, in the modern world they no longer apply.

CHANGING NOTIONS ABOUT ABORIGINAL SUBSISTENCE WHALING

In 1931 the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW) provided an exemption for whaling carried out by aboriginal people providing they only used "canoes, pirogues or other exclusively native craft propelled by oars or sails" and did not use firearms in whaling.

The 1946 revisions to the ICRW removed the earlier restriction placed on the use of modern technology, and in 1964 the requirement that only aboriginal people could engage in aboriginal whaling was also removed.

At the present time it appears that the principal regulatory requirement to be met in aboriginal whaling is that the product is to be used locally by aboriginal people. The term 'aboriginal' is not defined, though in definitions of 'aboriginal subsistence whaling' and 'local aboriginal consumption' (see below) the term is used interchangeably with the terms 'indigenous' and 'native'. According to a 1981 IWC report:

> "Aboriginal subsistence whaling means whaling, for purposes of aboriginal consumption carried out by or on behalf of aboriginal, indigenous or native people who share strong community, familial, social and cultural ties related to a continuing traditional dependence on whaling and on the use of whales.
>
> "Local aboriginal consumption means the traditional uses of whale products by local aboriginal, indigenous or native communities in meeting their nutritional, subsistence or cultural requirements. The term includes trade in items which are by-products of subsistence catches."

In summary, it is evident that within the IWC a progressive broadening of the criteria under which aboriginal subsistence whaling is allowed has occurred. First, the requirement that only traditional, non-mechanized equipment could be used was changed, then processing of the product outside of the community was permitted, then aboriginal whaling could be carried out by non-aboriginal people, and finally trade in by-products of the hunt became permissible. These changes are explicitly stated in the written rules (the Schedule) of the International Whaling Commission.

In the past two or three years there have been two implicit 'rule' changes in respect to aboriginal subsistence whaling, that recognize the necessity of commercial sale and non-local consumption of whale meat in aboriginal-subsistence whaling operations in certain aboriginal whaling communities (see Dahl 1989a; Petersen 1989; Josefson 1990; Caulfield 1991a).

THE MEANING OF SUBSISTENCE

To the non-specialist the term subsistence relates in important ways to an individual's economic and material circumstances. However, studies by specialists consistently stress that the importance of subsistence activities only in part relates to economic ends. For example, the critical importance of fish and wildlife harvesting to any group can be assessed "by the extent to which that activity is central to reproducing its social relations of production, for example, through the socialization of children, mutual aid and sharing, and the reinforcement of stewardship and use arrangements with respect to land and resources" (Usher 1981: 61).

In support of the notion that subsistence involves issues outside of the economic sphere, it is frequently noted that subsistence harvesting often persists when it is very expensive in monetary terms and in some cases, questionably cost-effective (Veltre and Veltre 1983: 185-193; Dahl 1989b: 35). For example, a decade ago, the estimated capital cost of an Alaskan bowhead hunting crew's equipment was estimated at more than $10,000 (Worl 1980: 312-313; IWC 1982: 39), and annual operating costs to the captain were about $6,000 (Kruse 1986: 149).

Similar high costs have been noted for Canadian (Wenzel 1991: Table 6.13) and Greenlandic hunters (Caulfield 1991a: Table 9; 1991b: 18). In terms of realizing strictly economic goals, these costs certainly appear large when the probability of the crew successfully landing a whale may be quite small.

To explain this apparent economic irrationality requires that the true nature of the term 'subsistence' be understood. In its most general yet technically correct formulation, subsistence consists of those cultural values that socially integrate the economic relations of particular groups of people into their daily lives and environment (Wenzel 1991: 57). Thus, for subsistence to continue to operate depends primarily upon secure social relations, and only secondarily upon individual skills and special equipment.

Subsistence then "is a set of culturally established responsibilities, rights and obligations that affect every man, woman and child each day" (*ibid*: 60). Subsistence activities are those actions that contribute to the continued functioning of various essentially non-material aspects of the everyday life of individuals and a community.

A subsistence society is understood to be a group of people whose production, use and consumption of local resources occurs in ways that are consistent with traditional patterns maintained by kinship-based social structures. Such societies possess detailed traditional knowledge of

their environment, and particularly those resources important in their food-producing and ceremonial activities. Traditional knowledge, required for harvesting and processing subsistence resources, is transmitted from generation to generation principally by oral means and requires an extended period of learning through experience. This knowledge and experience are most often obtained by the individual maintaining close association with an appropriate member of the local community, who is often related by kinship or by some other socially meaningful arrangement.

Subsistence activities, with their emphasis upon local production and consumption, enhance social relationships within a local community. However, they may also serve social and cultural ends among members of a larger, non-local, community of people who are linked through shared language, history, or culture (see Note 2).

Given the importance accorded to kinship in tradition-based societies, the ideal production unit continues to be based upon skilled individuals at a household or family level of organization. In such societies, large corporate groups and a highly capitalized technological infrastructure (the basis of the contrasting capitalist mode of production) are not appropriate means of food production (Usher 1981: 58). Indeed, in subsistence societies it is the *relations among people* that wildlife harvesting generates and sustains, and not the relations between people and resources, that are of paramount importance (*ibid*: 61).

The importance of harvesting local food resources to the health and reproduction of subsistence societies resides, therefore, in the social values embedded in the various components of the subsistence complex. It is the result of the seasonal repetition and transfer of appropriate knowledge and behaviour to succeeding generations that important aspects, indeed core values, of the culture of the group are reproduced over time, and the cultural identity of the individual and society thereby assured:

> "It is through capturing, processing, distributing, celebration, and consuming naturally occurring fish and animal populations that subsistence societies define the nutritional, physical health, economic, social, cultural, and religious components of their way of life."
>
> (Langdon 1984: 3)

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF SUBSISTENCE

In an extensive review of the substantial literature detailing subsistence activities occurring throughout Alaska, these well-defined food-extractive systems are characterized as possessing:

1) a **mixed economy**, with mutually supportive market and subsistence sectors;
2) a **domestic mode of production**, where production capital, land and labour are controlled by extended kin-based production units;
3) a stable and complex **seasonal round of production** activities within the community, tied to the seasonal arrival, and variable yields, of fish and game resources;
4) substantial non-commercial **networks for sharing**, distributing and exchange of food and materials;
5) **traditional systems** of land/water **use and occupancy**;
6) complex **inter-generation systems of belief**, knowledge and values associated with resource uses, passed on between generations as the cultural and oral traditions and customs of the society.

(After Wolfe 1983: 272)

In respect to the nature of these 'mixed economies' referred to above, the interrelatedness of subsistence and market economies is immediately apparent if one considers the extent to which dependence upon imported and purchased goods needed to engage in subsistence activities has increased during, at least, this present century. For many Alaskan natives "participation in the market sector of the economy through the commercial sale of fish and furs and through remunerative employment enables the hunter to participate in subsistence activities" (Wolfe 1986: 109).

In view of the high degree of dependence that subsistence harvesters have upon access to cash, it has frequently been observed in Alaskan aboriginal societies, that increasing cash incomes correlates with larger, not smaller, quantities of subsistence-derived food in the householders' diet (Wolfe 1986: 113; Kruse 1991: 320; Langdon 1991a: 283).

ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGISLATIVE DEFINITIONS OF SUBSISTENCE

In 1978 the Alaska State Legislature passed a subsistence law that recognized "the needs, customs and traditions of Alaskan residents" and granted subsistence use priority over other (commercial or recreational/sport) use of renewable resources.

In 1980 the U.S. Congress passed a federal law, The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA), granting rural residents' priority over urban users of subsistence resources on federal lands.

However, a series of court cases in Alaska since 1985 (see Caldwell 1991) resulted in rural residents' priority use of subsistence resources being challenged, and subsequently ruled unconstitutional. As a result of these court decisions, there is considerable uncertainty at the present time over who in Alaska may or may not engage in subsistence, though current proposals coming before the State Legislature early in 1992, will likely reaffirm the priority of subsistence use over other uses of the State's fish and wildlife resources (Campbell 1991: 10).

In Alaska, the State Boards of Fish and Game do not place trade or economic gain outside of subsistence use:

> "... use patterns in which the hunting or fishing effort or the products of the effort are distributed or shared among others within a definable community of persons, including through

customary trade, barter, sharing and gift-giving... [such] a community may include specific villages or towns with a historical preponderance of subsistence users, and encompasses individuals, families, or groups who in fact meet the criteria described in this subsection;

"... use patterns which include reliance for subsistence purposes upon a wide diversity of the fish and game resources of an area, and in which that pattern of subsistence uses provides substantial economic, cultural, social, and nutritional elements of the subsistence users life."

(Boards of Fish and Game, December 1981, quoted in Langdon 1984: 26-27)

BROADENING THE BASIS OF SUBSISTENCE IN ALASKA

It would appear that the proposed new subsistence law in Alaska, in addition to reaffirming that subsistence use has priority over other uses of renewable resources, proposes moving away from the notion that subsistence is related to long-term 'customary and traditional' use of resources. In its place the focus is placed upon a particular way of life.

The proposed legislation will allow any resident having at least one year of residence in Alaska to sign a declaration stating that subsistence is and has been a principal characteristic of his or her way of life for three of the past five years.

In the current Alaskan proposals, subsistence is defined as the taking and use of wild fish and game as part of a way of life. Among six stated criteria to be satisfied for resource use to be considered subsistence use, one is that the use "provides substantial economic, cultural, social or nutritional elements of the subsistence user's life" (Campbell 1991: 10).

Clearly, this proposed new legal order is designed to allow all those having lived in Alaska for at least one year the choice of engaging in subsistence activities, irrespective of their cultural background, economic status or place of residence in the state. Consequently it will allow a person engaging in commercial or recreational use to qualify as a subsistence user of wildlife and fish resources. Subsistence is confirmed as having important economic and food producing value to the user at the present time, irrespective of its importance, or lack of importance, to the earlier circumstances of the current user and his or her family. According to the Governor of Alaska:

"Subsistence is not something that can be defined only by where you live, or how much money you make, or what race you are, but rather by how you live. In discussions throughout the state, there has been general agreement that subsistence is a way of life."

(Hickel 1991).

THE USE OF MONETIZED TRANSACTIONS IN SUBSISTENCE

As these United States regulations make explicit, monetary transactions are understood to be a necessary part of everyday subsistence harvesting. Indeed, cash is only one medium of exchange among many, thus "the introduction of cash into this system, either from wages or the community store, does not necessarily indicate that the exchange is commercial rather than subsistence" (Lonner 1986: 21).

In one current court case the inland people of Tanana claim that their commercial sale of salmon roe harvested incidental to subsistence fishing constitutes customary trade, as allowed in the definition of subsistence (Caldwell 1991: 8). In other cases before the courts, the coastal Tlingit and Haida of southeast Alaska argue that their commercial sale of herring roe on kelp is culturally consistent with their subsistence use of this resource since at least the time of contact (Langdon 1991b).

In Greenland, as in Canada and Alaska, those occupationally classed as hunters usually constitute the low-income groups in society, such that financial compensation is required if a continued supply of the valued products they alone can produce is to reach others in society. The most suitable compensation occurs by way of money-based trading in the town markets or through cash purchases from the hunters by wholesale buyers (see Table 1).

It is by these rational means that the important distribution channels for traditional, indeed staple, foods are maintained in even the most rural and traditional parts of contemporary Greenlandic society (IWC 1989). Indeed, in respect to Greenland aboriginal marine hunting and fishing activities, it has been concluded that the differentiation between commercial and non-commercial activity is quite meaningless (Dahl 1989b: 40).

The Alaskan situation is similar to that existing in Greenland. In his comprehensive review of Alaskan subsistence practices, Langdon writes: "the one most important characteristic... is that subsistence is now integrated with the cash economy in the lives of all Alaskan Natives" (Langdon 1984: 5). That study points out that commercial exchange of subsistence products occurs in over half of the twelve native regions of Alaska, including, e.g. the Arctic Slope, Bristol Bay, the Bering Straits (*ibid*: 8; see e.g. Worl 1980: 314).

In a study of beluga whale hunting in northwest Alaska, the 1982 cash price of the whale meat and muktuk being sold locally was $4.50 per pound, and in food stores in the distant city of Anchorage was $7.00 per pound (Feldman 1986: 159). However, in Alaska as in Canada, it appears that in particular native communities some subsistence items are not considered appropriate for selling (for cash) due to their high symbolic or ritual significance (Fienup-Riordan 1986: 178).

DOES SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION DIFFER FROM COMMODITY PRODUCTION?

Subsistence activities, as detailed above, occur within a mixed economy that necessarily includes both market and non-market transactions, both of which may involve cash exchange. The use of cash or the use of the market therefore does not provide a critical distinction between subsistence and commercial operations.

Rather, the distinction between subsistence and commercial activities are to be sought in the degree to which market forces, as opposed to essentially non-market forces, determine the purpose and extent of the economic activity. These non-market forces usually involve such social institutions and concerns as family, various alliances extending beyond the family, community identity, and social status and prestige. Market forces, involving such strictly economic factors as maximizing financial profitability and competitive economic advantage (increased market share) do not apply to subsistence activities.

The reason that subsistence persists in such non-industrialized societies, despite the interaction that occurs with powerful commercial forces that sustain the dominant society, is because subsistence satisfies particularly important non-economic needs in such societies, needs that can only be satisfied by either engaging in subsistence or being enabled to consume the products of subsistence. It is the continuing commitment of members of these (often small and/or distinct and peripheral) socio-cultural communities to their distinctive identity, that sustains subsistence production even as it diminishes in strictly economic importance. This identity it should be noted, is most often related to particular systems of local resource use.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the sustaining beliefs of much environmentalist thinking in recent years is that industrial (i.e. capitalist) economic activity is necessarily harmful to environmental preservation.

The basis of this belief is the Marxian notion that within 'primitive' societies there was no development of cash or commoditization, but that once these modern evils penetrated such societies their disintegration and downfall was set into motion.

However, such theoretical formulations are not sustained by empirical evidence, for it is now understood that most such 'primitive' societies have been involved with commoditization and external trade for hundreds, and in many cases thousands, of years, yet they persist today in recognizably distinct form.

It is apparent that considerations of scale or degree are relevant criteria in trying to distinguish between various types of economic organization. In a large number of different small-scale foraging societies engaged in subsistence in, e.g., tropical rain forests, the Kalahari desert, or the Arctic, no simple distinction can be made between 'subsistence' and 'commercial' transactions based on the use or absence or cash or markets (see Note 3).

Indeed, questions such as "how much monetization?" or "what degree of market dependence?" in any given society may be impossible to answer because such relationships vary from individual to individual, from household to household, from market to market, from commodity to commodity and from day to day. This difficulty has been recognized in the scientific literature, together with the consequent conclusion that it is unhelpful and unwise to attempt to distinguish between 'subsistence' and 'commercial' activities in regard to these mixed-economy coastal whaling societies (e.g. Akimichi et al. 1988: 80-83; Dahl 1989b: 40; Caulfield 1991b: 3).

In conclusion it might be stated that the intent to sustain local social, cultural and economic activity intergenerationally in it's essential form and content (notwithstanding ongoing changes to improve it's efficiency and safety) is the primary characteristic that distinguishes subsistence and petty commodity enterprises on the one hand from industrial (i.e., wholely commercial) enterprises on the other.

In contrast, the principal goal of wholely commercial economic enterprises is to achieve increased productivity/profitability in order to maximize strictly economic goals. In pursuit of these profit-maximizing goals, commercial enterprises may become totally transformed so that, unlike subsistence and petty-commodity enterprises, there is no primary intent to ensure the enterprise's reproduction is essentially unchanged form over time.

NOTES

1. To illustrate this potential for confusion that can exist when inappropriate dictionary definitions of technical terms are used, the word 'dolphin' has at least seven dictionary meanings, only one of which applies to marine mammals. Even where the dictionary makes reference to the marine mammal dolphin, it provides varyingly accurate definitions to either the cetacean family Delphinidae (Chambers 1988 and Oxford 1990) or the two families Delphinidae and Platanistidae (Webster's 1988). The term 'dolphin' also variously applies to (1) a buoy, bollard or cluster of piles for boat mooring, (2) a protective structure on a bridge, (3) a constellation, (4) a spar on a ship, (5) variously a single species (Oxford 1990), or two species of a single genus (Chambers 1988), or a whole family of *marine* fish (Webster's 1988), or (6) a South American *freshwater* fish (Oxford 1990).

   The word 'fishery' in the widely used Webster's New

World, Chambers English, and the Concise Oxford dictionaries refers variously to catching, packing and selling fish, a place for catching fish, the right to catch fish, the art or practice of catching fish, etc. No reference is made to fisheries based upon seal, whale or clams for example.

The term 'subsistence' enjoys as many varied and limited definitions as do words like 'dolphin' and 'fishery' in English-language dictionaries.

2. The term culture is used in the generally accepted anthropological sense to mean the distinctively human activity of systemically making, organizing, valuing and communicating changing thoughts, artifacts, behaviors and symbols.
3. A recent critical review of the scientific literature on hunter-gather societies concluded that "many of these groups were involved in interethnic and international trade long before 16th-century European expansion" and that Westerners have consistently failed to understand that these societies have been, often for long periods of time, 'commercial foragers' (Headland and Reid:51; see also Wilmsen 1989).

In regard to such hunting-fishing-gathering peoples' economic relations, another recent review states: "the appearance of cash and commoditization are usually seen as the first manifestation of modernity and as evidence of the impact of market economies among people previously untouched by them... [however]... such impacts go back five thousand years or more in some cases and certainly encompass virtually all foragers today" (Peterson 1991: lff).

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THE REPORT OF THE SYMPOSIUM ON UTILIZATION OF MARINE LIVING RESOURCES FOR SUBSISTENCE

VOLUME II

SIMILARITIES AND DIVERSITY IN COASTAL WHALING OPERATIONS:

A COMPARISON OF SMALL-SCALE WHALING ACTIVITIES IN GREENLAND, ICELAND, JAPAN AND NORWAY

AN INTERNATIONAL STUDY GROUP FOR SMALL-TYPE WHALING

MARCH, 1992

The attached report contains important information on various aspects of the small-type whaling. The Government of Japan, therefore, submits this report as one of its documents to the IWC Working Group to consider various aspects of the small-type whaling.

1992

SIMILARITIES AND DIVERSITY IN COASTAL WHALING OPERATIONS:

A Comparison of Small-Scale Whaling Activities in Greenland, Iceland, Japan and Norway

by

An International Study Group for Small-Type Whaling

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Taiji, Jan. 20-23, 1992

OVERVIEW

There is a growing awareness throughout the world that *sustainable development strategies* must be pursued, if demands for both pressing human needs and the conservation of nature and natural resources are to be addressed and in some way met. In this context, the concept of sustainable development means maintaining, improving or restoring "the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems" (IUCN, UNEP, and WWF 1991: 4).

Paralleling this growing awareness of the need for sustainability is recognition of the importance of *human rights doctrines in international law,* including international covenants regarding rights to use natural wealth and resources (Part 1, Article 1, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights). These doctrines apply *both* to indigenous or aboriginal peoples — who are recognised as having inherent rights to natural resources, including subsistence rights — *and* to non-aboriginal peoples whose livelihoods are dependent upon sustainable use of local resources.

Achieving the widely-recognised goal of sustainable development requires broadening our understanding of human/environment relations, on the one hand, and greater sensitivity toward the importance of marine living resources in the livelihoods of diverse coastal communities around the world, on the other. This Report is based on just such discussions by an International Study Group which met in order to share research results relating to small-type or coastal whaling in a number of different countries around the world, and to discuss how sustainable development in these whaling activities might best be achieved[1].

INTRODUCTION

Under the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW) recognises three categories of whaling: whaling for purposes of commerce; aboriginal subsistence whaling[2]; and whaling for purposes of scientific research. The IWC is empowered by contracting parties to set harvest quotas for stocks of certain species of whale which are the object of either commercial or aboriginal subsistence whaling operations. For the purposes of regulation, the two

categories of commercial whaling and aboriginal subsistence whaling are separate and distinct. The term 'commercial whaling' has never been defined by the IWC. However, in its Schedule the IWC has defined a type of whaling which it calls 'small-type whaling' (STW) as:

> "... catching operations using powered vessels with mounted harpoon guns hunting exclusively for minke, bottlenose, beaked, pilot or killer whales"[3] (Definitions Section C [General], IWC Schedule).

At the same time, for regulatory purposes this type of whaling is completely subsumed under 'commercial whaling' which thus acts as a blanket category grouping STW with large-scale pelagic (i.e. industrial) whaling operations, even though the two differ in a number of important ways.

In contrast to commercial whaling, aboriginal subsistence whaling (ASW) is defined by the IWC as:

> "... whaling for purposes of local aboriginal consumption carried out by or on behalf of aboriginal, indigenous or native peoples who share strong community, familial, social and cultural ties related to a continuing traditional dependence on whaling and on the use of whales" (IWC 1981: 3).

IWC approval of ASW is based upon long-standing recognition in international law of indigenous peoples, inherent rights to resources based upon property rights and historic patterns of land/sea use and occupancy (IWGIA 1991; Doubleday 1992).

This Report is based on an International Study Group's evaluation of a number of case studies of whaling activities (other than for research) in Iceland, Japan and Norway, so that participants might arrive at a greater understanding of the multifaceted role of STW as one mode of production in local societies. The Report thus attempts to address in particular:

> *The problem of a sustainable development strategy for non-aboriginal peoples conducting* ***Small-Type Whaling*** *and involved in what may be termed* ***Simple Commodity Production.***

Firstly, let us look at STW. Discussion and comparison of case studies by the International Study Group have revealed that many coastal whaling communities have important characteristics in common. For example, these communities typically:

- are small and relatively remote;
- rely on a wide range of marine resources for subsistence;
- generally have few land-based resources available; and
- have a broad pattern of marine resource harvesting.

Similarly, production units (typically households) and whaling practices in these coastal communities also share many common characteristics. Typically, these include:

- vessels used in coastal whaling are relatively small, and generally are owned and operated by small crews recruited on family or personal connections;
- crew members involved in coastal whaling typically participate in a share system, which may include significant amounts of cash, but which also includes extensive non-cash distribution of edible whale products:
- whale meat is an important local source of nutrition and may also be important in local cultural practices and beliefs; and
- whaling typically contributes to a strong sense of community identity and distinctive cultural traits that may themselves distinguish coastal communities from the larger national cultures in which they are situated.

During the symposium, STW practices in Iceland, Japan and Norway were also compared with ASW practices in Greenland. Under IWC provisions, Greenlanders use fishing vessels to catch minke and fin whales (and until recent quota restrictions, humpback whales), and collective whaling techniques to catch minke whales. Greenlandic whaling is clearly recognised by the IWC as aboriginal subsistence whaling. However, the International Study Group found it useful to compare STW with fishing vessel whaling for minke whalers in Greenland because:

> (1) coastal whaling is clearly permitted as ASW in Greenland: and
>
> (2) vessel whaling for minke whales in Greenland shares certain features with STW in other communities.

As can be seen in the following Report, it became clear from the International Study Group's discussions that:

> (1) **like** aboriginal peoples whaling under ASW, non-aboriginal people involved in STW may also share strong communal, familial, social and cultural ties related to a traditional dependence on whaling and the use of whales (IWC 1981: 3).
>
> Yet
>
> (2) **unlike** ASW, where indigenous rights to resources are clearly recognised in international law, STW practices are treated by the IWC as simply an undifferentiated form of commercial whaling.
>
> The evidence presented in the symposium reveals that: *Small-Type Whaling in Iceland, Japan and Norway is* ***qualitatively*** *different from both high-seas commercial pelagic whaling* ***and*** *from aboriginal subsistence whaling.*

Secondly, let us turn to the issue of simple commodity production. All production throughout the world, including that of hunters and gatherers, has been involved in, and affected by, the world capitalist economy for many years[4]. However, in evaluating STW practices, the International Study Group concluded that in economic terms this form of whaling could, and should, be categorised as what social scientists term *simple commodity production* — in contrast to a kin-based mode of production in pre-capitalist societies

(e.g. most indigenous societies), and to a capitalist mode of production in highly industrialised societies (e.g. high seas pelagic whaling). By 'simple commodity production', we mean that mode of production which is:

> "... based on relatively small-scale, simple technology; work groups organized around kinship, friendship, or temporary collegiality but with little difference between owners and laborers; widespread sharing of costs, risks, benefits, and windfalls; and a variable subsistence/market allocation of production" (McCay 1981: 2-3).

Simple commodity production is widely recognised in the social science literature as encompassing *artisanal* production, particularly in fisheries. This is defined as:

> "... ownerships of means of production; profits and losses assumed by the artisan; simple and practical technology; decentralized coastal fishing; reduced operation costs; high production in relation to levels of investment; good-quality fish landed, contributing especially to food self-sufficiency; and finally... the creation of numerous jobs for women as well as for men" (Bacle and Cecil 1989: 13).

Both simple commodity production and artisanal production are recognised as constituting a "non-industrial mode of life in which producers are directly and knowledgably related to production" (World Bank 1980). In view of these criteria, and given the data presented at the symposium, it is the considered judgement and conclusion of symposium participants who form the International Study Group that:

> *In recognition of the need for sustainable and equitable development of coastal communities, a separate management category for 'small Type Whaling' should forthwith be recognized by the IWC.*

COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF SMALL-TYPE WHALING

Drawing upon the IWC's definition of small-type whaling, the International Study Group compared STW activities in Iceland, Japan and Norway and found that they exhibit a cluster of common characteristics which clearly distinguish them from commercial (industrial) whaling. In the following discussion, these activities are compared and contrasted with certain forms of coastal whaling in Greenland that are clearly recognised as ASW. The following major categories were used in the Group's analysis:

(1) technology and resources,
(2) personnel organisation,
(3) whale product distribution patterns,
(4) local cultural practices, and
(5) community identity.

1. Technology and Resources

In general, STW is conducted using small, multipurpose, powered boats, armed with a harpoon gun generally located in the bow. Hunting seasons are regulated, and the principal target species is the minke whale. Home ports are usually small and in remote communities, and distances travelled from shore are short.

Vessels vary in length from 20' to 122', the largest being those Norwegian vessels which may travel a considerable distance from home and stay at sea for up to three weeks[5]. Other vessels, however, rarely — if ever — stay at sea for more than two days, and generally sail no more than 30 miles from shore. While Greenlandic boats operate out of their local communities, Icelandic, Norwegian and Japanese boats return to a fixed number of (authorised) landing sites. It is at these sites that whales are generally flensed and processed, although Norwegian vessels flense on board, and boats working in waters off Hokkaido, Japan, may also conduct limited on-board flensing. None of the vessels is used only for minke whaling, since in Greenland, Iceland and Norway they are also used during different seasons to harvest seals, fish and shrimps, whilst in Japan vessels are specialised whaling boats designed to hunt various species of whale (principally minke, but also Baird's beaked and pilot whales). Cannon size on all boats ranges between 50 and 60 mm and some Norwegian boats have a second cannon mounted in the stern. Both Greenlandic and Japanese vessels may use skiffs to assist in different aspects of whale hunting.

The whales themselves are part of a community resource base, and generally comprise a significant component of a local multispecies fishery, providing a major part of the local food base. In each of the fisheries concerned, whales are generally available for a limited period of time each year. In the higher-latitude fisheries of Greenland, Iceland and Norway, whaling seasons are determined primarily by the fact that minke whales frequent inshore waters for relatively short periods of time. Consequently, Greenlandic and Icelandic whalers tend to take whales opportunistically during the course of fishing or shrimping operations. In the case of Norway, the season is also determined to an extent by the state of other fisheries, whether quotas in those fisheries have been filled, and the availability of licences. In Japan, however, the whaling season extends over several months, during which time STW boats travel to different areas to hunt different species of whale, and are used exclusively for this purpose.

2. Personnel Organisation

In general, vessels engaged in STW are owner-operated. Crews, flensers and secondary processors are local people whose recruitment is based primarily on family and personal connections.

In all case except one6, owners operate one vessel each and usually work on board together with from one to seven other crew members. In Japan most boats are family owned and crew membership tends to be based more on personal connections that link owner and crew member. In Greenland, Iceland and Norway, kinship connections between owners and crew members predominate.

Unlike large-scale industrial whaling in which job specialisation is the norm, crews in the small-scale operations under study do not usually specialise in the various tasks involved in the hunting and processing of whales. As in all whaling operations, the position of gunner is comparatively specialised, given the importance of this task to the success of the hunt. But gunners are also expected to share other tasks with their fellow crew. This lack of specialisation in no way indicates a lack of professionalism; rather, it is the inevitable consequence of having a small crew with a large number of tasks to perform.

When a whale is caught, it is usually brought to a landing site for flensing and processing. Winching the carcass ashore and flensing are generally performed by crew members with the assistance of other family members. In Japan there is a specialised flensing team of two or three people who are assisted by a number of women and elderly men (retired whalers). In all countries practicing STW and ASW, local people and children will gather to watch the flensing, and this activity thus serves as a focus for community participation and identity. In Norway, flensing is conducted on board and large pieces (ca. 100 kg) of meat are then delivered ashore for further processing. Both landing sites and processing plants in all countries concerned are almost invariable small-scale, located in remote areas, and make use exclusively of local community labour. Importantly, much of this labour is provided by women.

3. Distribution Patterns

In the forms of STW and ASW considered in this report, whale products are distributed through cash and non-cash channels at both local and regional levels. Such distribution patterns tend to reinforce family and other community ties and sustain a distinctive food culture which helps to promote a sense of community or local identity in the areas in which these whaling forms are practiced. The use of cash, as a generalized currency, ensures the efficient and equitable distribution of valued foods throughout these modern cash-based societies.

In general, products deriving from the harvesting of whales by STW and Greenlandic ASW vessels have been distributed at the local, regional, and national levels. The exact distribution of whale products at the present time is not known for any of the countries concerned. In the case of Iceland, Japan and Norway, traditional distribution patterns became progressively distorted from the early 1980s as declining catch quotas both for STW and for industrial whaling led to increased demand for fewer products (e.g. Takahashi 1991). In Greenland, meanwhile, the fall in the supply of whale products has seen whaling communities holding on to more of what they have, and as a result less now goes into wide circulation.

As both STW and ASW occur within the context of modern cash economies, the sale of whale products occurs in each of the countries discussed here. Marketing is conducted through local fishermen's — or in the case of southern Norway, STW — cooperatives or regional associations. Non-cash forms of distribution are practiced in all countries, and involve the handing out of edible whale products to those involved in the hunting and processing of whales.

In Iceland and Norway, crew members are paid according to a share system based on profits deriving from catches of whales and other marine resources, and the principal from of payment is cash. In Greenland, cash may be used, but there is always an element of payment in kind, and often payment is exclusively in kind. In Japan, payment is made in the form of wages, bonuses based on catches, and a distribution of whale products. Flensing teams in all countries are generally paid in wages, although in Japan a combination of wages and whale products is used. Exceptions are close family members involved in flensing in Japan, and flensers who are not crew members in Greenland. Both these groups of people are paid in kind only. The quantities of products distributed in this manner are hard to ascertain, but it is certain that non-cash distribution frequently involves an extremely high percentage of households in and around communities in which STW and ASW are practiced.

As we have seen, initially whale products are distributed to crew members and to those involved in the flensing and processing of each whale. These individuals then divide up parts of their shares among relatives, friends and neighbours who may in turn reciprocate with other, non-whaling, products. In all countries, therefore, STW and ASW give rise to *informal barter systems* which may — in the case of Norway, for example — be 'egalitarian' and somewhat unstructured, or — in that of Japan — be directed by the owner of a vessel who wishes to build up his social standing within the community. In both systems of barter generated by such exchanges of whale products, there is an extensive involvement of local people who derive a further sense of community identity from such distribution patterns[7].

4. Local Cultural Practices

Since whales are locally available in accessible coastal waters, they have come to assume importance in the economies, cultural practices and beliefs of those maritime communities specialising in their capture and utilisation. Significant local cultural practices include diet as well as rituals, ceremonies, and beliefs connected with the handing down of traditional knowledge concerned with whales and whaling.

One feature in particular illustrates the cultural importance of whales to the societies under discussion. Due to the large amount of food, and hence security, a whale carcass provides to these small and often isolated, remote communities, edible whale products serve as a seasonally important food staple. In more recent times, the availability of whale meat has extended beyond the hunting season (due to refrigeration, etc.), but this appears not to have diminished its customary use and association with particular seasonal

or ceremonial activities. Thus in some parts of Iceland whale meat is used to celebrate the arrival of spring, while in Japan meat or blubber is used at New Year celebrations. Whale meat in Greenland and Norway is associated with the importance of eating locally produced, fresh, 'wild' meat[8], while the specialised cuisine found in Japanese STW communities is heavily dependent upon fresh (i.e. unfrozen) whale meat. Japanese people classify whales as fish in their folk classification system, though they know them to be mammals[9]. Thus the inhabitants of whaling towns such as Ayukawa can eat whale meat at funeral ceremonies even though the eating of mammals is prohibited at such times[10].

Rituals associated with whaling occur both on board boats and variously on shore, and include annual boat-purification rites, together with taboos and rituals associated with ensuring good luck and turning away bad luck. Prayer and other religious practices associated with whaling occur in all the societies concerned. These are primarily aimed at ensuring the safety of crews, but there are other forms. In Japan, for example, religious observances are directed to the peaceful repose of the souls of whales which have been caught. In Iceland, meanwhile, a stranded whale is referred to as 'a gift from God', and minke whales are considered 'good whales' because they bring herring inshore. Across the Arctic region from Chukotka to Greenland, local foods, including whale, form the basis for Inuit sharing networks and constitute an integral part of household and community celebrations. Inhabitants of remote, isolated communities need detailed knowledge of environmental conditions and the behaviour of local food animals in order to survive. This traditional knowledge is passed down from generation to generation in informal learning situations, often involving direct working experience. This knowledge may take years to acquire, and is continually in the process of being refined since environmental change is both inevitable and ongoing. At the same time, precisely because such knowledge is extremely specialised, it contributes to an overall sense of local identity in those communities in which whaling is practiced.

5. Community Identity

The combination of technology and resources, personnel organisation, distribution patterns and local cultural practices based on whales and whaling contributes towards the establishment and maintenance of community identity.

Individuals in all societies assume a variety of identities which are the product of such factors as circumstances of birth, social networks, place of residence, and occupation. In the case of remote communities, we tend to find that people are born and brought up together and live and work together all their lives. This creates a very strong sense of community identity which is usually further marked by certain linguistic and cultural features peculiar to such communities. At the same time, there is frequently a sense of distinctive identity based on occupation. Thus it is common in whaling communities for whalers to see themselves as a prestigeous sub-group among fishermen and quite distinct from the other hunters and farmers with whom they reside.

Such community and/or occupational identity is reinforced by the development of non-commercial bartering systems involving whale meat, by distinctive local food cultures, and by rituals and beliefs connected with whaling. The creation of such an identity often gives rise to what may be called a local integrated whaling culture[11], or marine resource-based society, which under certain circumstances may then itself contribute to a sense of national sentiment and identity[12].

SMALL-TYPE WHALING FOR SUSTAINABLE AND EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE NEED FOR REDEFINITION

This analysis of coastal whaling operations makes it clear that STW is qualitatively different from both aboriginal subsistence whaling and commercial whaling. Until recently, this distinction was of little importance in the IWC because of the blanket acceptance of commercial whaling quotas. However, with the current moratorium on all commercial whaling, refinement and modification of IWC categories are clearly necessary as a means of providing for sustainable and equitable use of marine resources by coastal communities.

Based on the preceding analysis of characteristics common to STW and other forms of whaling, clusters of characteristics can be used to define the new category of STW within the IWC management regimen. Building on the IWC's existing definition of STW, the International Study Group concluded that STW activities in Iceland, Japan, and Norway share the following characteristics:

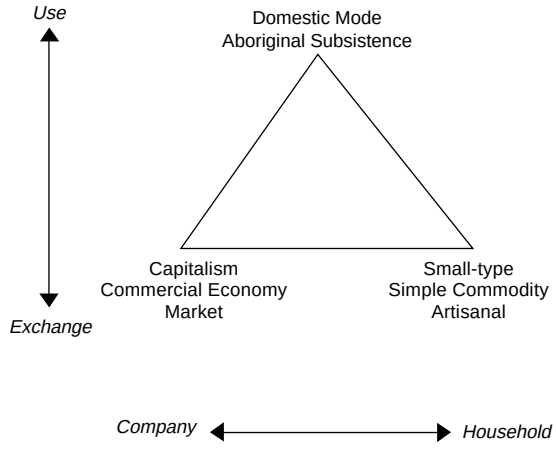
- the communities involved are small and remote[13];
- they have few land-based resources and are thus dependent on the utilisation of marine resources;
- hunts are conducted using relatively small vessels, are short in duration, and are confined to coastal waters;
- the vessels are generally owner-operated, and are manned by small crews recruited on the strength of family or personal connections;
- in addition to catching whales, crew members normally also participate in the flensing; while payment to crew and flensers is usually based on a share system, cash forms an important part of exchange transactions;
- there is also an extensive non-cash distribution of edible whale products in these whaling communities and this serves important social, cultural, economic and dietary needs;
- in such communities whale meat is usually an important source of nutrition and food, and it may also be used in important rituals;

- all communities are characterised, too, by other local religious, ritual and cultural practices and beliefs, involving local history, epics, myths, folk tales, song, music, dance and other art forms emphasising whales and/or whaling. These in turn help foster a strong sense of community identity and distinctive local culture which may set such communities apart from the broader national cultures in which they are found.

These characteristics reinforce the argument that STW is, indeed, a form of simple commodity or artisanal production. By focusing on differing economic strategies relating to the use and exchange of whale products (production for use vis-a-vis production for exchange), and on levels of organisation (company vis-a-vis household, together with property right distinctions in the case of aboriginal subsistence whaling), we can draw up a diagram illustrating three different types of production: aboriginal subsistence, simple commodity and commercial.

In the judgement of the International Study Group, the current IWC taxonomy fails to differentiate clearly between identifiable characteristics — such as those relating to technology (including boat ownership and crew organization), culture, economy and community dependence as listed above — which distinguish STW from other types of commercial whaling, on the one hand, and from aboriginal subsistence whaling, on the other. In the interest of equity, and to further the objective of supporting sustainable development, we believe that it is illogical to ignore the distinctive characteristics of STW. Given these conclusions, the Internal Study Group recommends that:

The IWC recognise Small-Type Whaling as a distinctive and operationally useful category for the purpose of regulating coastal whaling in a sustainable and equitable manner.



CONCLUSION
TOWARDS A NEW APPROACH TO RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

In consideration of on-going deliberations at the IWC of ways to optimise whale stock management, the International Study Group decided to broaden its discussion to embrace wider issues regarding the exploitation, conservation and management of living marine resources in those coastal communities in which STW is practiced.

As revealed in this comparative study of coastal whaling communities, STW is an important component of small-scale diversified local economies dependent upon the utilisation of a variety of marine resources. It is also an important element in the sustainability of these communities in social, cultural and environmental terms. By 'sustainability' we mean improving, maintaining or restoring "the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems" (IUCN, UNEP, and WWF 1991, p4).

It is the relationship between the *people* inhabiting a community and the *environment* which supports that community that concerns us here. Current international initiatives[14] regarding sustainable development oblige us all to re-evaluate previous and present approaches to the exploitation, conservation and management of living resources, including those of the oceans and coastal areas. The object of such a re-evaluation should be to strengthen existing regimes and to investigate the formation of appropriate new regimes in order to ensure sustainable utilisation of these marine resources, both now and in the future. At the same time, we should be aware of Part 1, Article 1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which provides inter alia that:

> "All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation based on the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of their means of subsistence."

There is wide-spread recognition, firstly, that the planning and management of regimes for conservation and development of living resources must provide for the effective participation of local communities (IWC 1981)[15]; and secondly, that the "rights to use marine resources need to be allocated clearly, and particular weight given to the interests of local communities" (IUCN, UNEP, and WWF 1991: 16). Accordingly, the International Study Group agreed that the existing regimes for management of those marine resources — such as whales — that are of demonstrable importance to coastal communities, should be re-examined according to the following criteria:

(1) The *sustainable utilisation of biological resources* should be based upon the best available scientific and local advice;

(2) *Appropriate measures* should be adopted to

ensure the protection of marine and coastal environments:

(3) The *direct participation of local communities* should be ensured in the planning and implementation of resource management regimes; and

(4) *Management objectives* should ensure that benefits from coastal marine resource utilisation go primarily to local communities.

In the opinion of the International Study Group, the management of whale resources according to such criteria would address recent criticisms that the IWC does not reflect current enlightened thinking on resource management. It is imperative and urgent that the IWC address and resolve the issue of equitability and sustainability in resource management, since if it fails to do so, its critics will almost certainly seek alternative means of satisfying those reasonable human needs that present IWC practice is unable to accommodate.

It this situation, it is our reasoned belief that a separate category of whaling, to be known as 'Small-Type Whaling', should be established. Such an additional category would fall squarely within the parameters for the overall management of marine resources outlined above, as well as respect the reasonable needs of those involved in coastal whaling operations in Iceland, Japan and Norway.

End notes

1. The International Study Group met in Taiji, Japan, from January 21-23, 1992, for a symposium on the 'Utilisation of Marine Living Resources for Subsistence'. Participants, under the chairmanship of Professor Brian Moeran (University of London), were social scientists with a wide range of knowledge and expertise about the conservation and utilisation of marine mammals, and who shared an interest in developing new and more constructive paradigms for sustainable resource management and use. During the symposium, participants presented papers describing their own research regarding utilisation of marine resources, and undertook a process of comparing case studies of small-type whaling in three countries — Iceland, Japan and Norway — both with one another and with one kind of aboriginal subsistence whaling (vessel fishing for minke whalers) in Greenland (see below).

Members of the International Study Group would like to take this opportunity to thank Shigeko Misaki (coordinator) and Simon Ward (rapporteur) for their untiring cooperation and support during the symposium. We are also very grateful to Greg Donovan, Scientific Editor of the International Whaling Commission, for his advice.

2. It should be noted here that current understanding of 'subsistence', as widely used in the scientific literature and in U.S. resource management regimes, does not necessarily restrict this activity to aboriginal people (e.g. Wolfe and Ellana 1983; Fall 1990; Palsson 1991).
3. It should be noted that this definition includes some species (e.g. bottlenose, beaked and pilot whales) not recognised as under the purview of the IWC, and that the status of such species under the Convention is disputed.
4. E.g. Headland and Reid 1985: 51; Peterson 1991: 1-7
5. When vessels are at sea for such long periods, whaling is not conducted continuously. The voyage is prolonged because of adverse weather conditions, and storms often force the suspension of whaling for a week or more at a time.
6. This exception is in the highly specialised Japanese beaked whale fishery, which developed in one restricted area to supply a regional demand for a special whale meat product (Akimichi et al. 1988: 86-91)
7. cf. Akimichi et al. 1988, pp 41-51; Caulfield 1991 (IWC/TC/43/AS4, p6); Josefsen 1990 (IWC/TC/42/SEST5)
8. As opposed to 'domesticated' meats produced elsewhere.
9. cf. Akimichi et al. 1988: 66.
10. cf. Akimichi et al. 1988: 73
11. Kalland and Moeran 1990, Chapter 7
12. E.g. Brydon 1990; Caulfield 1991: 114
13. It may be argued that, in Japan, Abashiri forms an exception to this general rule. However, in the International Study Group's opinion, Abashiri whalers, flensers, distributors and retailers form an *occupational community* which is both small and remote.
14. For example, Caring for the Earth, the World Commission on Environment and Development (The Brundtland Commission), and the ongoing work of the United Nations' Declaration on the Right to Development.
15. cf. the rights of self-determination under the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which says that: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they may freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (quoted in Doubleday 1992).

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AT THE INTERNATIONAL STUDY GROUP FOR SMALL-TYPE WHALING

met at Taiji, Japan, 21-23 January, 1992

Name:	Affliate:
Tomoya Akimichi	Associate Professor, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan
Richard Caulfield	Department of Rural Development, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, U.S.A.
Nancy Doubleday	Department of Biology, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario Canada
Milton Freeman	Professor, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada
Hisashi Hamaguchi	Municipal Office Tanabe-shi, Wakayama Prefecture Japan
Arne Kalland	Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark
Brian Moeran	Professor of Japanese Studies, School of Asian & African Studies University of London, U.K.
Gisli Palsson	Associate Professor of Anthropology Faculty of Social Science, University of Iceland, Reykjavik, Iceland
Halldor Stefansson	Professor of Anthropology. Department of International Studies, Osaka Gakuin Junior College
Junichi Takahashi	Associate Professor, Department of International Studies, Obirin College. Tokyo, Japan

PROPOSAL FOR DEFINITION OF SMALL-TYPE WHALING

The Government of Japan
1992

Small-type whaling operations are small-scale, locally managed and operated, with the distribution of whale products being locally centralised. The small-type whale fishery sustains customs and institutions which are socially, culturally, economically and nutritionally important to the local whaling communities.