

The Method of Definition of the Public Assistance Standard and the Number of Families below the Standard in Japan

— In response to a letter from Prof. Vic George
of The University of Kent at Canterbury —

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Part I . How Poverty is Defined in Japan

— By the Public Assistance Division —

1. The Absolute concept of the Public Assistance Standard

(1) How Poverty was Defined by S. Rowntree's Theory in Japan from 1947 to 1960

(A) Mr. S. Koyama's Thought

Mr. Shingiro Koyama, the Public Assistance Director at the Ministry of Health and Welfare, wrote in his book that 'healthy and cultural' of the 25th article of the Constitution meant,

- “(1) A 'healthy and cultural' standard in the modern cultural nation.
(2) Therefore, the standard of livelihood protected by the nation includes not only everyday living but also compulsory education, medicine, birth, funerals and all necessities of living as a member of human society.
(3) The standard of living guaranteed by the nation must be a healthy and cultural one. In this regard, the average quantity of nutrition, etc. to be provided can be seen clearly, but the other elements also must be included in theory.”⁽¹⁾

He continued to explain about the 'living standard'.

- “(1) 'living standard' is a word that indicates the specific content of the consumption, and explains what is consumed and spent for that standard.
(2) The living standard has been variously analyzed. For example, S.Rowntree said, 'When the total income is unable to sustain one physically at a minimum living standard, ' that is the primary

poverty line ; ‘an income level that only sustains one physically’ is the second poverty line ; therefore a really human living standard starts above that level.’⁽²⁾

The proper poverty line was thought to be over the second poverty line of S. Rowntree by the Public Assistance Division staff at the Ministry of Health and Welfare in Japan.

(B) A Short History of S. Rowntree’s Method

In Japan, we called the process of determining the poverty line used by S. Rowntree ‘the Market Basket Process.’ The Public Assistance Division of Health and Welfare, applied the process of the ‘Market Basket’ to calculate a basic minimum standard of living. This standard had been revised 8 times by August 1948.

Prof. Tadashi Ishida (who was a young staff member working on the calculation of the public assistance standard from 1949 to 1954) looks back at the 8th to 10th revisions as becoming more and more complicated due to the scientific application of S. Rowntree’s theory. The 10th one was the most complicated. Therefore, by the 11th revision the method had to be simplified.

Prof. T. Ishida said that the poverty line was introduced the first time in Japan in the demands calculated by the labour union of Den-San (telephone company) relating to their wages, and the Market Basket Process became popular after the Second World War.

He also said,

“At that time, I think that the public assistance standard had to be recognized as the only standard, viewed scientifically and objectively and beyond any prejudice.”⁽³⁾

At that time, they determined a type I livelihood assistance (depending on the age and sex of each person), and a type II (depending on the size of the household), differing from area to area.

However, Prof. Ishida said that he did not understand the Minister of Finance’s proposal to cut the public assistance standard

using the scientific method.⁽⁴⁾

And he went on to say that in theory S. Rowntree's process was very static . It was not finally able to prevent the cutting back of the standard by the Ministry of Finance.

I think that S. Rowntree's theory was not in error ; the error was ; the pressure by the Ministry of Finance to cut back⁽⁵⁾.

In practice, how is the public assistance standard decided? My source of information about this is a paper in the 7th Vol. of "100 Questions and 100 Answers About Public Assistance Administration."

That book's author said the following about the public assistance standard from 1945 to the 8th revision of August, 1948 :

"In the old Public Assistance Act, the standard was set only by a restrictive article, 'That standard cannot be above the cost for the necessities of living '(11th article), but clear and legal regulations are lacking. Of course, there was already the idea of a minimum living standard. Most people had often insisted that the Public Assistance Act was a guarantee for a national minimum ; but the standard was a negative, restrictive one, at least with that law ; and the responsibility of the nation was no more than the offering of charitable hands to the needy hungry people."⁽⁶⁾ An early post-war statement said,

"When we speak of the reason for having a public assistance standard, from the standpoint of the Public Assistance Law, the making of the existing standard was not necessary. The reason is that if the mayor of a city, town, or village or the public assistance guardian can find out exactly the actual living conditions of persons, it is best to determine appropriate assistance on that basis, and it would not be necessary to make any minimum standard, so the idealistic style was treatment without any minimum standard."⁽⁷⁾

Therefore, the real minimum standard was influenced by the personal opinion of the public assistance guardian, and,

"As a method of guidance, the family was given livelihood

assistance after a reduction below the full amount required, not including the amount needed for school children...It was thought that children would become very anxious if they knew this, and this anxiety would cause them to work harder!"⁽⁸⁾

The reason for applying S. Rowntree's theory was:

"The Public Assistance Act played a covering role in the social security system, and the standard for it must be calculated objectively, reasonably beyond the treatment officer's personal view. The scientific and reasonable calculation of the minimum standard is not easy.

In the first place, the amount necessary for living in society as a human varied greatly between individuals... Thus the making of only one minimum standard was very difficult. Secondly, if that figure were available, the calculation of a scientific objective minimum standard not prejudiced by any personal opinion would depend on the development of a living-budget study for determining a national minimum. Thirdly, if, as above, the calculation of a scientific national minimum standard should become available, realization of this minimum standard would depend on the state of the national economy, and its productive power and income and distribution, especially the national productive power for the science promoting the home budget, etc...

The first and second problems were scientific and theoretical ones. The third problem was an economic and social one."⁽⁹⁾

At the time of the 8th revision of the public assistance standard, the theory of S. Rowntree was applied with the following development:

"In the calculation of the public assistance standard amounts, some goods thought to be necessities of the minimum living standard were chosen specifically, especially some foods being introduced; and from the standpoint of nutrition-science, and by the Market Basket Process, a minimum living standard which satisfied the

energy requirement was calculated and called the 'theoretical cost of living'. Under the 'Ration System', the supporting of the minimum existence was very difficult. At that time, in the field of foods, the public assistance standard was only 89.28 % of the necessary energy required by typical Japanese."⁽¹⁰⁾

"Thus, the public assistance standard was oriented to protect the national minimum ; and as a result, for the special needs of school costs, school meals, milk fees, an allowance for public assistance recipient families and so on was added to the minimum standard as a special provision. That is the origin of the principle of matching need and assistance"⁽¹¹⁾

In the 9th revision, the public assistance standard was changed as follows :

- "(1) Since the food conditions in Japan became better, the public assistance standard for food energy rose to 99.85 % of the required energy of the typical Japanese.
- (2) In the 8th revision, a standard for each family member had been made for models of 1-person to 6-person families, but in the 9th revision this was changed to a public assistance standard table of a 'composite style' depending on sex, age, and number of members of needy families."⁽¹²⁾

In the 10th revision, this was changed, depending on age, in accord with the 'Ration System' of main staple foods. The standard was made more scientific in one point, and in another a new special adjustment frame was introduced, as follows :

- "(1) The food energy item in the public assistance standard depended on the caloric requirement for light work. Now a special provision was added to satisfy the food energy requirement for a mother with more than 2 infants, and a work-deduction system was introduced to recognize the requirements of persons with wages. The purpose of these changes was to satisfy the energy needs for special work, and to encourage working.

- (2) The cost of fuel was made to depend on differences of area and temperature.”⁽¹³⁾

The author pointed out 2 weaknesses :

“One was in not calculating a reduction of percent for inedible parts of food, e.g. animal bones, etc. Another was that Engel’s coefficient was theoretically 81.6 %, but in reality needy families could not eat enough because of costs for goods other than food. The next improvement had to add goods other than food.”⁽¹⁴⁾

In the 12th revision, the main improvements were :

- “(1) The standard for housing went up 2.4 times, and became nearer the net house rental cost.
(2) A clothes cost was added for pants and other underwear other than patching cloth and Japanese traditional socks (tabi) included as before.
(3) The frequency of bathing was raised to 3 times a month from 2.
(4) An addition was made to home-medicine costs.
(5) Educational assistance was raised 1.1 times in total.”⁽¹⁵⁾

(C) The Method of Putting S. Rowntree’s Thought into Practice

In the 13th revision, the cost of tea as a luxury item was added to the public assistance standard for persons over age 14. The following tables show the only material presented to the public at the time of the 13th revision in public assistance.(see Table 1-1-1).

1) Itemization of the Livelihood Assistance Standard

The minimum cost of living was calculated exactly for each item of food for a standard family with 5 members in Tokyo City.

“Table No.11 (see, Table 1-1-2 in this paper) was the result of a market-basket for expenses for a standard family in Tokyo with a man aged 63, a woman aged 33, a boy aged 8, a girl aged 5, and a baby.” (Ibid,p.23)

Table1-1-1 A summary of the revisions of livelihood, housing and, educational assistance costs for a standard family with 5 members 8th to 13th revision

	8th (1948.8)		9th (1948.11)		10th (1949.5)		11th (1951.5)		12th (1952.5)		13th (1953.7)	
	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%
Foods	¥ 3,445.50	84.7	¥ 3,808.77	87.0	¥ 4,298.43	83.8	¥ 4,684.23	81.0	¥ 5,361.87	75.0	¥ 6,144.40	77.8
staples food	1,038.62		1,614.90		1,833.60		2,219.40		2,624.40		2,901.83	
subsidiaries	2,262.58		1,968.43		2,207.44		2,207.44		2,261.63		2,936.02	
seasonings	125.06		206.30		238.25		238.25		456.25		278.95	
Luxuries	19.14		19.14		19.14		19.14		19.59		27.60	
Clothing	87.70	2.2	87.70	2.0	151.94	3.0	201.84	3.5	301.84	4.2	30.184	3.8
Hygienic good	148.16	3.6	148.45	3.4	198.45	3.9	319.75	5.5	436.75	6.1	436.75	5.5
Furnishing	9.32	0.2	9.32	0.2	13.15	0.3	20.56	0.4	27.88	0.4	27.88	0.4
Water	40.00	1.0	40.00	1.0	50.00	0.1	65.00	1.1	78.00	1.1	78.00	10.
Fuel { in summer	240.48	5.9	240.48	5.4	344.13	6.7	411.80	7.1	566.32	7.9	538.82	6.8
in winter							506.70		697.17		718.57	
Child care									100.00	1.4	100.00	1.3
Miscellaneous	98.28	2.4	45.66	1.0	72.52	1.4	83.28	1.4	272.82	3.8	272.82	3.4
Sub-total												
{ in summer	4,069.34	100.00	4,380.38	100.00	5,128.62	100.00	5,786.46	100.00	7,145.48	100.00	7,945.51	100.00
in winter							5,881.36		7,276.33		8,080.26	
Rent Assistance	30.66		53.64		72.00		300.00	Engel coefficient	730.00	Engel coefficient	1,100.00	Engel coefficient
Educational Assistance	27.90		27.90		65.42		167.50		184.00		186.00	
Total { in summer	4,127.90	(83.5)	4,451.92	(85.6)	5,266.04	(81.6)	6,253.96	(74.9)	8,059.48	(66.5)	9,231.51	(66.6)
in winter							6,348.86	(73.8)	8,190.33	(65.5)	9,406.26	(65.3)
(Engels coefficient)												
Nominal Base	4,100.00		4,434.03		5,200.62		5,826.00		7,200.00		8,000.00	

Table 1-1-2 Itemization of livelihood assistance standard

	12th revision			13th revision			Balance Yen
	number	unit price ¥/100	amount Yen	number	unit price ¥/100	amount Yen	
Foods	Cal/per- son/day 1,505		5,515.57	Cal/per- son/day 1,535		6,144.40	(+)628.83
staple foods	1,095		2,778.10	1,126		2,901.83	(+)123.13
rationed	658	1.894	1,869.77	646	1.929	1,870.07	(+) 0.30
non-rationed	437	1.386	908.33	480	1.433	1,031.76	(+)123.43
subsidiaries	410		2,261.63	355		2,936.02	(+)174.39
fish	41	1.598	361.82	71	6.404	684.03	(+)316.21
vegetables	271	4.659	1,893.81	284	5.286	2,251.99	(+)358.18
seasonings	94	3.286	456.25	54		278.95	(-)177.30
salt	—	—	—	(45 g)	2.290	15.46	
other	—	—	—	54	3.253	265.49	
luxuries	4	3.266	19.59	(0.234 monme =37.5 g)		27.60	(+) 8.01
Furnishings			27.88			27.88	0
ladle	0.028	30.00	0.84			0.84	
rice bowl	0.171 ÷ 42 × 5persons	25.00	5.09			5.09	
plate	0.090 ÷ 42 × 5persons	20.00	4.07			4.07	
kitchen knife	0.006	120.00	0.72			0.72	
broom	0.041	230.00	9.20			9.20	
kettle	0.007	260.00	1.82			1.82	
electric lamp	2 a year	15.00	2.50			2.50	
bucket	0.0028	130.00	3.64			3.64	
Water	fixed sum system		78.00	fixed sum system		78.00	0
Clothing			301.84			301.84	0
outergarments			246.22			246.22	
underwear	1set/ person/ 2 years	200.00 240.00 400.00 400.00	61.67			61.67	

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	12th revision			13th revision			Balance
	number	unit price	amount	number	unit price	amount	
pants (panties)	1 / persons/ year	{ 60.00 80.00 80.00 120.00 120.00	38.33			38.33	
sewing thread	10 monne/ person/ year	12.91			12.91		
patching cloth	0.8 yard/ person/ year	130.00	43.32			43.32	
towels	1/person/ year	70.00	29.16			29.16	
socks	one / per- son/year	{ 70.00 120.00 120.00 150.00 150.00	50.83			50.83	
personal effects			55.62			55.62	
umbrella	one/year	180.00	15.00			15.00	
clogs	2/person/ year(expect babies)	{ 50.00 50.00 70.00 70.00	40.00			40.00	
needle	25 needles/ year	5.00	0.62			0.62	
Light & fuel							
{ in summer			566.32			583.82	(+) 17.50
{ in winter			697.17			718.57	(+) 21.40
electricity							
{ in summer	40 W		129.20	40 W		146.70	(+) 17.50
{ in winter	fixed sum system		152.80	fixed system		174.20	(+) 21.40
fuel							
{ in summer			433.12			433.12	
{ in winter			540.37			540.37	

(Continued)

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	12th revision			13th revision			Balance
	number	unit price	amount	number	unit price	amount	
charcoal firewood briquet oval briquet charcoal ball match box	2/ month	2.00	4.00	2/ month	2.00	4.00	
Hygienic goods			436.75			436.75	0
bath	3 times /month/ person	adult 12.00 youth 10.00 child 6.00	138.00			138.00	
haircut	(only men) 1 time /month	adult 60.00 child 40.00	100.00			100.00	
washing soap	4/month	20.00	80.00			80.00	
tooth powder	3 bags/ year	15.00	11.25			11.25	
toothbrush	2/year (3persons)	15.00	7.50			7.50	
home medicine	2/sets/ year	240.00	40.00			40.00	
hygienic cotton	1 package /month	60.00	60.00			60.00	
Miscellaneous expenses			272.82			272.82	0
newspaper	1 sort/ month	220.00	220.00			220.00	
papers	30/year	1.00	2.50			2.50	
pencils	2/year	10.00	1.66			1.66	
postage			8.33			8.33	

(Continued)

	12th revision			13th revision			Balance
	number	unit price	amount	number	unit price	amount	
stamps	0.33 stamps/month/family of more than 3 persons	10.00	3.33			3.33	
post cards	1/day/family of more than 3 persons	5.00	5.00			5.00	
other			40.33				
Child-care costs	per children	per child 50.00	100.00			100.00	
Non-foods sub-total							
{ in summer			1,783.61			1,801.11	(+) 17.50
{ in winter			1,914.46			1,935.86	(+) 21.40
Total							
{ in summer			7,299.18			7,945.51	(+) 646.33
{ in winter			7,430.03			8,080.26	(+) 650.23
Average			7,353.70			8,000.00	(+) 646.30

And Tables 1-1-2 to 4 were the result of a market-basket for clothing, utilities, personal hygiene, and leisure activities. The public assistance standard for food calorie was calculated as in Table 1-1-3 which depended on the table for the calorie requirement of a standard Japanese person; then allocation of calories for each item of food was decided depending on the plan for the standard food of the Japanese. (see, Table 1-1-3)

Tables 1-1-4 to 8 were the base of calculation for the unit price of each items of food. The market-price was used to calculate the price of food items and the quantity was calculated by using field survey reports. (see, Table 1-1-4 to 8)

The fuel amount was not changed theoretically until the 10th revision of the public assistance standard based on the plan of

Table 1-1-3 The basic calculation of the calorie level for the public assistance standard

		table of standard calorie requirement of the Japanese			public assistance standard calorie level		
		age	man	woman	age	man	woman
medium Labor			Cal	Cal		Cal	
		baby	245	240	0 ~ 2	690	
		0	720	680			
		1	1,060	980			
		2	1,280	1,180	2 ~ 5	1,347	
		3	1,400	1,320			
		4	1,500	1,400			
		5	1,560	1,460			
		6	1,690	1,590	5 ~ 9	1,655	
		7	1,770	1,640			
		8	1,830	1,700			
		9	1,900	1,750			
		10	1,950	1,830	9 ~ 13	1,939	
		11	2,030	1,930			
		12	2,130	2,040			
		13	2,250	2,110	13~14	2,250	2,110
	14	2,490	2,230	14~25	2,383	1,965	
	15	2,580	2,230				
	16	2,630	2,220				
	17	2,340	1,910				
light Labor		18	2,350	1,890	25~60	2,203	1,753
		19	2,350	1,890			
		20	2,350	1,880			
		21~30	2,280	1,840			
		31~40	2,260	1,770	60~	1,917	1,426
		41~50	2,200	1,740			
		51~60	2,090	1,690			
		61~70	1,900	1,400			
	71~	1,640	1,330				

Table 1-1-4 Basic calculation of the unit price of rationed staple foods

	unit price /gram	Cal/gram	price/Cal	weight	average unit price
	¥/100		¥/100		¥/100
polished rice	6.80	3.43	1.98251	0.8282	1.64191
imported rice	5.80	3.46	1.67630	0.1718	0.28799
					<u>1.92990</u>

Table 1-1-5 Basic calculation of the unit price of non-rationed staple foods

	unit price /gram	Cal / gram	price / Cal	weight	average unit price
	¥/100		¥/100		¥/100
wheat flour	5.147	3.49	1.47478	0.5452	0.8040
polished wheat flour	4.747	3.43	1.38309	0.4548	0.6290
					<u>1.4330</u>

Table 1-1-6 Basic calculation of the unit price of fish, etc.

	Cal/gram	unit price /gram	unit price /Cal (A)	weight (B)	(A) × (B)
		¥/100	¥/100		¥/100
sardine	1.22	7.246	5.939	0.177	1.051
squid	0.79	5.546	7.020	0.463	3.250
mackerel	1.08	9.921	9.186	0.195	1.791
herring	1.41	2.667	1.891	0.165	1.312

Table 1-1-7 Basic calculation of the unit price of vegetable, etc.

	unit price/ 100 monme	unit price /gram	Cal / gram	unit price /Cal (A)	weight (B)	(A) × (B)
	¥/100	¥/100		¥/100		¥/100
cabbage	6.796	1.812	1.18	10.067	0.06	0.604
chinese cabbage	7.091	1.891	0.13	14.546	0.07	1.018
radishes	4.565	1.271	0.16	7.606	0.168	1.277
carrots	8.721	2.323	0.41	5.666	0.07	0.397
onions	7.523	2.540	0.25	10.160	0.04	0.406
sweet potatos	23.186	2.319	1.18	1.965	0.532	1.044
leeks	9.449	2.520	0.29	8.690	0.05	0.435
burdock	11.786	3.240	0.31	10.452	0.01	0.105
						<u>5.286</u>

Table 1-1-8 Basic calculation of the unit price of seasonings

	unit price /gram	Cal/gram	unit price /Cal	weight	average of unit price
	¥/100		¥/100		¥/100
soy sauce	5.989	0.36	1.996	17.87	0.3587
soy-bean paste	6.123	1.55	3.950	59.94	2.3676
oil	24.194	9.00	2.688	19.19	0.5158
sugar	14.693	3.95	3.712	2.90	0.0108
					3.2529 ≈ 3.253
salt	2.29				

quantity of distribution and price control under the 'Ration System', and after the 11th revision it was changed by adding the sliding price from general price increases.

2) The Composition of the Livelihood Assistance Standard

The public assistance standard was calculated by composite tables broken down according to the market basket process :

Type I. determined according to individual, sex and age.

Type II. determined by family size.

Table 1-1-9 was the table calculated for all wards in Tokyo. On the basis of the market basket method, the calculation process was as follows :

- 1) The total cost of food using the market basket method was divided by the total calories to determine the average unit price per food calorie. (see, Table 1-1-10)
- 2) The total cost of food by sex and age was calculated by using this average unit price per food calorie. (see, Table 1-1-10)
- 3) Next, the cost for staple foods by season and age was calculated on the basis of the market basket method. (see Tables 1-1-11 and 12)
- 4) The luxury good (tea) for those over 14 years old was added to the cost of food used with rice.

Table 1-1-9-1 Authorized standard for livelihood

Type I		Class 1 region (A)							
item age	food								
	staple foods		subsidiaries		sea son ings	luxuries	total		
	rationed	non- rationed	man	woman			man	woman	
¥	¥	¥		¥	¥	¥			
0 ~ 2	250	140	155		10	—	555		
2 ~ 5	320	180	530		50	—	1,080		
5 ~ 9	385	210	665		65	—	1,325		
9 ~ 13	475	265	750		65	—	1,555		
13 ~ 14	475	265	970	860	90	—	1,800	1,690	
14 ~ 25	485	265	1040	710	100	15	1,905	1,575	
25 ~ 60	460	250	970	610	70	15	1,765	1,405	
60 ~	395	215	850	455	60	15	1,535	1,140	

item age	other costs								total	
	cloth ing	health or hygiene				total		total		
		bath	haircut		hygiene		man	woman	man	woman
			man	woman	man	woman				
¥	¥	¥	¥	¥		¥		¥		
0 ~ 2	45	20	—	—	15		80		635	
2 ~ 5	55	20	40	—	15		130	90	1,210	1,170
5 ~ 9	55	40	40	—	15		150	110	1,475	1,435
9 ~ 13	55	45	40	—	15		155	115	1,710	1,670
13 ~ 14	75	45	60	—	20	80	200	200	2,000	1,890
14 ~ 25	75	45	60	—	20	80	200	200	2,105	1,775
25 ~ 60	75	45	60	—	20	80	200	200	1,965	1,605
60 ~	75	45	60	—	20	80	200	200	1,735	1,340

(D) The Weak Point of S. Rowntree's Method

Prof. T. Ishida, after discussing the concept of the national minimum policy according to Beveridge's plan and S. and B. Webb's policy based on the minimum wage system and strong labour union movement,

Table 1-1-9 Type II

	1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons
	¥	¥	¥	¥	¥
Furnishings	25	25	30	30	30
Water	80	80	80	80	80
Light & fuel	305	390	470	535	585
electricity	105	105	150	150	150
fuel	196	281	316	381	431
matchboxes	4	4	4	4	4
Miscellaneous	250	250	270	270	270
Total	660	745	850	915	965

**Table 1-1-9-3 Type II Winter Supplement
(from November to March)**

		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
		region	region	region	region	region	region
		¥	¥	¥	¥	¥	¥
1	electricity	20	20	20	20	20	20
person	fuel	305	245	165	140	100	40
2	electricity	20	20	20	20	20	20
persons	fuel	375	355	240	210	150	65
3	electricity	25	25	25	25	25	25
persons	fuel	485	455	310	270	190	85
4	electricity	25	25	25	25	25	25
persons	fuel	535	500	345	300	215	95
5	electricity	25	25	25	25	25	25
persons	fuel	695	560	385	335	240	110

“For example, though we showed the necessary quantity of nutrition, there was a big difference in the composition of foods depending on The choice of menu. The choice was a matter of ‘life-style’ that was not resolved by dietetics. If there had not been a minimum wage system supported by the strong labour union movement, the common-sense of minimum living or poverty line would not have been formed. Since we did not have an objective ground for determining ‘life-style’ in the calculation of a poverty

Table 1-1-10 The basic calculation of food cost depending on age and sex

age	man				remarks	
	standard energy	unit price / cal /month	sum	adjusted sum		
0 ~ 2	690	0.8005733	552.36	555		
2 ~ 5	1,347	"	1,078.37	1,080		
5 ~ 9	1,655	"	1,324.95	1,325		
9 ~ 13	1,939	"	1,552.31	1,555		
13 ~ 14	2,250	"	1,801.29	1,800		
14 ~ 25	2,383	"	1,907.77	1,905		
25 ~ 60	2,203	"	1,763.66	1,765		
60 ~	1,917	"	1,534.69	1,535		
age	woman					unit price / Cal ¥6,144.40 ÷ 7,675cal = ¥0.8005733
	standard energy	unit price / cal /month	sum	adjusted sum		
0 ~ 2						
6 ~ 9						
9 ~ 13						
13 ~ 14	2,110	0.8005733	1,689.20	1,690		
14 ~ 25	1,965	"	1,573.12	1,575		
25 ~ 60	1,753	"	1,403.40	1,405		
60 ~	1,426	"	1,141.62	1,140		

line, and that determination had to be included as a non-objective judgement, there was no end of the discussion, and it was possible therefore to recalculate the cost of food in accord with limitations of the budget and others factors."⁽¹⁶⁾

Prof. T. Konuma pointed out three faults in S. Rowntree's method. That is, the non-objective option in the choice of items and quantity, the discrepancy from real living conditions, and the lack of provision for families without breadwinners as units of the calculation.

He said about the first point, the non-objective option in the choice of items and quantity,

"In the field of foods, the choice of items and quantity differed

Table 1-1-11 The basic calculation of staple food cost

age	ration standard by age	ration percentage	gr	cal standard gram
0 ~ 5	210 gr	rationed	126	* 1 Cal 3,4398
		60.06 % non-rationed	84	3,8338
2 ~ 5	270	"	162	"
			108	
5 ~ 9	320	"	192	"
			128	
9 ~ 13	400	"	240	"
			160	
13 ~ 14	400	"	240	"
			160	
14 ~ 25	405	"	243	"
			162	
25 ~ 60	385	"	231	"
			154	
60 ~	330	"	198	"
			132	
average gr./ person of standard' family	313	"	rationed (939) 188 non-rationed (626) 125	"

(Continue)

according to personal taste, etc. For example, we could not reach a unanimous decision as to whether to calculate for bread or rice, or in what proportion we should mix the two... And the choice of items and quantity in the cost of living other than for food usually became non-objective. In addition, the reduction of costs for unnecessary and unreasonable living customs was not calculated theoretically... Therefore, only food was consider and not costs other than for food, so that the calculation was not realistic."⁽¹⁷⁾

Next, he said concerning the second point, the discrepancy from real living conditions,

age	ration standard by age	unit price/ Cal/month	sum
0 ~ 2	433 } 755 322 }	Cal * 2 ¥ 0.57897 0.4299	¥ 250.69 } 389.11 ≒ 390 138.42 }
2 ~ 5	557 } 971 414 }	”	342.48 } 500.45 ≒ 500 177.97 }
5 ~ 9	660 } 1,151 491 }	”	382.12 } 593.20 ≒ 595 211.08 }
9 ~ 13	825 } 1,438 613 }	”	477.65 } 741.17 ≒ 740 263.52 }
13 ~ 14	825 } 1,438 613 }	”	477.65 } 741.17 ≒ 740 263.52 }
14 ~ 25	836 } 1,457 621 }	”	484.01 } 750.97 ≒ 750 266.96 }
25 ~ 60	795 } 1,385 590 }	”	460.28 } 713.92 ≒ 710 253.64 }
60 ~	681 } 1,187 506 }	”	394.27 } 611.79 ≒ 160 217.52 }
average gr./ person of standard's family	646 480	”	374.05 } 580.35 ≒ 580 206.3 }

- Both are done by market basket method for stand ard family of 5 members
- ※ 1 $646 \text{ Cal} \times 5 \div 939 \text{ g} = 3.4398 \text{ Cal} \cdots \text{rationed}$
 $480 \text{ Cal} \times 5 \div 626 \text{ g} = 3.8338 \text{ Cal} \cdots \text{non-rationed}$
- ※ 2 $1.9299 \text{ sen}(\text{¥}/100)(\text{Cal unit price}) \times 30 \text{ days} = \text{¥}0.57897 \cdots \text{rationed}$
 $1.433 \text{ sen}(\text{Cal unit price}) \times 30 \text{ days} = \text{¥}0.4299 \cdots \text{non-rationed}$

“It is very difficult to calculate the public assistance benefits from the structure of consumption and the living style of ordinary Japanese people. . . . As a result of using S. Rowntree’s theory for many years, the calculation became separated from the real living conditions.”⁽¹⁸⁾

And finally, regarding the third point, the question of providing for the family with no breadwinner as a unit in the calculation, he said,

“In the early stages of the use of S. Rowntree’s theory, Japanese poverty-level families usually were not able to work, and these were

Table 1-1-12 The basic calculation of seasonings depending on age

age	standard energy	staple energy	balance	ratio of seasonings	energy of seasonings	adjusted sum	unit price per cal	sum	adjusted sum	
					Cal	Cal	¥	¥	¥	
0 ~ 2	690	600 (755)	90	0.1329508	11.96	10	0.83785	8.38	10	
2 ~ 5	1,340	971	376	"	49.99	50	"	41.89	40	
5 ~ 9	1,655	1,151	504	"	67.00	65	"	54.46	55	
9 ~ 13	1,939	1,438	501	"	66.61	65	"	54.46	55	
13~14	man	2,250	1,438	812	"	107.96	90	"	75.40	75
	woman	2,110	1,438	672	"	89.34				
14~25	man	2,383	1,457	926	"	123.11	100	"	83.79	85
	woman	1,965	1,457	508	"	67.54				
25~60	man	2,203	1,385	818	"	108.75	70	"	58.65	55
	woman	1,753	1,385	368	"	48.92				
60~	man	1,917	1,187	730	"	97.05	60	"	50.27	50
	woman	1,426	1,187	239	"	31.77				
remarks	unit price /Cal $\text{¥}226.22 \div 270(\text{cal}) = \text{¥}0.83785$									

the target of welfare administration. Use of the 5-person family (age 64 man, age 35 woman, age 9 boy, age 5 girl, age 1 baby) as a standard family was useful just after the Second World War.

But nowadays families with able-bodied members have at least become a considerable proportion of the total of public assistance families, so that thinking realistically, a change which adds a provision for these families with daily labourers has become necessary."⁽¹⁹⁾

(2) How Poverty was Defined by E. Engel's Theory in Japan from 1960 to 1965

The Public Assistance Division said formally about the change in the social-economical background,

"The Cabinet of Prime Minister Ikeda organized in 1962 publicized" the Income-Doubling Plan' in December in the same year, and explained the promotion of the establishment of the welfare-state, especially the expansion of social security.

At that time, the consumption-structure of the general public changed, and the calculation of the standard by the method of the market-basket did not match the general increase in consumption nor changes in the non-foods field for some clothing and culture-leisure items... The new standard of benefits adopted was called 'Engel's method'.⁽²⁰⁾

They explained the calculating of the standard of public assistance by 'Engel's method', made by using E.Engel's coefficient (a poverty line in which food cost is more than 50 % of total living cost), saying,

"To calculate the minimum standard of living cost or some other standard of living cost, first we calculated the food-cost by using results of nutrition-research so that the cost was relatively easy to calculate reasonably. Second, we found the breakdown of the family budget from a living condition survey of real payment for food cost at the same prices, and calculated the E. Engel's coefficient. Finally, we calculated the total living cost by dividing the food-cost by the E. Engel's coefficient. That was called 'Engel's method'.⁽²¹⁾

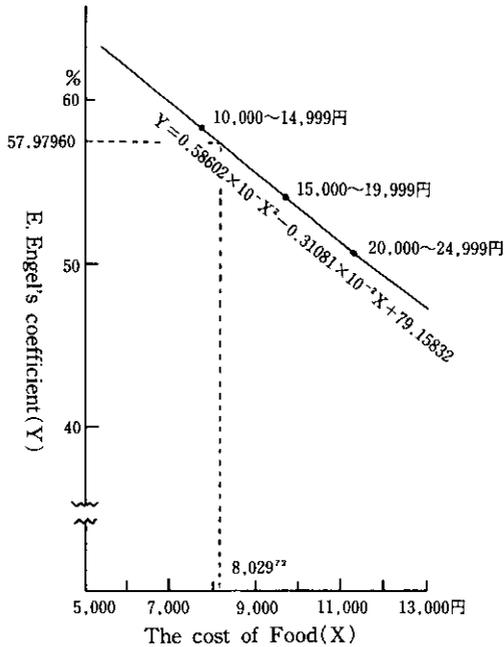
The calculation of the public assistance benefit used an E. Engel's coefficient of 57.9760 % in spite of the E.Engel's coefficient for an ordinary working family in Tokyo City in 1960 being 37.2 %.

"The reason for the calculation using an Engel's coefficient of 57.976 % was that in October, 1959, in a 1st class region (like Tokyo City) an Engel's coefficient of 64.5 % was found by real survey to be 1.0-1.5 times the standard-of-living cost of public assistance, 55.9 % was 1.5-2.0 times , and 51.9 % was more than 2 times."⁽²²⁾

They stated precisely that "for a 4-person family with a breadwinner in Tokyo , an E. Engel's coefficient with a regression of food cost for each consumer class was calculated by using the least square method."⁽²³⁾(see, Fig.1-2-1)

Prof. T. Konuma said,

"If we compared this with the points of criticism of the market-



basket method,

- (1) The 'non-objective option in the choice of items and quantity' was limited only to food cost...
- (2) The 'lack of relation to real living conditions' was prevented considerably by using Engel's coefficient...
- (3) By the adaptation for a standard family with a breadwinner, changes in wages, and especially living costs were taken into account very easily."⁽²⁴⁾

In addition, he said about the negotiation between the Ministries of Welfare and Finance,

"Cutting the budget increase of 26 % for the 5-person standard family to 18 % (16 % for the new standard 4-person family), a reduction of 8 %, was thought to be a very large percentage cut, even though it was very relative. Now the explanation of the process is

that the budget demand was calculated on the basis of a needed nutritoin-cost for moderately heavy work. Then to compensate for cutting by the Finance Ministry, the public assistance benefit was calculated on the basis of nutrition-cost for workers engaged in light work, so that there was no change and no decrease in the cost of 'work-reduction' or the cost of additions for fatherless families which were to have been decreased...

The only disappointment was that the demand for the percentage of un-edible food was cut back from 1/2 to 1/3 by the Finance Ministry inspector."⁽²⁵⁾

2. The Relative Concept of the Public Assistance Standard

(1) The Method Reducing the Consumption-Difference between a General Family and a Public Assistance Family, from 1966 to 1983⁽²⁶⁾

In November, 1960, the 'Income-Doubling Plan' (see above) stated, relative to the minimum standard of living,

"The minimum standard of living means the standard necessary to secure the national healthy and cultural minimum standard of living; and it is a key-concept, first, for the benefits of public assistance, and next, for the benefits of all social insurance and the standard of a minimum wage... Up to present, it had been thought that the minimum standard of living was absolute. For example, the former benefits of public assistance were calculated by gathering minimum family budget expenditure items for maintaining the human body. However, the minimum standard of living in social security should be defined by the consideration of the national feeling regarding social solidarity and protecting each other, using one general standard of living reflecting the customs of living in any region and period. It is relative in depending on the general development of social living."⁽²⁷⁾

And in July, 1961, the Ministry of Health and Welfare said about the minimum standard of living in 'The Long-Term Plan of Welfare Administration',

"The improvements of Public Assistance benefits were made step by step; but after the new departure of our country's economy beyond that of the pre-Second World War period, with 1953 to 1955 as a dividing point, the result was that the difference between the general national living standard and public assistance benefits was enlarged.

Therefore, in the budget of 1961 the public assistance livelihood assistance was increased by 18 %, thus taking a step away from the former trend, and opening the way for a method lessening the difference between the standard of general national living and the public assistance benefit."⁽²⁸⁾

A new method was determined utilizing "the rate of increase over the previous year's ratio of expenditure for personal consumption according to the economic perspective plan made by the government divided by the ratio of increase of population over the previous year's + alpha"⁽²⁹⁾

This new method had two goals. One was " a goal to reduce to 60 % the perspective consumption-difference between a general family and a public assistance family, and the other was a continuation of the plan until the benefit became 3 times as great in real value, in accord with the official recommendations concerning an overall coordination of the social security scheme, 1962, after which a more reasonable method will be introduced."⁽³⁰⁾

This method was continued until 1983, but I did not think that it was more reasonable.

In August, 1962, the National Advisory Council on the social security system said about the public assistance standard in 'Official Recommendations Concerning an Overall Coordination of Social Security Schemes,'

“(1) The minimum standard of living must be raised by a ratio in advance of general national livelihood.

(2) The calculation of the minimum standard of living must use a better theoretical method than at present, and in this case must include a sliding system of consumer's price change.”⁽³¹⁾

Therefore, it was said of the new method, “It was not a strange idea, and it avoided looking for contents of food diets.”⁽³²⁾

(2) The method of maintaining balance with the trend (estimated and real) of the national consumption standard, from 1984 to the present.⁽³³⁾

The percent rate in comparing a public assistance family's living cost to that of a general working family in Tokyo City increased from 50 % in 1970 to 61.2 % in 1982 (see, Table 2-2-1).

On the 23rd of December, 1983, the National Advisory Council on the Social Security System issued a report, “About the livelihood assistance standard, and supplements.” In this report, the relative concept position for the livelihood assistance standard was repeated again.

And the report explained,

“Engel's coefficient for a general working family has decreased to the 20 % s... In this day the security provided by a minimum livelihood standard reflecting the national standard has to be not only enough to maintain a minimum standard in clothing, food and housing to provide a minimum physical protection, but a minimum standard must maintain balance with the trend of the general national living standard, so that all members of the family shall have the necessary nutrition, and keep up to a minimum standard for clothing and social costs.”⁽³⁴⁾

Next, the report said about the new method of calculation of the livelihood assistance standard,

“(1) The minimum standard of livelihood protection provided by

Table 1-2-1
Ratio of Consumption of Public Assistance and General Family in Tokyo

1965	50.2 %	1971	53.2	1977	58.5
1966	51.7	1972	52.2	1978	58.8
1967	52.0	1973	56.0	1979	58.9
1968	52.7	1974	56.4	1980	59.1
1969	52.9	1975	57.9	1981	59.4
1970	51.3	1976	57.1	1982	61.2

(see 'Life & Welfare' No. 337, p.9)

public assistance should be established as a relative standard in proportion to the level of consumption in the general national standard of livelihood, and improvement of the livelihood assistance standard should depend necessarily on the estimated trend in general national consumption in the present year, and should maintain a balance with the consumption standard of the last year.

- (2) Regarding the handling of the trend of national consumption, it is reasonable to depend as a base on the increase of final expenditure in the private sector's consumption in the estimate made by the Government."⁽³⁵⁾

To present, I have not found more detailed material, about this.

3. Other Theoretical Methods

...The method of a bottom limit of Engel's law and the method of the Institute of Labour-Science...

At present, there are three streams in the study of methods for calculating a national minimum standard of livelihood: Rowntree's method, the method of a bottom limit of Engel's law, and the method of the Institute of Labour-Science.

I will introduce especially the last two methods.

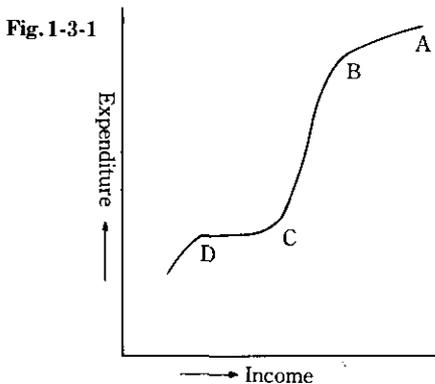
(1) **The Method of a Bottom Limit of Engel's Law**

The method of a bottom limit of Engel's law was named by Prof. T. Konuma. (Before his death in 1980 he was a staff member of the Public Assistance Division from 1955 to 1960, and a professor at Komazawa University after retiring from that office).⁽³⁶⁾

The method of a bottom limit of Engel's law was explained as follows :

“The Engel's line is not a straight line, but curves downward when income drops below some point, indicating that the amount of expenditure continues at the same level for income under that point. By using the result, the minimum standard of livelihood can be calculated.”⁽³⁷⁾

This idea was introduced by Prof.Morita ; and the theory of 'after effect' was proposed by Prof.Chubachi, i.e. that the pattern



of living established in some living standard level remains in effect even after a change in the living environment.

And, Dr. Kagoyama said, concerning the graph, “Between A and B, expenditure does not increase in proportion to the increase of income. The difference between expenditure and income becomes an increase of saving. From B to C, income decrease is in proportion

to the drop in expenditure. Between C and D, expenditure does not go down in proportion to the income decrease. So, in C-D, as the income decreases, the deficit becomes larger,··· The expenditure maintained in this C-D section was thought to be the minimum standard for preserving the structure of living···Therefore, point C, where saving money becomes impossible, and a rapid drop in expenditure for food begins, is considered the starting point of a minimum standard of livelihood that enables only maintaining the strength needed for the next day's labour without providing for the promotion of cultural and technical livelihood.

Finally, point D is thought to indicate a level that does not preserve the animal standard of livelihood.”⁽³⁸⁾

(2) “The Method of the Institute of Labour-Science

Prof. Konuma said,

“ The method of the Institute of Labour-Science was a truly unique method of calculating that included physical, intellectual, and life-style, non-monetary items going beyond the monetary framework that depends on the correlation of income and expenditure,”⁽³⁹⁾

This method was introduced by its leader, Dr. Takeshi Fujimoto, as follows :

“In 1950 in Tokyo, the living-condition survey supported by the Ministry of Health and Welfare studied the cost-of-living condition of children ; and from 1952 to 1954, they did surveys in the Tokyo metropolitan area, in a village in the north-eastern part of Japan, and in a village in the south-western part, and formulated this concept.”⁽⁴⁰⁾

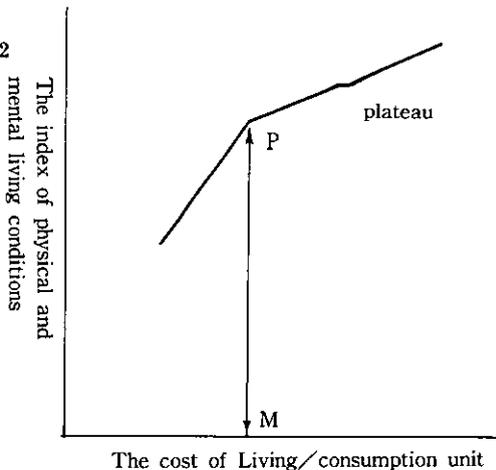
In this method, characteristic items relating to physical and living conditions were listed, such as,

- “(1) A housewife's body structure and power (as items of development, body height, leg size, and weight, etc.)
- (2) A housewife's state of health (protein, hemoglobin in blood,

- disease, etc.)
- (3) A housewife's nutrition condition (nitrogen in urine, vitamin B, etc.)
 - (4) A housewife's and children's intelligence (intelligence quotient, ability of reading and writing)
 - (5) The details of housing, clothing, and cultural life of the household and its members (quality of building, fittings, exposure to sunlight, kitchen, toilet, bath, number of rooms, number of mats (tatami), separation of diningroom and bedroom, furniture and utensils, number of beds, good or bad roommate, the quantity of clothing, shoes and umbrellas, the frequency of bathing and hair-cutting, the frequency of reading of newspapers, magazines, and books, the frequency of going to movies and theaters)

This method studies the changes of consumption in these categories after calculating for several classes divided according to the costs of living. As the living standard rises, physical and mental conditions are improved, but the rate of this improvement reaches a plateau, leveling off as seen in the next graph, when a certain point is reached, even though there are large differences between individ-

Fig.1-3-2



uals. ...This level, then, (P-M) is defined as the minimum standard of livelihood."⁽⁴¹⁾

As the conclusion of this survey, he says,

"Because there were two levels of plateau entry, they were called 'minimum living standard' and 'minimum existence standard'. And the subjective minimum standard of livelihood, which was obtained by the survey's questionnaire at the same time, matched more closely with the real cost of the 'minimum living standard' than the 'minimum existence standard'."⁽⁴²⁾

At the end of this report (1960), Dr. Fujimoto said :

"Also, when the present minimum standard was recalculated in accord with the results of this survey, in Tokyo City, the amounts of ¥8,000 a normal month as the minimum living standard, and ¥5,000 as the minimum existence standard were obtained... But, this standard did not include enough for the net rent for housing."⁽⁴³⁾

(3) Contemporary Discussion

Dr. Kagoyama said,

"After 1970, the study of the minimum standard of livelihood did not catch the eyes of researchers...In the 1974-11 issue of 'Wages and Social Security'(No.661), Prof. Eguchi, Prof. Takano, and Prof. Matsuzaki reported on 'the livelihood destruction and the minimum standard of livelihood in modern inflation' and calculated the minimum standard of livelihood in chapter 5 of that paper...This was calculated by Rowntree's method using the diet preferences expressed by the workers interviewed in October of 1973.

For example, in the field of foods they picked tuna, flatfish, ... beef, pork, milk, butter, etc; in the field of seasonings, Japanese wine; as fruits, apples, pears, grapes; which were made the basic items of their appeal. Thus, this standard was not a true minimum." (T.Kagoyama 'The Study of Minimum Cost', Domesu, 1982)

But, there have been no other surveys of the minimum cost-of-

living standard other than the above survey of 1974. Therefore, I have felt a strong motivation to study about the minimum standard, especially the cultural aspects. But this study is very difficult.

Part II. How much Poverty There is According to the Public Assistance Standard

1. The Number Receiving Public Assistance

In Japan, there is a very big difference between the actual number of people receiving public assistance and the estimated

Table 2-1-1 The Total number receiving public assistance

	number of persons	amount (¥)	public assistance ratio(%)	population (thousands)
1921	7,908	443,395	0.14	56,840
22	7,574	431,493	0.13	57,580
23	8,111	446,763	0.14	58,350
24	8,577	401,045	0.14	59,179
1925	9,627	460,611	0.16	60,210
27	10,460	527,937	0.17	61,140
28	12,332	549,000	0.20	62,070
29	14,321	644,211	0.23	62,930
1930	17,403	727,384	0.27	63,872
31	18,118	624,228	0.28	64,870
32	157,564	3,607,934	2.4	65,890
33	213,462	5,176,214	3.2	66,880
34	223,467	5,810,338	3.3	67,690
1935	219,707	5,894,550	3.2	68,662
36	225,000	6,183,096	3.2	69,590
37	236,565	6,423,434	3.4	70,040
38	206,906	5,874,494	2.9	70,530
39	193,425	6,257,565	2.7	70,850
1940	182,696	7,059,015	2.6	71,400
41	175,959	6,983,106	2.5	71,600

The Method of the Definition of Public Assistance Standard and the Number of Families below the Standard in Japan

42	108,692	6,143,747	1.5	72,300
43	128,448	5,876,214	1.7	73,300
44	142,835	6,675,835	1.9	73,800
1945	93,327	5,556,407	1.3	72,200
46	2,837,207	206,099,000	37.4	75,800
47	2,841,273	439,176,000	36.4	78,101
48	1,844,225	647,422,000	23.0	80,010
49	1,725,728	1,034,491,000	21.1	81,780
1950	2,112,405	1,293,255,000	25.4	83,200
51	2,035,962	2,069,116,168	24.1	84,500
52	2,066,835	2,543,829,500	24.2	85,800
53	1,933,480	2,947,200,357	22.2	87,000
54	1,886,540	3,560,899,675	21.4	88,200
1955	1,928,410	3,789,124,871	21.6	89,276
56	1,825,009	3,647,312,148	20.2	90,170
57	1,649,293	3,728,648,133	18.1	90,920
58	1,614,703	4,089,055,444	17.6	91,760
59	1,658,208	4,541,687,819	17.9	92,810
1960	1,623,474	4,817,232,423	17.3	93,670
61	1,656,777	5,880,472,200	17.6	94,730
62	1,652,437	6,850,990,202	17.4	95,010
63	1,755,950	8,032,823,000	18.3	95,980
64	1,672,816	9,048,003,000	17.2	97,000
1965	1,595,708	10,836,011,000	16.3	98,060
66	1,566,902	12,570,129,000	15.8	98,920
67	1,509,741	14,462,277,000	15.1	100,020

number of eligible persons below the public assistance standard. This is because, there are in the system many deterrents to receiving public assistance such as the stigma of public opinion, strict administration by public assistance workers, and the central government's conservative regulations and circulars. Therefore, the real number of people receiving public assistance is very small.

2. The Welfare Ministry's Estimate of People Below the Public Assistance Standard

Table 2-2-1 The change in number of families with a low level of consumption

	Estimated families			national estimate of household members	The ratio of total families			The ratio of total population
	Total	Cultivated acreage above 0.3 hectare	Cultivated acreage under 0.3 hectare		Total	Cultivated acreage above 0.3 hectare	Cultivated acreage above 0.3 hectare	
	Thou sands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	%	%	%	%
1955	2,042	714	1,329	9,990	10.8	14.1	9.6	11.3
56	2,062	701	1,361	9,795	10.2	13.2	9.1	10.9
57	1,923	597	1,326	8,508	9.3	11.2	8.6	9.4
58	1,688	548	1,140	7,421	8.1	10.6	7.2	8.2
59	1,603	493	1,110	6,854	7.4	9.6	6.7	7.5
1960	1,579	458	1,120	6,670	7.0	9.0	6.4	7.2
61	1,306	291	1,015	4,983	5.6	5.9	5.5	5.3
62	1,333	304	1,029	5,049	5.7	6.2	5.6	5.5
63	1,482	268	1,215	5,113	6.1	5.6	6.2	5.5
64	1,387	204	1,183	4,608	5.6	4.3	5.9	4.8

The Public Assistance Division of the Ministry of Health and Welfare in Japan published from 1953 to 1965 in "The Reports of the Welfare Administration Basic Survey" concerning the estimated number of families with a low standard of consumption. (see, Table 2-2-1)

The method for making this estimates was as follow :

"Conceretely, the average cash expenditure (¥5,800) for a three-member non-agricultural family in March, 1955, was used, and as a ratio of the annual change in this amount, first the yearly actual amount of expenditure of a the four-member public assistance family in Tokyo was taken and recalculated for the 1955 value, using the Tokyo consumer price index. Then, for non-agricultural communities, the consumer price index for all cities was used, is and for rural areas, the coefficient of farmers' living cost expenditures, which accounts for regional differences and rural life factors, and the rural village price index were used. This was then expanded for the rural or non-rural three-member family cash expenditure amounts thus arrived at, using one of the nine coefficients for number of persons from 1 person to 9 or more persons.

That standard, thus derived, with distinctions for rural or non-

Table 2-3-1 The distribution of families and population of public assistance standard (Nakano-ward, Tokyo)

Ratio of Public Assistance standard	Total of Families			Number of persons in those families	
	number of families	%	omitting non-taxed families	number of persons	%
0 or non-taxed in come	20,107	17.1		37,151	12.0
Income clearly 0	(4,679)	(4.0)	4.6	—	—
~ 0.2	1,221	1.0	1.2	2,381	0.8
0.2 ~ 0.4	2,235	1.9	2.2	4,785	1.5
0.4 ~ 0.6	4,155	3.5	4.1	9,841	3.2
Sub - Total under 0.6	27,718	23.6	12.1	54,158	17.5
0.6 ~ 0.8	6,693	5.7	6.5	16,529	5.3
0.8 ~ 1.0	7,731	6.6	7.6	19,859	6.4
Sub - Total under 1.0	42,142	35.9	26.2	90,546	29.2
1.0 ~ 1.2	8,322	7.1	8.2	21,642	7.0
1.2 ~ 1.4	8,651	7.4	8.5	22,634	7.3
1.4 ~ 1.6	8,117	6.9	8.0	21,546	7.0
1.6 ~ 1.8	7,392	6.3	7.3	20,396	6.6
1.8 ~ 2.0	6,304	5.4	6.2	18,135	5.9
1.0 ~ 2.0 Total	38,786	33.1	38.1	104,353	33.7
2.0 ~ 2.2	5,315	4.5	5.2	15,997	5.2
2.2 ~ 2.4	4,384	3.7	4.3	13,534	4.4
2.4 ~ 2.6	3,748	3.2	3.7	11,673	3.8
2.6 ~ 2.8	3,054	2.6	3.0	9,670	3.1
2.8 ~ 3.0	2,611	2.2	2.6	8,437	2.7
2.0 ~ 3.0 Total	19,112	16.3	18.8	59,311	19.1
Sub - Total over 3.0	17,289	14.7	17.0	55,635	18.0
Sub-Total	117,329	100.0	—	309,845	100.0
Total omitting non-taxed families	(101,901)	—	100.0	—	—

(Note) Student heads of households with no income are omitted from the total number of households in Nakano-ward.

rural and for the number of persons, was applied for 'The Reports of the Welfare Administration Basic Survey', in which distribution of cash expenditure amounts was arranged with the same classification."⁽⁴⁴⁾

In 1965, the issuing of the date was stopped for these reasons :

- "(1) Due to the decrease of poverty, that report did not represent such a large social problem as in 1955.
- (2) That position of the National Government violates the Constitution which guarantees a minimum standard of living,"⁽⁴⁵⁾

So, this method was stopped because it was not satisfactory. Prof. Konuma said, however that this estimation survey should be continued under a new method ⁽⁴⁶⁾. But, in Japan, the administrator did not carry out, for instance, a low income family survey.

3. Prof. Eguchi's Study-group's Perspective Survey

Before Prof. Abel Smith and Peter Townsend published their book *The Poor and the Poorest* 1965, Prof. Eguchi's study-group discussed survey methods using the measure of the ratio of the public assistance standard, and fortunately got a chance to use such a method at Nakano Ward in Tokyo in 1972 supported by the Tokyo Metropolitan City Government. (This was during the time of the progressive Governor Minobe, supported by the Japanese Socialist & Communist Parties) (see, Table 2-3-1).

After this survey, Prof. Eguchi said in his famous book, (Today's Low Income Class" vol.1 p.58)

"Families with incomes less than the public assistance standard (the ratio to the public assistance standard being less than 1.0) were found to be 26.2 % "⁽⁴⁷⁾

It was remarkable. Many scholars were surprized. But some scholars pointed out that some of the data included self-employed persons, who are usually taxed less than salaried persons.

Table 2-3-2 The living standard distribution as compared with the public assistance standard in Nakano-ward in Tokyo

	Total of families (%)	member families of National Health Insurance	Total families minus member families of National Health Insurance
non-taxed families	4,679(4.6)	3,526(10.9)	1,153(1.7)
~ 0.2 times	1,221(1.2)	636(0.2)	585(1.2)
0.2 ~ 0.4	2,235(2.2)	1,370(4.3)	865(1.2)
0.4 ~ 0.6	4,155(4.1)	2,528(7.8)	1,627(2.4)
Sub-total under 0.6	17,526(12.1)	8,060(25.0)	9,446(6.1)
0.6 ~ 0.8	6,693(6.5)	3,763(11.7)	2,930(4.2)
0.8 ~ 1.0	7,731(7.6)	3,801(11.8)	3,930(5.6)
Sub-total under 1.0	31,950(26.2)	15,624(48.5)	16,326(15.9)
1.0 ~ 1.2	8,322(8.2)	3,178(9.8)	5,144(7.4)
1.2 ~ 1.4	8,651(8.5)	2,602(8.1)	6,049(8.7)
1.4 ~ 1.6	8,117(8.0)	1,989(6.2)	6,128(8.8)
1.6 ~ 1.8	7,392(7.2)	1,600(5.0)	5,792(8.3)
1.8 ~ 2.0	6,304(6.2)	1,261(3.9)	5,043(7.2)
Sub-total	38,786(38.1)	10,630(33.0)	28,156(40.5)
2.0 ~ 2.2	5,315(5.2)	1,047(3.2)	4,268(6.2)
2.2 ~ 2.4	4,384(4.3)	853(2.7)	3,531(5.1)
2.4 ~ 2.6	3,748(3.7)	623(1.9)	3,125(4.5)
2.6 ~ 2.8	3,054(3.0)	529(1.6)	2,525(3.6)
2.8 ~ 3.0	2,611(2.1)	430(1.3)	2,181(3.1)
Sub-total	19,112(18.8)	3,482(10.7)	15,630(22.4)
over 3.0 times ~	17,289(16.9)	2,499(7.8)	14,790(21.2)
Total	101,901(100.0)	32,235(100.0)	69,666(100.0)

Therefore, Assistant Prof. Masako Kawakami of Syukutoku College recalculated the data omitting self-employed persons' families from the non-taxed families. The resultant percentage of families below the public assistance standard was 15.9% ⁽⁴⁸⁾ (see, Table 2-3-2)

(Preparation of this paper was accomplished with the help of my English teachers, Mr. Terry Riggins and Mr. Robert Barker in Sapporo, who checked my English manuscript of the paper. On the 20th of January, 1987, I sent Prof. V. George and Prof. E. Eguchi the manuscript.

Since I recieved a letter from Prof.E.Eguchi stating that the last chapter was not correct, I rewrote it. I am very grateful to them. 22nd September, 1987)

Notes

- (1) Shingiro Koyama, "The explanation and application of the Public Assistance (seikatsu hogo)Law" 1951, p. 68.
- (2) Shingiro Koyama, Ibid, p.68.
- (3) The Public Assistance Division (ed), "The 30-year History of Public Assistance" 1981, p.143.
- (4) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, p.144
- (5) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, pp.143-144.
- (6) The Public Assistance Division (ed), 7th book of "100 Questions and 100 Answers about Public Assistance "1954, p.10-11.
- (7) The Public Assistance Division (ed), 1st book of "100 Questions and 100 Answer about Public Assistance "1946, p.101.
- (8) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, 1st book, p.55.
- (9) The Public Assistance Division (ed), 7th book of "100 Questions and 100 Answers about Public Assistance "1954, pp.8-9.
- (10) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, 7th book, p.15.
- (11) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, 7th book, p.15.
- (12) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, 7th book, p.16.
- (13) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, 7th book, pp.16-17.
- (14) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, 7th book, p.7.
- (15) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, 7th book, pp.19-20.
- (16) The Public Assistance Division (ed), "The 30-year History of Public Assistance "1981, pp.239-240.
- (17) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid,pp.248-249.
- (18) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, p.249.

- (19) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, pp.249-250.
- (20) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, p.465.
- (21) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, pp.465-466.
- (22) The Public Assistance Division (ed), 15th book of "100 Questions and 100 Answers about Public Assistance "1962, p.12.
- (23) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, 15th book, p.14, p.16.
- (24) The Public Assistance Division (ed), "The 30-year History of Public Assistance "1981, p.250.
- (25) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, pp.250-251.
- (26) I thought that using a 'GNP sliding theory'(my letter to you of Nov., 1986) was not good, so I corrected it.
- (27) The Public Assistance Division (ed), "The 30-year History of Public Assistance "1981, p.272.
- (28) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, pp.272-273.
- (29) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, p.274.
- (30) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, p.275.
- (31) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, p.273.
- (32) The Public Assistance Division (ed), Ibid, p.274.
- (33) I thought that using a 'living standard level sliding theory' was not good, so I corrected it.
- (34) 'Life and Welfare', No.333, p.12-13.
- (35) 'Life and Welfare', No.333, p.13.
- (36) Tadashi Konuma, "Poverty--It's Measuring and Public Assistance--", 1974, Tokyo University Publishing Co.p.13.
- (37) T. Konuma, Ibid, p.13.
- (38) T. Konuma, Ibid, pp.16-17.
- (39) T. Konuma, Ibid, p.19.
- (40) T. Konuma, Ibid, p.19.
- (41) T. Konuma, Ibid, pp.19-20.
- (42) T. Konuma, Ibid, p.22.
- (43) The Institute of Labour-Science "The Japanese Standard of Livelihood", 1960, p. 395.
- (44) Tadashi Konuma, "Poverty--It's measuring and public assistance--", 1974, Tokyo University Publishing Co. p.81.
- (45) T. Konuma, Ibid, p.80.

- (46) T. Konuma, Ibid, p.80.
- (47) E. Eguchi, "Today's Low Income Class" vol. 1, p.58, 1979.
- (48) M.Kawakami "The Reality of the National Living Standard-- Poverty and the Law Suit of Mrs Horiki--" in Prof. M. Ogawa (ed) "The History of the Movement of Mrs. Horiki's Law Suit", 1987. 3. p.497.