

REPORTS AND ENQUIRIES

The Japanese Family Budget Enquiry of 1926-1927

With the increasing importance of the Far East in the industrial and trade relations of the world, the question of conditions of work, wages, and the standard of living in Far-Eastern countries has also assumed an increasing importance from the international point of view. It is therefore of great interest to note the results of the family budget enquiry carried out in Japan by the Bureau of Statistics of the Cabinet in 1926-1927.¹ A summary of the results of this investigation, by Mr. T. Matsuda, Chief Statistician of the Bureau of Statistics, has recently been published in English.²

Though an attempt to study family budgets had been made in Japan as early as 1916, the present enquiry was the first to be carried out on an extensive scale, and the only one undertaken officially. Especially worthy of note was the inclusion not only of salaried workers' and wage earners' budgets, but also of those of farmers' families. Though the great difficulties of this part of the enquiry were recognised, the subject was considered so important that the attempt was nevertheless made. The investigation into the farmer's way of living involved, however, a certain modification of method, resulting in a set of figures that is not strictly comparable with the others.

SCOPE AND METHODS OF THE INVESTIGATION

The investigation was conducted in a large number of localities with various characteristics; it covered six different occupational classes. The classes, the number of families in each, the localities, and the number of families in each class that kept their records during the whole year, from 1 September 1926 to 31 August 1927, are shown in table I.

It is noteworthy that out of the 7,856 household books distributed no less than 6,505, or 82.20 per cent., were continued during the whole period, in spite of the fact that no pecuniary compensation was offered for the task of keeping the budget records.

¹ The report of the enquiry (in Japanese) was published in four volumes during 1929.

² *The Family Budget Enquiry in Japan, 1926-1927*. XIX^e Session de l'Institut International de Statistique. Tokyo, 1930.

TABLE I. STATISTICS OF THE ENQUIRY

| Class of household | Number and character of localities | Households that undertook to keep records | Households that kept records during the whole period | |
|--|------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| | | | Number | Per cent. of those undertaking to keep them |
| Salaried workers (officials, clerks, teachers, etc.) | 11 largest cities | 2,236 | 1,851 | 82.82 |
| Wage earners : | | 4,824 | 3,878 | 80.39 |
| Factory workers | 12 leading industrial centres | 3,008 | 3,462 | 81.85 |
| Mine workers | 5 mining districts | 520 | 483 | 92.88 |
| Communication workers | — | 633 | 517 | 81.67 |
| Day labourers | 6 principal cities | 663 | 416 | 62.75 |
| Farmers | 9 prefectures | 796 | 776 | 97.49 |
| Total | | 7,856 | 6,505 | 82.20 |

For the selection of families to keep records within the above classes and districts, the following conditions were laid down :

(a) The total income of the household per month must not exceed 200 yen approximately. In the case of farm households, the area cultivated must not exceed 2 *cho* approximately (*cho* = 2.45 acres).

(b) More than half the family income must be derived from the earnings of the husband.

(c) The household must not conduct any business on its own account (or in the case of farm households, no independent business other than agriculture).

(d) The household should contain 2-7 persons.

(e) Preferably the household should have no servants, boarders, or lodgers, or any other inmates besides its own members.¹

In each locality covered by the investigation a number of agents were appointed through the intermediary of the local authorities, the total number of agents employed being 342. The month preceding the enquiry was allotted to preparatory training ; budget books with instructions were distributed to the households at the same time as the householders were visited by various agents.

The completed budget books were checked by the Bureau of Statistics and finally 5,455 family budgets were tabulated.

¹ There could, however, be tenants or sub-tenants occupying part of the dwelling, provided they would not render the task of keeping the budget records more complicated or laborious.

SALARIED WORKERS' AND WAGE EARNERS' BUDGETS

Tables II and III give particulars, for salaried workers' and wage earners' households respectively, of the number and size of the households investigated, the number of consumption units¹ per family, and the family income and expenditure, for the various income groups.

The average income of a salaried worker's household was 137.17 yen per month and the average size of the family was 4.17 persons. The size of the family and the family income increased together; the average size of a family with an income of less than 60 yen per month was 3.25, and that of a family with more than 200 yen per month was 4.80 persons. The largest number of households was in the income group between 120 and 140 yen per month. The earnings of the husband amounted for all families to 109.65 yen, or 79.94 per cent. of the total income. The earnings of the wife and others showed progressive percentages as the income group advanced.

For wage earners' families the average income per month was 102.07 yen, and the average size of the family was 4.21 persons. The average size of the family in the lowest income group was 3.78 persons, and in the highest 5.53 persons. The largest number of households was in the income group between 80 and 100 yen. The earnings of the husband amounted to 85.11 yen, or 83.38 per cent. of the family income. The subsidiary income in this class was due to a greater extent than in the salaried class to the earnings of children and members of the family other than the wife.

For salaried workers' families the average expenditure per month was 124.34 yen; in the lowest income group (under 60 yen) it was 54.10 yen, and in the highest income group (over 200 yen) it was 197.82 yen per month. The lowest income group showed a deficit of 0.79 yen, and the highest a surplus of 32.30 yen, the average surplus for all classes being 12.83 yen. The average expenditure of all groups on food amounted to 40.61 yen, on rent, etc. to 22.84 yen, on fuel and light to 5.66 yen, on clothing to 17.18 yen, and on "all other" items to 38.05 yen.

For wage earners the average monthly expenditure was 91.38 yen per household; in the lowest income group it was 52.52 yen and in the highest 177.35 yen. All groups showed a surplus of income over expenditure, increasing from 0.34 yen in the lowest to 54.06 yen in the highest income group, with an average of 10.69 yen. The average expenditure of all groups on food and drink was 36.33 yen, on housing 14.42 yen, on fuel and light 4.17 yen, on clothing 11.87 yen, and on "all other" items 24.59 yen.

¹ The scale adopted to express the consumption of the members of the household in terms of the unit of consumption (that of an adult male) was as follows:

| Age group (years) | Males | Females |
|-------------------|-------|---------|
| 0-1 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| 2-4 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| 5-7 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| 8-10 | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| 11-14 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| 15-20 | 0.9 | 0.9 |
| 20 | 1.0 | 0.9 |

TABLE II. AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF SALARIED WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS

| Item | Income group (yen) | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|----------|-------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| | All | Under 60 | 60-80 | 80-100 | 100-120 | 120-140 | 140-160 | 160-180 | 180-200 | Over 200 |
| Number of households | 1,575 | 9 | 112 | 255 | 254 | 290 | 217 | 151 | 131 | 156 |
| Average number of persons per household | 4.17 | 3.25 | 3.36 | 3.68 | 3.93 | 4.27 | 4.27 | 4.68 | 4.60 | 4.80 |
| Average number of consumption units per household | 3.19 | 2.36 | 2.56 | 2.80 | 2.97 | 3.25 | 3.26 | 3.61 | 3.56 | 3.78 |
| <i>Average income :</i> | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen |
| I. Earnings : | | | | | | | | | | |
| Husband : | | | | | | | | | | |
| Principal income | 108.03 | 48.76 | 64.24 | 76.61 | 91.65 | 105.02 | 118.45 | 132.64 | 141.54 | 160.05 |
| Subsidiary income | 1.62 | 0.03 | 0.45 | 0.47 | 0.61 | 1.57 | 1.28 | 2.61 | 2.85 | 4.61 |
| Wife | 3.76 | 0.33 | 0.94 | 1.74 | 2.41 | 2.33 | 4.48 | 5.31 | 5.57 | 10.18 |
| Other members of the household | 2.75 | — | 0.28 | 0.79 | 1.51 | 2.11 | 1.99 | 4.71 | 5.45 | 7.99 |
| Total | 116.16 | 49.12 | 65.91 | 79.61 | 96.18 | 111.03 | 126.20 | 145.27 | 155.41 | 182.83 |
| II. Other income : | | | | | | | | | | |
| From lodgers | 0.48 | — | 0.08 | 0.30 | 0.65 | 0.78 | 0.58 | 0.37 | 0.56 | 0.21 |
| From property | 5.22 | — | 0.44 | 1.28 | 2.33 | 3.77 | 6.17 | 4.06 | 11.86 | 17.00 |
| Presents | 11.81 | 4.01 | 4.89 | 7.96 | 9.41 | 11.89 | 12.81 | 13.82 | 15.91 | 20.51 |
| Other sources | 3.50 | 0.18 | 0.30 | 1.40 | 1.57 | 2.78 | 3.46 | 6.71 | 5.11 | 9.47 |
| Total | 21.01 | 4.19 | 5.71 | 10.94 | 13.96 | 19.22 | 23.02 | 24.96 | 33.44 | 47.19 |
| Grand total | 137.17 | 53.31 | 71.62 | 90.55 | 110.14 | 130.25 | 149.22 | 170.23 | 188.85 | 230.02 |
| <i>Average expenditure :</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| I. Food and drink | 40.61 | 23.43 | 26.43 | 31.58 | 36.26 | 40.22 | 43.12 | 48.02 | 49.88 | 55.90 |
| II. Housing (including expenditure on repairs, furniture, etc.) | 22.84 | 9.41 | 12.47 | 15.70 | 19.59 | 22.51 | 24.61 | 26.42 | 30.98 | 35.90 |
| III. Fuel and light | 5.66 | 3.44 | 3.93 | 4.33 | 5.12 | 5.58 | 5.94 | 6.72 | 6.94 | 7.71 |
| IV. Clothing | 17.18 | 6.79 | 9.54 | 11.72 | 14.06 | 16.77 | 18.62 | 21.34 | 22.70 | 27.35 |
| V. All other | 38.05 | 11.03 | 17.27 | 22.79 | 28.25 | 35.17 | 40.52 | 50.28 | 55.46 | 70.96 |
| Total | 124.34 | 54.10 | 69.64 | 86.12 | 103.28 | 120.25 | 132.81 | 152.78 | 165.96 | 197.82 |
| <i>Income compared with expenditure:</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Surplus | 12.83 | — | 1.98 | 4.43 | 6.86 | 10.01 | 16.41 | 17.45 | 22.89 | 32.20 |
| Deficit | — | 0.79 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

TABLE III. AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF WAGE EARNERS' HOUSEHOLDS

| Item | Income group (yen) | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|----------|-------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| | All | Under 60 | 60-80 | 80-100 | 100-120 | 120-140 | 140-160 | 160-180 | 180-200 | Over 200 |
| Number of households | 3,210 | 191 | 621 | 968 | 658 | 398 | 188 | 98 | 47 | 41 |
| Average number of persons per household | 4.21 | 3.78 | 3.92 | 4.08 | 4.23 | 4.50 | 4.88 | 4.77 | 4.68 | 5.53 |
| Average number of consumption units per household | 3.18 | 2.78 | 2.94 | 3.05 | 3.20 | 3.41 | 3.74 | 3.75 | 3.70 | 4.36 |
| <i>Average income :</i> | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen |
| I. Earnings : | | | | | | | | | | |
| Husband : | | | | | | | | | | |
| Principal income | 84.67 | 47.40 | 61.48 | 77.32 | 90.50 | 105.97 | 116.41 | 129.86 | 134.59 | 171.83 |
| Subsidiary income | 0.44 | 0.23 | 0.32 | 0.35 | 0.54 | 0.48 | 0.76 | 0.59 | 1.29 | 0.67 |
| Wife | 3.55 | 1.88 | 3.27 | 3.30 | 3.77 | 4.25 | 3.51 | 4.56 | 5.96 | 3.37 |
| Other members of the household | 4.26 | 0.42 | 1.29 | 2.06 | 4.13 | 6.15 | 11.11 | 15.30 | 22.51 | 24.51 |
| Total | 92.92 | 49.93 | 66.36 | 83.03 | 98.94 | 116.85 | 131.79 | 150.31 | 164.35 | 202.38 |
| II. Other income : | | | | | | | | | | |
| From lodgers | 0.64 | 0.07 | 0.24 | 0.42 | 0.93 | 1.08 | 1.19 | 1.20 | 1.88 | 0.72 |
| From property | 1.92 | 0.16 | 0.62 | 1.04 | 2.02 | 2.76 | 4.41 | 4.94 | 8.63 | 14.58 |
| Presents | 5.92 | 2.52 | 3.81 | 4.98 | 6.57 | 7.33 | 10.12 | 11.24 | 12.61 | 12.11 |
| Other sources | 0.67 | 0.18 | 0.31 | 0.56 | 0.82 | 0.72 | 1.57 | 1.22 | 1.36 | 1.62 |
| Total | 9.15 | 2.93 | 4.98 | 7.00 | 10.34 | 11.89 | 17.30 | 18.60 | 24.48 | 29.03 |
| Grand total | 102.07 | 52.86 | 71.34 | 90.03 | 109.28 | 128.74 | 149.09 | 168.91 | 188.83 | 231.41 |
| <i>Average expenditure :</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| I. Food and drink | 36.33 | 26.38 | 30.41 | 34.53 | 37.35 | 41.43 | 46.71 | 48.57 | 49.20 | 57.88 |
| II. Housing (including expenditure on repairs, furniture, etc.) | 14.42 | 7.42 | 10.04 | 12.71 | 16.16 | 18.42 | 20.12 | 23.41 | 25.19 | 27.68 |
| III. Fuel and light | 4.17 | 3.02 | 3.34 | 3.91 | 4.45 | 4.85 | 5.25 | 5.63 | 5.89 | 6.63 |
| IV. Clothing | 11.87 | 5.12 | 7.99 | 10.29 | 12.80 | 15.36 | 18.21 | 21.29 | 24.34 | 24.36 |
| V. All other | 24.59 | 10.58 | 15.88 | 20.79 | 27.17 | 32.05 | 38.17 | 43.18 | 49.92 | 61.80 |
| Total | 91.38 | 52.52 | 67.66 | 82.23 | 97.93 | 112.11 | 128.46 | 142.08 | 154.54 | 177.35 |
| <i>Income compared with expenditure :</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Surplus | 10.69 | 0.34 | 3.68 | 7.80 | 11.35 | 16.63 | 20.63 | 26.83 | 34.30 | 54.06 |

Table IV shows the expenditure on food and drink, housing, fuel and light, clothing and "all other" items as percentages of the total expenditure.

TABLE IV. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE IN SALARIED WORKERS' AND WAGE EARNERS' HOUSEHOLDS

| Class and item | Income group (yen) | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|----------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| | All | Under 60 | 60-80 | 80-100 | 100-120 | 120-140 | 140-160 | 160-180 | 180-200 | Over 200 |
| <i>Salaried workers' households :</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| I. Food and drink | 32.66 | 43.31 | 37.95 | 36.67 | 35.11 | 33.45 | 32.47 | 31.43 | 30.06 | 28.26 |
| II. Housing | 18.37 | 17.39 | 17.91 | 18.23 | 18.96 | 18.72 | 18.53 | 17.29 | 18.67 | 18.15 |
| III. Fuel and light | 4.55 | 6.36 | 5.64 | 5.03 | 4.96 | 4.64 | 4.47 | 4.40 | 4.18 | 3.90 |
| IV. Clothing | 13.82 | 12.55 | 13.70 | 13.61 | 13.61 | 13.95 | 14.02 | 13.97 | 13.68 | 13.83 |
| V. All other | 30.60 | 20.39 | 24.80 | 26.46 | 27.36 | 29.24 | 30.51 | 33.09 | 33.41 | 35.86 |
| Total | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| <i>Wage earners' households :</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| I. Food and drink | 39.76 | 50.23 | 44.94 | 41.99 | 38.14 | 36.96 | 36.36 | 34.18 | 31.84 | 32.35 |
| II. Housing | 15.78 | 14.13 | 14.84 | 15.46 | 16.51 | 16.43 | 15.66 | 16.48 | 16.30 | 15.61 |
| III. Fuel and light | 4.56 | 5.75 | 4.94 | 4.75 | 4.54 | 4.33 | 4.09 | 3.96 | 3.81 | 3.74 |
| IV. Clothing | 12.99 | 9.75 | 11.81 | 12.51 | 13.07 | 13.70 | 14.17 | 14.98 | 15.75 | 13.74 |
| V. All other | 26.91 | 20.14 | 23.47 | 25.29 | 27.74 | 28.58 | 29.72 | 30.40 | 32.30 | 34.56 |
| Total | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

The relative expenditure on food and drink was 32.66 per cent. in the salaried class and 39.76 per cent. in the wage-earning class. In both classes the relative expenditure on food decreased as the income increased. In the salaried class the relative expenditure on this item decreased from 43.31 per cent. in the lowest to 28.26 per cent. in the highest income group. Corresponding figures for the wage-earning class were 50.23 and 32.35 per cent. The relative expenditure on housing averaged in the salaried class 18.37 per cent. and in the wage-earning class 15.78 per cent. The percentage spent on housing showed no specific trend as between the various income groups. The relative expenditure on fuel and light was the same in the two classes, amounting to a little more than 4.5 per cent. The percentage cost of this item gradually decreased as the income group advanced. The expenditure on "all other" items was 30.60 per cent. in the salaried class and 26.91 per cent. in the wage-earning class. The relative importance of this item increased with the income group. It is of interest to notice that the general tendency known as Engel's

law, regarding the gradual decline in the percentage cost of food with increasing income, also holds good for Japan.

To obtain a well balanced picture of the actual standard of living a more detailed discussion would be necessary of the quantities and qualities of goods entering into the consumption of the different families. It is therefore to be deplored that the present study does not contain information of this kind. Some light may nevertheless be thrown upon the problem by a closer examination of the expenditure on different articles. This is especially true for the important item in expenditure represented by food.

Table V shows the absolute and relative expenditure on food in salaried workers' and wage earners' families.

TABLE V. ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE ON FOOD IN SALARIED WORKERS' AND WAGE EARNERS' HOUSEHOLDS

| Item | Salaried workers | | Wage earners | |
|---|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure |
| Rice, barley, and other cereals | 13.79 | 11.09 | 14.85 | 16.25 |
| Fresh fish and shellfish | 3.75 | 3.02 | 3.12 | 3.41 |
| Meat | 1.39 | 1.12 | 0.93 | 1.02 |
| Eggs | 0.95 | 0.76 | 0.50 | 0.55 |
| Milk | 0.35 | 0.28 | 0.20 | 0.22 |
| Beans and vegetables | 2.92 | 2.35 | 2.60 | 2.84 |
| Dried food | 0.53 | 0.43 | 0.39 | 0.43 |
| <i>Tofu</i> (bean curd), <i>tsukudani</i> , and similar prepared food and pickles | 2.15 | 1.73 | 1.99 | 2.18 |
| Sugar, salt, soy, etc. | 3.46 | 2.78 | 3.08 | 3.37 |
| Bought meals for home consumption | 1.08 | 0.87 | 0.72 | 0.79 |
| Meals outside the home | 2.54 | 2.04 | 1.44 | 1.58 |
| "Luxuries": | | | | |
| Alcoholic drinks | 1.98 | 1.59 | 2.56 | 2.80 |
| Tobacco | 1.46 | 1.17 | 1.27 | 1.39 |
| Cakes and fruits | 3.62 | 2.91 | 2.24 | 2.45 |
| Non-alcoholic drinks | 0.64 | 0.52 | 0.44 | 0.48 |
| Total, luxuries | 7.70 | 6.19 | 6.51 | 7.12 |
| Total | 40.61 | 32.66 | 36.33 | 39.76 |

In estimating the standard of living, it is also of interest to consider the composition of the group "sundries" or "all other" items. The absolute and relative expenditure under this head is shown in table VI.

TABLE VI. ANALYSIS OF MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE IN SALARIED WORKERS' AND WAGE EARNERS' HOUSEHOLDS

| Item | Salaried workers | | Wage earners | |
|---|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure |
| Sanitation | 7.68 | 6.18 | 5.84 | 6.39 |
| Rearing of children | 1.62 | 1.30 | 1.53 | 1.67 |
| Education | 2.36 | 1.90 | 1.00 | 1.09 |
| Daily journeys | 2.19 | 1.76 | 1.13 | 1.24 |
| Correspondence and transportation | 0.52 | 0.42 | 0.21 | 0.23 |
| Stationery | 0.25 | 0.20 | 0.12 | 0.13 |
| Taxes, rates, and other duties | 1.41 | 1.13 | 0.51 | 0.56 |
| Companionship (presents, parties, etc.) | 10.29 | 8.28 | 6.46 | 7.07 |
| Culture and recreation | 6.03 | 4.85 | 3.26 | 3.57 |
| Travel | 1.43 | 1.15 | 0.90 | 0.99 |
| Hired labour | 0.34 | 0.27 | 0.12 | 0.13 |
| Other expenditure | 3.25 | 2.61 | 2.78 | 3.04 |
| Not defined | 0.68 | 0.55 | 0.73 | 0.80 |
| Total | 38.05 | 30.60 | 24.59 | 26.91 |

FARMERS' BUDGETS

For farmers' families, the average income was 96.16 yen per month, and the average size of the family was 5.83 persons. The net income from agriculture was 61.57 yen and from other sources 24.59 yen. The total income of an independent farmer, a semi-dependent farmer, and a tenant farmer amounted respectively to 112.53, 100.33, and 79.16 yen.

TABLE VII. AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF FARMERS'
HOUSEHOLDS

| Item | Class of farmer ¹ | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------|
| | All | Independent | Semi-dependent | Tenant |
| Number of households | 670 | 132 | 330 | 208 |
| Average number of persons per household | 5.83 | 5.93 | 5.93 | 5.61 |
| Average number of consumption units per household | 4.66 | 4.76 | 4.76 | 4.45 |
| <i>Average income :</i> | Yen | Yen | Yen | Yen |
| I. Net income from agriculture | 61.57 | 74.91 | 65.29 | 47.21 |
| II. Income other than from agriculture : | | | | |
| Earnings : | | | | |
| Husband | 5.30 | 3.66 | 5.13 | 6.62 |
| Wife | 0.83 | 0.42 | 0.86 | 1.04 |
| Other members of household | 4.90 | 2.73 | 5.07 | 6.00 |
| Other income : | | | | |
| From property | 13.00 | 20.29 | 12.75 | 8.77 |
| Presents | 7.18 | 7.19 | 7.47 | 6.71 |
| Other sources | 3.38 | 3.33 | 3.76 | 2.81 |
| Total | 34.59 | 37.62 | 35.04 | 31.95 |
| Grand total | 96.16 | 112.53 | 100.33 | 79.16 |
| <i>Average expenditure :</i> | | | | |
| I. Food and drink | 44.01 | 45.07 | 44.87 | 41.40 |
| II. Housing (including expenditure on repairs, furniture, etc.) | 14.64 | 18.63 | 14.98 | 11.54 |
| III. Fuel and light | 5.89 | 6.10 | 6.16 | 5.34 |
| IV. Clothing | 7.59 | 9.32 | 8.17 | 5.59 |
| V. All other | 24.26 | 30.54 | 26.45 | 17.39 |
| Total | 96.39 | 109.66 | 100.63 | 81.26 |
| <i>Income compared with expenditure :</i> | | | | |
| Surplus | — | 2.87 | — | — |
| Deficit | 0.23 | — | 0.30 | 2.10 |

¹ An "independent farmer" was defined as one who owned 90 per cent. or more, and tenanted 10 per cent. or less, of the total land he operated; a "tenant farmer" was one who tenanted 90 per cent. or more, and owned 10 per cent. or less, of the land he operated; the term "semi-dependent farmer" was applied to the rest of the farmers.

The average expenditure for all families amounted to 96.39 yen, leaving a deficit of 0.23 yen. The average expenditure per household for independent farmers' families was 109.66 yen, for semi-dependent farmers 100.63 yen, and for tenant farmers 81.26 yen, leaving a surplus for independent farmers of 2.87 yen and a deficit for the other two classes of 0.30 and 2.10 yen respectively.

The expenditure on food averaged 44.01 yen for all families, the figures for the three classes of farmers being respectively 45.07, 44.87 and 41.40 yen. Average expenditure for all families on housing amounted to 14.64 yen; on fuel and light to 5.89 yen; on clothing to 7.59 yen; and on "all other" items to 24.26 yen.

Table VIII shows the expenditure on food, housing, fuel and light, clothing, and "all other" items as percentages of the total expenditure.

TABLE VIII. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE IN FARMERS' HOUSEHOLDS

| Item | All farmers | Independent farmers | Semi-dependent farmers | Tenant farmers |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| I. Food and drink | 45.66 | 41.92 | 44.59 | 50.95 |
| II. Housing | 15.19 | 16.99 | 14.89 | 14.20 |
| III. Fuel and light | 6.11 | 5.56 | 6.12 | 6.57 |
| IV. Clothing | 7.87 | 8.50 | 8.12 | 6.88 |
| V. All other | 25.17 | 27.08 | 26.28 | 21.40 |
| Total | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

It is also of interest to note the consumption within the different groups. Tables IX and X show the absolute and relative expenditure on the different items of food and drink and of "all other" items in farmers' households.

TABLE IX. ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE ON FOOD IN FARMERS' HOUSEHOLDS

| Item | All farmers | | Independent farmers | | Semi-dependent farmers | | Tenant farmers | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure |
| Rice, barley, and other cereals | 26.40 | 27.39 | 27.03 | 24.65 | 26.77 | 26.60 | 25.41 | 31.27 |
| Fish and shellfish | 1.94 | 2.01 | 2.03 | 1.85 | 1.97 | 1.96 | 1.83 | 2.25 |
| Meat | 0.26 | 0.27 | 0.38 | 0.35 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.20 | 0.25 |
| Eggs | 0.21 | 0.22 | 0.32 | 0.29 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.12 | 0.15 |
| Milk | 0.10 | 0.10 | 0.11 | 0.10 | 0.13 | 0.13 | 0.03 | 0.04 |
| Beans and vegetables | 3.57 | 3.71 | 3.66 | 3.34 | 3.71 | 3.68 | 3.31 | 4.07 |
| Dried food | 0.33 | 0.34 | 0.35 | 0.32 | 0.33 | 0.33 | 0.30 | 0.37 |
| Tofu, etc. | 1.84 | 1.91 | 1.89 | 1.72 | 1.03 | 1.92 | 1.65 | 2.03 |
| Sugar, salt, soy, etc. | 4.59 | 4.76 | 4.79 | 4.37 | 4.68 | 4.65 | 4.33 | 5.33 |
| Bought meals for home consumption | 0.26 | 0.27 | 0.33 | 0.30 | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.20 | 0.25 |
| Meals outside the home | 0.18 | 0.19 | 0.27 | 0.25 | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.14 | 0.17 |
| "Luxuries": | | | | | | | | |
| Alcoholic drinks | 1.90 | 1.97 | 2.10 | 1.91 | 1.89 | 1.88 | 1.79 | 2.20 |
| Tobacco | 0.57 | 0.59 | 0.62 | 0.56 | 0.57 | 0.56 | 0.53 | 0.65 |
| Cakes and fruit | 1.53 | 1.59 | 1.74 | 1.59 | 1.62 | 1.61 | 1.27 | 1.56 |
| Non-alcoholic drinks | 0.33 | 0.34 | 0.35 | 0.32 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.29 | 0.36 |
| Total, luxuries | 4.33 | 4.49 | 4.81 | 4.38 | 4.43 | 4.40 | 3.88 | 4.77 |
| Total | 44.01 | 45.66 | 45.07 | 41.92 | 44.87 | 44.59 | 41.40 | 50.95 |

TABLE X. ANALYSIS OF MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE IN FARMERS' HOUSEHOLDS

| Item | All farmers | | Independent farmers | | Semi-dependent farmers | | Tenant farmers | |
|--|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure | Yen | Per cent. of total expenditure |
| Sanitation | 2.71 | 2.81 | 3.24 | 2.96 | 2.95 | 2.93 | 1.98 | 2.44 |
| Rearing of children | 0.37 | 0.38 | 0.43 | 0.39 | 0.39 | 0.39 | 0.31 | 0.38 |
| Education | 1.01 | 1.05 | 1.72 | 1.57 | 0.99 | 0.98 | 0.61 | 0.75 |
| Daily journeys | 1.15 | 1.19 | 1.37 | 1.25 | 1.25 | 1.24 | 0.87 | 1.07 |
| Correspondence and transportation | 0.16 | 0.17 | 0.25 | 0.23 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.12 | 0.15 |
| Stationery | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.18 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.12 | 0.15 |
| Taxes, rates, and other duties | 1.31 | 1.36 | 2.24 | 2.04 | 1.33 | 1.32 | 0.68 | 0.84 |
| Companionship (pre-sents, parties, etc.) | 7.58 | 7.86 | 8.97 | 8.18 | 8.18 | 8.13 | 5.74 | 7.06 |
| Culture and recreation | 2.16 | 2.24 | 3.03 | 2.76 | 2.32 | 2.30 | 1.35 | 1.66 |
| Travel | 0.58 | 0.60 | 0.74 | 0.68 | 0.65 | 0.65 | 0.37 | 0.45 |
| Hired labour | 0.16 | 0.17 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.07 | 0.09 |
| Other expenditure | 6.05 | 6.28 | 6.31 | 5.75 | 7.05 | 7.01 | 4.29 | 5.28 |
| Not defined | 0.87 | 0.90 | 0.95 | 0.87 | 0.83 | 0.82 | 0.88 | 1.08 |
| Total | 24.26 | 25.17 | 30.54 | 27.03 | 26.45 | 26.28 | 17.39 | 21.40 |

The results of the enquiry into farmers' budgets, though they may not be strictly comparable with those of the enquiry into salaried workers' and wage earners' budgets, nevertheless seem to warrant the conclusion that the standard of living is lower among farmers than in the corresponding industrial classes. This is indicated not only by the smaller absolute incomes in the farmer class, but also by the distribution of expenditure. Among the farmers a relatively greater part of the total income is spent on the bare necessities of life, leaving a smaller part of the income for needs of a more secondary nature. A further reason for such a conclusion may be the greater difficulty of balancing the farmer's budget, though this in turn may be partly due to the greater difficulty of correctly ascertaining the farmers' income.

Labour Resources in South Africa

In November 1929 the Government of the Union of South Africa appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee to examine the supply of male adult labour suitable and available in the Union for various employments, the seasonal and permanent demand for such labour,