prisingly honest in this questionnaire," says Fischer. In interviews about discipline, children "reported a wide range of aggressive acts by their parents. There was good correspondence between parental and child reports."

The researchers also queried children about their own violent behavior. For example, the CBCL asks how often a child teases, threatens, or physically attacks other people. Additionally, interviewers asked, "Have you been in any fights recently? Have you been beaten up?" Mothers answered similar questions about their children.

The study's findings support a connection between inhibited temperament and the teenage perpetrators of high-profile school attacks. The young gunmen at Columbine High School were known as isolated and alienated youths. "They were picked on a lot. They were uncool," says Fischer. He urges schools to step in when students appear withdrawn and "encourage them to connect to the community, to establish friendships." Despite its appearance in infancy, inhibited temperament is not immutable. "An awful lot goes on in early adolescence, and kids can make major changes," Fischer says. "Don't give up on a kid just because he's nine and already aggressive." —CATHERINE DUPREE

KURT FISCHER E-MAIL ADDRESS:
kurt_fischer@harvard.edu

FREQUENT-FLYING FISH

Global Sushi

Above: A bluefin tuna, this one worth $10,000. This catch was made not by commercial fishermen, but by amateurs on a charter in Newburyport, Massachusetts. Bottom left: A fishing boat in the harbor of Gloucester, Massachusetts.

JUST 12 YEARS AGO, an astounded world looked on as McDonald's served its first Big Mac in Moscow. Today, munching McNuggets in Bolivia or sipping Diet Coke in Mozambique is a quotidian activity. Within a decade, large corporations have infiltrated the world's far-flung nooks and crannies. Global trade networks now extend even to provincial industries like bluefin tuna fishing. In fact, it's quite likely that the raw tuna nibbled in posh Tokyo sushi restaurants was reeled in barely 48 hours before by the calloused hands of a third-generation New England fisherman.

In several published articles and a forthcoming book, tentatively titled *Global Sushi*, professor of anthropology Theodore C. Bestor explains how the burgeoning worldwide trade in bluefin tuna has transformed fishing communities from Gloucester, Massachusetts, to coastal Croatia. Fueled almost exclusively by Japanese demand for the rose-colored meat that is usually served raw as nigiri-zushi and sashimi, the bluefin market is a new and curious phenomenon for some communities.

Beginning in the 1970s, international fishing laws, coupled with efforts by environmental groups, prohibited Japan from trawling foreign waters in their own boats. To satisfy its voracious appetite for high-quality bluefin tuna, Japan had to import. In some regions, such as the waters off Barbate, Spain, Japanese companies continue to finance the trapping and supervision of bluefin. After six months of fattening-up in football field-sized pens, these tuna are auctioned at Tsukiji—Tokyo's legendary fish market, the world's largest. Other suppliers, like the Gloucester fishermen, were part of old, provincial communities long dependent on local markets for their livelihoods.

Of all the suppliers in this new global chain, the New England fishermen's participation may be the most unexpected. For years, commercial fishers shunned the bluefin, leaving it for the hooks of the weekend sportsmen. "There was always plenty of bluefin in New England," says Bestor, "but it was considered a trash commodity"—until Japanese businessmen started offering local fishermen $30,000 for a single tuna and then flying it out via 747 for auction in Tokyo. Very quickly, "something worthless was transformed into something of significant market value," Bestor explains. Economically hard-hit fishing communities welcomed these lucrative opportunities with enthusiasm. By the 1990s, Gloucester fishermen had become essential players in the worldwide bluefin market.

Today, a Massachusetts fisherman is often intimately involved in both catching and auctioning his product. When a

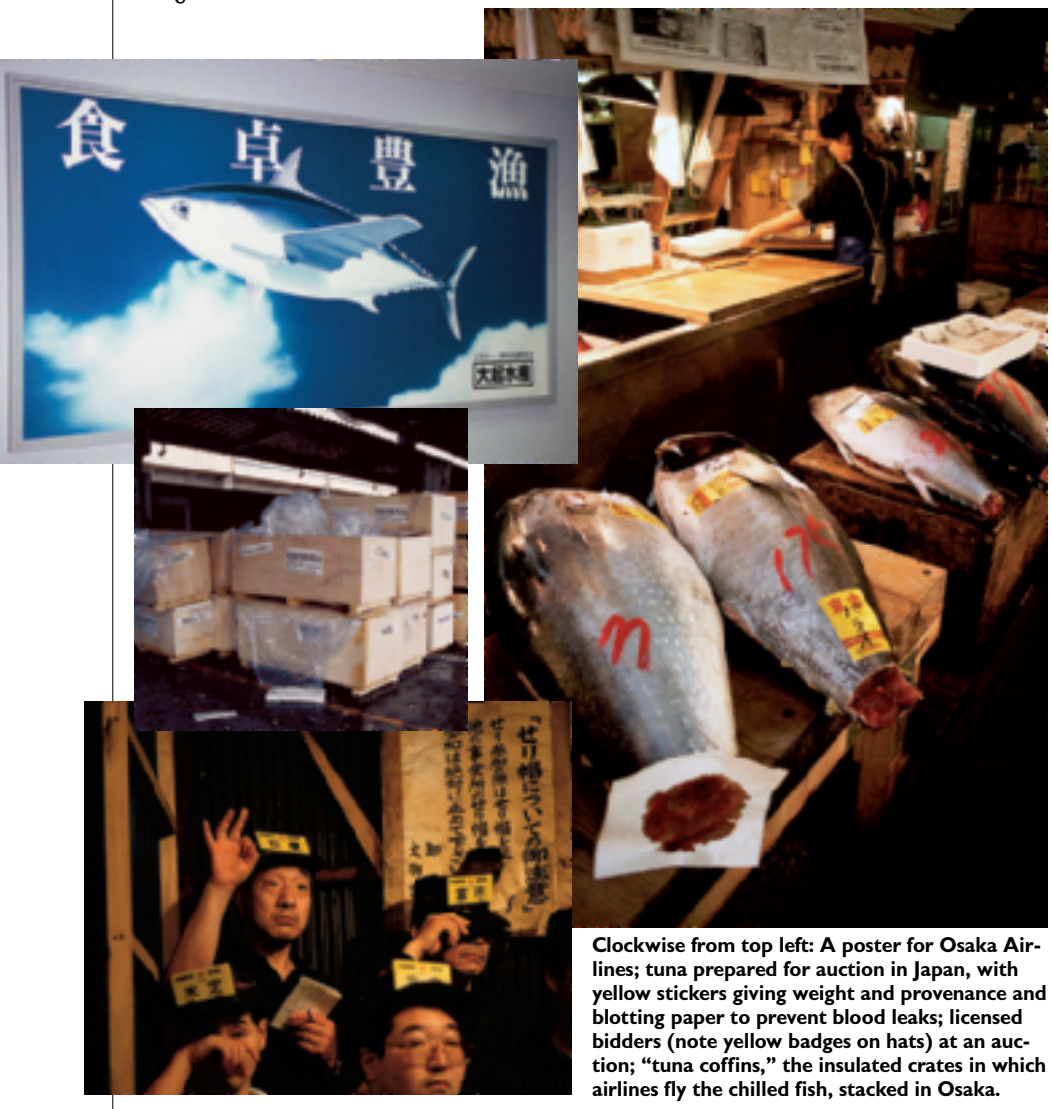
Photographs courtesy of Theodore Bestor

tuna is brought to shore, negotiations begin right on the dock. Typically, several buyers, many of them Japanese, hover around the fish, checking fat content and judging color and visual appeal. Japan's deep-rooted reverence for fish, and strict—if not Draconian—sushi standards, require fish to taste and look a certain way. "People in Japan pay a lot of attention to where their food is from, and the purity of it," Bestor explains. "It's hard to put your trust in something that came from halfway around the globe."

Within hours, after calls to Japan to determine current prices, and after the highest bids are accepted, the tuna is en route. Submerged in crushed ice, it's flown to Japan, then auctioned at Tsukiji just two days after leaving the Gloucester dock. "All this was impossible before the jumbo jet, the cell phone, and refrigeration technology," Bestor says.

As an anthropologist, Bestor is most interested in globalization's effects on individuals and communities. Tensions can emerge among existing social relationships, for example, when a tuna fisherman earns a windfall. "Such cleavages didn't exist until the [economic] opportunity presented itself," he says. But the effects can also be benign. "We're interconnected in ways we never thought about before," he says. For the first time, those who live by the ancient skill of fishing rely on remote and exotic mar-

A Japanese broker evaluates the quality of a bluefin tuna. He holds a slice of meat from the tail area.



Clockwise from top left: A poster for Osaka Airlines; tuna prepared for auction in Japan, with yellow stickers giving weight and provenance and blotting paper to prevent blood leaks; licensed bidders (note yellow badges on hats) at an auction; "tuna coffins," the insulated crates in which airlines fly the chilled fish, stacked in Osaka.

kets. Many fishermen strive to understand a culture that prizes a fish they long considered worthless. "They're interested in what makes the other side tick," says Bestor. Often, cultural understanding means anticipating the specific demands of Japanese customers, which translates into bigger profits. The fisherman who once looked aghast at a plate of raw tuna is now an expert on *kata*—the Japanese concept of ideal shape and form—and on how to unload fish properly from a boat (gently: any visible damage can reduce a fish's market value). Yet, "These people wouldn't think of themselves as global players," Bestor says. "They're just ordinary folks doing ordinary things."

Although its global network depends on modern technology, New England bluefin tuna fishing remains traditional and romantic. Unlike lobsters, which are trapped and sold en masse, each tuna is caught the way it's sold: individually. Using rod and reel, or harpoon, a fisherman may catch just two or three a season—and then only after a three-hour fight that would make Hemingway proud. "There's something primordial about bluefin tuna fishing," Bestor muses. "It's high art." —CATHERINE DUPREE

THEODORE BESTOR E-MAIL ADDRESS:
bestor@wjh.harvard.edu

ADIPOSE AGENDA

The Party Line on Flab

IF OBESITY were a symbol of success, the United States would be a boomtown on the frontier of flab. But excess fat isn't a measure of achievement. It's a badge of bad health carried by more than 70 million people in this country. Faced with this epidemic, which is poised to replace smoking as a sinkhole of lives and healthcare dollars, Americans are willing to do...well, not much, says Taeku Lee, assistant professor in public policy at the Kennedy School of Government. In the first study of its kind, Lee and colleague J. Eric Oliver of Princeton surveyed popular attitudes toward obesity and obesity-related institutional policies. They found their topics so "new" to public consciousness that most Americans didn't consider them a problem.

True, obesity isn't a new crisis. In the last 20 years, American bellies have ballooned and public-health expenditures on obesity-related illnesses, including heart disease, diabetes, and certain kinds of cancer, now top $40 billion annually. Yet as a health issue, obesity remains a silent epidemic, largely underreported by the media and absent from public debate. Obesity's low profile offered Lee and Oliver a rare opportunity to study public opinion as it coalesces, and as rising social and economic costs provoke a political response. The researchers surveyed a random sample of 909 Americans about the origins of obesity, then probed their interviewees' feelings about potential government policies aimed at fighting flab—like taxes on snack foods, publicly funded exercise parks, bans on vending machines in schools, or regulation of food advertisements targeting children. Their results, presented last December at a meeting of Columbia University's Political Psychology Seminar, reflect a picture of indifference.

Although Americans agree that they live in an unhealthy food environment (awash in cheap, salt- and sugar-blasted fast foods), most aren't concerned about their