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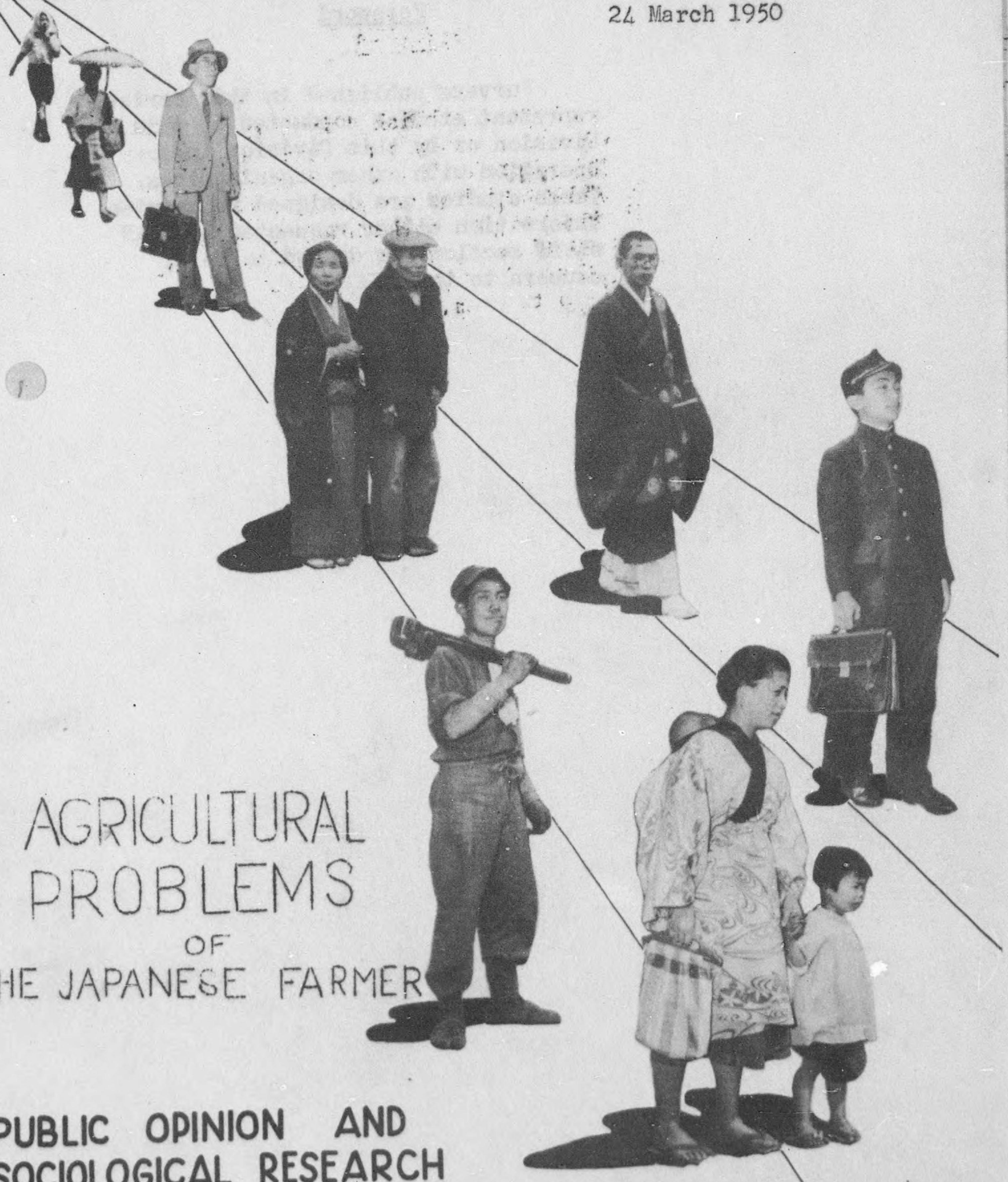

AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS OF THE JAPANESE FARMER

PUBLIC OPINION AND SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH DIVISION

DIVISIONAL PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

Foreword

Surveys published in this series represent studies conducted by this Division or by this Division in co-operation with other organizations. These studies are designed to provide information either requested by SCAP staff sections or deemed to be of concern to them.

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Introduction

In March 1949, the Cabinet Deliberation Room Public Opinion Unit (now the National Public Opinion Research Institute of the Japanese Government) conducted a survey of both the agricultural practices of farmers and farmers' attitudes toward a wide variety of agricultural problems. A total of 1,850 farmers throughout Japan was interviewed.[1] A description of the sampling method used may be found in the Appendix.

In this presentation of the survey materials, a minimum of background information is given. Interested persons may find more information in certain of the Information Bulletins of the Public Information Office, and in the Weekly Summaries and special reports published by the Natural Resources Section.

Throughout this report, the responses to some questions have been presented with breakdowns for certain categories of respondents. This method permits a more accurate understanding of the dynamics of both behavior and opinion than is possible when only the responses of all respondents are given, as in this latter method the responses of persons having a wide variety of opinions, life situations, and agricultural conditions are averaged together.

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1. As explained in the Appendix, the survey did not include farmers in Hokkaido.

Chapter I

CROP QUOTAS

Japan has had a system of compulsory crop collections from farmers and rationing of food to nonfarmers since the years immediately preceding the War. In 1940, the first year of the system, only rice was collected; wheat and barley were added in 1941; and sweet and white potatoes in 1942. The system was continued throughout the war years, and food shortages have necessitated the continuance of the system during the Occupation.

About 50 percent of all staple crops is collected by the Government. Formerly, quotas were set after crops were planted; since 20 July 1948, a pre-planting quota system has been in effect. Before planting time each year, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, on the basis of "normal" production, determines delivery quotas and assigns them to prefectures. The prefectural governments sub-allot the quotas to counties (gun) and cities; the counties sub-allot them to towns and villages; and these in turn sub-allot them to individual farmers. (In the case of villages (mura), quotas are sometimes sub-alloted to the various buraku (a quasi-administrative unit of a mura) in a village). Thus, before each planting season, each farmer in Japan is notified of the amount of rice, wheat, barley, or potatoes he must deliver at harvest time. Farmers who fail to deliver their quotas are subject to prosecution.

Thus, quotas are an ever-present concern to the Japanese farmer. He talks about them more frequently and more willingly than he does about any other agricultural problem. Occupation officials making inspection trips to rural areas to discuss problems connected with the land reform program have frequently found new owners (former tenants) more interested in and concerned with crop quotas than they are with their newly-acquired status as owners of farm land. Because quotas are compulsory, and because many farmers would much rather sell their crops on a free market or consume them at home, it is to be expected that farmers would tend to have complaints about quotas. However, the actual dynamics of these attitudes are rather complicated. In this chapter, an attempt is made to describe the actual structuring of farmers' attitudes toward the quota delivery system.

Difficulties in Delivering Quotas

At the time of the survey, about half of the farmers stated that meeting quotas was difficult; half stated that it was not.[1]

Attitudes Toward Pre-planting Quotas

	When quota was assigned	When quota was delivered
Stated that quota could be met somehow	45%	51%
Stated that quota was extremely difficult to meet	44	41
Stated that quota was easy to meet	2	3
No opinion	9	5
	100%	100%

Upland farmers have less trouble with quotas than do paddy farmers

There is a direct relationship between the percentage of a farmer's land that is in upland and the farmer's attitude toward quota delivery. For example, farmers with the least proportion of their cultivated land in upland reported three times as often as did farmers with the largest proportion in upland that their quota seemed extremely difficult to meet when it was delivered.[2] These findings are summarized in the table below:

Attitude When Quota was Delivered

	Percentage of land in upland			
	0-30	31-50	51-70	71 plus
Can meet it somehow	57%	55%	51%	81%
Extremely difficult to meet	37	38	32	12
Easy to meet	2	3	8	4
Cannot say	4	4	9	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

1. Only 1601 of the 1789 respondents in this survey received crop quotas; the remaining 188 farmers had too small operations or were authorized 100 percent crop retentions. Thus, in this chapter the term "farmer" means "farmer with a crop quota", and each "100% -- except where indicated otherwise--means these 1601 respondents.
2. The same general tendency was noted in responses to the question concerning attitudes toward quotas at the time they were assigned

High village quotas are the chief reason for delivery difficulties

All farmers who stated that their quota was extremely difficult to meet were asked whether this difficulty stemmed from the high total village quota or from inequities in the sub-allotment of quotas for farmers within the village. A majority (67 percent) stated that it was the high village quota that caused the difficulty. This is particularly true of farmers with large families. Conversely, farmers with small families tended to complain more often of discrimination ("My quota was unfair compared to others"). This response was made twice as frequently by heads of small families than it was by heads of large ones.

Question: (To those who thought the quota was "extremely difficult to meet"): Was it just that your quota was more difficult than that of other farmers around here, or was the quota for the entire village very difficult?

	Number of persons in family				
	Total	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-plus
The quota for the village was too high	67%	51%	68%	69%	75%
My quota was unfair compared to others	20	30	22	16	15
Both are true	13	19	10	15	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Proportion of total: 37%

B. Determining Crop Quotas

Most farmers know how their quotas have been determined

The actual amount of staple crops which each individual farmer must contribute toward the village quota is determined in a variety of ways. The three most common methods are a) fixing the quota solely on the basis of the number of tan[1] each farmer cultivates, b) fixing

1. One tan equals .245 acres.

the quota on the basis of past records of production ("documentary investigation") and c) fixing the quota on the basis of actual soil surveying. When asked how the quota was decided in their village, a majority of farmers gave a correct answer. This is particularly true in those villages in which a soil survey had been made. However, the extent of the farmers' knowledge of the method varies according to the actual method used. In general, it may be said that when a soil survey has been made in a village more farmers are aware of it than they are when other methods are employed. The following table contains a summary of these findings.

Knowledge of Methods of Quota Determination

Method of alloting quota in villages	Method of determining quota in villages	Percent of farmers who knew of method of determining quota
Given directly to farmers by village office	1) Yield per tan considered uniform throughout village	56%
	2) Documentary investigation	44%
	3) Soil survey	79%
Given to farmers by buraku officials	1) Yield per tan considered uniform throughout village	60%
	2) Documentary investigation	57%
	3) Soil survey	80%

Over half the farmers with experience think that the land surveys and land grading helped to make quotas fair

Ninety percent of all farmers interviewed live in villages in which land productivity and similar surveys have been made. They were asked whether or not they thought that these measures helped to make delivery quotas fair for everyone. Over half replied that they did.

Yes	58%
No	20
Don't know	22
	100%
Proportion of total:	90%

However, this is not true of farmers who thought that their quota was unfair compared to that of others. Of this dissatisfied group, only

31 percent thought the measures had made quotas more fair, and
43 percent thought they had not.

A majority of farmers cited inexpertness as the chief reason why surveying and grading didn't help to make quotas fair for everyone

Why Didn't the Soil Grading and Surveying Help?	Expressed as percentage of farmers who thought that surveys and grading did not help
Reasons concerning inexpertness:	52%
(Gradings were made by untrained persons using untested methods)	(29)
(Insufficient attention was given to such auxiliary factors as exposure to sunlight)	(9)
(Gradings were based upon inappropriate, inadequate, or outdated data)	(7)
(Year-to-year variations were not taken into consideration)	(7)
Grading was unfair	32
Government-determined quotas are always high	3
Others	6
Unclear	7
	100%

Proportion of total: 20%

Personal judgment is favored slightly more than surveys, except by better educated farmers

As noted above, a majority of farmers feel that soil surveying and land grading helped to make quotas more fair. However, nearly 2 out of every 3 farmers evidence some degree of faith in personal judgment; it is either their first choice for a method or they feel that it should be relied upon along with soil surveys. This is true of all groups except those farmers who have attended higher school; only half of this group favor the use of personal judgment or of both personal judgment and soil surveys.

Question: Which do you think should be relied upon more, a detailed scientific survey of soil characteristics or personal judgment based upon experience?

	Total	By education: Primary School	Middle School	Higher School
Personal judgment	35%	36%	28%	18%
Soil survey	28	29	27	46
Both	28	26	40	32
Don't know	9	9	5	4
	100	100%	100%	100%

However, when asked to respond to a "free answer" question, over half of the farmers gave answers indicating a belief in soil surveys, and very few farmers mentioned "personal judgment" as a method of determining the yield per tan.

Question: The main problem in connection with the local determination of pre-planting quotas is the determination of the yield per tan. How do you think this should be done?

Answers indicating belief in soil surveys	54%	
(By a soil survey on a hitsu basis.[1] Grade according to locality, taking into consideration past yield per hitsu, planting dates, flood and insect danger, irrigation, sunshine, exposure)		(34)
(By tsubo sampling and circular tsubo sampling)[2]		(13)
(By head and grain counting)		(7)
Answers indicating belief in documentary investigation	20	
(By taking the average for 3-5 years as a basis)		(19)
(By using pre-land reform rent as a basis)		(1)
Answers indicating a belief in personal judgment	4	
(By past experience and personal judgment)		(3)
(By taking the opinions of aged or professional experts)		(1)
Other answers	6	
Unclear	16	
	100%	

(Footnotes on next page)

Farmers who favor personal judgment as a method of determining quotas were asked if they thought that this method would result in about the same quotas as are determined by the present system of quotas being assigned to villages. Nearly half of them thought that it would; a third thought that it would not; and 1 out of 5 stated that they didn't know.

Question: (To those who favor personal judgment) If the yield per tan was estimated by personal judgment, i.e., if the buraku yield was estimated from the total of individual farmer's estimates, and the village yield based upon a total of buraku estimates, do you think it would add up to about the same amount as the present delivery quota?

Yes	47%
No	33
Don't know	20
	100%
Proportion of total:	35%

Of those who think it would not, slightly over half gave as a reason the argument that the present assigned quota would be higher than the locally determined one, and nearly one in five stated that too many errors would result if local determination was used.

Why Not?	Expressed as percentage of those who said "no"
Assigned quotas are higher	53%
Too many errors would result from individual determination	17
Others	14
Cannot say	2
Unclear	14
	100%
Proportion of total:	13%

C. Quota Revisions

Provisions of the Food Maintenance Temporary Measures Law prohibit individual quotas from being increased at harvest time, even though a

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1. A hitsu is a small plot of farmland.
2. A tsubo equals 36 square feet. In tsubo sampling, a tsubo of standing grain is chosen at random from a farmer's fields, the actual number of heads is counted, and the quota determined by extrapolation.

good crop is produced. However, downward revisions may be made, as some farmers always harvest less than anticipated because of local disasters. In some villages, all farms were automatically surveyed to determine whether or not a downward revision would be necessary; in others this was not done.

A majority of farmers had their farms surveyed for downward quota revision

Question: Was your farm surveyed last year for a downward quota revision, or did you apply for a revision if there was no survey?

Yes, it was surveyed	60%
I applied but it was not surveyed	15
It was not surveyed	25
	100%

Six out of every ten farmers who had their farms surveyed or who applied for a survey received revised quotas

Did You Get A Revised Quota?

	Expressed as percentage of those who applied for or had their farms surveyed
Yes	60%
No	40
	100%

Proportion of total: 75%

As might be expected, farmers who reported that quota delivery was easy received revised quotas less often than did those who found delivery extremely difficult. Nevertheless, nearly half of the farmers (2 percent of the total) who found that delivery was easy received revised quotas, as did 60 percent of the farmers (45 percent of the total) who stated that they were able to make their deliveries somehow. These facts suggest that some quota revisions are being made for farmers who don't need them.

	Percentage who received revised quota
Found quota easy to meet	46%
Found quota possible to meet	60%
Found quota difficult to meet	83%
ALL RESPONDENTS	60%

A majority of those who received them are dissatisfied with their revised quotas

Dissatisfaction with Revised Quotas

Dissatisfied	60%	
(Dissatisfied)		(21)
(Dissatisfied but it can't be helped)		(39)
Satisfied	40%	
	100%	

Dissatisfaction is highest among:

Farmers who found their quotas difficult to meet	(69%)
Farmers who favor the former post-planning quota system	(64%)
Farmers who reported that their insurance estimate of crop damage had been only slightly taken into consideration in their quota revision	(73%)

and lowest among:

Farmers who found their quotas easy to meet	(52%)
Farmers who favor the present pre-planting quota system	(55%)
Farmers who reported that their insurance estimate of crop damage had been fully taken into consideration in their quota revision	(44%)

A plurality of dissatisfied farmers gave as their reason the fact that the total revision for the village was too low

Why Weren't You Satisfied?

The total revision for the village was too low, so it can't be helped	46%
The damage survey was not accurate	12
Delivery is our duty: it can't be helped	9
The quota is unfair	6
Others	21
Unclear	6
	100%

D. Pre-planting versus Post-planting Quotas

Prior to 20 July 1948, crop quotas were set after planting and prior to harvesting. This system was changed to a pre-planting quota system in order to provide farmers with more tangible production goals, and, thereby, to increase the total crop collection throughout the country.

A majority favor the pre-planting quota system

More than half of the farmers prefer the new system. About half of the farmers who favor it gave "emotional" reasons for doing so; all of those who prefer the old system gave "practical" reasons for their preference.

Question: The pre-planting quota system went into effect only last year. Which do you prefer - the former post-planting quota system, or the present system?

		56%
Present system		(27)
"Emotional" reasons:		
(It is promising. It strengthens the will to increase production. As long as the revisions system is carried out fairly, we can work willingly)		(24)
"Practical" reasons:		
(We can make plans; we have goals to strive toward)		(14)
(The more we work the more we profit)		(4)
(The quota for which we are responsible is stipulated ahead of time. We know in advance the amount of retention allowed)		(4)
(It is better, as it is based upon a scientific survey)		(2)
Other reasons		(3)
Reasons unclear		(2)
	36	
Post-planting quota system		
"Practical" reasons:		
(The actual yield is not clear and it all does not result in an unfavorable situation. Crop damage can be considered accurately)		(17)
(The actual situation of our crops is taken into consideration)		(8)
(My crop has often been damaged; therefore I prefer it. Quota revision becomes unnecessary)		(6)
(We need not make over quota deliveries)		(1)
(The standards used in allocating the preplanting quotas are too high)		(1)
(Others)		(2)
(Unclear)		(1)
Don't know	3	
(They are both the same (in the case of preplanting quotas we must make over-quota deliveries). They are both unreasonable)		
Preference unclear	5	
	100%	

It was also found that certain groups of farmers are more in favor of the pre-planting quota system than are others. In general, the present pre-planting quota system is most popular among:

Farmers who favor scientific surveys over judgments based upon experience	(63%)
Farmers who thought (at the time it was assigned) that their quota would be easy to meet	(73%)
Farmers who thought (at the time it was assigned) that their quota could be met somehow	(66%)
Farmers who thought (at the time it was delivered) that their quota was easy to meet	(66%)
Farmers who thought (at the time it was delivered) that their quota could be met somehow	(65%)
ALL RESPONDENTS	(56%)

A majority of those who prefer pre-planting quotas favor soil surveys as techniques for quota determinations; a majority of those who prefer post-planting quotas favor tsubo sampling

Question: What should be done about the determination of quotas?

	Expressed as percentage of all respondents
Prefer pre-planting quotas:	
Conduct a soil survey and then grade the land. Grade the fertility of the land and then allocate the pre-planting quota. Allocate a pre-planting quota and then revise it	39%
Prefer post-planting quotas:	
Allot post-planting quotas, based upon tsubo sampling and actual counting of grains in the heads. Examine the actual crop and authorize farmers to retain rice	25
Decide a post-planting quota after visiting all cultivated land	2
Have no preference:	
The revision is the main point of both systems. Fairness comes first. Foster a spirit of helping one another	7
Have a voluntary delivery system, the quota to be decided by ourselves	3
Others	3
Unclear	21
	100%

E. Free Sale Versus Over-quota Delivery

Free sale of excess rice is slightly favored over over-quota delivery

Crop collection regulations allow farmers to deliver crops to the Government anonymously through an authorized agent who collects the payment from the Government and passes it on to the farmer. The chief purpose of this plan is to allow farmers to deliver more than their quota without fear that such delivery will result in a higher quota in the succeeding year. In fact, farmers are obliged by law to deliver through normal quota delivery channels all crops except those authorized for retention; any free sale is considered to be black-marketing.[1] In order to encourage over-quota deliveries, higher prices are paid than are paid for crops within the assigned delivery quota.[2] Nevertheless, black-market prices are generally higher than over-quota delivery prices. The opinion of farmers is divided on the subject of over-quota deliveries. Forty-three percent would prefer that the free sale of crops be authorized; 36 percent favor the over-quota delivery system; and 14 percent think that either plan is all right. A large majority of farmers who prefer the over-quota delivery system gave "social" reasons for their preference.

1. On 13 December 1949, the Economic and Scientific Section of SCAP announced that over-quota deliveries of white and sweet potatoes are not required for the 1949 crop. In fact, the Government will not purchase more than 110 percent of any one farmer's 1949 potato quota. This relaxation of controls was made in order to reduce the expenditures of the collection program and reduce the amount of spoilage.

2. For example, in 1948 the over-quota delivery price for rice was three times the regular price. (In 1949, the price was reduced to two times the regular price.)

Free Sale Versus Over-quota Delivery

Prefer:

Free sale		43%
Personal reasons: Profit		
(There is no income tax on profits)	(12)	
(The price is better)	(9)	
(It's simpler, and it's possible to sell when and to whom you want)	(9)	
(It does not increase the next quota)	(2)	
Personal reasons: Psychological		
(It's better psychologically. It means an increase in output. Over-quota deliveries are a coercive measure)	(5)	
Social reasons:		
(It eliminates restraints. An unrestricted circulation of staple goods would alleviate the nation's food situation)	(2)	
Other reasons; reasons unclear	(4)	
Over-quota delivery		36
Social reasons:		
(It is more fair to nonfarmers)	(13)	
(It is more fair to farmers)	(6)	
(It controls inflation)	(3)	
Personal reasons: profit		
(We get a good price, three times that of the regular price)	(6)	
(We get incentive goods)	(3)	
Other reasons; reasons unclear	(5)	
No preference: Both systems are all right		14
Don't know		7
		100%

Increasing Crop Production

Opinion is divided concerning the possibility of increasing production by 10 percent

Question: How do you feel about the possibility of increasing your rice and wheat production by 10 percent?

It is out of the question	44%
If I strain, I can	40
It would be easy	6
Cannot answer	10
	100%

As might be expected, the percentage of farmers who stated that "it is out of the question" is greatest (54 percent) among farmers who had difficulty in meeting their grain quotas, and least (26 percent) among farmers who found their quotas easy to meet.

Fertilizer is the important factor in production

Under What Conditions Could You Increase Production by 10 Percent?

	Expressed as percentage of respondents who thought they might increase production
If fertilizer ration is increased	75%
If I could economize on labor and increase working hours. Prices would have to go down first. There is too much pressure upon farmers who specialize in rice and wheat	11
It depends upon the climate	7
If irrigation, roads, soil dressing, and drainage are improved	3
If seeds and cultivating techniques are improved	2
If livestock and farming tools are available	2
	100%
Proportion of total:	40%

A large majority of farmers feel that the crop delivery system is necessary

One of the most significant findings of this survey is that many of Japan's farmers have a highly developed sense of social responsibility. As noted above, over one-third of all farmers prefer the over-quota delivery system, which seems to be less financially advantageous to farmers than would be a system of free sale; and of this group, 2 out of every 3 gave "social" reasons for their preference. Further evidence for this finding is the fact that nearly 9 out of every 10 respondents expressed the opinion that the quota delivery system is necessary in view of present food conditions. Furthermore, nearly 8 out of every 10 respondents stated that if the present quotas were reduced the food situation of non-farmers would worsen, more than 6 out of every 10 said things would be "intolerable", and less than 1 out of every 10 thought such a reduction would either make no difference or make things better.

Question: In view of present food conditions, do you think the quota system is necessary or not necessary?

	All Respondents
Necessary	89%
Unnecessary	5
Don't know	6
	100%

Question: What do you think would happen to the food situation of nonfarmers if the present quotas were reduced?

	All Respondents	
Things would become worse	76%	
(Things would become intolerable)		(65)
(The "haves" would get more; the "have nots" would get less; confusion, higher prices, and social unrest would result; it would be tough on the consumers)		(6)
(Things would become difficult)		(5)
It would make no difference; people would get along	5	
Things would become better	2	
Others	4	
Unclear	13	
	100%	

Chapter II

FERTILIZER ALLOCATIONS AND BLACK-MARKET PURCHASES

Several factors are responsible for the primary importance of fertilizer in Japanese agriculture. Chief among them are the facts that the soils are naturally low in fertility, and the long growing season and the compulsory crop collections lead to extensive double-cropping. Since there is a shortage of many types of fertilizer in postwar Japan, the system of allocation in force during the War has been continued during the Occupation, modified to ensure timely deliveries and equitable distribution between crops and areas. The present survey attempted to determine the extent to which the new system achieves its goals of maximum use of both domestic and imported fertilizer.

A majority of farmers received their fertilizer ration when it was needed...

Promptness of 1948 Fertilizer Ration

	Spring ration	Fall ration
It was on time	51%	61%
It was late	45	35
Don't know	4	4
	100%	100%

... but it was not sufficient for their needs

Question: Were you able to get along on your fertilizer ration last year?

Yes	21%
No	78
Don't know	1
	100%

There was some variation from region to region

Percentage of Farmers Unable to Get Along on Fertilizer Ration, by Region

North Kyushu	88%
Kinki	88%
Hokuriku	87%
North Kanto	85%
South Kanto	81%
Tokai	76%
Nankai	74%
Tohoku	70%
Inland Sea	68%
Sanin	59%
ALL JAPAN	78%

Two-thirds of those who were not able to get along purchased on the black-market

However, black-market purchasing of fertilizer is more common in some regions than in others. In general, black-market purchasing is highest in regions where the highest percentages of farmers could not get along on their fertilizer ration and lowest in regions where highest percentages of farmers could get along. The coefficient between these two variables is + .87.

Fertilizer Purchasing on the Black Market, by Region

Rank order of regions, by percentages unable to get along on fertilizer ration	Region	Percentage of respondents who stated that they had purchased on the black market
2	Kinki	88%
1	North Kyushu	74%
4	North Kanto	71%
5	South Kanto	70%
3	Hokuriku	64%
9	Inland Sea	61%
8	Tohoku	54%
6	Tokai	51%
10	Sanin	49%
7	Nankai	22%
	ALL JAPAN	63%

A plurality of farmers used half nonrationed and half rationed fertilizer

As noted above, nearly two-thirds of all farmers used some black-market fertilizer. The data obtained give no accurate indication of the amount of such fertilizer used. However, some indication of this is found in the responses to a question concerning the percentage of all nonrationed (both home-supplied and black-market) fertilizer used. The responses to this question are widely distributed: about 1 out of every 4 farmers used less than 35 percent nonrationed fertilizer; about 1 out of every 3 used between 35 and 55 percent; about 1 out of every 3 used between 55 and 75 percent; and about 1 in every 7 didn't know how much he used. The median percentage of nonrationed fertilizer used was 50 percent.

Question: Approximately what percentage of the fertilizer you used last year was nonrationed (including both home-supplied and black-market)?

0 - 15 percent	3%
15 - 25 percent	6
25 - 35 percent	13
35 - 45 percent	13
45 - 55 percent	20
55 - 65 percent	13
65 - 75 percent	13
75 - 85 percent	4
More than 85 percent	0*
Don't know	15
	100%

*Less than 0.5 percent

A large majority of farmers could pay for and use more rationed fertilizer

Regional differences exist. In general, regions in which higher percentages of farmers were unable to get along on their fertilizer ration contained higher percentages of farmers who could pay for and use more rationed fertilizer. The coefficient of correlation between these two variables is + .91.

Rank order of regions by percentages unable to get along on fertilizer ration	Region	Percentage of respondents who could use more fertilizer
1	North Kyushu	96%
2	Kinki	95%
5	South Kanto	91%
4	North Kanto	88%
3	Hokuriku	86%
6	Tokai	85%
9	Inland Sea	85%
8	Tohoku	82%
7	Nankai	71%
10	Sanin	56%
	ALL JAPAN	86%

Farm manures are most frequently purchased on the black market

All farmers who reported that they had purchased on the black market were asked what kinds of fertilizer they purchased. A majority of the answers given were in the "farm manures" category.

Fertilizers Most Frequently Purchased on the Black Market

	Expressed as percentage of answers given by black-market purchasers	
Farm manures: animal (Human and livestock excrement, fish entrails, raw fish, bone dust, wool)	55%	
Farm manures: vegetable (Compost, rice bran, straw, soy beans, bean cakes, fallen leaves)	20	(13)
(Potash, straw ash)		(7)
Commercial fertilizers (Ammonium sulfate, ammonium nitrate, nitro-lime, nitrogenous fertilizers)	57	(41)
(Lime)		(10)
(Phosphates, super-phosphates)		(6)
Others	2	
	XXX *	

* Adds to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Chapter III

CROP AND LIVESTOCK INSURANCE

Land is used for farming in Japan which would be considered sub-marginal in a surplus food production country. It is a matter of both necessity and national policy that a high level of production be maintained, even if much of the land used is not suited for risk-free farming. The risks of operating poor land or land unusually subject to flood or other disaster are intensified in Japan by the minute scale of farm operations and the difficulties faced by a farmer in finding essential substitute income in the event of even a small-scale crop failure. Farmers everywhere must be guaranteed a minimum return for their efforts or they will cease to farm. In Japan, in order to ensure this minimum return, and maintain maximum production, the Government requires farmers to participate in an insurance program, and undertakes to subsidize a part of the cost of insurance benefit payments. The program is a revision of the system existing at the time of the Surrender, which dated from the Crop Insurance Act of 1939. In December 1947, a new Compensation Against Agricultural Loss Law was promulgated, which contained provisions for reorganizing this former system to bring it into closer harmony with basic Occupation objectives and to correct inherent administrative and procedural difficulties.

Since the passage of the Livestock Insurance Act in 1929, Japanese farmers have had a system under which they could voluntarily insure their livestock against loss. As in the case with crop insurance, certain changes have been made during the Occupation in order to facilitate efficient administration and achieve Occupation objectives.

A majority of farmers feel that crop and livestock insurance are necessary

In all agricultural regions, a majority of farmers expressed the opinion that a system of agricultural insurance is necessary.

Question: At present, in the event of certain kinds of damage to crops and livestock, a certain amount of compensation can be obtained from the mutual relief associations. Do you think that this kind of a system is necessary or not?

Necessary	72%
Unnecessary	23
Don't know	5
	100%

However, there is some lack of confidence in the mutual relief associations

The administration of crop and livestock insurance at the local level is done by agricultural mutual relief associations, which are specialized types of agricultural cooperatives. Local associations insure with prefectural associations, which in turn insure with the Government. The entire program is under the general surveillance of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. The extent to which farmers have confidence in their local associations is of course one measure of the success of the program. In the present survey, farmers who stated that they thought that insurance was unnecessary were asked what they would do if their crop was damaged. Nearly 1 out of every 3 stated that they didn't know what they would do, but if damage occurred they did not think that the associations would be any help. Another 28 percent stated that they would just have to resign themselves to the loss, and 16 percent stated that their crop is never damaged.

Question: (To those who said insurance was unnecessary) What would you do if your crop was damaged?

I don't know, but the agricultural mutual relief associations wouln't be any help	29%
I would just resign myself to it	28
Other answers	22
My crop is never damaged	16
Unclear	5
	100%

Proportion of total: 23%

A. Crop Insurance

Insurance is not desired for sweet and white potatoes and for miscellaneous cereals

Crop insurance is provided only for silkworms, paddy and upland rice, wheat, barley, and oats. In the present survey, farmers who stated that they thought insurance is necessary were asked whether or not they thought insurance is also necessary for sweet and white potatoes and for miscellaneous cereals. Nearly 2 out of every 3 replied that they did not.

Question: (To those who said "necessary") Even though you would pay a rather high premium, do you think such insurance is also necessary for sweet and white potatoes and miscellaneous cereals?

	Type of Insurance	
	Sweet and white potatoes	Misc'l cereals
No	58%	63%
Yes	37	31
Don't know	5	6
	100%	100%

Proportion of total: 72%

At present, crop insurance covers damage caused by flood, wind, drought, frost, snow, and disease. It does not cover damage caused by insects, birds, animals, or fire. Farmers who feel that insurance is necessary were asked whether or not they thought protection from these last-named losses was necessary. It was found that 2 out of every 3 favor insurance for insect damage, and about 4 out of every 10 favor it for bird, animal, and fire damage.

Question: (To those who said "necessary") Even though the premium will be higher, do you think insurance is necessary to cover insect, bird and animal, and fire damage?

	Types of Damage		
	Insect	Bird and Animal	Fire
Yes	68%	40%	44%
No	25	52	47
Don't know	7	8	9
	100%	100%	100%

Proportion of total: 72%

Compensation for flood, drought, and wind damage is considered most necessary

However, farmers are generally satisfied with the types of coverage now offered by the insurance. When asked to name the type of coverage most necessary, 86 percent of those who think insurance is necessary mentioned types of coverage included in the program.

Question: (To those who said "necessary") For what type of damage do you think insurance is most necessary?

Flood	27%
Drought	22
Wind	17
Disease	12
Insect	7
Frost	7
Snow and hail	1
Bird and animal	1
Others	2
Don't know	4
	100%

Proportion of total: 72%

Even though a majority of farmers favor crop insurance, nearly half of this majority think that it should be optional rather than compulsory.

	Respondents who think insurance necessary
Satisfied with compulsory crop insurance	49%
Think insurance should be optional	44
Don't know	7
	100%

Proportion of total: 72%

A majority of those who favor insurance also favor the present system of rates and coverages

Over half of the farmers who think insurance is necessary favor the retention of the present system of insurance, in which coverage includes up to one-half the total value of the crop, as do nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of farmers who favor the present system of compulsory insurance. Farmers who prefer the present compulsory insurance are more in favor of the present rates and coverage than are the respondents as a whole.

Question: (To those who said "necessary") Under the present system, insurance covers up to one half of the value of the crops. Which do you prefer: to have the whole crop insured, even though the premium would be higher; to have the premium lowered even though this would lower the amount of coverage; or to have the present rates and coverage continued?

		Favor	
	Total	Compulsory Insurance	Optional Insurance
Retain present system	58%	65%	56%
Premiums should be lowered	21	16	27
Insure entire crop	11	15	8
Don't know	10	4	9
	100%	100%	100%

Proportion of total: 72%

B. Crop Damage and Compensation

Nearly two-thirds of the farmers reported rice damage; nearly half reported wheat damage; and one-third reported damage to silkworms

All farmers were asked which crops had been damaged in the past year.

Crop	Percentage of farmers reporting damage
Rice	63%
Wheat	44%
Silkworms	36%

As might be expected, there is a direct relationship between the fact of having a damaged crop and attitudes toward compulsory and optional insurance. A larger percentage of farmers who favor compulsory insurance experienced damage than did those who favor optional insurance.

Among farmers who favor compulsory insurance,

68 percent had damage to rice,
48 percent had damage to wheat, and
39 percent had damage to silkworms.

Among farmers who favor optional insurance,

59 percent had damage to rice,
41 percent had damage to wheat, and
29 percent had damage to silkworms.

Crop insurance legislation provides that up to one-half of the estimated normal production per hitsu[1] may be compensated for in the event of damage. However, in order for compensation to be awarded, at least 30 percent of the hitsu in question must have been damaged. The present survey findings indicate that farmers at the time of the survey had had varying degrees of success in receiving compensation, depending upon the type of crop damaged. However, the data do not stipulate the extent of damage reported. Thus, although silkworm damage was compensated for least frequently, it may be that a higher percentage of silkworm growers who had less than 30 percent damage reported this as damage than did rice or wheat growers with less than 30 percent damage, and thus, their claims might have been more frequently disallowed. Compensation was awarded most frequently for rice damage, and money was received most frequently for wheat damage.

Compensation for Crop Damage

	Expressed as the percentage of respondents who reported damage to these crops		
	Rice	Wheat	Silkworms
Compensation awarded and money received	25%	36%	11%
Compensation awarded; money not yet received	27	9	3
Compensation not awarded	35	41	61
Don't know whether or not compensation was awarded	13	14	25
	100%	100%	100%
Proportion of total:	63%	44%	36%

Half of those farmers who were awarded compensation stated that damage was fully taken into consideration in their quota revision

Crop collection regulations contain previsions for downward quota revisions at harvest time in order that crop damage may be taken into consideration. Any type or extent of damage may be taken into consideration in quota revisions, unlike the situation that obtains with crop insurance, where stipulations as to type and extent exist. Thus, the findings below underrepresent the actual extent to which crop damage is considered in quota revisions, as they apply only to farmers whose damage was compensated for by insurance.

1. A hitsu is a small plot of farmland.

Question: (To those who were awarded insurance last year for rice, wheat, or both) Was crop damage considered in your quota revision?

Yes, fully	50%
Yes, slightly	21
No	15
Don't know	14
	100%

Proportion of total: 40%

It was also found that, among certain groups of respondents, the percentage reporting full or slight consideration being given to crop damage in quota revisions differs significantly from that of respondents as a whole. The most striking of these differences are summarized in the table below:

Question: (To those farmers who were awarded insurance last year) Was crop damage considered (fully or slightly) in your quota revision?

	Percentage who said "yes"
Insurance awardees satisfied with revised quota	81%
Insurance awardees not satisfied with revised quota	64%
Insurance awardees who think crop and livestock insurance is necessary	72%
Insurance awardees who think crop and livestock insurance is not necessary	65%
ALL INSURANCE AWARDEES	71%

A majority of all farmers don't know the reason why damage is not always taken into consideration

Nearly two-thirds of the less-educated farmers stated that they did not know that damage compensation is sometimes not taken into consideration in quota revisions because of the different basis employed for insurance and quota determination. However, nearly two-thirds of the farmers with higher school educations stated that they did know.

Question: Do you know that damage compensation awarded is sometimes not taken into consideration in quota revisions because delivery quotas are allocated by farm households, while insurance is awarded by hitsu?

		By education		
	All Respondents	Primary School	Middle School	Higher School
No	62%	64%	56%	38%
Yes	38	36	44	62
	100%	100%	100%	100%

... and of those who do know, a majority prefer the present system

This is true both of those who feel that crop and livestock insurance is necessary and those who feel it is unnecessary.

Question: (To those who said "yes") Which would you prefer: to have crop insurance awarded on the basis of hitsu or by farm household?

		Attitude toward insurance	
	All Respondents	Feel insurance necessary	Feel insurance unnecessary
By hitsu	77%	79%	72%
By farm household	19	18	21
Don't know	4	3	7
	100%	100%	100%

Proportion of total: 38%

Payments are slow, especially those for wheat damage

Farmers who received payments for rice damage received them much sooner than did those who received payments for wheat damage. The median interval for rice payments was 5 months; for wheat it was 8 months. Similar differences were found in the experiences of farmers who were awarded compensation but who had not received payment by the end of March 1949. The median period for potential receivers of rice payments was 5-7 months; for potential receivers of wheat payments it was more than 8 months. In fact, 80 percent of this group had been waiting more than 8 months for payment at the end of March 1949.

Interval Between Date Damage Occurred and Date Money Received

	Expressed as percentage of respondents who have received payment	
	Rice damage	Wheat damage
2 months	3%	1%
3 months	11	2
4 months	20	2
5 months	12	3
6 months	12	3
7 months	10	13
8 months	0*	9
9 months and over	2	27
Don't know	30	40
	100%	100%
Proportion of total:	16%	16%

*Less than 0.5 percent

Interval Between Date Damage Occurred and End of March 1949

	Expressed as percentage of respondents who were awarded compensation but had not been paid	
	Rice damage	Wheat damage
3 - 4 months	4%	3%
4 - 5 months	5	1
5 - 6 months	16	0
6 - 7 months	35	3
7 - 8 months	12	0
More than 8 months	17	80
Don't know	11	13
	100%	100%
Proportion of total:	17%	4%

Farmers received more money for rice than for wheat damage

The median amount received for rice payment was ¥465; for wheat payment it was ¥95.

Amount of Compensation Received

	Expressed as percentage of farmers who received compensation	
	Rice damage	Wheat damage
Less than ¥51	6%	22%
¥51 - 100	7	16
¥101 - 200	10	10
¥201 - 300	11	4
¥301 - 500	10	8
¥501 - 1000	12	8
¥1001 - 2000	13	3
¥2000 and over	15	1
Don't know	16	28
	100%	100%
Proportion of total:	16%	16%

Form in which Compensation was Received

	Expressed as percentage of farmers who received compensation	
	Rice damage	Wheat damage
Cash	54%	59%
Entry in passbook; postal money orders	32	24
Credited to premium	0*	1
Others	14	16
	100%	100%
Proportion of total:	16%	16%

*Less than 0.5 percent

Compensation was granted most frequently for flood damage to rice, and for wind damage to wheat

Type of Damage for which Compensation was Granted

	Expressed as percentage of farmers who were awarded compensation	
	Rice damage	Wheat damage
Flood	43%	8%
Wind	10	30
Drought	15	1
Frost	5	7
Snow	0	21
Disease	20	25
Others	5	5
Don't know	2	3
	100%	100%
Proportion of total:	33%	20%

More than half of those who received payments used the money to meet current living costs

Question: For what purpose did you use the insurance money?

Living expenses	52%
Fertilizer	18
Savings, premiums, contributions	10
Farming tools	5
Improvement of farm facilities	3
Others	4
Unclear	8
	100%

C. Livestock Insurance

Over two-thirds of all farmers raise livestock

Livestock Raising

Raise livestock	68%
Do not raise livestock	32
	100%

A large majority of livestock growers are satisfied with the present voluntary insurance system

This percentage is even larger among farmers who would prefer that crop insurance be voluntary.

Question: (To farmers raising livestock) How do you feel about the fact that the Livestock Mutual Insurance is voluntary for farmers raising livestock?

	All respondents	By attitude toward crop insurance: Prefer voluntary crop insurance	By attitude toward crop insurance: Satisfied with compulsory crop insurance
Voluntary livestock insurance is all right	83%	90%	76%
Compulsory livestock insurance would be better	9	4	18
Don't know	8	6	6
	100%	100%	100%

Proportion of total: 68%

A slight majority of all livestock raisers do not belong to a livestock mutual relief association....

Question: (To those who raise livestock) Do you belong to a livestock mutual relief association?

Yes	40%
No (including those who live in villages without an association)	56
Unclear	4
	100%

Proportion of total: 68%

...chiefly because they feel it is unnecessary

Question: (To those who don't belong) Why not?

It is unnecessary	54%
Premiums are too high	19
Others (including "no association in my village")	27
	100%

Proportion of total: 38%

Over a third of the members know nothing of what coverage the insurance offers

Livestock insurance coverage is limited to 80 percent of the value of the animals; on embryo and newborn animals, maximum coverage is 20 percent of the value of the parent, and the coverage rate increases with the age of the animal. The insurance covers death, uselessness through old age, disease, injuries, unsuccessful abortions, and still-births. Over a third of the members of mutual relief associations know nothing of the coverage offered; another third know only that it covers death and uselessness through old age or other cause; and only 10 percent could name all six types of coverage.

Knowledge of Coverage

Stated that insurance covers:	Expressed as percentage of members of livestock mutual relief associations
Death and uselessness through old age or other causes	32%
Death, uselessness, disease, injuries	15
Death, uselessness, disease, injuries, unsuccessful abortions, still births	10
Disease and injuries	5
Unsuccessful abortions, stillbirths	1
Death, uselessness, unsuccessful abortions, stillbirths	1
Disease, injuries, unsuccessful abortions, stillbirths	1
Don't know	35
	100%
Proportion of total:	27%

Chapter IV

POTATO GROWING AND STORING

Sweet and white potatoes have been subject to compulsory collection in Japan since 1942: they may be substituted for wheat or barley at standard conversion rates. Thus, the decision as to whether or not to grow potatoes is made by each farmer, depending upon the nature of his soil, his markets, and his personal preferences.[1]

Most farmers in Japan grew potatoes last year

Potato growing is more common in regions which have a relatively cold climate, as Tohoku, Hokuriku, and Sanin, and in the two regions which contain the largest urban centers, South Kanto (Tokyo-Yokohama) and Kinki (Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto).

Percentage of Potato Growers in Japan, by Region

Sanin	100%
Hokuriku	99%
South Kanto	97%
Kinki	96%
Tokai	96%
North Kanto	95%
Tohoku	93%
Inland Sea	93%
Nankai	84%
North Kyushu	84%
ALL JAPAN	93%

Slightly more than a third of all potato growers used chemical sprays

There is a great deal of variation from region to region in the use of chemical sprays. In general, farmers in the northern and eastern regions--where white potatoes are grown more than they are in the southern and western regions--used chemical sprays most frequently.

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1. See footnote 1, page 13

Use of Chemical Sprays on Potatoes, by Region

Region	Percentage of Potato Growers Using Chemical Sprays
Tohoku	71%
South Kanto	60%
Hokuriku	49%
North Kanto	45%
Kinki	32%
Sanin	30%
Tokai	26%
North Kyushu	23%
Inland Sea	14%
Nankai	9%
ALL JAPAN	37%

There is great variation in the percentage of home-produced and purchased seed potatoes used

The median percentage of purchased potatoes used was 50 percent.

Question: (To potato growers) What percentage of home-produced and purchased seed potatoes did you use last year?

Percentage of purchased potatoes	
0 - 15 percent	25%
15 - 35 percent	12
35 - 45 percent	5
45 - 55 percent	18
55 - 65 percent	3
65 - 75 percent	4
75 - 85 percent	4
More than 85 percent	21
Don't know	8
	100%
Proportion of total:	93%

A majority of those who purchased seed potatoes paid ¥46-55 per kan for them

The median amount paid was ¥54.

Prices Paid for Seed Potatoes

Prices per kan	Expressed as percentage of seed potato purchasers who knew how much they paid
Less than ¥36	2%
¥36 - 45	13
¥46 - 55	51
¥56 - 65	27
¥66 - 75	5
More than ¥75	2
	100%
Proportion of total:	83%

Two-thirds of the potato growers think that the price for new potatoes should be more than ¥35 per kan

At the time of the survey (March 1949), more than two-thirds of the potato growers thought that the price they would receive for potatoes should be more than ¥35 per kan. The median price named was ¥39. This was considerably more than they actually received for these potatoes, as shown in the table following the question.

Question: (To potato growers) In view of the price that you paid for seed potatoes last year, what do you think would be an appropriate price for new potatoes this year

Price per kan	Expressed as percentage of potato growers with opinions about prices
Less than ¥21	2%
¥21 - 25	4
¥26 - 30	18
¥31 - 35	9
¥36 - 40	20
¥41 - 45	5
¥46 - 50	24
More than ¥50	13
	100%
Proportion of total:	55%

1949 Producer's Prices for New Potatoes

Grade	Price per kan*
1	¥22.6
2	¥19.6

*Prices include a container allowance of ¥1.26 per kan.

Half of the potato growers have no desire to increase their acreage

Question: (To potato growers) Would you like to increase your potato acreage?

Yes	17%
In some ways yes, in some ways no	31
No	50
Don't know	2
	100%
Proportion of total:	93%

The lack of land is the most frequently mentioned reason for not wanting to increase potato acreage

Potato growers who stated that they did not wish to increase their acreage were asked to give their reason. Slightly more than half of them gave the lack of suitable land as a reason; nearly a third mentioned quota collections; and another third were concerned with technical aspects of potato production and the low sale price of potatoes.

Reasons for Not Wanting to Increase Potato Acreage

	Expressed as percentage of all potato growers who stated that they did not wish to increase their acreage	
Land reasons	51%	
(I have too little cultivated land)		(44)
(I have too much paddy field land to raise more potatoes)		(7)
Quota reasons	30	
(I need land to fill my wheat quota)		(15)
(I have a quota for vegetables (sweet potatoes, cereals)		(9)
(My present quota is enough. The Government does not approve of substituting potatoes for rice)		(6)
Technical reasons	28	
(Fertilizer shortage)		(12)
(Labor shortage)		(6)
(Yield per tan is too small; too many diseases)		(5)
(Can't store potatoes; wish to improve potatoes rather than increase acreage)		(3)
(Seed potatoes are not good)		(2)
Price reasons	8	
(Price is too low)		
	XXX*	

*Adds to more than 100 percent as some farmers gave more than one reason.

A majority of all farmers grew sweet potatoes last year.

Sweet potatoes are grown by most farmers in all regions of Japan except for Tohoku, where only 1 in every 3 farmers grows them.

Percentage of Sweet Potato Growers in Japan, by Region

Inland Sea	98%
Sanin	97%
Tokai	96%
Hokuriku	94%
South Kanto	93%
Nankai	91%
Kinki	90%
North Kyushu	80%
North Kanto	73%
Tohoku	33%
ALL JAPAN	83%

Two-thirds of the sweet potato growers formerly stored sweet potatoes

Even before potatoes were a crop subject to compulsory delivery, many farmers stored sweet potatoes on their farms, either for personal use or for sale at a higher price later on.

Question: (To those who grew sweet potatoes last year) Before the present delivery system went into effect, did you store sweet potatoes on your farm?

Yes	64%
No	32
Did not grow sweet potatoes then	4
	100%
Proportion of total:	83%

Nearly four out of every five sweet potato growers stored them last year

Under the present delivery system, the Government pays higher prices for sweet potatoes in the Spring than it does in the Fall. Hence, many farmers try to store as many sweet potatoes as possible, i.e., they try to meet their Fall quotas with other crops in order to turn in their sweet potatoes the following Spring. Although all except 21 percent of the sweet potato farmers managed to store some potatoes, the median percentage stored was only 26 percent of the entire crop.

Percentage of Sweet Potatoes Stored Last Year

None	21%
Less than 10 percent	6
10 - 20 percent	14
20 - 30 percent	16
30 - 40 percent	9
40 - 50 percent	12
50 - 60 percent	8
More than 60 percent	11
Unclear	3
	100%

Proportion of total: 83%

A majority feel that sweet potatoes are more profitable than upland rice or miscellaneous cereals.

Question: For the summer planting, which of the following is most profitable for you: sweet potatoes, upland rice, or miscellaneous cereals (including millet, peanuts, etc.)?

Sweet potatoes	64%
Miscellaneous cereals	21
Upland rice	5
Unclear	10
	100%

Chapter V

GOAT RAISING

Livestock has never been popular among Japanese farmers, for a variety of historical and religious reasons.[1] Nevertheless, more and more farmers in recent years have come to realize the value of raising some farm animals. Many agricultural experts recommend goats as the ideal type of milk animal for Japan, as they require less financial investment and less pasturage than do cows. The present survey sought to determine some of the attitudes of farmers toward goat raising.

Very few farmers have ever raised goats

Although less than 1 out of every 5 farmers in Japan has ever raised goats, there is a great deal of variation from region to region. A larger proportion of farmers in certain parts of northeastern and central Japan raise goats than do farmers in western Japan. In the North Kanto region, for example, nearly 4 out of every 10 farmers either now or did formerly raise goats, while in the Kinki region, only 6 out of every 100 farmers have ever raised goats.

Goat Raising, by Region

Region	Raise	Used to Raise	Never Have	Total
North Kanto	22%	13	65	100%
Tokai	13	15	72	100
South Kanto	9	15	76	100
Tohoku	10	13	77	100
Nankai	6	9	85	100
North Kyushu	4	5	91	100
Hokuriku	5	3	92	100
Sanin	1	7	92	100
Inland Sea	3	4	93	100
Kinki	2	4	94	100
ALL JAPAN	8	9	83	100

1. For example, Buddhist taboos against slaughtering animals.

Fodder and labor shortages are the chief reasons given for not raising goats

Question: (To those who do not raise goats) Why not?

Shortage of labor	27%
Shortage of fodder	24
No land	9
Too expensive to buy	9
Hard to buy	3
No good breeds available	2
Others (chiefly not interested)	25
	100%

Proportion of total: 92%

Many farmers raise goats for fertilizer and ...

Reasons for Goat Raising

Fertilizer	32%
Milk	28
Both	39
Others	1
	100%

Proportion of total: 8%

... most of the goat milk is consumed at home

Use of Goat Milk

Drunk by family	87%
Sold to neighbors	2
Others	1
Raise only billy goats	10
	100%

Proportion of total: 8%

Chapter VI

INCENTIVE GOODS

In order to stimulate both crop production and crop deliveries, a system of offering incentive goods to farmers who meet or exceed their quotas has been established by the Government. Under this system, eligible farmers may purchase goods which are otherwise rationed or completely unobtainable. Some goods, such as domestic tobacco, sake (a light rice wine), and some materials and foods are of Japanese origin; others, such as American cigarettes and tobacco, are excess U .S. Army goods released for this purpose. Although specific items of complaint were found, the incentive goods program seems to be generally well accepted. There is some evidence that the program is not a primary factor in increasing the incentives of farmers: although more than 1 out of every 3 farmers favors over-quota delivery of crops rather than free sale, only 1 out of every 12 mentioned the receipt of incentive goods as a reason. However, the problem of work incentives is too complex to be measured by direct questioning for this evidence to be taken as conclusive. Other indices of the success of the program exist, and in the paragraphs below are found answers to such questions as the following:

"Are the incentive goods useful?"
"What are the most popular items?"
"Are the prices considered fair?"
"Can farmers refuse to purchase goods?"
"Is the program generally popular among farmers?"

Nearly half of all farmers reported that they could use all goods received

Forty-three percent of all farmers stated that they could use all the incentive goods they had received. Sake was mentioned by 20 percent as being a nonuseful item.

Question: Did you receive any incentive goods that you could not use? If so, what were they?

Could use all goods received	43%
Could not use:	
Sake	20
Silk and rayon	8
Tobacco	5
American items (blankets, work clothing, matches)	2
Dried cuttlefish, saccharin, candies	1
Others	5
Received no goods	0*
Unclear	20
	XXX**

*Less than 0.5%
**Adds to more than 100 percent as some farmers mentioned several items.

Work clothes, materials, and footgear are most desired

Question: What kind of things would you like to have as incentive goods?

Work clothes, linen, silk, woolens	65%
Footgear, jikatabi,[1] rubber goods	19
Agricultural implements	3
Fertilizer	3
Tires and tubes	2
Gloves, underwear, shirts	1
Others	3
Want nothing	4
	100%

Less than half of the farmers feel that the prices in general are too high

When asked about the prices for incentive goods in general, 45 percent, a plurality of respondents, stated that they thought the prices were too high.

---

1. A rubber-soled work shoe with canvas tops.

Attitudes Toward Prices of Incentive Goods

High	45%
Just right	29
Cheap	14
Cheap compared to black market prices; high compared to price of rice	4
Unclear	8
	100%

However, when asked specifically, a majority named high priced items, and only 17 percent stated that nothing was too highly priced

Items Highly Priced

Everything	22%.
Sake	18
Silk	17
Tobacco	6
Others	7
Nothing	17
Unclear	19
	XXX*

*Adds to more than 100 percent as some farmers mentioned several items.

Less than half of the farmers stated that they are able to refuse incentive goods, but one-third don't know whether or not they are

Question: Are you able to refuse incentive goods?

Yes	48%
No	17
Don't know	35
	100%

A plurality gave personal reasons for not being able to refuse goods, but nearly 1 in 4 felt that there was coercion involved

Why Not?

Personal reasons	41%	
(I cannot get other goods)		(22)
(The goods are necessary for a farmer)		(11)
(The goods are cheaper than other goods)		(5)
(I don't get enough to make it worth while to refuse)		(3)
Social reasons	22	
(It is a duty. If I refuse it will cause inconvenience to the person that they are given to)		(16)
(I am a simple man. If I refuse it will cause inconvenience to those who obtained them for me)		(6)
Coercive reason	24	
(The cooperative forces us to take them)		(24)
Other reasons	6	
Unclear	7	
	100%	

A large majority of farmers favors the program

Attitudes Toward the Incentive Goods Program

It is good	79%
It is bad	11
Others	3
Unclear	7
	100%

There is some evidence that the incentive goods program is favored more by farmers who have benefited (or who have not been adversely affected) by the land reform program than it is by farmers who have been adversely affected or whose status as tenants had not been changed. The program is least popular among landlords, who for the most part have less direct contact with it.

Incentive Goods Program and the Land Reform Program

	Percentage of each group who said "it is good"
Benefited by land reform program	
Pre-land reform tenants who are now owner-cultivators	79%
Not adversely affected by land reform program	
Pre- and post- land reform owner-cultivators	81%
Adversely affected by land reform program	
Pre-land reform landlords who are now owner-cultivators	70%
Status unchanged	
Pre- and post- land reform tenants	70%
Pre- and post- land reform landlords	67%
ALL RESPONDENTS	78%

The program is favored and
opposed for a variety of reasons

The cheapness of hard-to-get goods and the incentive for work which the program offers are the reasons mentioned most frequently by farmers who support the program; those who oppose the program mentioned the fact that in trying to obtain incentive goods they overwork their families. They also complained of the quality, quantity and nature of the goods, and gave other reasons.

Reasons for Favoring and Opposing the Program

Reasons given by those who favor the program

Incentive goods are cheaper than market goods. We get things we cannot get otherwise these days	49%
It rewards the pains taken in delivering quotas. It increases the will to deliver quotas. The amount of goods depends upon the amount delivered Those who don't deliver, don't receive goods	41
Because it is based on a ticket system, we can choose the goods we want	5
It is better than getting nothing	5
	100%
Proportion of total:	79%

Reasons given by those who oppose the program

The Government should do away with the incentive goods system and establish a special rationing system like that for factory workers. We overwork our families out of desire to obtain goods	62%
The quality of goods is poor. Few goods are distributed. Unnecessary goods are distributed. We should have such things as fertilizer	19
The system is trickery, a hocus-pocus played on farmers	14
Delivery is a farmer's duty. Incentive goods cause morals to degenerate	5
	100%
Proportion of total:	11%

APPENDIX

The Sample Design

In order to select a sample of heads of farm households in Japan that would in all important respects be representative of the total population of Japan engaged in farming, area random sampling methods were used. It was first decided to exclude Hokkaido, as the agricultural conditions there differ considerably from those found in the rest of Japan. Thus, all references to "Japan" in this report (except those used in descriptions of legislation or of Government agricultural programs) refer to the islands of Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu only. Secondly, it was determined that approximately 80 sampling points would be adequate, and that a sample including about 1,800 heads of farm households would be sufficiently large to be truly representative. The sample was selected in the following manner:

a) All cities, towns, and villages in Japan were divided into four strata, according to the percentage of the total land area of the city, town, or village under cultivation.

1) 0-29 percent under cultivation
2) 30-50 percent under cultivation
3) 51-70 percent under cultivation
4) More than 70 percent under cultivation

b) Each of the above strata was then divided into two sub-strata, one containing all cities, towns, and villages in which 50 percent or more of the total cultivated land was in paddy, and the other containing those in which less than 50 percent of the total cultivated land was in paddy.

c) Next, all cities, towns, and villages in Japan were classified into agricultural regions, based upon geographical location, climatic conditions, and farm management techniques employed. The ten regions used for this purpose are shown on the attached map.

d) This procedure resulted in the classification of all cities, towns, and villages in Japan into 80 strata.

e) Next, all heads of farm households in Japan were classified according to the agricultural region in which they lived, the percentage of land under cultivation in the city, town, or village in which they lived, and the percentage of land in paddy in the city, town, or village in which they lived.

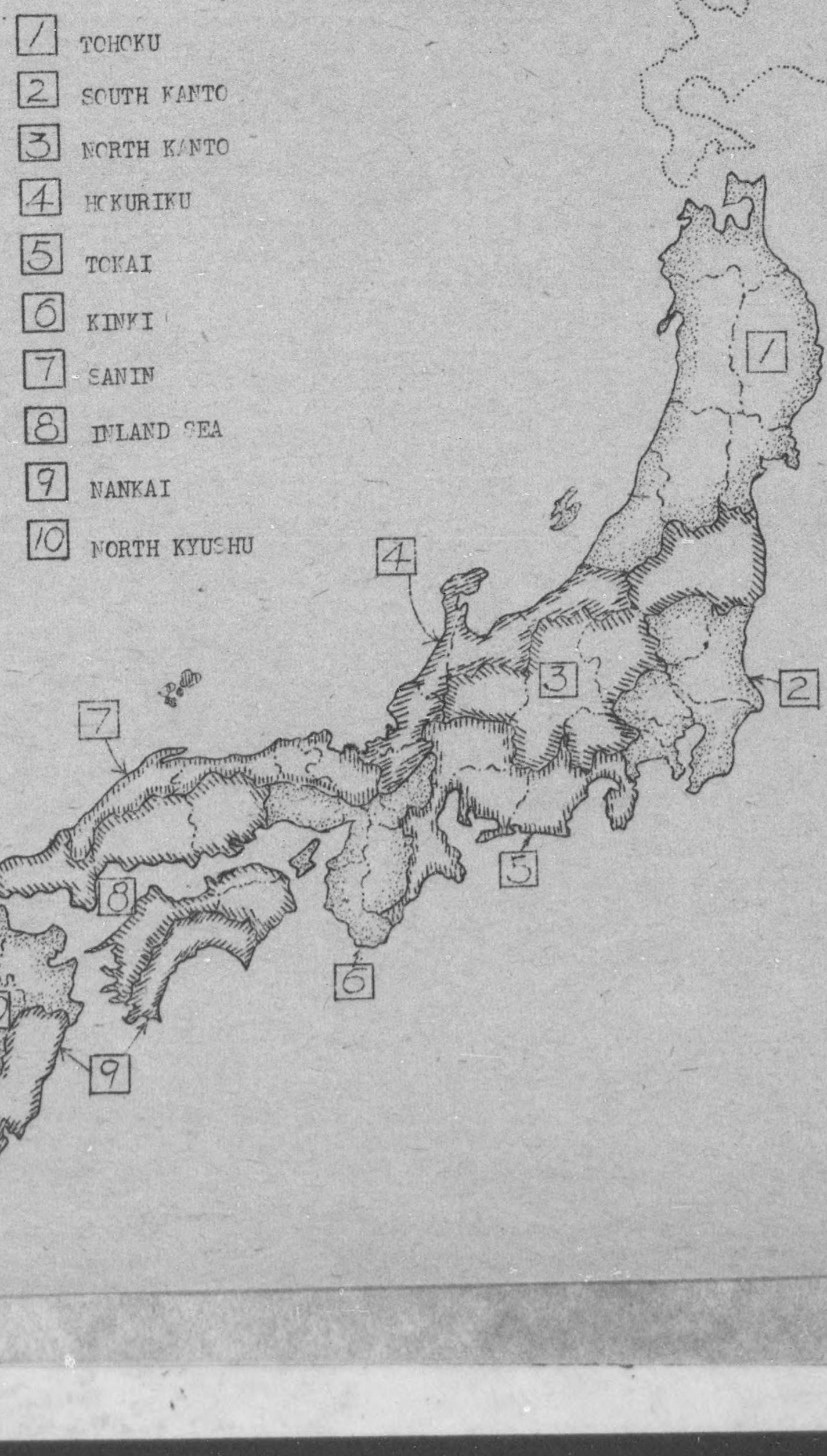
f) This procedure resulted in a basis for the random selection of 80 cities, towns, and villages, selected on the basis of agricultural region, percentage of land under cultivation and in paddy, and the number of farm households involved. However, in order to make the size of the strata more uniform, only 74 sampling points were chosen. Their distribution is given in the following table:

Distribution of Cities, Towns, and Villages Selected as Sampling Points, by Agricultural Region and Percentage of Land under Cultivation and in Paddy

Agricultural region	Percentage of Land under Cultivation: 0-29% Paddy	0-29% Upland	30-50% Paddy	30-50% Upland	51-70% Paddy	51-70% Upland	70% plus Paddy	70% plus Upland	TOTAL
Tohoku	2	2	2		1		2		9
South Kanto	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	10
North Kanto	1	2	2		1		2		8
Hokuriku	2		1		1		1		5
Tokai	2	2	2		1		2		9
Kinki	2		2		1		1		6
Sanin	2		0		1		0		3
Inland Sea	4	1	2	1	1		1		10
Nankai	1	1	2		2				6
North Kyushu	1	1	1	1	1	1	2		8
GRAND TOTAL									74

g) In each of the 74 cities, towns, and villages selected by this method, all heads of farm households were classified according to the amount of land they had under actual cultivation. Twenty-five farmers were selected randomly from the categories, on the basis of the probability of their being included according to the size of their operations. Thus, a sample of 1,850 respondents was selected. For technical reasons, 61 farmers were either not interviewed or their questionnaires were not coded. The actual sample, therefore, contains 1,789 heads of farm households.

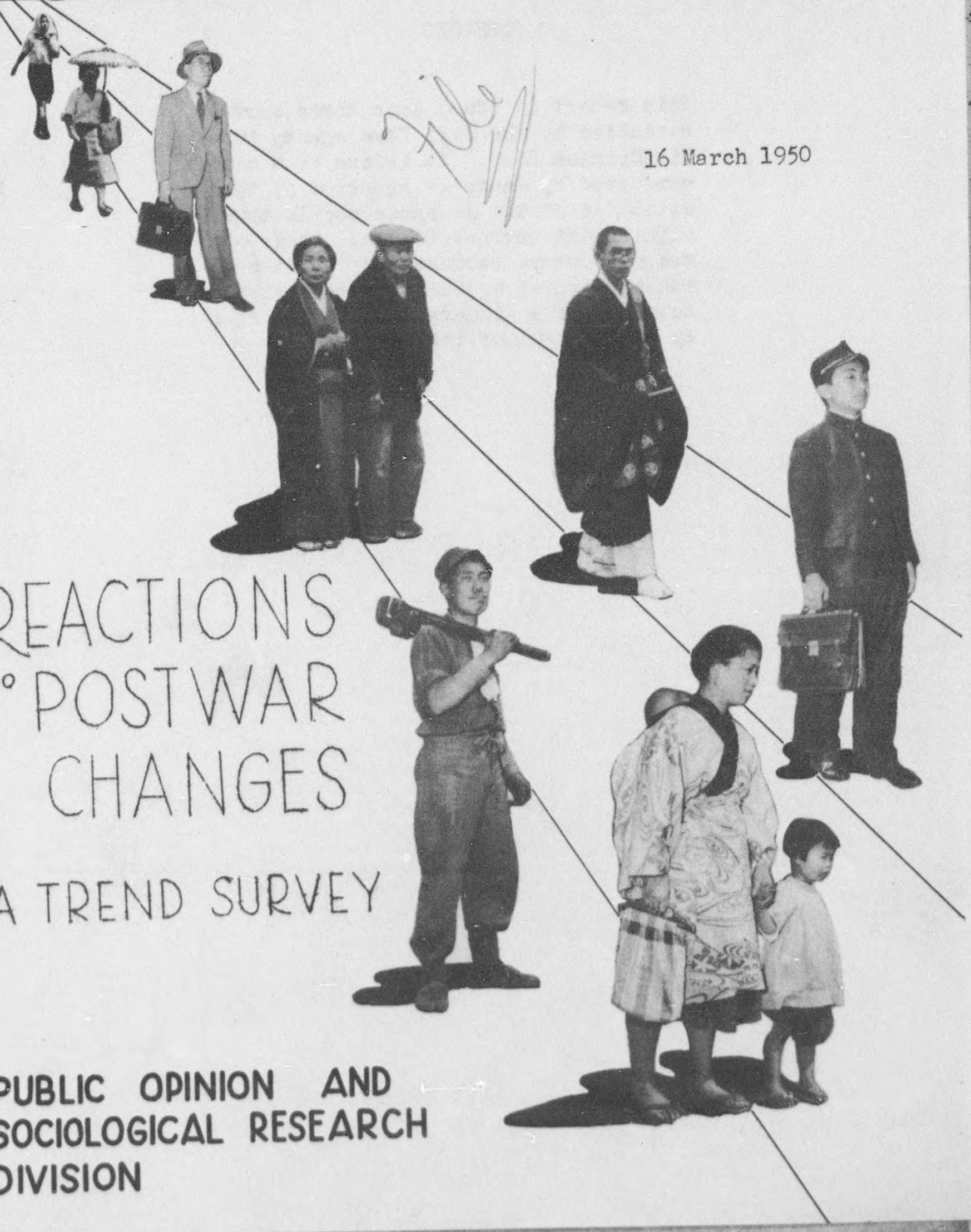
AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF JAPAN



GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section

SURVEY SERIES

16 March 1950



REACTIONS TO POSTWAR CHANGES

A TREND SURVEY

PUBLIC OPINION AND SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH DIVISION

Current Japanese Public Opinion Surveys Series

FOREWORD

This report is based upon three surveys conducted by the Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room. It is one of a series conducted by Japanese agencies of the attitudes of the Japanese people toward significant current issues. These analyses of surveys conducted by Japanese public opinion agencies do not constitute either an indorsement of the agency or approval of its findings.

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Introduction

There can be no realistic evaluation of the impact of the Occupation and the democratization program upon Japan without due consideration of the reactions of the Japanese people to the changes which have occurred since the Surrender. While the success of many programs can be evaluated from objective indices -- such as production figures, the presence of legislation, numbers of people engaged in certain activities -- the success of most programs depends ultimately upon subjective factors, viz., the extent to which their ideas or principles permeate the thinking and practice of the people. The importance of public opinion surveys lies in the facts that they assay the degree of acceptance or rejection of the essential aims of these programs; that they gauge the extent to which people believe these programs have been successful in achieving their objectives; and that they demonstrate the extent to which people have incorporated them into their thinking and behavior.[1]

For many problems in public opinion it is not sufficient to know only what people think at any given time; it is necessary to know if attitudes at a given time are more or less favorable than at other times, and whether or not there have been changes in public disposition over a period of time. The significance of a given set of percentages concerning the distribution of public attitudes at one time is considerably enhanced by a comparison with past and future distributions. Thus, the significance of the fact that in 1949, 63 percent of the people thought that public order had improved is clearer when we know that this represents a sharp increase over 1948. For some problems -- for example, the reactions to a traffic safety campaign -- knowledge of opinion at a given time gives all the information that is necessary for an evaluation of public response. But for problems which are persistent, or for programs which continue for a period of time, we may expect that attitudes will change, and knowledge of the trends and changes of reaction becomes more important than knowledge of the state of opinion at any one time.

Because of this need for repeated assessment, the Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room has conducted since the Surrender, an annual survey of the reactions of the Japanese people to various aspects of the democratization program. These surveys have been conducted at approximately one-year intervals since August 1946.[2]

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1. See Appendix, "A Brief Guide to the Interpretation of Public Opinion Materials."

2. The reader is referred to a CIE report: Current Japanese Public Opinion Surveys, No. 15, "Attitudes on the Democratization of Japan." The results of the first survey (conducted in August 1946) have been excluded both from the above-mentioned and the present report because of their technical unreliability.

The latest survey in this series, the fourth, was conducted in the latter part of October 1949, and is based upon interviews with over 4,000 persons, constituting a cross-section of the adult population of Japan. The respondents were selected for inclusion in the sample by procedures which are based upon probability area random sampling methods. In the present survey, the entire country was divided into areas; within each area, sample points were determined by random procedures; within each designated sample point, individual respondents were selected by taking every n-th name from existing voting registers. By this mechanical randomizing procedure, bias which might result from other methods of selection is avoided.

SUMMARY

If a balance sheet of the 1949 survey is drawn, it will be seen that, as compared with 1948, there has been an increase in favorable reactions. On the favorable side of the ledger, we find a majority (or a plurality) of the Japanese people indicating the feeling that:

- The maintenance of public order has improved.
- The attitude of Government officials has improved, especially since the end of the War.
- Political purgees are not active in their areas.
- The land reform program is going well.
- Newspaper and radio reports are reliable.
- The contents of the mass media have improved.
- The status of women has improved.
- The schools have improved, especially since the end of the War.
- The food and clothing situation has improved.
- Japan is gradually improving.

On the negative side of the ledger, we find less confidence in the views that:

- The Diet reflects the views of the people.
- The labor movement reflects the views of the majority of union members.
- Living conditions have improved in the past year.

The changes that have taken place in public attitude within the past year may be seen in the increase in the percentage of people who hold the following views (rather than their opposites):

- Public order has improved.
- The contents of mass media have improved.
- The status of women has improved.

- The schools have improved.
- Taxes have replaced food and economic stabilization as the major concern of the people.

THE SURVEY FINDINGS

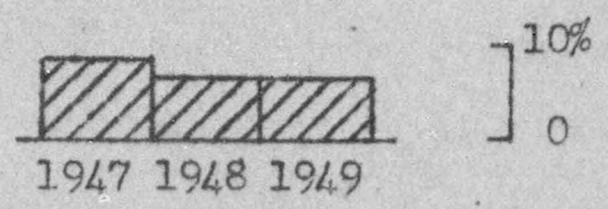
Public Order

There has been a sharp increase of confidence in the security of public order

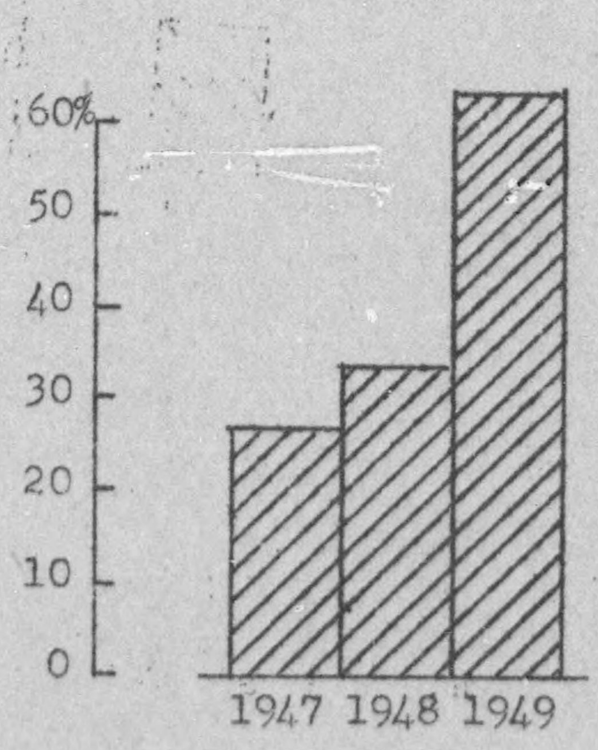
In the 1949 survey, there was a dramatic reversal in the ratio of people who felt that public order had improved as against those who felt it had worsened. In 1947, more people felt that public order had worsened than felt that it had improved. In 1948, the proportion was about equal. In 1949, the proportion of those who feel that public order has improved is more than 4 times as high as those who feel it has worsened.

HAS PUBLIC ORDER IMPROVED OR WORSENED IN THE PAST YEAR?

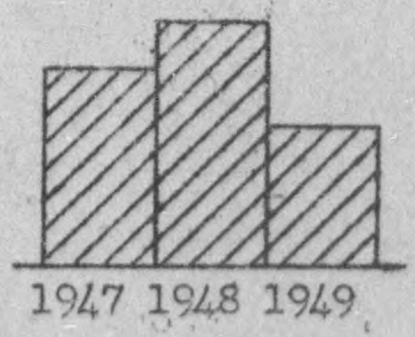
	1949	1948	1947
Improved	63%	33%	27%
No change	15	26	21
Worsened	15	34	43
Don't know	7	7	9
	100%	100%	100%



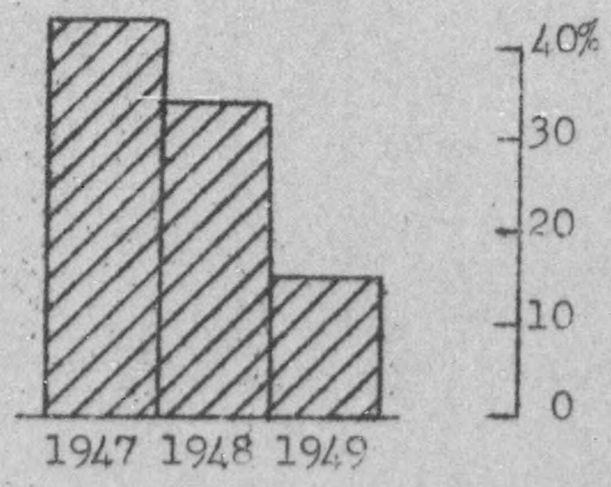
"Don't know"



"Improved"



"No change"



"Worsened"

Government Officials

The Japanese people seem to be generally satisfied with the attitude of Government officials

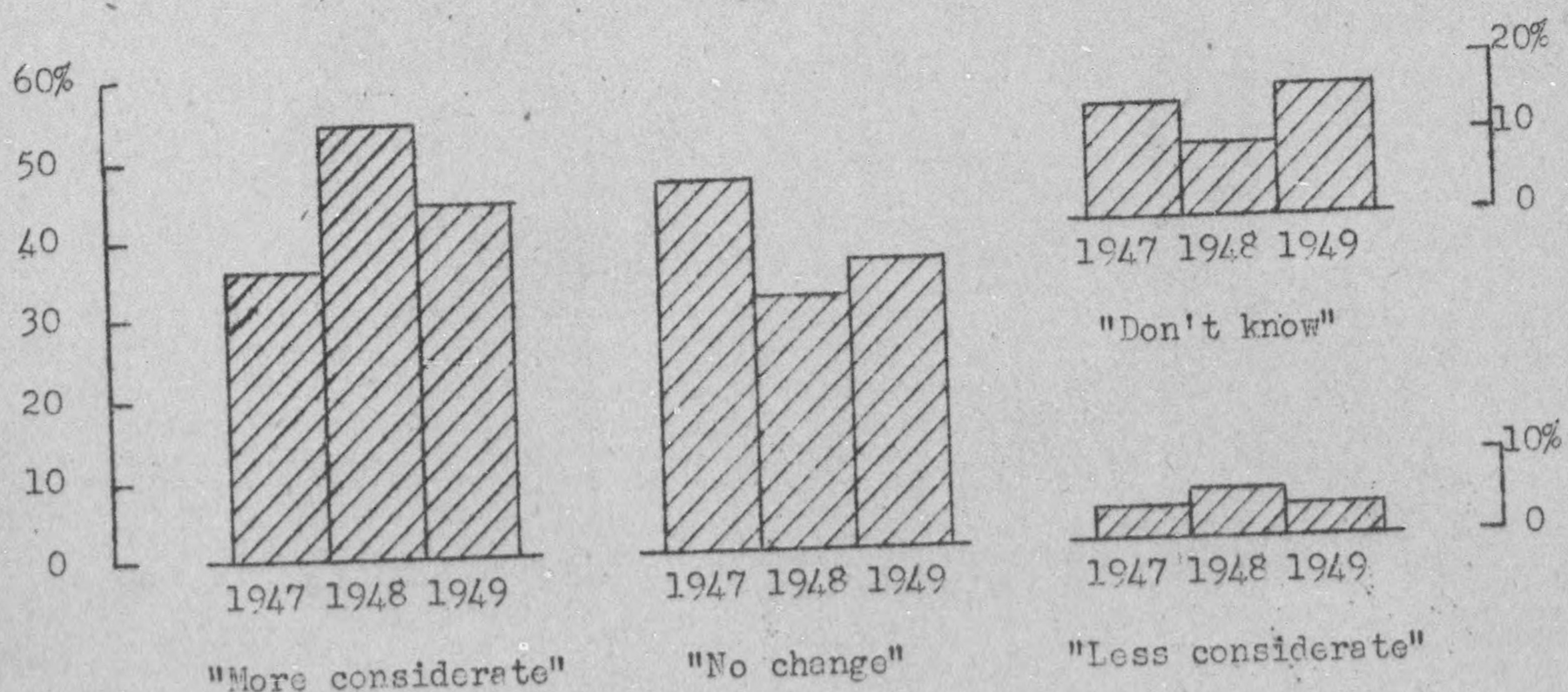
An important aspect of the democratization program has been the attempt to develop a conception of "public service" among Government workers in Japan. Traditionally, the Japanese people have looked upon Government officials as arrogant "bureaucrats", people with virtually unlimited authority. As a consequence of the reforms taking place and the new atmosphere of democratic ideas, the Japanese people are taking a more favorable view of their Government officials. In both 1948 and 1949, an improvement in the attitude of Government officials was reported by at least a plurality of the Japanese people. Taking a longer-range view, 3 out of every 5 respondents feel that Government officials are more considerate than they had been at the end of the war.

ARE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS MORE OR LESS CONSIDERATE THAN LAST YEAR?

	1949	1948	1947
More considerate	44%	54%	36%
No change	36	31	46
Less considerate	4	6	4
Don't know	16	9	14
	100%	100%	100%

ARE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS MORE OR LESS CONSIDERATE THAN AT THE END OF THE WAR?

More considerate	60%
No change	21
Less considerate	5
Don't know	14
	100%



Activity of Purgees

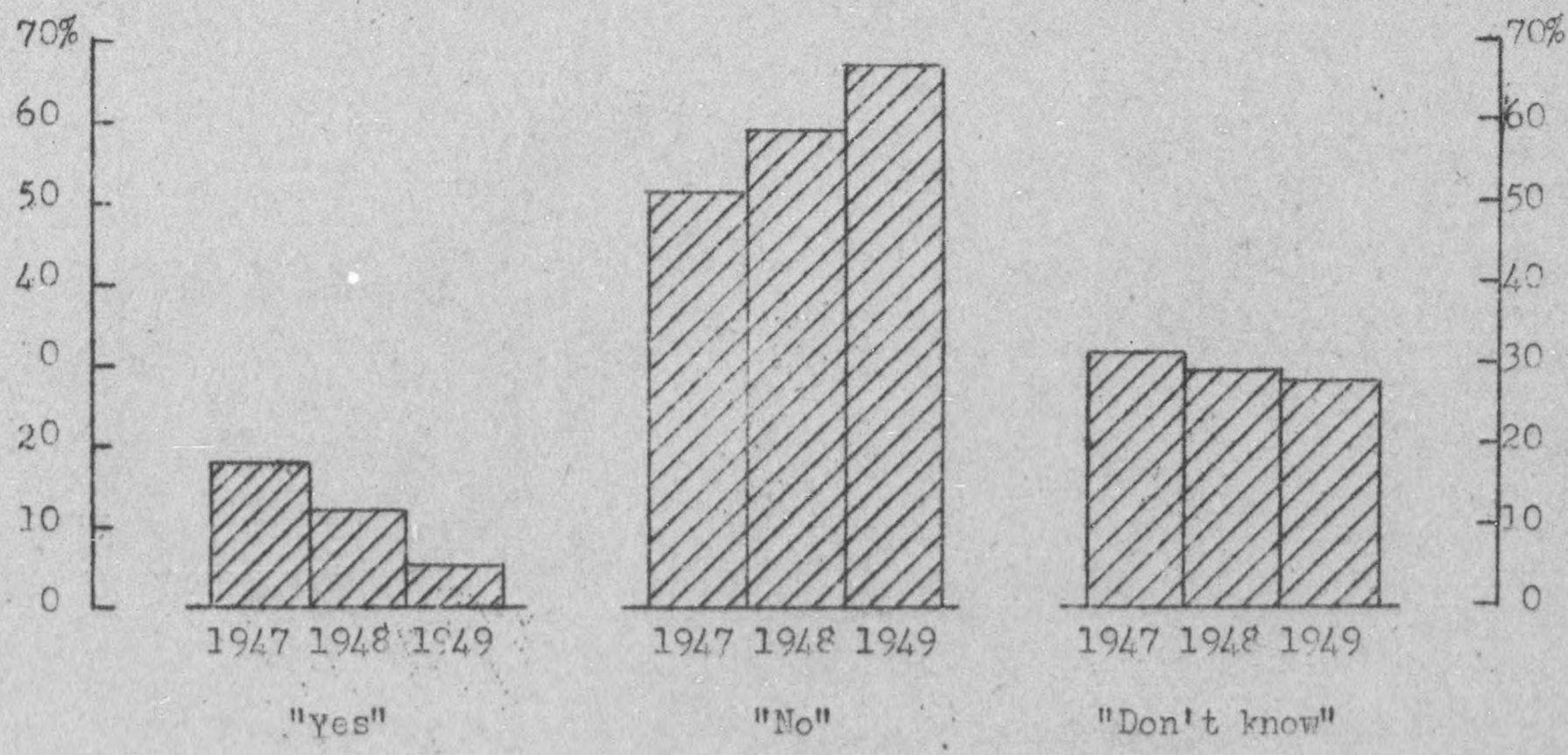
The proportion of persons who think that purgees are still active shows a steady decline

In accepting the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, Japan agreed to eliminate "for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest." Accordingly, procedures were established early in the Occupation to bar from public office, economic control, and positions in the educational world all persons who had been influential during Japan's period of ultra-nationalism and militarism. Such persons are designated as purgees.

The extent to which purgees in Japan remain active, whether openly or "behind the scenes", is a problem for specialists to analyze. It is apparent, however, that very few Japanese people are concerned about it. While in 1947, almost 4 out of every 20 respondents felt that purgees were still active in their areas, by 1949, only 1 out of every 20 felt that way. The proportion of persons who feel that purgees are definitely not active has also increased.

ARE PURGEES ACTIVE IN YOUR AREA?

	1949	1948	1947
Yes	5%	12%	18%
No	67	59	51
Don't know	28	29	31
	100%	100%	100%



The Land Reform Program

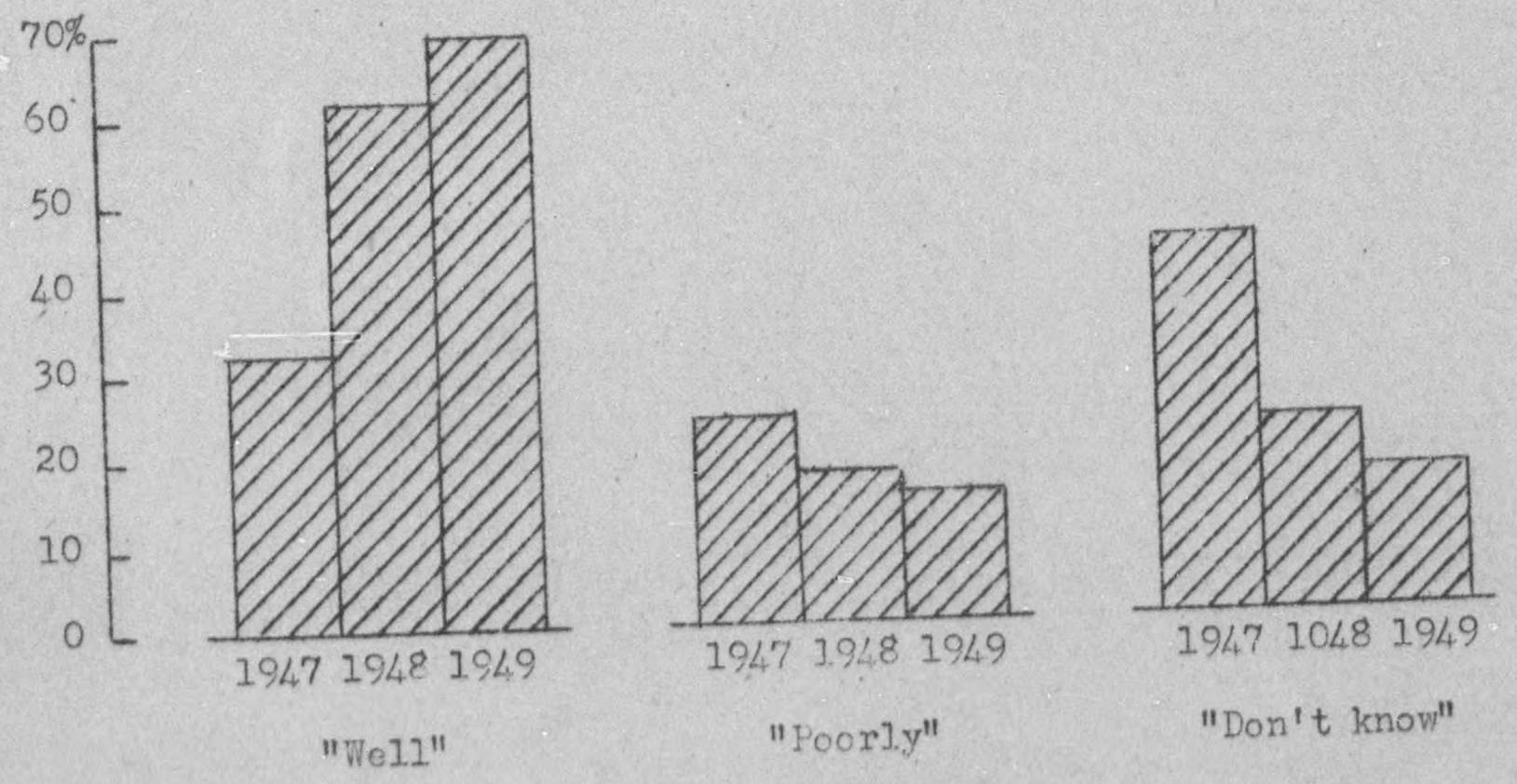
Farmers are increasingly satisfied with the progress of the land reform program

Excessive farm tenancy and unfair tenancy practices have been a burden to the Japanese farmer for centuries. Although the Japanese Government had undertaken several land reform programs in the past, their lack of mandatory provisions caused them to fail. In 1947 a comprehensive land reform program was put into effect, a program which made it compulsory for landowners to sell to the Government land in excess of authorized retention amounts, and which made tenants and small owners eligible to purchase this land. A large majority of all transactions took place during 1947 and 1948; by the end of 1948 the program was virtually completed.

In 1947, farmers expressed a great deal of doubt concerning the progress of the land reform program. In 1948, a majority stated that it was going well, and an even larger majority is confident in 1949.

How is the Land Reform Program Going?

	Farmers		
	1949	1948	1947
Well	69%	61%	32%
Poorly	15	17	24
Don't know	16	22	44
	100%	100%	100%



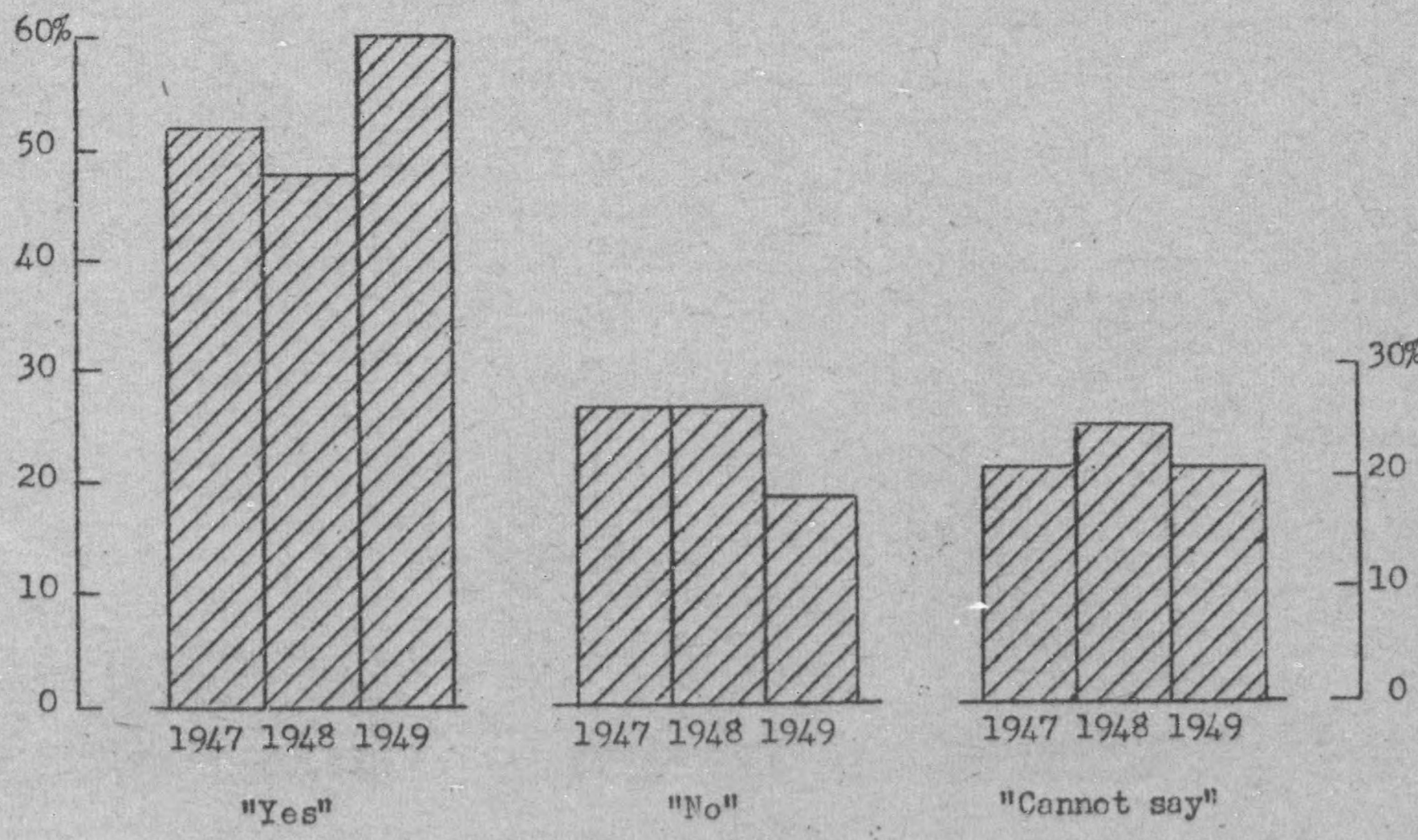
The Mass Media

Confidence in newspaper and radio reports is higher than in earlier years

There has been a definite increase in the level of public confidence in the reliability of the mass media. During 1948, precensorship by Occupation agencies of reports came to an end, and newspaper and radio editors themselves evidenced a much greater sense of responsibility than they had in previous years. Nevertheless, the effects of years of Government control of the press seem not to have vanished, and nearly 1 out of every 5 persons still feels that newspaper and radio reports are unreliable.

Question: Are you able to have confidence in recent newspaper and radio reports or not?

	1949	1948	1947
Yes	60%	48%	52%
No	19	27	27
Cannot say	21	25	21
	100%	100%	100%

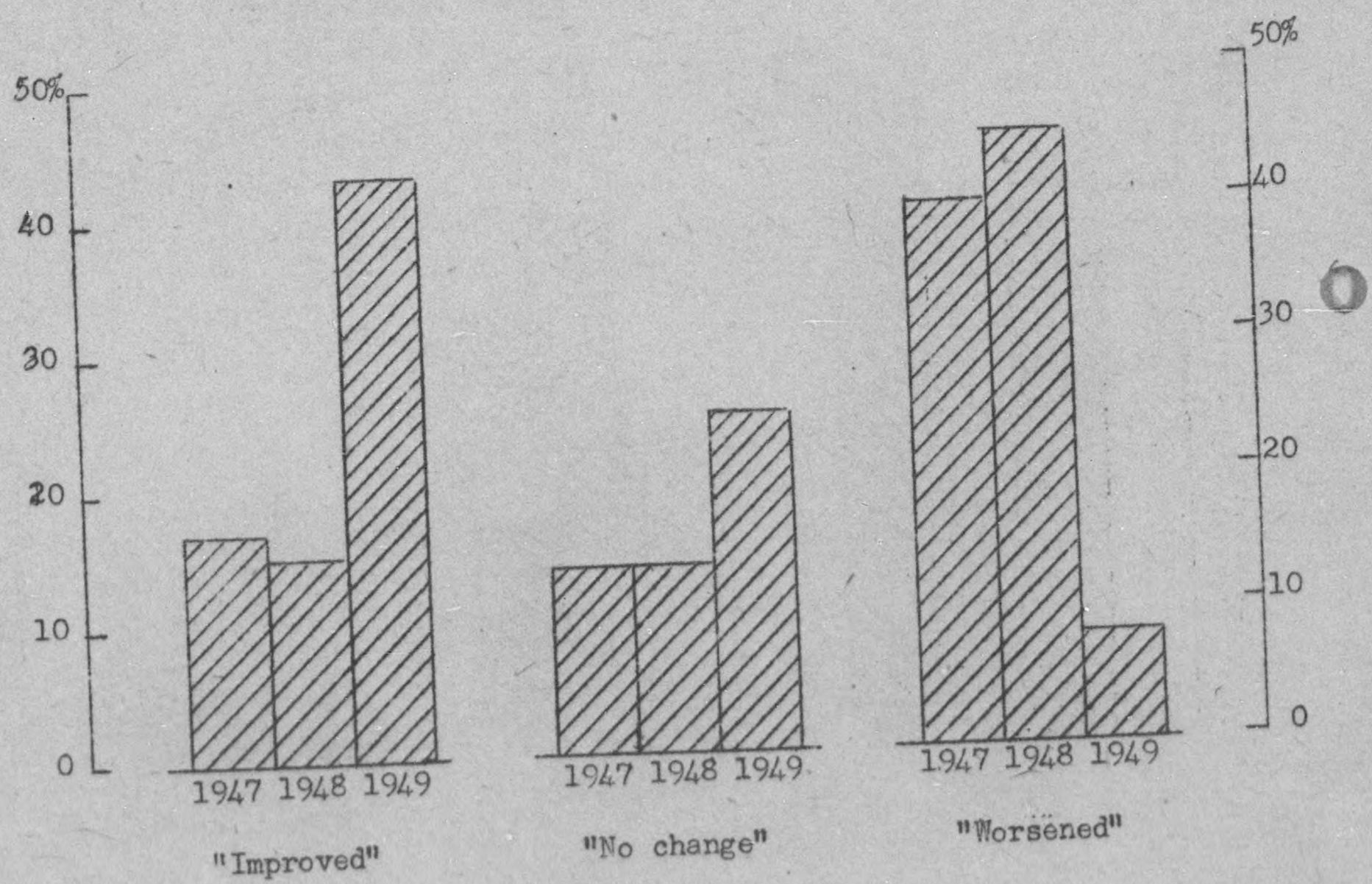


There has been a sharp reversal in attitude towards the contents of mass media, as compared with preceding years

In 1947 and 1948, the majority of respondents with opinions felt that the contents of popular publications, movies, and radio programs had deteriorated. In 1949, a plurality feels that they have improved.

CONTENTS OF MASS MEDIA

	1949	1948	1947
Improved	43%	15%	17%
No change	25	14	14
Worsened	8	45	40
Cannot judge	24	26	29
	100%	100%	100%



The Status of Women

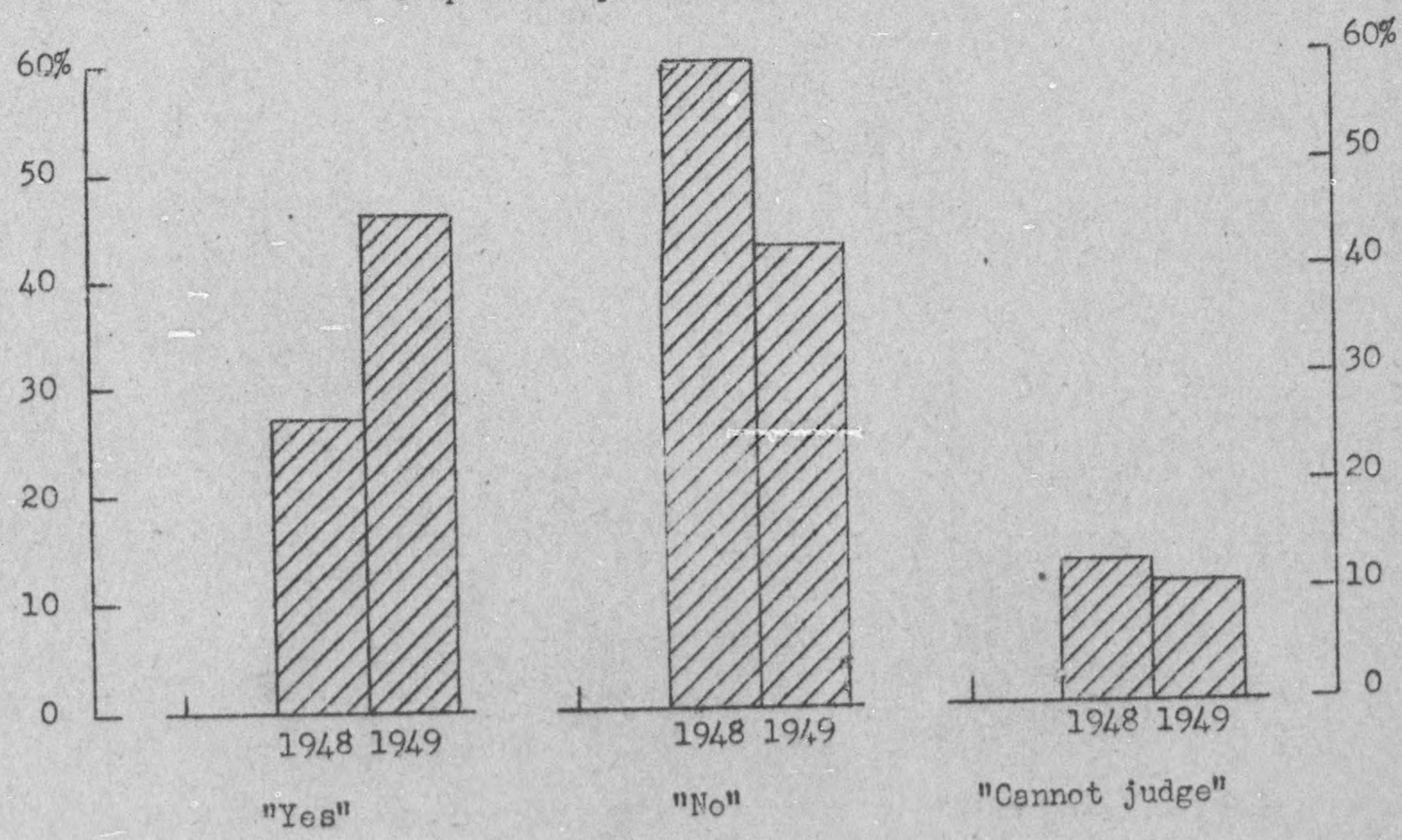
There has been a sharp increase in the proportion of people who feel that the status of women has improved

In 1948, the overwhelming majority of the respondents felt that the position of women had not improved; in 1949, the majority of respondents with opinions feel that it has improved. Japan's new Constitution gives women the right to vote for the first time in Japan's history, and the revised Civil Code entitled them to inheritance and other rights previously denied them. Civil service, education, and labor legislation enacted during the Occupation has given women further opportunities for equal treatment with men.

HAS THE POSITION OF WOMEN IMPROVED?

	1949	1948	1947*
Yes	46%	27%	
No	43	60	
Cannot judge	11	13	
	100%	100%	

*No comparable question asked.



The Schools

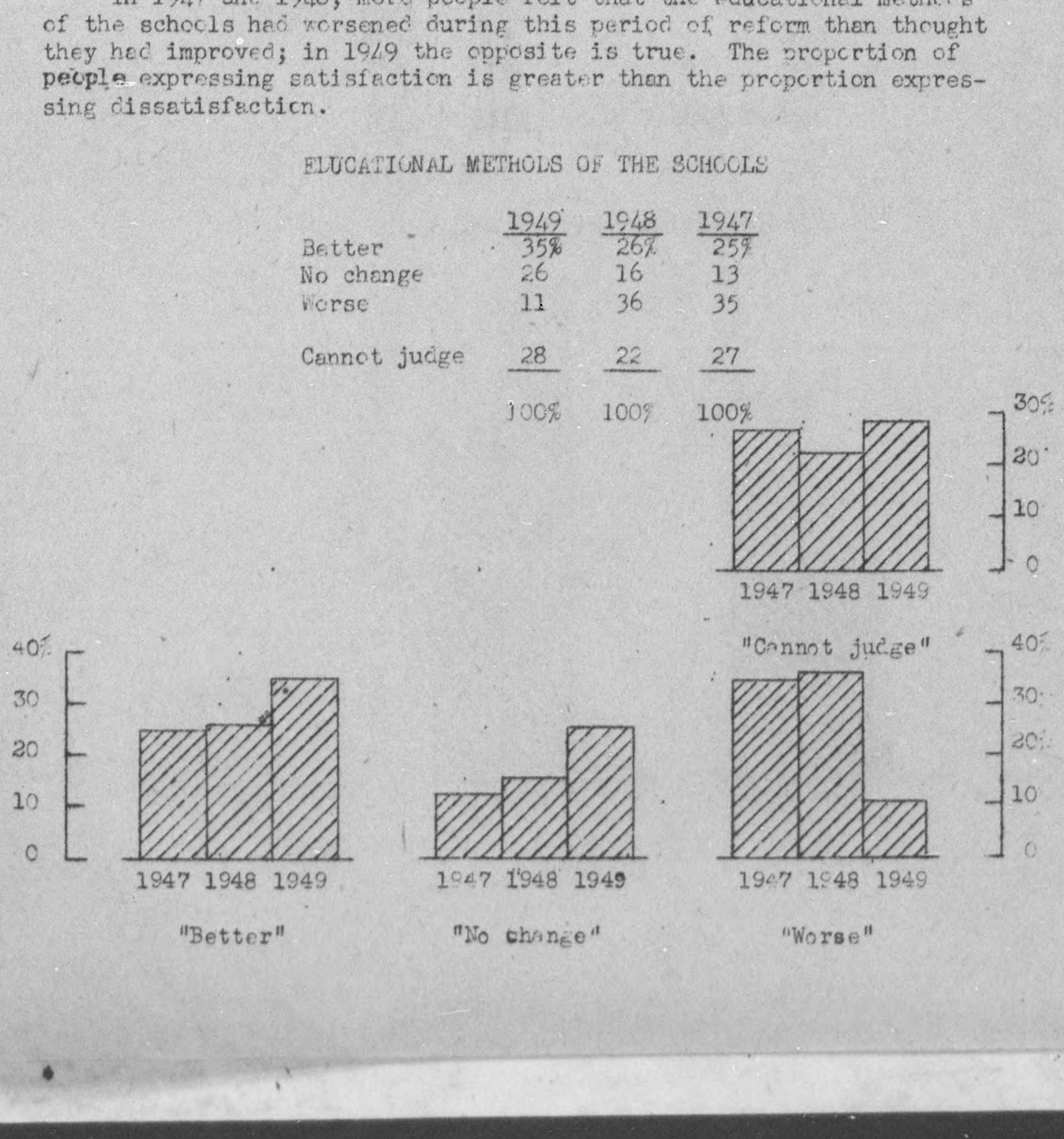
People have more confidence in the educational methods of the schools

In the years following the Surrender, Japan's school system has undergone a series of rather extensive reforms. Chief among them are the decentralization of the authority of the Ministry of Education, the revision of textbooks and the curriculum, the introduction of coeducation, the establishment of a junior high school system, the extension of compulsory education beyond the previous six years, and the establishment of Boards of Education and Parent-Teachers Associations.

In 1947 and 1948, more people felt that the educational methods of the schools had worsened during this period of reform than thought they had improved; in 1949 the opposite is true. The proportion of people expressing satisfaction is greater than the proportion expressing dissatisfaction.

EDUCATIONAL METHOLS OF THE SCHOOLS

	1949	1948	1947
Better	35%	26%	25%
No change	26	16	13
Worse	11	36	35
Cannot judge	28	22	27
	100%	100%	100%



As compared with conditions at the end of the War, a majority of people with opinions feel that there had been an improvement.

THE SCHOOLS, COMPARED TO THE END OF THE WAR

	1949
Better	48%
No change	11
Worse	14
Cannot judge	27
	100%

Economic Conditions

There seems to be a generally optimistic feeling about economic conditions

A number of questions asked in the current survey seem to indicate a fairly high level of optimism about economic problems confronting the Japanese people. Improvement is most evident in the food situation; least evident in housing conditions.

FOOD CONDITIONS (1949)

	Compared with last year	Compared with end of the War
Improved	65%	84%
No change	26	9
Worsened	7	5
Cannot judge	2	2
	100%	100%

CLOTHING CONDITIONS (1949)

	Compared with last year	Compared with end of the War
Improved	45%	61%
No change	36	20
Worsened	15	15
Cannot judge	4	4
	100%	100%

HOUSING CONDITIONS (1949)

	Compared with last year	Compared with end of the War
Improved	21%	33%
No change	58	44
Worsened	9	12
Cannot judge	12	11
	100%	100%

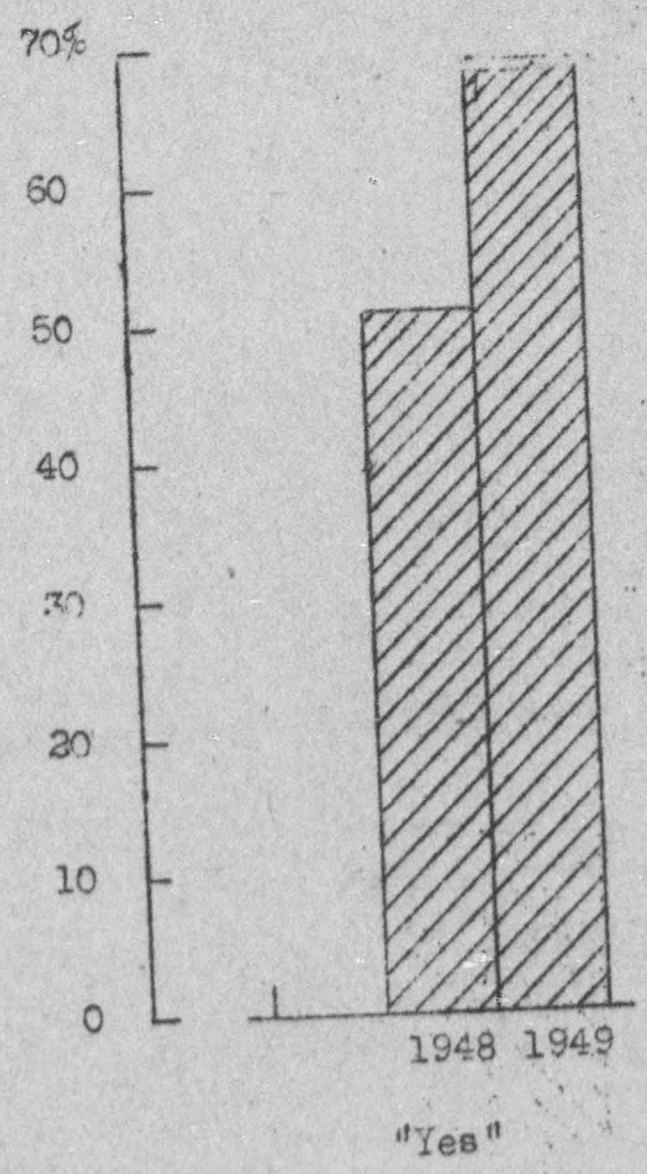
Japan's General Improvement

More confidence was expressed in the improvement of Japan this year than last year.

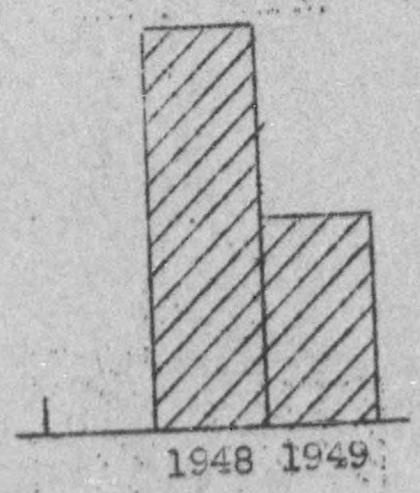
A higher level of confidence in the improvement of Japanese conditions this year as against last year is indicated by a comparison of the answers to the following question:

DO YOU THINK JAPAN HAS BEGUN TO IMPROVE,
EVEN IF ONLY LITTLE BY LITTLE?

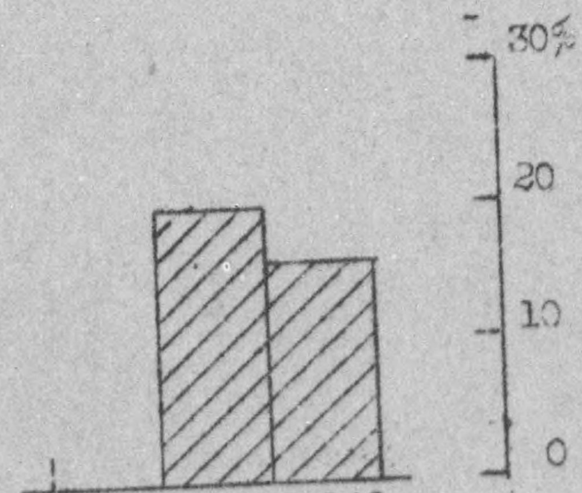
	1949	1948
Yes	69	51
No	15	29
Cannot judge	16	20
	100%	100%



"Yes"



"No"



"Cannot judge"

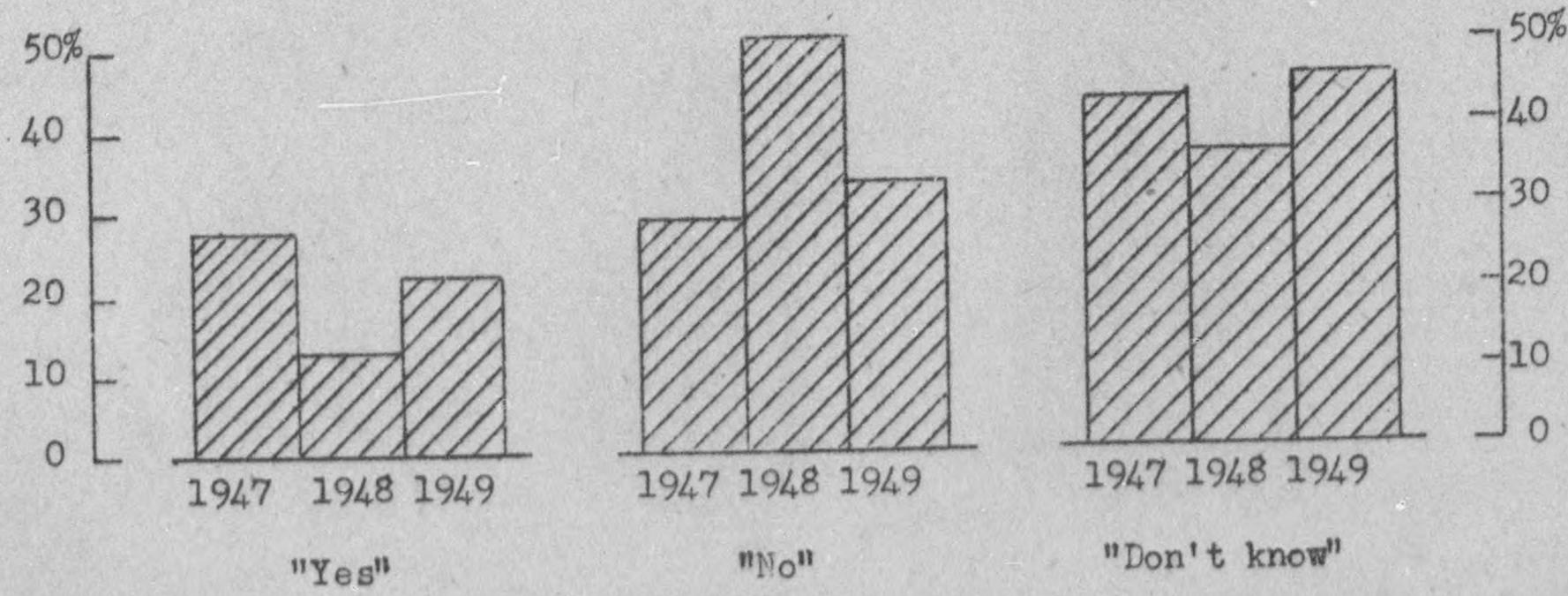
The Diet

There is slightly more confidence in the Diet than there was last year, but less than in 1947

It is widely recognized that the attitude of a nation towards its parliamentary institutions is of fundamental importance to democratic development. In countries where the body of elected representatives of the people is viewed with distrust or contempt, democracy is endangered. It is important, therefore, to observe that in Japan, the distribution of attitudes towards the National Diet is somewhat less than favorable. While the situation is somewhat improved over 1948 (when scandals in the Government and in the Diet constituted a major public issue), even today more people express doubt about the representativenessof the Diet than accept it. The very large number of people who reserve judgment is also very significant. This general attitude toward the Diet is to some extent independent of the political dispositions of the voters. Although according to all recent surveys, the Democratic Liberal Party, which is the majority party in the Diet, is the most popular among the public at large and commands a plurality of support, the representativeness of the Diet is held in considerable doubt.

DOES THE DIET REFLECT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE?

	1949	1948	1947
Yes	22%	13%	28%
No	33	51	29
Don't know	45	36	43
	100%	100%	100%



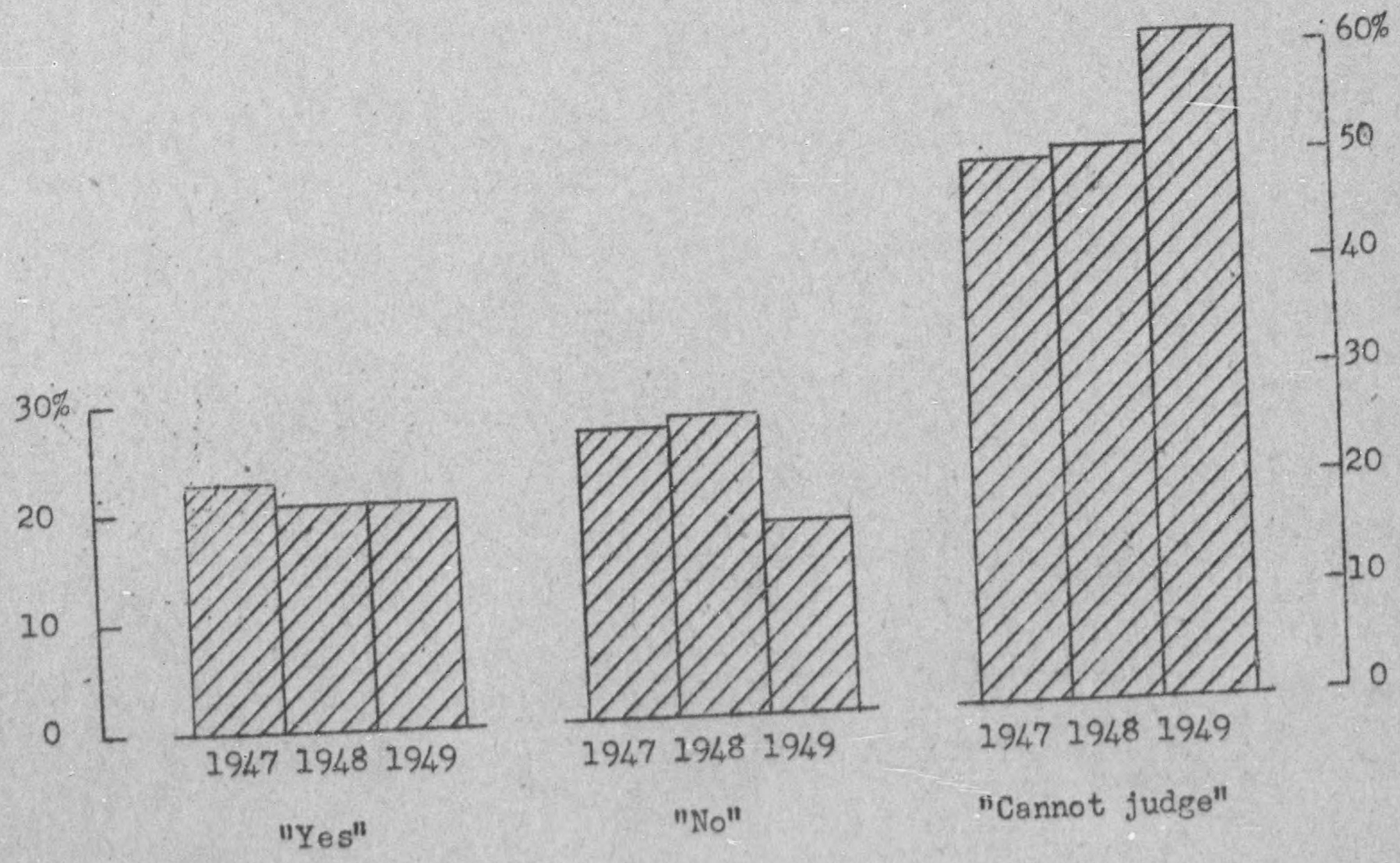
Labor Unions

Satisfaction with the representativeness of labor unions remains at about the same level as in previous years.

As in the preceding two surveys, about 1 out of every 5 respondents feels that the labor movement reflects the views of the majority of union members. There has been a slight increase in the percentage of persons who state that they are unable to judge.

DOES THE LABOR MOVEMENT REFLECT
THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY OF UNION MEMBERS?

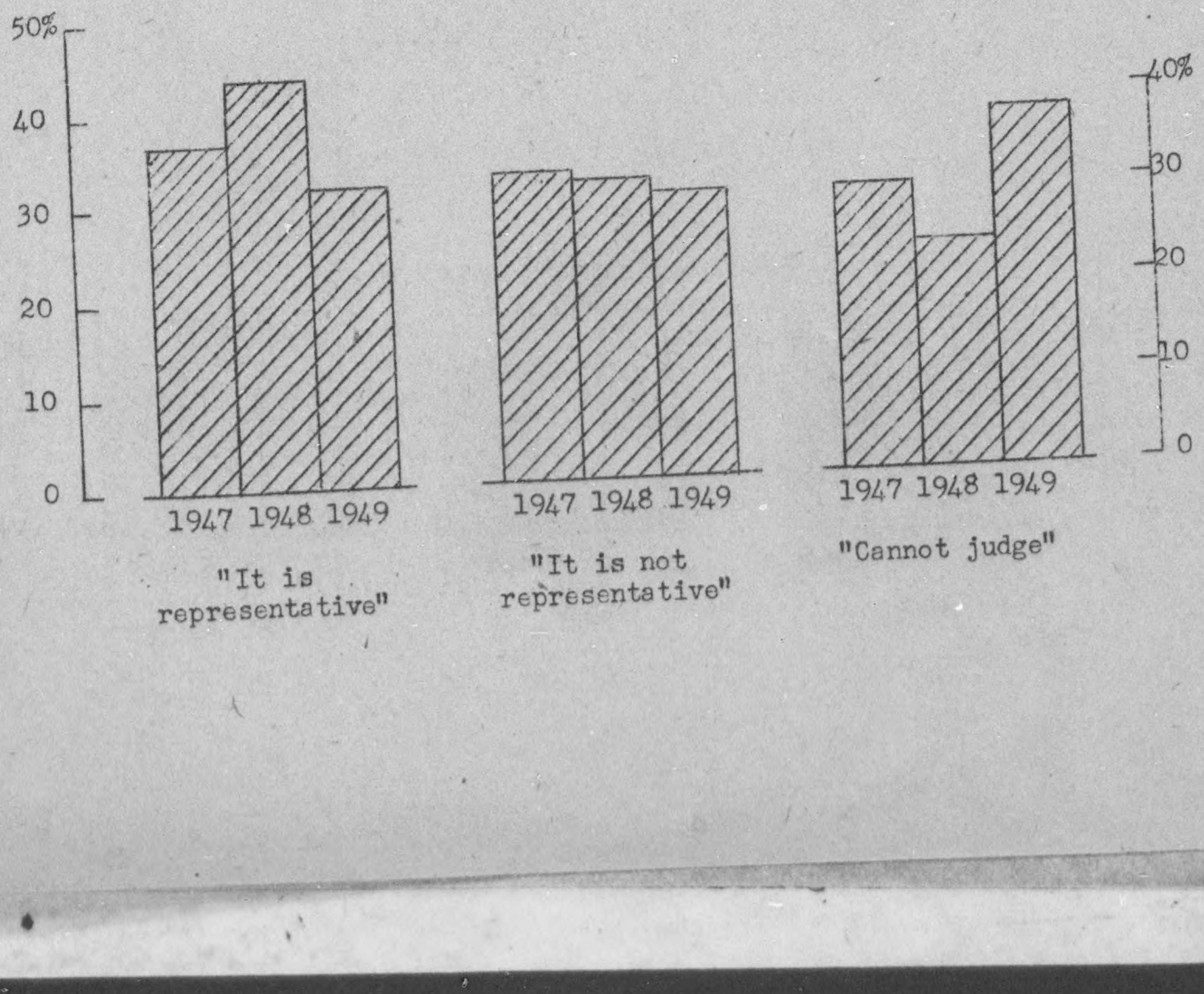
	1949	1948	1947
Yes	21%	21%	23%
No	18	28	27
Cannot judge	61	51	50
	100%	100%	100%



A larger percentage of workers than nonworkers are satisfied, but the conviction of workers themselves has declined since last year

WORKERS' JUDGMENT OF THE REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

	1949	1948	1947
It is representative	32%	44%	37%
It is not representative	30	32	33
Cannot judge	38	24	30
	100%	100%	100%



Living Conditions

While a plurality of respondents feel that their living conditions have declined somewhat in the past year, there is an increase in the proportion who feel that conditions are better than at the end of the War

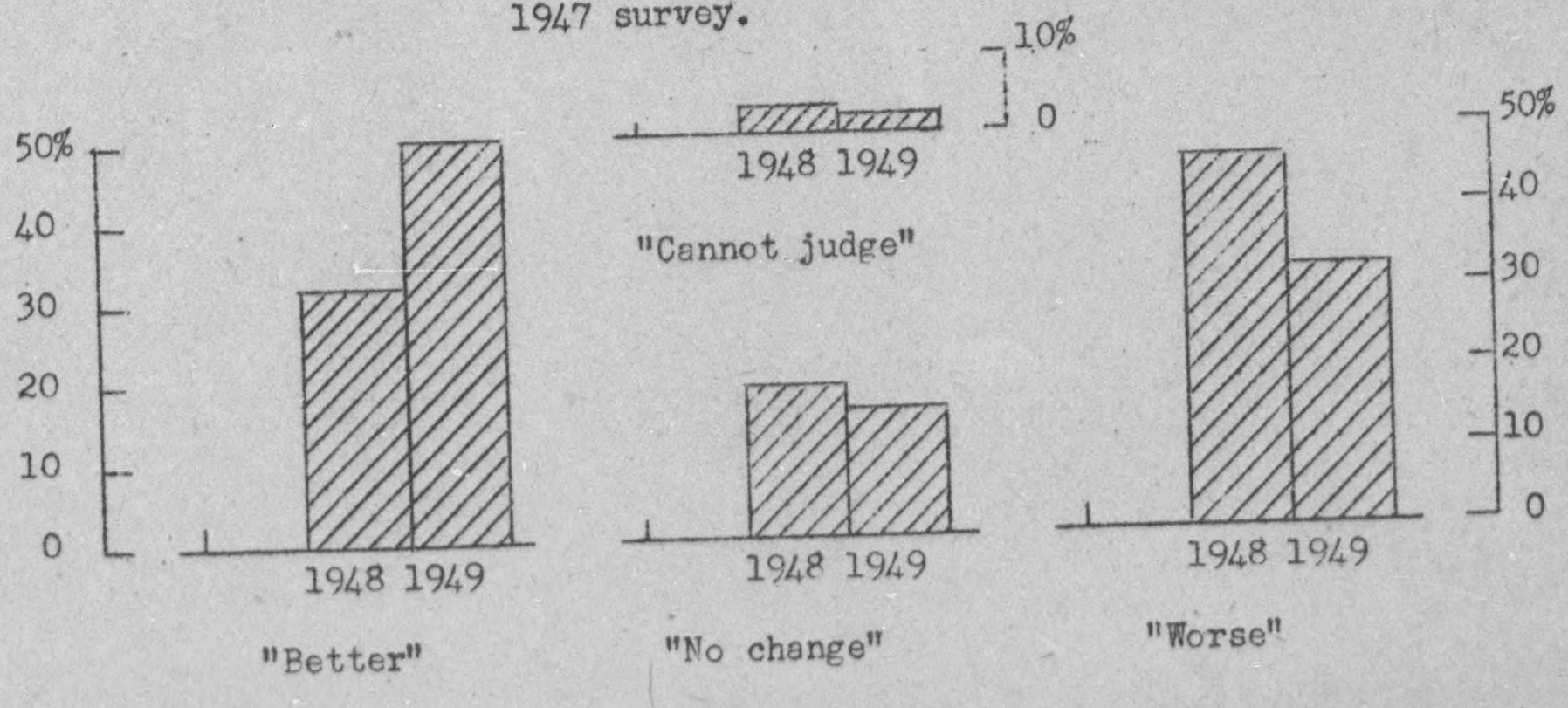
LIVING CONDITIONS COMPARED TO LAST YEAR

Better	28%
No change	26
Worse	44
Cannot judge	2
	100%

LIVING CONDITIONS COMPARED TO THE END OF THE WAR

	1949	1948	1947*
Better	50%	32%	
No change	16	19	
Worse	32	46	
Cannot judge	2	3	
	100%	100%	

*No comparable question was asked in the 1947 survey.



Current Issues

Taxes are the problem of greatest current concern

There has been a marked change in the pattern of worries of the Japanese people. In 1947, "food" was the major concern. In 1948, "food" and "economic stabilization" were most important. In 1949, "food" is of minor importance, and the major concerns appear to be with "taxes", "economic stabilization", and "international problems". "Taxes", "international problems", and "housing" appear as major concerns for the first time in 1949, and "agricultural policies" has disappeared from the list.

MOST IMPORTANT CURRENT ISSUE

	1949	1948	1947
Taxes	22%	- *	- *
Economic Stabilization	17	29	14
International Problems	12	- *	- *
Education and Morality	9	8	8
Food	8	33	44
Clothing	7	7	3
Unemployment Policy	6	- *	- *
Agricultural Policies	- *	4	11

*Does not appear in these years

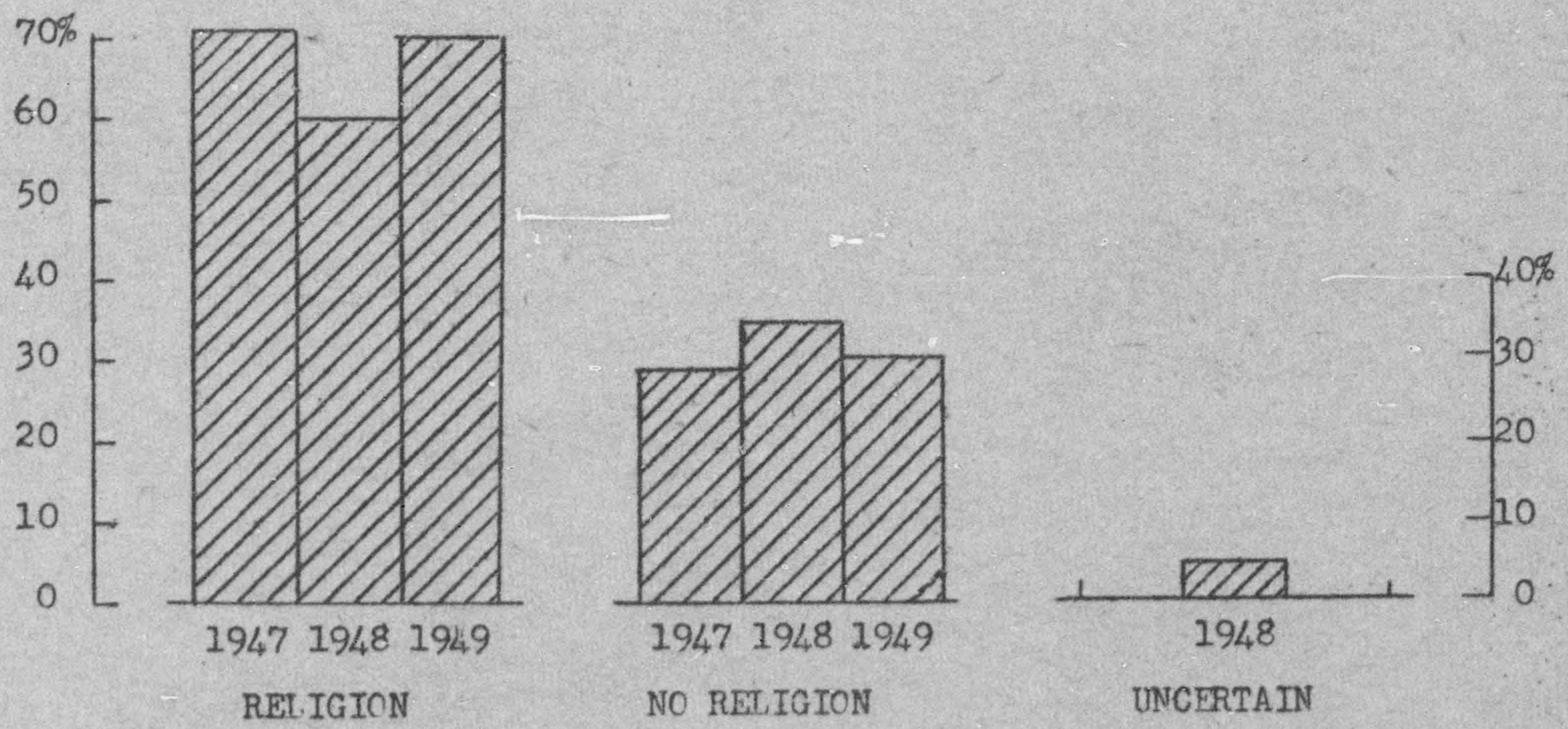
Religion

While there has been a slight increase in the proportion of persons professing religious faith, the distribution of creeds remains about the same

RELIGIOUS BELIEF

	1949	1948	1947
Have religious belief	70%	60%	71%
Do not have religious belief	30	35	29
Uncertain	*	5	*
	100%	100%	100%

*Category not used



As in 1948, the highest proportions of nonbelievers are found among young people and workers.

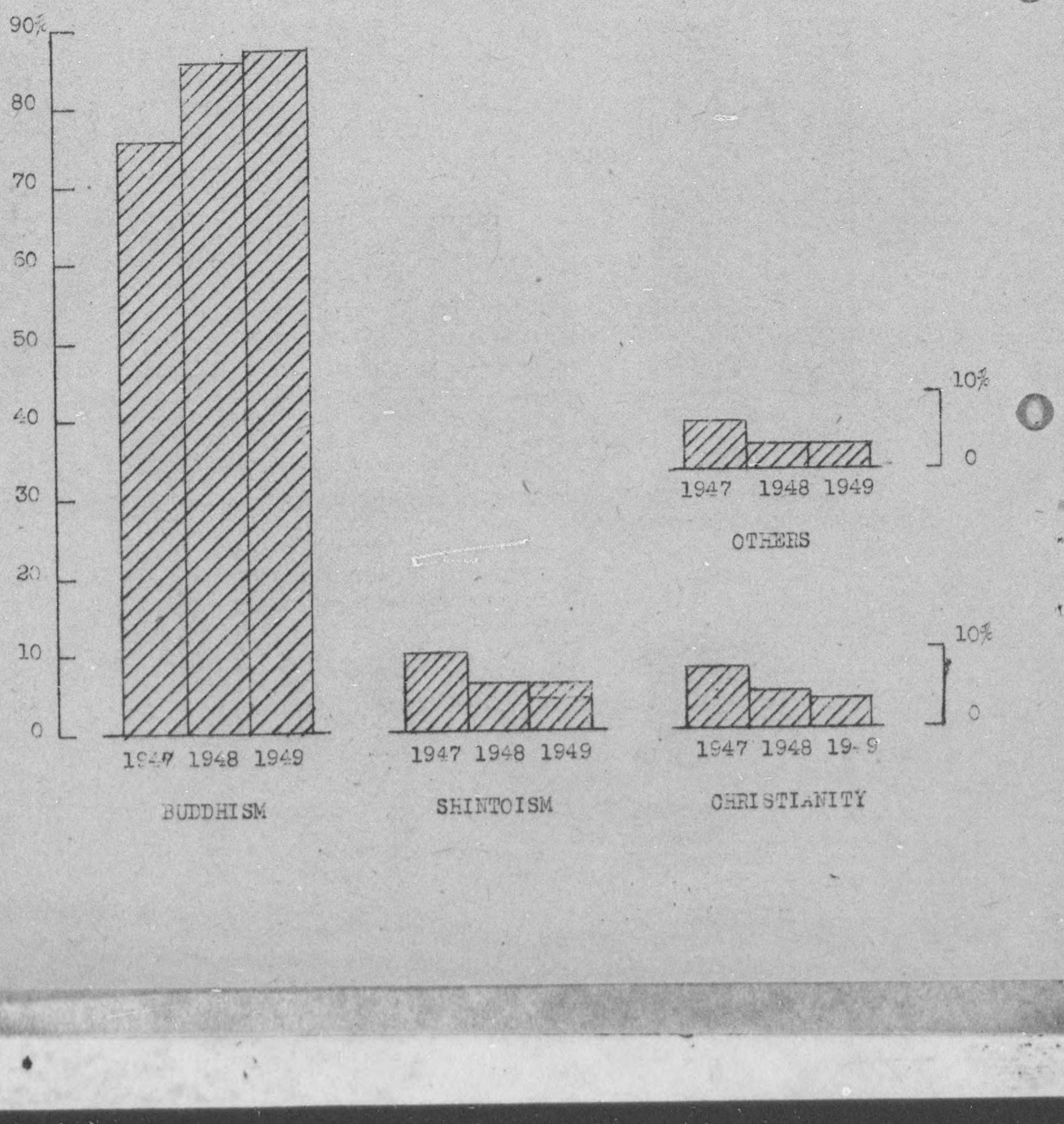
NONBELIEVERS
(by selected categories)

By age	1949	1948	1947
21-30	46%	49%	38%
31-40	33	38	35
41-50	26	29	23
Over 50	15	21	20
Farmers	24	29	24
Business men	31	33	34
Workers	39	48	44

There were no significant changes between 1948 and 1949 in the distribution of the supporters of the chief religions of Japan.

PERCENT OF BELIEVERS

	1949	1948	1947
Buddhism	87%	86%	76%
Shintoism	6	6	10
Christianity	4	5	8
Others	3	3	6
	100%	100%	100%



APPENDIX

A Brief Guide to the Interpretation of Public Opinion Materials

In general, what is commonly called "public opinion surveying" includes the measurement of three types of public reaction: attitudes, level of information, and actual behavior. Each of these measurements yields a different set of data concerning public reactions, the relative importance of which is determined by the problem under investigation. Many programs, such as for example, the sale of securities issued by former Zaibatsu corporations to the general public, require concurrent evaluation of all three types of public reaction. It is well to bear in mind, however, that although these measurements reveal the opinions and behavior of the public, as well as its level of information, they are not necessarily a reliable index of the effectiveness of the programs themselves.

It is necessary to maintain a clear distinction between people's opinions concerning events and the realities of the situation. For example, it is of undeniable importance from the standpoint of understanding public reaction to know that a given percentage of people have confidence in newspaper and radio news reporting. This subjective judgment, nevertheless, is not sufficient in and of itself to decide the reliability of newspapers and the radio. Similarly, the public may think that purgees are no longer active, or that the social status of women has improved, or that Japan is bearing the total cost of maintaining the Occupation forces, but the facts may be quite the opposite. One of the most important functions of public opinion or attitude research is precisely this: to reveal the gap which often exists between public judgment and reality. On the basis of a clear understanding of this difference, it is often possible to design remedial programs which bring public thinking into closer alignment with the facts.

The reader is, therefore, advised to bear these points in mind as he reads the materials contained in this report, in order to avoid drawing incorrect inferences from the data. The distinction between opinion and fact referred to above cannot be overstressed. For example, the fact that only 5 percent of the Japanese people think that purgees are active should not be interpreted to mean that only 5 percent of all purgees are active, or that purgees are active in only 5 percent of all areas of Japan. The survey data involve no commitments concerning the facts about purgees activities, but only the extent of public awareness or concern with the problem. However, people who have the necessary information about actual purgee activity would be able to state that the public is well-informed or little informed (as the case may be), or that the public does not seem to evince much concern over the issue. Again, it cannot be inferred (because there has been a decline in the proportion of people who feel that purgees are active) that there has

been a decline in the activities of purgees. Similar considerations hold as well with respect to the changing status of women. It cannot be inferred that the program to emancipate Japanese women has been 46 percent effective because 46 percent of the Japanese people feel that the status of women has improved. It is a task for experts in the field to assess objectively whether the public is right or wrong, or what proportion of the public has views in essential agreement with the facts.

On certain issues, however, public judgment is the final determinant. For example, the attitude of Government officials can only be determined from public reactions. If the public thinks that there has been an improvement in the attitude of public officials, on the basis of experience, the improvement may be taken as a fact. Similarly, in other issues in which we are specifically interested in public reaction -- for example, the food and clothing situation -- the survey findings may be regarded as a decisive datum in the evaluation of the success or failure of any program to distribute food and clothing more widely.

The present report contains information concerning the changes and trends in Japanese opinion with respect to a selected series of issues. Thus, with respect to many issues, it is possible to see that opinion has become more or less favorable, or has remained the same. However, since in several cases comparisons with "last year" were solicited, the changes in percentage from one year to the next may not be additive. To cite an extreme example: it might be that in 1948, 100 percent of the Japanese people felt that the attitude of Government officials had improved as compared with "last year" (1947). If the improvement indicated by this percentage is very high, it is most likely that in 1948, "no change" (rather than "improved") would have been a more frequent response to the same question. This does not mean, however, that the attitude of Government officials has worsened; it means rather that since their attitude improved so much in the period 1947-48, no further improvement was noted in the period 1948-49. In other words, an increase in the number of persons who answer "no change" (rather than "improved") is not necessarily unfavorable. It may simply mean that so complete a change has taken place that no further improvement is necessary or expected.

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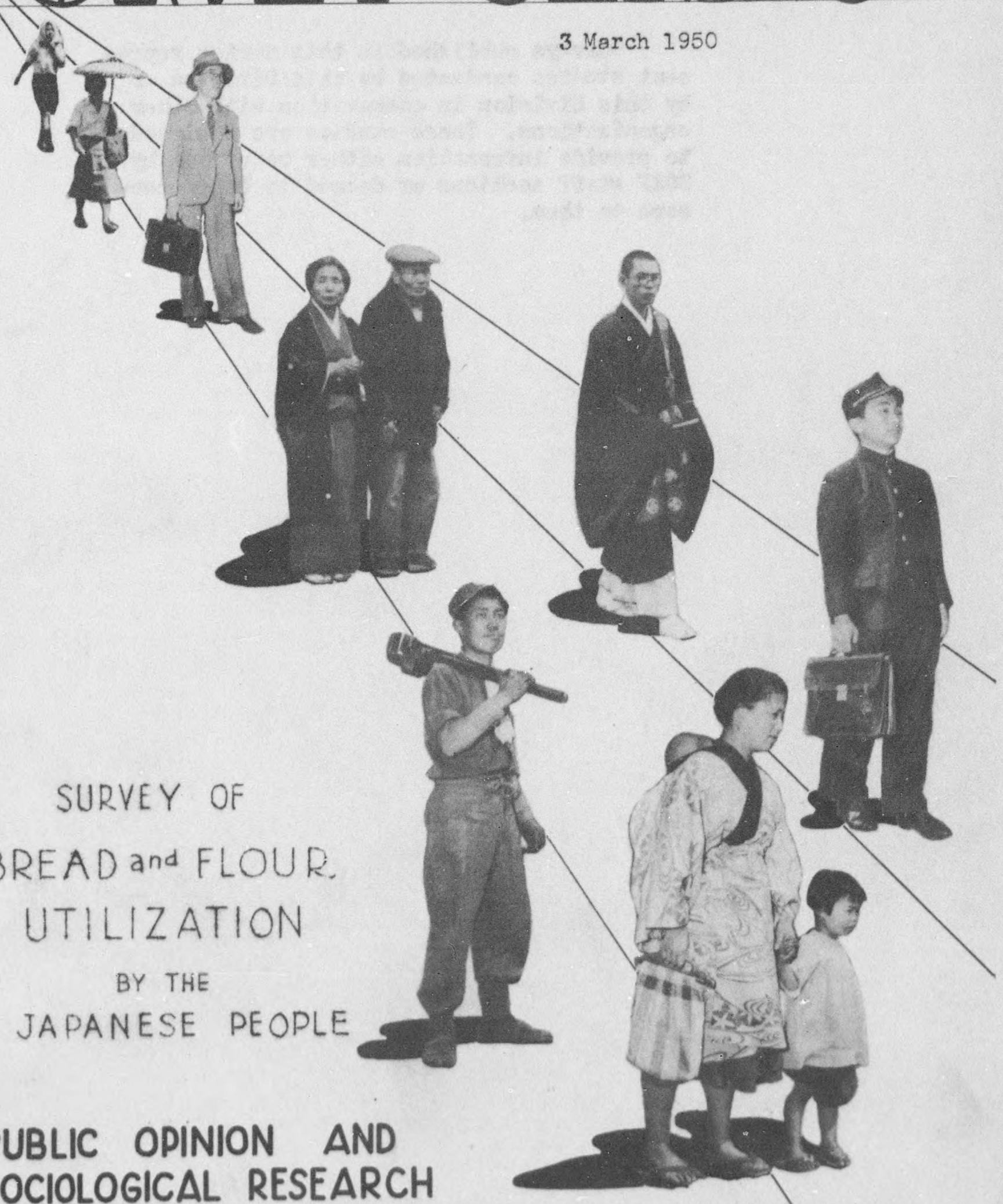
Civil Information and Education Section

SURVEY SERIES

3 March 1950



SURVEY OF BREAD and FLOUR UTILIZATION BY THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

PUBLIC OPINION AND SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH DIVISION

DIVISIONAL PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

Foreword

Surveys published in this series represent studies conducted by this Division or by this Division in cooperation with other organizations. These studies are designed to provide information either requested by SCAP staff sections or deemed to be of concern to them.

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While all urban families secure their bread coupons and use at least part of them for bread, most rural families do not receive the coupons	
Most families do not exchange their bread coupons for flour	
One out of every 5 families buys bread outside of ration channels	
Superior taste is an important factor in black-market purchasing	
Fewer families buy flour than buy bread on the black market	
Most housewives would prefer their ration in the form of flour	
A freely exchangeable ticket system is preferred to the current rationing system.	

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In rural areas, home processing
of flour products is most common;
in urban areas, store processing
is most common

However, most families do have flour
processed commercially from time to time

When using commercial processing, about
the same number of housewives have udon
made up as have bread made up (urban
housewives have more bread, and rural
housewives have more udon made up)

But in home processing, udon is
prepared more commonly than bread,
particularly in rural areas

Home-made bread
is very simple

INFORMATION ON THE PREPARATION OF FLOUR PRODUCTS 16

Radio ranks highest among the
various information media to
which housewives had been exposed...

... but radio was least effective in
inducing housewives to put the
information acquired into practice

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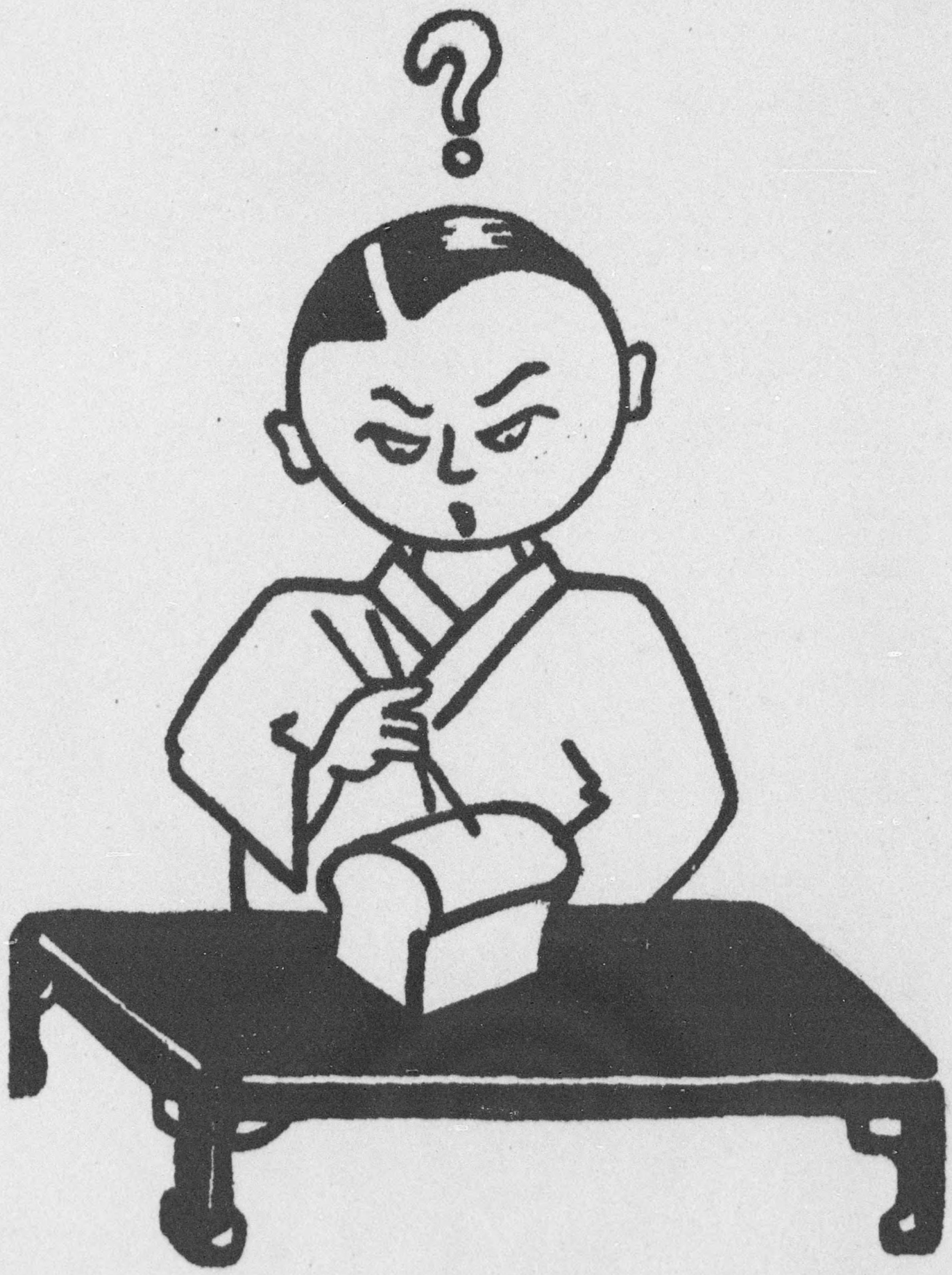
The Japanese people are far from
whole-hearted in their acceptance
of bread and tend to regard it as a
temporary expedient rather than as a
permanently desirable part of the diet

Bread is liked principally for its convenience
and disliked for reasons of taste and economy



Introduction

The information which forms the basis of this report was derived from two surveys conducted among Japanese housewives. These surveys were conducted at the request of the Food Branch, Price and Distribution Division, Economic and Scientific Section, in order to provide data for the use of the Wheat Utilization Mission which came to Japan in the winter of 1949-50. One survey, conducted by the Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room between 4 and 8 November 1949 in the Kanto area, sought the views of a cross-section of approximately 2000 housewives. A supplementary small sample survey of approximately 100 housewives in Tokyo was conducted on 8 December 1949 by the Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division, CIE, in order to clarify certain issues arising out of the first survey. In general, the data presented in this report are from the first survey, supplemented, where appropriate, from data of the second survey.[1]

Since housewives are most directly concerned with the expenditure of the household food budget, and since their reactions have a considerable influence upon the reception accorded new foods, the present survey is limited to a sample of homemakers themselves. For some questions, the housewife was asked to report for her family, not only for herself. These questions are indicated in the text of the report. The general purpose of the survey was to supply information relevant to an understanding of the following problems:

1) The character of current utilization of bread and flour among the Japanese people.

2) Preferences among dietary alternatives in general and among flour products in particular.

3) Changes which might facilitate the increased use of bread and flour in the Japanese diet.

These problems arise from the general facts of Japan's postwar economy, which is not self-sufficient either in the traditional rice or in foodstuffs in general. As a consequence, the Japanese people have had to turn more and more to rice "substitutes". The more extensive use of wheat and other cereals along with and in place of the

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1. Data presented in this report refer only to the Kanto area of Tokyo and should not be interpreted as necessarily representative of all Japan. On the basis of general information, it seems likely that both the utilization of and preference for bread and flour are somewhat higher in the Kanto as well as other urban areas than in the country as a whole.

traditional rice is bringing about a vast change in dietary habits. This change has been greeted by the Japanese people with mingled feelings. For many, bread and wheat products open up a new dietary vista; for others, they are unpleasant substitutes for the true Japanese diet, to be cast away as soon as economic conditions permit.

It should be noted that the experience of the Japanese people with bread and other wheat products has been quite different from that of Westerners, and their reactions to the experience must be evaluated accordingly. First, bread has been offered as a substitute for rice, the traditional food, rather than as a supplementary food. Second, auxiliary foods often eaten with bread, such as butter, cheese, honey, sugar, jam, and jelly, are scarce and exorbitant in price, and the bread is usually eaten plain, in place of rice. Third, the bread which has been consumed in the post-surrender period has for the most part been what Westerners would consider to be rather inferior: it has been made from rather coarse flour and is often sour in taste. (As noted on page 15 below, 40 percent of the Tokyo housewives who have made bread at home, made it by steaming it in a pot, 24 percent used a simple baking pot, and only 2 percent used a Western-style oven). It is quite possible that if bread had been offered as a supplementary ration, rather than as a rice substitute, if auxiliary foods were available, and if a better quality bread were possible, the reactions of the Japanese people would be quite different than those reported in the following pages. Statements made by respondents during the Tokyo survey indicate the importance of these factors. Auxiliary foods loom large in any consideration of bread being accepted as a permanent food.

> "If we could get more butter or vegetable oil on ration, even a bread diet would taste good."
>
> (47-year old wife of a white-collar worker)

> "If they gave us white bread on the ration, rather than that which we get now, and if they were able to make better auxiliary foods, I would prefer to have bread for meals, rather than have only rice."
>
> (26-year old wife of a transportation worker)

The quality of bread is also important: white bread is definitely preferred.

> "I have come not to dislike bread so much since last year, and so if the quality of bread were improved I think I could get used to a bread diet."
>
> (40-year old wife of a white-collar worker)

> "We have always liked bread before the War, and always ate it on Sundays. So we can get used to it, but if it is not white bread we will be very unhappy about it."
>
> (50-year old wife of a white-collar worker)

The present survey has attempted both to measure some aspects of the reactions of the Japanese people to these developments and to examine the subjective side of the ongoing dietary change.

4. SURVEY OF BREAD AND FLOUR UTILIZATION BY THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

THE JAPANESE CONCEPT OF BREAD

The Japanese associate the term "bread" with many different things.

In the United States, the term "bread" is used with a fairly specific reference. In Japan, however, where the use of bread in the diet is much less familiar, the term "bread" is associated with a large number of different flour products. When a cross-section of Tokyo housewives was asked to indicate what they thought of as pan,[1] it was found that while 98 percent of them associate it with bread in the Western sense, they also think of many other flour products.[2]

67 percent thought of sweet bread
54 percent thought of steamed buns
17 percent thought of hardtack
6 percent thought of buns with meat
4 percent thought of sponge cake
4 percent thought of doughnuts
3 percent thought of dorayaki (a sweet cake)
2 percent thought of okonomiyaki (a sweet cake)
2 percent thought of cookies

---

1. The Japanese word for bread is derived from the Portugese word pan.
2. Data obtained from responses to the following question, asked in the Tokyo survey on 8 December 1949: "What does the word pan mean to you?"

BREAD CONSUMPTION

During a one-month period most families use some bread

The extent of utilization of bread in the current Japanese diet may be seen in the following table. It will be observed that the extent of use is much greater in urban areas than in rural ones.

USE OF BREAD BY THE FAMILY[1]	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES IN WHICH BREAD WAS USED		
	All families	Urban families	Rural families
Yesterday	24%	37%	12%
During the past week	47	64	31
During the past month	72	92	54

However, although bread was eaten in 24 percent of all the households interviewed on the day preceding the survey, not all members of the household ate it. The total percentage of persons who ate bread is:[2]

In all families	17%
In urban families	29%
In rural families	8%

1. Data obtained from responses to the following questions:
"Did you or any members of your family eat bread yesterday?"
"Did you or any members of your family eat bread during the past week?"
"Did you or any members of your family eat bread during the past month?"
2. Data obtained from responses to the following question: (To those who ate bread yesterday) "Who of you ate bread?" "When did they eat bread: breakfast, lunch or supper? And who did not eat bread?"

The frequency of use in the respective periods is indicated in the following tables:

FREQUENCY OF CONSUMPTION OF BREAD
DURING THE 1-DAY PERIOD
PRECEDING THE SURVEY[1]

	Number of meals at which bread was eaten			
	1	2	3	Total
All family members*	93%	6	1	100%
Urban family members*	91%	7	2	100%
Rural family members*	96%	4	0**	100%

*Excluding those who ate no bread
**Less than 0.5 percent

MEDIAN NUMBER OF DAYS IN WHICH BREAD WAS EATEN (by family)[2]

	In 1 week period	In 1 month period
All families	1.79	6.12
Urban families	2.14	6.79
Rural families	1.61	4.15

Lunch is the most popular meal for bread

Among the members of the families who had eaten bread on the day preceding the survey, the largest number of persons had had their bread at lunch.[3]

YESTERDAY'S MEAL AT WHICH BREAD WAS EATEN

	All family members	Urban family members	Rural family members
Breakfast	18%	20%	11%
Lunch	43	40	51
Supper	27	29	21
Did not eat bread	20	19	21
	XXX*	XXX*	XXX*

*Adds to more than 100 percent as some respondents had bread with more than one meal

1. See footnote 2, page 5.
2. Data obtained from responses to the following questions: (To those who ate bread during the past week) "On how many days did you have bread?" (To those who ate bread during the past month) "On how many days did you have bread?"
3. See footnote 2, page 5.

BREAD AND FLOUR PURCHASE

There are two channels for securing bread in Japan: regular rationing channels and the black market. Most people get their bread through regular rationing channels, but a certain amount is purchased on the black market, for reasons which will be examined briefly a little later in this report. Under current rationing procedure, each family receives bread coupons. These coupons can be used to buy ration bread or they can theoretically be exchanged for flour or other wheat products. In practice, however, it is often difficult to exchange the coupons for flour, as can be seen in the table on "Utilization of Bread Coupons for Flour", below. Most housewives would prefer some other rationing arrangement than the current one. In general, they would prefer arrangements which permit more flour (rather than processed bread) and more freedom in choice among wheat products.

<u>While all urban families secure their bread coupons and use at least part of them for bread, most rural families do not receive the coupons</u>.

In urban areas, virtually all families received bread ration coupons, and more than 9 out of every 10 use at least part of them for bread. In rural areas, however, almost 7 out of every 10 <u>do not</u> even receive the coupons.[1]

---

1. It is likely that many of the families in rural areas who do not receive the bread coupons are families who are not authorized a bread ration because they have enough rice and other staple foods from their own production. In addition, some nonfarm families in rural areas receive an additional rice ration rather than a bread ration because of the shortage of rural baking facilities.

The majority of people who receive ration coupons use most of them for bread rather than for flour or other wheat products.

UTILIZATION OF BREAD COUPONS FOR BREAD[1]

	All families	Urban families	Rural families
Up to 25% for bread	3%	5%	2%
From 25-50% for bread	12	20	3
From 50-75% for bread	8	11	3
Over 75% for bread	41	56	20
None for bread	6	8	4
Do not receive bread ration coupons	30	0	68
	100%	100%	100%

Most families do not exchange their bread coupons for flour

A much smaller proportion of the coupons are converted to flour. However, it should be noted that 4 out of every 10 families in urban areas and 7 out of every 10 coupon-receivers in rural areas who tried to secure flour with their coupons were unable to do so.

---

1. Data obtained from responses to the following question: "Last month you were supposed to have received about ___ kin (1 kin ≑ 1 lb) worth of bread ration tickets. How many kin of bread did you actually take?

UTILIZATION OF BREAD COUPONS FOR FLOUR 1

	All families	Urban families	Rural families
Up to 25% for wheat flour	3%	4%	1%
From 25-50% for wheat flour	11	11	9
From 50-75% for wheat flour	4	4	3
Over 75% for wheat flour	4	5	1
None for flour	32	36	15
Tried to exchange coupons for flour, but was refused	46	40	71
	100%	100%	100%

One out of every 5 families buys bread outside of ration channels

In spite of the fact that black-market bread is much more expensive than ration bread, 20 percent of the families reported some black-market bread purchasing during the month of October 1949. The rate of purchase was somewhat higher in urban than in rural areas.

PURCHASE OF NON-RATIONED BREAD 2
(October 1949)

All families	20%
Urban families	25%
Rural families	16%

1. Data obtained from responses to the following question: (To those who did not use up all tickets for taking bread) "How many bread tickets did you use for taking flour?"

2. Data obtained from responses to the following question: "Did you buy any nonrationed bread last month?"