ON THE LABOUR MARKET OF OFF-SHORE FISHERIES

By MASATOSHI YORIMITSU*

I. *General Remarks*

The Japan lands far greater quantity of fish than any other country in the world, and the expansion of the Japanese fishery production after the World War II was remarkable.[1] The impact of the War drastically hit this industry by the reduction of fishing boats, the fishing nets and the infrastructure of the fishing production, and the production has been greatly reduced.[2] But in 1952 the production recovered the maximum level of production of the past, and since then the production continued to expand except for a few years' reduction.

It is not so easy a problem to find out the factors contributing to this expansion, but we can enumerate the following matters as indispensable ones for the post-war expansion: the great efforts of the fishery managements to increase their production; the enlargement of consumers' expenditure on household purchase of fish and fish products; the government policies to encourage the managements to promote the labour productivity, and to expand extensively the fishing grounds 'from coastal to off-shore, from off-shore to distant water.'[3] These factors were inter-related with each other, and the composition of these

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[1] "The comparison of 1974 production with 1964's of 10 years ago, the hike is by about 1.8 times or 4.3 million tons, an annual average increase rate of 4%." (Japan Fisheries Association, *Fishery of Japan, 1975*, (Tokyo: Japan Fisheries Association, n.d.), p. 1.

[2] Yasuo Kondo, *Kondo Yasuo Chosakushu* (Works of Yasuo Kondo), Vol. 11, (Tokyo: Nosanson Bunka Kyokai, 1975), p. 367.

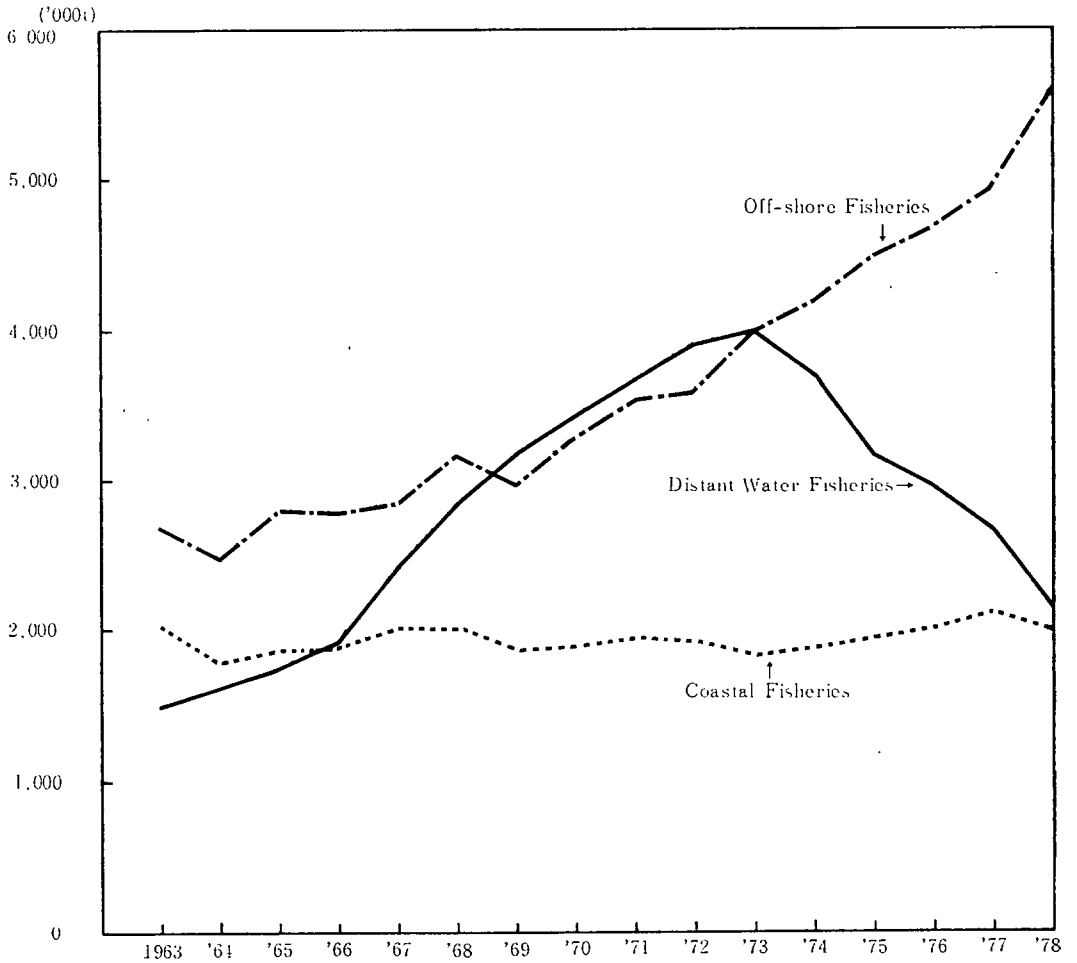
[3] In many government fishery policies of post-war, the following three policies are quite important to orientate the structure of the Japanese fisheries. Firstly, the policy to promote the fishery transition was planned in 1954, intending to convert the over-facilities of the coastal and off-shore fisheries to the distant water fisheries and to expand the fishing grounds 'from coastal to off-shore, from off-shore to distant water.' By this policy the distant water fisheries could expand in production and become a leading sector of the Japanese fishery production.

Secondly, the policy to improve the structure of the coastal fisheries, planned in 1960, had the following two aims: to dissolve the over-population of the coastal fishing villages and to improve the low level of productivity of the coastal family managements. To achieve the former aim, it was planned to mobilize the labour force of fishing villages to other occupations by promoting the education for the younger people of the fishing villages, by assisting the applicants for the occupational changes and expanding the occupational training facilities. To attain the latter aim, to improve the productivity of the coastal fishery managements, it was considered that the number of the managements of the coastal fisheries should be reduced by the conversion of coastal fisheries to off-shore and distant water fisheries and the promotion of the marine culture, and it stressed the need to assist the sound managements of the coastal fisheries and to organize the fishermen's cooperations.

Thirdly, the government policy to improve the management conditions of small and medium size fish-

factors resulted in the expansion of the Japanese fishery production.

FIG. 1. TREND OF CATCH BY FISHERY SECTION



Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, *Statistical Yearbook of Fisheries and Aquaculture Production*, (1963~1978).

eries, which have been suffering from seasonal operations and the instability of the management, recommended to rationalize the management by securing a year round operation, to establish an independent organisation for fishery regulations and to modernize the labour relations by the improvement of the share-system of wages.

All these measures were induced by the payments of subsidies and the long term finance of low interest to the eligible managements for the government policies. (Gyogyo Kihon Taisaku Shiryo Kanko Iinkai ed., *Gyogyo Kihon Taisaku Shiryo* (Documents of Basic Measurements for Fisheries), (Tokyo: Suisancho., 1965), Vol. 2, pp. 204–214, pp. 909–920.)

It is necessary to consider more precisely the course of this expansion. It is common practice to divide the Japanese fisheries into three sections: coastal fisheries, off-shore fisheries and distant water fisheries.[4] According to Figure 1, which shows the transition of the catches of these three fishery sections from 1963 to 1977, there are quite different trends of the catches between these sections. Firstly, the coastal fisheries have been showing a constant level of production during the period.[5] Secondly, the growth of production of the off-shore and distant water fisheries has been quite rapid and these two sections contributed largely to the growth of Japanese fishery production. Thirdly, the distant water fisheries began to reduce their production since 1973. Lastly, the main part of the future growth of the production may be deeply dependent on the trend of the catch of the off-shore fisheries.

TABLE 1. MAJOR MANAGERIAL INDICES OF TUNA LONG LINE FISHERY MANAGEMENTS (200–500 GROSS TONS)

Items	1967	'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76	'77
Number of Sample	35	35	45	63	69	63	65	59	64	62	59
Operations											
Days of Operation	358	322	328	295	345	335	313	342	362	385	388
Number of Voyages	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Days of Voyages	320	289	292	268	316	307	291	317	340	350	355
Days of Fishing	168	155	161	147	173	177	176	186	201	216	223
Normal Number of Persons engaged	26.7	25.9	25.8	24.4	23.2	22.9	21.9	21.2	21.0	20.7	20.7
Fishery Receipts ('000yen)	79,951	80,120	91,591	99,745	119,913	127,306	132,851	163,364	217,839	236,297	256,895
Fishery Expenditure ('000yen)	60,134	59,592	67,591	73,235	92,998	98,450	102,255	134,320	180,372	208,451	230,146
Fishery Earnings (After Depeciation) ('000yen)	5,825	6,447	7,909	5,365	1,734	7,360	8,348	3,229	12,304	7,772	4,018

Source · Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, *Report of Fishery Economic Survey (Establishment)*, (1967~1977).

To perceive the future structure of the Japanese fishery production, it is important to highlight the main causes of the reduction in production of the distant water fisheries. The direct factors affecting the reduction were the so-called 'oil-shock' of 1973 and the international regulations for the 200-mile fishing grounds.[6] These factors, being considered to be external factors to the fishery managements, increased the running costs of the manage-

[4] The characteristics of the Japanese fishery structure were analysed by the Committee of Inquiry into the Basic Problems of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, the report of which was published in 1960, and the basic framework of this report still applies to the present fisheries. The report stated that "the structure of the Japanese fisheries consisted of many stratified managements, at the top of which the large scale fishery capitals dominate the whole industry, and at the bottom there are many poor fishermen of small coastal fisheries. Between these two poles there exists many managements of different fishereies and of management sizes. It is characteristic of the Japanese fishery structure to have a very complicated inner structure and there are great differences concerning the management scale. The greater parts of the fishery products are caught by the large scale capitalistic fishery corporations, which is a small proportion, and part of the small and medium size managements engaging in the off-shore fisheries. On the other hand, in coastal fishing villages there are many family managements mainly operated by the family labour force, and they constitute 86% of all the fishery managements, but their catch accounts for only 18% of the total catch. Further, the greater part of the small and medium size fishery managements are always threatened by the fluctuations of the catch owing to the difficulty of overcoming scientifically the mobility of the catch objectives, and they are suffering from the instability of their management." (*Ibid.* p. 909.)

[5] In spite of the constant level of production of the coastal fisheries, the number of the coastal fishery managements showed a great decrease. See Norin Sho (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry) ed., *Dai Goji Gyogyo Sensasu, Sokatsu Hen* (An Abridged Fifth Census of Fisheries), (Tokyo: Norin Tokei Kyokai, 1976.)

[6] Yutaka Hirasawa, *200 Kairi Jidai to Nihon Gyogyo* (The Age of 200-mile Regulations and the Japanese Fisheries), (Tokyo: Hokuto Shobo, 1978), p. 118.

ments immensely and made the managements quite difficult to continue their management. Table 1 shows the main managerial indices of the tuna long line fishing management units. We can point out several characteristics of the management of the tuna long line fishing from Table 1: Firstly, the length of a voyage was very long and it extended almost a year at a time, and this prolonged voyage caused many problems for the managements. Secondly, the running costs increased immensely, mainly by the rise of oil price and the employees' wages. Thirdly, the efforts of the fishermen to cover the rise of the running costs were strengthened and this resulted in the over-exploitation of the resources. Fourthly, the rate of catch was decreased and thus resulted in the decline of the profits of the managements.

These features are mutually inter-dependent and constitute a vicious cycle of constraints to worsen the managerial conditions. Furthermore, the most serious problem for the management of the tuna long line fishing is the fact that it has become quite difficult to recruit the labour force owing to the debasement of the labour conditions for the workers, inspite of the relatively high wages of the workers. We must consider that

TABLE 2. BASIC STRUCTURE OF SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZE FISHERY MANAGEMENTS (1978)

Items	Classes by Size of Fishing Boats (gross tons)							
	Total	10–20	20–30	30–50	50–100	100–200	200–500	500–1,000
I Total Number of Managements	10,730	5,693	739	1,087	1,721	645	545	300
II Form of Organization								
Individual Management	8,102	5,118	592	793	1,043	301	195	60
Company	1,462	75	28	127	475	273	275	209
Fishery Cooperative	35	5	4	3	12	5	4	2
Fishery Production Association	105	8	4	25	33	10	14	11
Joint Management	961	486	111	138	153	46	22	5
Public Office, School and Experimental Station	65	1	—	1	5	10	35	13
III Persons engaged in Fisheries on Sea in Busy Seasons								
1	326	310	12	4	—	—	—	—
2	980	943	28	8	1	—	—	—
3–4	1,956	1,771	106	55	23	1	—	—
5–9	3,757	2,264	378	583	493	32	7	—
10–19	1,943	368	194	338	782	208	50	3
20–49	1,452	37	19	97	410	382	400	107
50–99	293	—	2	2	12	21	86	170
100–149	21	—	—	—	—	—	2	19
150–199	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
200–299	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
IV Composition of Persons engaged in Fisheries in Busy Seasons								
Family Workers only	1,825	1,673	90	35	19	5	2	1
Employees only	2,646	268	66	268	858	450	453	283
Family Workers=Employees	631	551	35	22	22	1	—	—
Family Workers>Employees	705	560	61	34	44	5	1	—
Family Workers<Employees	4,923	2,641	487	728	778	184	89	16
V Average Value of Catch per Management (Million Yen)								
Individual Management	47.2	16.7	28.1	49.1	88.2	190.8	276.4	638.3
Company	280.7	65.7	60.2	67.7	128.8	257.0	371.0	774.2

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, *Sixth Census of Fisheries*, 1980.

these features are not confined to the tuna long line fisheries but are applicable to the distant water fisheries in general. These features are inherent in the distant water fisheries and it seems unavoidable that these may bring about a decline in their production. It is clear that this section of fisheries has finished its role to pull the growth of the Japanese fishery production.[7]

As the distant water fisheries have lost a leading position in the Japanese fishery production, the off-shore fisheries became to be estimated as the next leading sector for the growth.[8] The greater parts of the off-shore fishery production are landed by the managements of small and medium size, using powered boats of over 10 gross tons but less than 1,000 gross tons. The basic structure of the small and medium size fishery managements is shown in Table 2. As Table 2 shows, the small and medium size fishery managements constitute a hierarchy according to the size of management, the volume of the catch and the form of organization. At the bottom of these fishery managements there are many individual managements using the family workers only. This group of managements has similar features to the little family managements of the coastal fisheries, and the distinction between them is quite difficult. At the top of the small and medium size managements

TABLE 3. MOBILITY OF SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZE MANAGEMENTS (1977)

Items	Size of Management						
	10–20t	20–30t	30–50t	50–100t	100–200t	200–500t	500–1,000t
Number of Managements in 1976	4,976	689	1,129	1,733	648	593	218
Continuing Managements in 1977	4,739	671	1,070	1,625	620	560	206
Fisheries by boats							
Smaller Size	302	96	68	54	43	33	16
Same Size	4,190	500	873	1,469	546	488	190
Larger Size	202	65	124	98	31	38	—
Transfer to Set Net	10	2	2	3	0	0	0
Transfer to Aquaculture	35	8	3	1	0	1	0
Disappeared Managements in 1977	237	18	59	108	28	33	12

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries ed., *Yearbook of Vital Statistics of Fisheries, 1977*, 1978, p. 44.

TABLE 4. DISAPPEARED MANAGEMENTS BY FORM OF ORGANIZATION

Size of Management in 1976	Individual Management	Company	Fisheries Cooperative	Fishery Production Association	Joint Management	Total
10–20t	162	2	2	0	71	237
20–30t	7	1	0	1	9	18
30–50t	46	4	0	0	9	59
50–100t	68	22	2	0	16	108
100–200t	15	10	0	1	2	28
200–500t	15	16	1	1	0	33
500–1,000t	1	11	0	0	2	14
Total	314	66	5	3	109	487

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries ed., *Yearbook of Vital Statistics of Fisheries, 1977*, 1978, pp. 46–48.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[8] Koh Nakatate and Yoshiki Takeichi, *Asu no Nihon Suisangyo* (Future Japanese Fishing Industry), (Tokyo: Kaibundo, 1978), p. 61.

there are a few companies making high profits by utilizing the employed workers, and this group has almost equal quality to the monopolistic large scale fishery corporations. However, it is impossible to deny the common features the small and medium size fishery managements share in managerial instability. Table 3 shows the mobility of the managements in 1976. More than 10% of all the managements that existed in 1976 disappeared the following year, 1977, and less than 90% of them could continue their management. Furthermore, the managements that were in existence did not always continue their management at the same size as of the previous year, and there are diversified mobility towards up and down movements. At the top group of the small and medium size fishery managements, out of 218 managements using powered boats of more the 500 gross tons but less than 1,000 gross tons in 1976, 12 managements disappeared the next year, 16 managements continued their management under a smaller size, and 190 managements remained in the same size in 1977. The frequency of the mobility of the managements increased as the size of management became smaller. Table 4 shows the number, the management size and the form of organization of the managements that disappreared in 1977. As indicated in Table 4, although the disappeared managements were found many in number in the managements of smaller size and in the individual management, managements with company organisation and larger size also disappeared. All these facts confirm the charecteristics of the small and medium size managements to be vulnerable to bankruptcy and to be in an unstable managerial position.

This paper has the aim to investigate into the labour market of the off-shore fisheries with special references to the affairs of the fisheries of Choshi City, Chiba Prefecture. Although the off-shore fisheries have great importance for the future growth of Japanese fishery production, they are confronting a serious problem, and it is our opinion that the labour force problem is a crucial subject for the managements.

Until quite recently the study of labour problems of fisheries has concentrated on the retarded labour relations symbolized by the *sendo sei* (control system by master of fishery) and the low wages of the fishermen resulting from the *buai sei chingin* (wage system paid by share system).[9] Many reports and articles have accumulated to clearify the actual state of both systems and to highlight the obstacles against the improvement and modernization of labour relations in Japanese fisheries. Although these systems are still remaining in many parts of the Japanese fisheries and the modified forms of both systems are surviving in many aspects of labour relations, these systems have lost their significance and should be investigated.[10]

The rapid economic growth of Japan has changed the structure of labour force of the fisheries. Post-war economic growth created a huge amount of labour demand and a great number of the labour force was mobilized from the rural and fishing villages to the industrial and urban centres. This population movement, from the rural to urban areas, from the agruculture and fisheries to the manufacturing and commerce,[11] had the effect of improving

[9] Yasuo Kondo, *op. cit.*, pp. 439–440.

[10] Takao Shimura, "Gyogyo no Rodoryoku Kozobunseki Shiron", *Gyogyo Keizai Kenkyu* (Journal of Fisheries Economics), Vol. 22, No. 2, March, 1976, p. 15.

[11] Sorifu Tokeikyoku (Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister), *Wagakuni no Jinko* (Population of Japan, 1975 Population Census of Japan, Abridged Report Series No. 1), (Tokyo: Nihon Tokeikyokai, 1977), pp. 12–13, pp. 24–33, pp. 50–69.

the standards of living in the rural and coastal areas and contributed to lessen the wide spread poverty in the coastal fishing families.[12] At the same time, these changes cut off the linkage between the poor coastal fishing families and the fishery wage workers. The linkage that formerly existed could be formulated as follows: On the one hand, there were many poor coastal fishing families, the management size of which was too small for all of the family members to be engaged in it, and there was over-population without other occupations than to be hired by the local fishermen's boss. On the other hand, at the end of the employment of workers owing to their old ages, fishery workers could return to their individual managements of the coastal fisheries. This linkage has been offering the material basis for the off-shore fishery managements to secure the necessary labour force.

But the linkage has been cut off by the enlargement of labour market, and there appeared to be a serious problem of labour shortage. The shortage of labour was not confined to the mere shortage of labour force but had the feature of the expression of more fundamental changes of the formerly existing labour recruiting mechanism. This is why we consider the matters concerning the labour market of fisheries as crucial ones facing the management of off-shore fisheries. To approach our theme we must examine the statistics and documents, and also clearify the present state of the labour force of fisheries. At the same time it is necessary to discuss the principles of the management concerning the administration and the control of the labour force in the small and medium size fisheries.

II. *Fisheries of Choshi City, Chiba Prefecture*

Choshi City is located at the north-east corner of Chiba Prefecture, and this city is famous for having a prominent fish market, the landings of which held the third rank in 1979.[13] This fish market is owned and managed by Choshi-shi Fishery Cooperative, and the transition of the landing at this market from 1963 to 1976, together with the shares of landing according to the registry of fishing boats, is shown in Table 6. As indicated in Table 6, in the early period, from 1966 to 1969, the level of the total volume of landing at this market declined and in 1969 the index of landing (1963=100.0) droped to 83.2 or 112,446 tons. After this reduction in landing, the total landing made a new record in 1970, and since then the landing increased steadily, with a slight fluctuation, to have achieved almost two-fold landing in 1976 as compared with that of 1963.

At the same time, we must point out that the landing at Choshi fish market was made not only by the boats having the registry of Choshi-shi Fishery Cooperative and other fishery cooperatives in Choshi City, but also by many boats having the other port's registry. It is natural for a big fish market to enter many boats of other cooperatives' registries to land their catch. In the case of Choshi fish market, the share of the landing by the boats belonging to Choshi City decreased from about 47% of the total landing in 1963 to around 28% in 1976, and the main part of the landing has been occupied by the boats of other ports.

[12] See Norin Tokei Kyokai ed., *Showa 53 Nendo Zusetsu Gyogyo Hakusho* (White Paper on Fisheries, 1978), (Tokyo: Norin Tokei Kyokai, 1979). p. 50.

[13] Norinsuisan Sho (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries) ed., *Showa 54 nen Suisanbutsu Ryutsu Tokei Nenpo* (Statistical Yearbook of Fishery Product Distribution, 1979), (Tokyo: Norin Tokei Kyokai, 1980), p. 11.

Furthermore, the share of the landing by fishing boats belonging to the Choshi-shi Fishery Cooperative, which manages the fish market, fell quite rapidly.

If we look at Table 7, providing the percentages of the major species of fish landed at Choshi fish market, the following five species, sardine, mackerel, saury-pike, skipjack and jack mackerel, occupied over 85% of the total landing almost in every year. These species

FIG. 2. LOCATION OF CHOSHI CITY

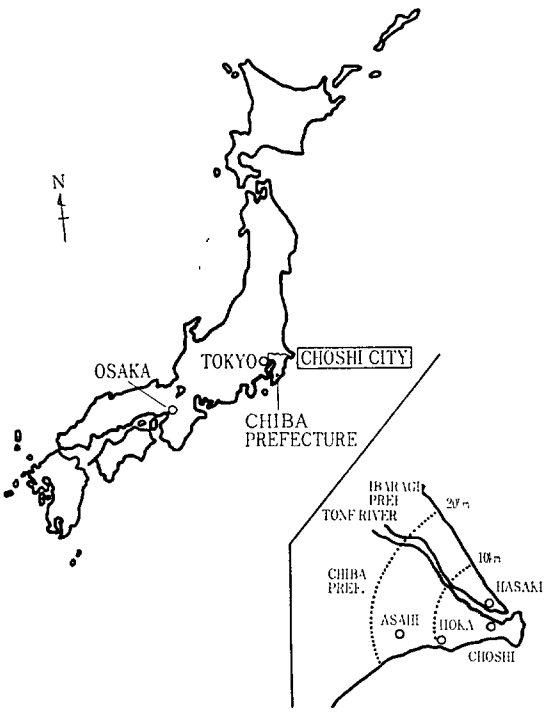


TABLE 5. TREND OF LANDING AT MAJOR FISHING PORTS

(1,000t)

Fishing Ports	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Kushiro	880	802	881	879	603	706
Hachinohe	502	562	407	548	737	690
Choshi	195	233	279	355	456	365
Wakkanai	471	520	540	290	267	270
Yaizu	190	169	205	199	234	217
Ishinomaki	259	276	249	251	299	214
Sakai	189	167	210	224	165	193
Fukuoka	208	190	182	218	195	191
Nagasaki	186	176	186	204	190	188
Nemuro	114	151	127	158	129	137

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries ed., *Statistical Yearbook of Fishery Product Distribution, 1979*, 1980. p. 11.

TABLE 6. TREND OF LANDING AT CHOSHI FISH MARKET

Years	Total Volume of Landing		Share of the Volume of Landing			
			CHOSHI CITY		OTHERS	
	(tons)	(Index)	Choshi-shi Cooperative	Other Cooperatives[b]	Hasaki	Others
1963	135,103	100.0	33.7	13.2	13.9	39.2
'64	131,163	97.1	25.8	14.8	14.0	45.5
'65	138,856	102.8	29.2	15.5	13.8	41.5
'66	120,803	89.4	26.4	14.3	15.9	43.3
'67	114,233	84.6	21.9	15.4	16.9	45.9
'68	114,376	84.7	17.7	12.0	22.4	47.9
'69	112,446	83.2	14.1	16.1	18.3	51.5
'70	174,696	129.3	10.3	12.2	23.1	54.3
'71	151,717	112.3	10.1	13.7	24.9	51.4
'72	146,134	108.2	14.5	19.5	14.9	51.1
'73	203,546	150.7	17.1	16.9	15.1	50.9
'74(a)	195,501	144.7	13.9	16.9	20.6	48.5
'75(a)	233,206	172.6	15.0	17.7	12.7	54.7
'76(a)	279,566	206.9	13.3	14.3	23.3	49.0

Source: Choshi-shi Gyogyo Kyodo Kumiai (Choshi-shi Fishery Cooperative) ed., *Mizuage Tokei Hyo* (Stalistical Table of Landing), (Choshi: Choshi-shi Gyogyo Kyodo Kumiai), (1963~1976).

Note: a) Years with (a) indicate calender years and other years indicate fiscal years beginning from April and ending at the end of March of next year.

b) In Choshi City we have following fishery cooperatives excluding Choshi-shi Fishery Cooperative: Choshi-shi Togawa Fishery Cooperative, Choshi-shi Kurohae Fishery Cooperative, Choshi-shi Nishi Fishery Cooperative, Chiba-ken Small Trawl Fishery Cooperative and Choshi Small Fishing Boats Cooperative.

TABLE 7. MAJOR SPECIES OF FISH LANDED AT CHOSHI FISH MARKET (PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL VOLUME OF LANDING) (%)

Years	Major Species of Fish					
	Sardine	Mackerel	Saury-pike	Skipjack	Jack Mackerel	Total
1962	19.2	29.4	33.8	3.1	2.6	88.1
'63	15.3	43.4	26.9	1.9	3.0	76.7
'64	16.9	58.9	10.0	3.3	1.7	90.8
'65	21.3	48.3	18.8	2.1	0.1	90.6
'66	29.8	35.5	14.0	6.7	1.2	87.2
'67	26.5	36.8	14.1	5.6	2.5	85.5
'68	14.5	56.4	2.4	3.9	7.0	84.2
'69	36.6	42.5	0.1	4.5	2.3	86.0
'70	21.5	62.6	0.1	3.3	2.8	90.3
'71	25.5	58.6	0.5	4.0	1.0	89.6
'72	48.6	28.4	3.8	6.9	1.7	89.4
'73	61.7	11.0	14.9	4.4	0.3	92.3
'74(a)	67.4	16.8	3.7	4.0	0.3	92.2
'75(a)	67.1	22.3	1.2	3.8	0.0	94.4
'76(a)	66.3	21.2	1.4	4.6	0.0	93.5

Source: Same as Table 6.
Note: Same as Table 6.

of fish are mainly caught on the fishing grounds off the coast of Choshi City, and the fishery managements of Choshi City are in a favourable position to utilize the geographical and economic advantages. It is not strange that we would expect the expansion of the fishery managements in Choshi City. Nevertheless, the share of landing by fishing boats of Choshi City was reduced, and the fishery managements of Choshi City are evaluated to have failed to exploit their advantages. These facts indicate the relative decline or stagnation in the fishery activities in Choshi City. But we must pay attention to the fact that both Table 6 and 7 are compiled by the territorial principle. This implies that the information of Tables 6 and 7 does not always display precisely the trend of the catch made by the fishery managements of Choshi City.

TABLE 8. TREND OF CATCH BY FISHERIES (PERSONAL PRINCIPLE) OF CHOSHI CITY

(ton)

Fisheries	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Factory Ship Type Salmon Drift Gill Net	983	790	709	743	752	707	716
Salmon Drift Gill Net	122	108	102	194	192	251	191
Salmon Long Line	468	253	432	—	—	—	—
Off-shore Trawl	2,557	3,435	3,099	3,119	4,221	2,788	2,912
Purse Seine of One Boat Operation	—	—	6,569	6,771	10,653	13,621	26,140
Purse Seine of Two Boats Operation	28,480	27,183	28,607	23,837	47,221	37,513	46,983
Skipjack Pole-and-line	379	—	—	—	—	—	—
Distant Water Tuna Long Line	3,514	2,544	2,304	2,302	728	196	269
Off-shore Tuna Long Line	1,423	903	966	294	50	101	—
Small Trawl	1,128	1,206	1,223	1,522	1,514	1,051	686
Other Trawls	78	111	259	147	—	—	—
Surrounding Net	4,280	4,618	5,341	2,769	4,799	4,206	4,719
Saury Stick-held Dip Net	1,666	2,101	3,548	3,724	9,798	3,215	5,010
Other Gill Nets	25	14	19	14	475	627	656
Mackerel Anglings	967	562	—	—	192	39	264
Squid Angling	208	138	420	241	388	307	386
Other Anglings	989	377	341	321	684	158	188
Other Long Line {tuna	794	1,054	1,371	910	2,085	1,900	1,509
Other Long Line {others	402	937	806	608	526	1,084	613
Dragnet	—	—	47	3	91	150	199
Shellfish Collectings	60	120	57	13	30	120	36
Seaweed Collectings	83	84	28	17	19	39	66
Other Fisheries	81	50	108	67	9	19	21
Total	48,687	46,589	56,380	47,617	84,429	68,089	91,589

Source: Kanto Nosei Kyoku, Chiba Tokeijoho Jimusho (Chiba Extention Office of Statistics and Information, Kanto Agricultural Administration Bureau) ed., *Chiba Ken Norin Suisan Tokei* (Statistical Yearbook of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries of Chiba Prefecture), (1969~1975).

We consider it to be necessary to supplement this defect by providing the transition of the catches by the fishery managements of Choshi City by the personal principle, as shown in Table 8. From Table 8, we can enumerate the characteristics of fisheries in Choshi City as follows: Firstly, the weight of the coastal fisheries was quite small and negligible, and the main part of the total catch was made by the managements of off-shore and distant water fisheries. Secondly, the weight of the distant water fisheries decreased from 1969 onward, and the off-shore fisheries took a leading role in the total catch of Choshi City.

Thirdly, although the volumes of the catch fluctuated widely every year, the transition of the catches shows a steady increase from 1969 of less than 50,000 tons to more than 90,000 tons in 1975. Fourthly, the increase of the catch was deeply dependent on the trend of the catch of the purse seine fisheries. The main species of fish caught by these fisheries are sardine and mackerel, auctioned at a rather lower price, and the increase of the catch of these species of fish did not always mean the rise of the value of landings.

An investigation into the statistics compiled by both personal and territorial principles confirms the present stagnant state of the managements of Choshi City. The causes for this stagnation must be considered in terms of the inner factors of fishery managements of Choshi City, and special stress should be laid on the structure of labour force and the attitudes of the boat-owners and the fishery workers. This paper intends to clearify the inner factors from the viewpoint of fishery workers, and the investigation into the attitudes of the boat-owners and the analysis of the fishery managements in details that remained to be done in the near future.

TABLE 9. STRUCTURE OF LABOUR FORCE BY INDUSTRIES (CHOSHI CITY) (BOTH SEXES)

Industries	1960	1965	1970	1975
Agriculture	8,131 (20.49)	6,896 (17.22)	6,258 (14.95)	4,959 (12.29)
Forestry	7 (0.02)	3 (0.01)	2 (0.00)	4 (0.01)
Fisheries	3,866 (9.74)	3,484 (8.70)	2,597 (6.20)	2,015 (4.99)
Mining	196 (0.49)	159 (0.40)	53 (0.13)	37 (0.09)
Construction	2,071 (5.22)	2,326 (5.81)	2,952 (7.05)	3,084 (7.64)
Manufacturing	9,616 (24.23)	9,764 (24.38)	9,891 (23.63)	9,264 (22.95)
Whole-sale and Retail	7,586 (19.11)	7,766 (19.39)	8,949 (21.36)	9,027 (22.36)
Finance and Insurance	589 (1.48) }		876 (2.09)	1,052 (2.61)
Real Estate	21 (0.05) }	831 (2.08)	92 (0.22)	128 (0.32)
Transport and Communication	2,190 (5.52)	2,627 (6.56)	3,259 (7.79)	3,608 (8.94)
Electricity and Gas Supply	181 (0.46)	170 (0.42)	209 (0.50)	232 (0.57)
Service	4,437 (11.18)	5,166 (12.90)	5,806 (13.87)	5,913 (14.65)
Public Service	798 (2.01)	842 (2.10)	865 (2.07)	953 (2.36)
Unclassifyable	3 (0.01)	9 (0.02)	46 (0.11)	—
Total	39,692 (100.00)	40,043 (100.00)	41,855 (100.00)	40,365 (100.00)

Source: *Population Census*, (1960, 1965, 1970 and 1975).

The investigation into the change of the structure of employment in fisheries necessitates a treatment of the change of affairs concerning the labour force of Choshi City as a whole. Table 9 shows the transition of the structure of labour force by industries extracted from the *Population Census*. Although the total number of labour force witnessed a slight increase during 15 years, the composition of labour force by industries showed a change. While in 1960 the percentages of the labour force engaged in the primary industries occupied a little over 30% of the total number of persons engaged in industries, the figure droped to around 17% in 1975. On the contrary, the weight of the tertiary industries grew rapidly to compensate the decline in the primary industries. On the other hand, the secondary industries showed a constant proportion to the total during our period and the manufacturing industry indicated a slight decline in the number of persons engaged.

Let us consider the labour force of fisheries more precisely. The number of persons engaged in the fisheries was 3,866, occupying 9.74% of total labour force in 1960, but the

figure droped to 2,015 and 4.99% in 1975 respectively. This order of decline can be described as a normal one if we compare the nation-wide decline in the numbers engaged in agriculture, forestry and fisheries.[14]

Special attention must be paid to the change in the number of persons by "employment status". In Japan the employment structure of the fisheries was deeply based on the self-employed and family workers, and the percentage of the employees was rather small. The characteristics of the structure of employment of the fisheries in Choshi City could be found in the high percentage of employees, as shown in Table 10. The decline in the number of persons engaged in fisheries was brought about by the decline in the number of workers employed by the fishery managements of Choshi City.

TABLE 10. PERSONS ENGAGED IN FISHERIES BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS (CHOSHI CITY) (BOTH SEXES)

Status	1960	1965	1970	1975
Employees	3,022 (78.16)	2,702 (77.55)	1,845 (71.04)	1,388 (68.88)
Directors	40 (1.03)	—	29 (1.12)	38 (1.89)
Employers	195 (5.04)	409 (11.74)	159 (6.12)	111 (5.51)
Self-employed	204 (5.28)		286 (11.01)	278 (13.80)
Family Workers	405 (10.48)	370 (10.62)	278 (10.70)	200 (9.93)
Total	3,866 (100.00)	3,484(a) (100.00)	2,597 (100.00)	2,015 (100.00)

Source: *Population Census*, (1960, 1965, 1970 and 1975).
Note: (a) includes 'not classified'.

This decline in the number of fishery workers has deep connection with the two important features of the fisheries in Choshi City. The first point is that in many big fishing ports the fishery managements not only attracted the labour force from their local area but tended to expand their sources of labour supply far beyond their local labour market.[15] Although Choshi City has a big fish market, fishery managements of this city have been reducing the fishery workers, and thus they were suspected to be indifferent to expand the sources of labour supply. Further investigation concerning this point will be done in the following section. The second point concerns the potentiality of the fishery managements to employ and to maintain the fishery workers. As indicated in Table 10, the number of employees in fisheries of Choshi City greatly decreased, and this fact sugests some defects in the internal managerial structure of the fishery managements of this city. Before the discussion on this point, let us summarize the basic structure of the fishery managements of Choshi City.

The number of managements, the transition of which is provided in Table 11, greatly decreased. In 1963 there existed 451 managements, but they diminished to 284 or 63.0% of those of 1963 in 1978. This decline in the number of fishery managements must be analysed paying special attention to the transition of the number of the small and medium

[14] See Robert E. Cole and Kenichi Tominaga, "Japan's Changing Occupational Structure and its Significance", Hugh Patrick ed., *Japanese Industrialization and its Consequences*, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976), pp. 68–72.

[15] Suisancho Gyoseibu (Fisheries Administration Department, Fisheries Agency), *Showa 50 nendo Gyogyo Rodoryoku Jukyu Doko Chosa* (An Inquiry into the Trends of Demand and Supply of Labour Forces in Fisheries, 1975), (Tokyo: Fishery Agency, 1976), p. 62.

TABLE 11. NUMBER OF FISHERY MANAGEMENTS BY MANAGEMENT SIZE

Management Size	1963	1968	1973	1978
Not using Fishing Boat	30	19	16	14
Non-powered Boats only	32	3	—	—
Powered Boats less than 1 gross ton	57	40	34	22
1–3 gross tons	112	119	70	33
3–5	36	64	92	81
5–10	65	63	58	66
10–30	30	24	20	20
30–50	53	30	18	17
50–100		19	7	14
100–200	22		11	4
200–500	11	30	8	11
500–1,000 gross tons	3		1	2
Total	451	411	335	284

Source: *Census of Fisheries*, (1963, 1968, 1973 and 1978).

size managements. From Table 11, we can recognize how rapid the disappearance of the small and medium size managements was. In 1963 there were 119 managements defined as the small and medium size management, but after 15 years the number of managements of this size nearly halved and they reduced to 68 in number.

TABLE 12. NUMBER OF MANAGEMENTS BY NUMBER OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN BUSY SEASONS ON BOARD

Number of Workers	1963	1978
1	110	86
2	108	58
3		64
4	82	
5		48
6–9	47	
10–19	34	6
20–29	17	15
30–49	24	
50–99	28	7
100–149	—	—
150–199	1	—
Total	451	284

Source: *Census of Fisheries*, (1963 and 1978).

If we compare the change in the number of managements by the number of persons engaged on board in busy seasons between 1963 and 1978, the number of managements employing over 10 workers in busy seasons rapidly decreased from 105 in 1963 to 27 in 1978. This decrease in the number of managements directly contributed to the reduction in the number of persons engaged in the fisheries in Choshi City.

III. *Structure of Fishery Workers in Choshi City*

It is generally stated that the range of labour supply for the fishery managements is narrowly restricted. As for the factors contributing to this narrow labour market of fisheries, typical discussion could be found in the following quotation: "The technical conditions for fisheries are different for each other, and they are not standardized. As the labour has the limitation according to the kinds of fisheries and fishery regions, it is impossible to mobilize the labour force from a general labour market. It is necessary to make up a large number of workers having the suitable and specialized skills for the specific region or specific fisheries. As for the method to secure the necessary labour force, it is inevitable for the management to adopt the method of employment through the personal connection centred on a *sendo* (a master of fishery) and the owner of fishing boats."[16] It is also pointed out that the narrowness of labour market of fisheries has been constituting one of the obstacles to improve the labour relations and to reduce the labour problems. In this paper, we attempt to reconsider the theoretical framework for the labour market of fisheries by investigating into the situations of labour force in Choshi City.

Report on the Measures for the Labour Force of Fisheries, 1973, edited by the Fisheries Department, Government of Chiba Prefecture, provides us detailed information concerning the labour market of fisheries in Chiba Prefecture.[17] This is a report of the research on the crew members engaged in the managements using fishing boats of more than 5 gross tons as of October 1, 1973.[18] According to this report, the total number of employed crews in Chiba Prefecture was 4,569, and the distribution of those crews by their native places was as follows:[19] Those having their native place (city, town or village) where the base of operation of the management they were employed were established numbered up to 3,730, and they constituted 81.7% of all the employed crews; Those having the native place in Chiba Prefecture and employed by the managements whose base of operation differed from their native place numbered 466 and 10.2% respectively; Those having the native places other than Chiba Prefecture were numbered to 371 (8.1%) respectively. In the case of Chiba Prefecture as a whole, majority of the crews were employed by the managements in their native places.

Similar features can be observed in the case of Choshi City. In Choshi City, according to the report mentioned above, the number of the employed crews was 1,511, out of which 1,315 crews (87.0%) were workers having their native places in Choshi City. Those having their native places in other places than Choshi City but in Chiba Prefecture numbered only 28 (1.9%), and those with their native places outside of Chiba Prefecture numbered 168

[16] Seizo Okamoto, *Suisan Keizaigaku* (Fisheries Economics), (Tokyo: Koseisha Koseikaku, 1961), p. 237.

[17] Chibaken Suisanbu (Fisheries Department, Government of Chiba Prefecture) ed., *Showa 48 Nendo Gyogyo Rodoryoku Taisaku Jigyo Sogo Hokokusho* (Report on the Measurements for the Labour force of Fisheries, 1973), (Chiba: Government of Chiba Prefecture, 1974.)

[18] This report provides us with the original data and it would have been impossible for us to analyse the labour market of fisheries without it.

[19] Chibaken Suisanbu, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

(11.1%).[20] Out of 168 workers having their native places in other Prefectures than Chiba Prefecture, 93 workers were the natives of Ibaraki Prefecture, which is an adjacent Prefecture limited by the rive Tome. Majority of these 93 workers were estimated to have their native place in Hazaki Town, and this town is within easy access of Choshi City. It may be possible to consider those 93 workers as quasi-Choshi natives.[21] If we exclude the Ibaraki natives, the number of workers having other perfectual native places occupied less than 5% of all fishery workers employed in Choshi City. It is possible to state that almost all of the crews were recruited from the natives of Choshi City.

On the other hand, the report also showed that the natives of Choshi City were quite rare to be employed by the managements of Chiba Prefecture except those of Choshi City.[22] The natives of Choshi City were not the source of supply of their labour force to the managements of other ports, at least in Chiba Prefecture. These facts confirm the limitation of labour market of fisheries in Choshi City.

This narrowness of the fishery labour market in Choshi City appears to be quite curious. Generally speaking, as the size of fishery management grew larger, the percentage of the crews having their native place as same as the operation base of the management droped to a low level, and in many big fishing ports workers from various regions were gathering to be on board. It is said that the fishery managements of big fishing ports have the tendency to employ workers from a wide range of native backgrounds to diversify the sources of labour supply.[23] Nevertheless, the managements of Choshi City are inclined to depend for their labour force on a narrow local market and there is no sign to diversify the sources of labour supply.

TABLE 13. NATIVE PLACES OF THE 'POPULATION' (JULY, 1977)

Fisheries	Native Places					
	Choshi City	Hasaki Town	Asahi City	Iioka Town	Others	Not specified
Off-shore Trawl	35	1	—	—	—	—
Purse Seine	281	2	8	5	2	15
Total	316	3	8	5	2	15

We can get a similar result from our field survey held in September, 1977. Our field survey was an interview survey administered to the samples obtained by the follwing method: 1) We selected from various fisheries of Choshi City two fisheries as our object, i.e. the off-shore trawl and the purse seine. 2) 5 managements from the off-shore trawl and 6 managements from the purse seine were subtracted. 3) All the crew members of these managements were listed up, and they were named as 'population' in our survey. 4) We selected 86 samples from the purse seine by random sampling and all the crew members, 22 workers, of the off-shore trawl became our samples. 5) The questionnaire was under the administration of the interviewers, and we could interview 60 workers.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[21] The economic activities of Hasaki Town and especially those of fisheries are deeply inter-related with those of Choshi City, and it is not so strange to state that the labour force of fisheries in Hasaki Town is integrated in the labour market of Choshi City.

[22] Chibaken Suisanbu, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–47.

[23] Suisancho Gyoseibu ed., *op. cit.*, p. 62.

TABLE 14. TIME OF MIGRATION AND OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS (SAMPLES)

Time of Migration	Occupation of Parents			
	Fishery Management	Fishery Workers	Agriculture	Process of Fishery Products
Resident of Choshi City				
Before 1925	19	23	4	1
After 1925	3	2	—	4
Resident of Hasaki Town	—	—	1	—

The examination of our data shows a slight difference concerning the labour forces of fisheries from the above mentioned discussions. Table 14 shows the distribution of the samples at the time of immigration to Choshi City and by the occupations of the parents of the interviewees. Out of 59 samples having their present addresses in Choshi City, 10 samples immigrated to Choshi City after 1925. They began their occupational carrier as a fishery worker at the time of immigration and since then they continued to be a fishery worker. Most of them immigrated to Choshi City before the World War II and after a little while at the end of the War. This fact indicates that the fishery managements of Choshi City had the potential to attract the labour force from other places, at least before the beginning of the post-war economic growth. At the same time we must pay attention to the traditional affairs. Most of the 49 samples replying at the time of their immigration, before 1925, had changed their addresses by establishing a branch family or by the acquisition of their houses. They must be natives who had lived in choshi City for generations.

As for the occupations of the parent's household, almost all of the samples had the origin of occupations directly connected with the fisheries, and those without any linkage to the fisheries were quite few. This indicates the difficulty of entry to the fisheries for those with no relation to this industry, and this supposed difficulty has been effective to narrow the labour market of fisheries. It goes without saying that the succession of the occupation like this way had been one of the fundamental methods to secure the necessary labour force. But the rapid economic growth of Japan made it quite difficult to recruit the labour force of fisheries by traditional occupational succession for generations of the fishery workers' behaviour.

Our data provides us with some aspects of labour migration of the fishery workers. In the questionnaire we asked the samples the following question: 'Have you ever been hired by the boats owners in other regions?' The replies to this question show that the samples had been employed by many other managements except those of Choshi City, and there were wide varieties of labour migration among the samples. Out of 60 samples 20 workers had been employed by the boat owners in other prefectures, extending from Hokkaido to Shizuoka Prefecture. Most of them were on board as a deck hand or engineer in the distant water fisheries, such as North Pacific Ocean salmon fishing. It can be observed that while the samples were younger they were pleased to have a job in a fishing boat engaging in distant water fisheries owning to the relatively high wages. But the labour conditions of these fisheries are hazardous and as the workers became intolerable to the hard work, they came back to their home city and became the crew member of fisheries in Choshi City. Although most of the decsendants of the samples get their job in other occupations other than fisheries, there were 3 cases of the samples supplying their household members with

a deck hand of north sea fisheries and distant water tuna fisheries. It cannot be denied that fishery labour force of Choshi City is gradually converging on the managements of Choshi City and there are no signs to widen the sources of labour supply.

The process of employment of fishery workers is quite different from that of workers in other industries. According to the report of the government of Chiba Prefecture, there were 124 workers newly employed by the managements of Chiba using fishing boats of more than 5 gross tons during 1873, and the process of employment of these workers was divided as follows: 75 workers were employed through a mediation of a master of fishery of that management or deck hands, 27 workers through a mediation of their friends, 20 workers offered themselves to be hired, 1 worker got his job by recommendation of a trade union of fishery workers, and 1 worker also got his job by introduction of a school. None of these workers got their jobs through a public employment security office. As for the previous occupations of the newly employed 124 workers, only one of them had been a crew of a commercial vessel and the remaining 123 workers had been previously crews of fishing boats.[24]

We inquired from the samples the circumstances surrounding their being employed by the present management by framing the following questions: 1) Who introduced you to the boat owner? 2) Who was considered to be a determinant to employ you? 3) Have you any blood relationship with the boat owner? 4) Have you any relative in the crew members in the same boat? The aggregation of the replies proved that there were some differences in the circumstances of employment between off-shore trawl fishery and purse seine fishery. Common features to be observed in both fisheries are that none of the crews used public employment security office when they were searching for their job. At the same time, both fisheries are deeply dependent on the narrow local market for the supply of labour forces.

The differences observed between purse seine fishery and off-shore fishery are as follows: Firstly, as for the replies of the samples, the crews of off-shore fishery are considering that they are determined to be employed not by the owner of the boat but by a master of fishery. On the other hand, almost all of the crews of purse seine fishery are considering that their employment were decided by the owner of the management. Secondly, in the off-shore fishery managements it is rare to find the crews to be in a blood-relationship with the owner and there are few of the crews having a relative in the same crew members, but in the purse seine fishery all of our sample managements place relative of the owner, mostly a son of the owner, to be a master of fishery, and many relatives of the owner are manned in the boats as officials or deck hands. Further, there are many crews with no relationship of blood with the owner but find their relative or their relatives in the same crews.

In the case of purse seine fishery the employment of workers are secured in the network of the relationship of blood and territorial community, but the off-shore trawl fishery is in a little modernized conditions. But in both cases, the workers are employed through the medium of the traditional local relationships. It is a noteworthy fact that the character of the employment was not restrictive. On the one hand, we can find out some samples having no experience to have changed their employer and continue to be employed by the same employer for 40 years. But it is general for the crews to change the employers fre-

[24] Chibaken Suisanbu ed., *op. cit.*, p. 133.

quently, and in some cases to be hired again by the former employer after the repeat of changes of employers. It can be observed that the managements of purse seine fishery in Choshi City have a principle to place the relatives of the owner as a master of fishery and other important positions. Although the managements take the form of a company, most of them have similar characteristics to an individual enterprise.

In concluding this paper we would like to indicate the important points of discussions on the labour market of fisheries, without further investigation.[25] First point to be examined is the opinion that the employments in fisheries mediated by the relationship of blood and territorial community have deep connection with the peculiarity of the labour in fisheries. The peculiarity of the labour in fisheries has been formulated as follows: Firstly, there are intermittent and critical moments in the work on board; Secondly, it is required to carry out the works of the critical moments by the intimate human relationship within the crews; Thirdly, the skills of the fisheries are locally specialized and it require many years to acquire these skills; Forthly, it is difficult for the owner of fishing boats to inspect directly the works on board.[26]

These features are considered as the contents of the peculiarity of the fishery works and they necessitate the control of persons by the blood-relationship and the regulations of the territorial community. It is our opinion that the above pointed out features cannot be considered to be the peculiarity of the works of fishery, if we consider the works of other industries. Firstly, the fluctuations of the amount of the works must be observed in every industry, and it is a matter of degree. Secondly, the importance of human relations to accomplish the works is not limited to the fishing industry, and many enterprises in Japan have been elaborating this system to secure the human relation.[27] Thirdly, the Japanese business corporations continue to introduce new technology and also establishing a system of training the skilled workers within their corporations.[28] Although the managements of fisheries have not been indifferent to introduce new skills in their management, they have been reluctant to establish the scheme of training the skilled workers owing to the easy access to the locally accumulated skilled workers. Fourthly, it goes without saying that the owner or the manager of the enterprise having more than two establishments may be impossible for him to inspect and to keep a sharp eye on the activities of the workers directly. Many measures have been devised for the managers to bring their workers beyond their eyeshot under their control. Fishery managements are persisting in the control of the workers by the blood-relationship. It is clear that the so-called peculiarity of the works of fisheries

[25] It is necessary to survey the labour market of fisheries by a detailed investigation into the following variables: the state of the household of fishery workers, fishery wage level and the wage pay-systems, the labour conditions, the trade unions, the labour relations and the relationship between the crews. It is also important to clearify these variables in connection with the trends of the Japanese economic affairs.

Although we could get some detailed information from our field survey about the samples' personal history, their roles in the fishery production and their attitudes, it is impossible to discuss fully the points of the labour market mentioned in the above owing to the fact that our survey had a defect in the representativeness of the whole of the fishery workers in Choshi City.

[26] Yasuo Kondo ed., *Nihon Gyogyo no Keizai Kozo* (Economic Structure of Japanese Fisheries), (Tokyo: University Press, 1953), pp. 172–175.

[27] Masumi Tsuda, *Nihonteki Keiei no Yogo* (In Defence of Japanese Management), (Tokyo: Toyokeizai Shinposha, 1976).

[28] Kazuo Koike, *Chusho Kigyo no Jukuren* (The Skill in Medium and Small Business), (Tokyo: Dobunkan, 1981).

does not make sense.

The second point to be investigated concerns the system on how to organize and to promote co-operation among the workers. As mentioned above, the labour force of fisheries in Choshi City is organized by the master of fishery in case of off-shore trawl and by the group of blood relationship with the boat-owners in case of purse seine fishery. But the situation of fishery labour market is getting serious by the shortage of younger workers and the accumulation of older workers. This is the result of the practices of fishery managements concerning the system on how to organize the workers. Many of the fishery managements failed to prepare the measures to retain the younger generations in the fisheries. They have been inclined to hold the traditional system of labour organisation and continued to neglect the ample examples of labour management in other industries. It is necessary to improve the system of wages and the system of training the skilled workers, and the most fundamental affairs seems to divert the principle of management from the blood-relationship-centred one to the more open and modernized one. The first step toward the improvement may be the recognition by the owners of fisheries that the traditional practices of labour management are out of date, and in so far as these practices are held the situations of labour market of fisheries will become more serious. We strongly hope the fishery managements will learn lessons from the experiences of other industries concerning the labour management.