

***Population and Family Policy:
Measuring the Level of Living
in the Country of Familism***

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A B S T R A C T

In Japan, one's level of living or whether one is poor or not, is generally measured not only by the person's own economic conditions but also by the mode of life of the family unit to which he belongs. Poverty is therefore defined as the state in which the normal structure of the family is disorganized and its functions of production and consumption are malfunctioning. The problem of poverty is viewed as sociological as well as economic.

A classification system of non-normal or handicapped households is applied to Hokkaido data regarding families who received public assistance. Although the relationship between poverty and family disorganization is reciprocal and certainly, not all disorganized families are poor, the research results from the Hokkaido data indicate a direct relationship between poverty and a non-normal family type.

It is suggested that this classification system when applied to the present family structure would be helpful in deciding measures to remedy the family poverty situation.

I. Introduction

The economic function, one of the basic functions of the family, is chiefly concerned with the production and consumption by the family as a living unit.^{1/} In relating to this characteristic, the level of living is regarded as a problem concerning the family as a social group. In Japan, one's level of living, or whether he is poor or not, is generally estimated by considering the living conditions of the family unit to which he belongs. Level of living is not only measured by one's own economic conditions, but also by the mode of life of his family unit. The mode of life of the family denotes the way the family performs its functions while following personal value standards. The level of living, therefore, is concerned with the reciprocal relationship between the functions of production and consumption of the family. The realistic factors which exert an influence upon this level of living include the kind of job the breadwinner has, his income, which aspects of various living conditions the family attaches importance to when spending income, and moreover, as a matter of social consciousness, to what extent the spiritual and material needs of the family members are satisfied. In addition, there are various degrees or different stages of the level of living. These differences have been demonstrated through the use of indices.^{2/} However, even in the cases which may be regarded objectively as almost on the same level, there may be great differences among them subjectively; for example, if one has been at the same level since birth, or if one has fallen from an upper level or risen from a lower level. In this sense, the level of living is a kind of social consciousness.^{3/} It is neither an economic index which can be shown in figures, nor an invariable value standard. It is a content of social consciousness which is quite flexible and endlessly extensive according to one's social circumstances. Therefore, if one has fallen from a higher level, or if one has reduced his living scale from that to which he had been accustomed, he feels the discrepancy between the former and the present level of living as poverty. However, it is very difficult to grasp the content of such social consciousness objectively, because it can be multifarious in accordance with person, time and place.

There have been two viewpoints for studying poverty: One is that of understanding poverty as an absolute fact and the other is that of considering it as a relative fact.^{4/} However, according to our empirical studies,^{5/} a low level of living in Japan is directly related to the family as a unit and is closely associated with the functions of production and consumption by the family. The functioning of the family is dependent on its structure. Therefore, we may tentatively define poverty as follows: the state in which the normal structure of the family is disorganized and its proper functions, above all the functions of production and consumption, are malfunctioning; or, the state in which both income and expenditures of the family are very small and its living scales are extremely compressed. The menace of physical efficiency or the simplicity of the life mode is merely a result of the smallness of the living scale. It is, therefore, of lesser importance whether the family budget is well balanced or not. Regardless of a balanced budget, the poor are poor. The extremely indigent families usually have neither "red" nor "black" in their budgets because, in general, they have neither a supporter who may lend them money, nor property which they can sell. On the other hand, there may be a family which has "red" in its budget at some period, but may not be considered as poor because the family's scale of living is large, or many-sided and complex. As an example, let us take the case of a fairly big merchant who has considerable debts. He might possibly go bankrupt and promptly fall into the poor class if his business were stopped and his debts were liquidated. However, if he continues to carry on his business by circulating capital and living a many-sided and ostentatious life style, his family will not be regarded as poor or as an object of public assistance.

According to the studies referred to above, poverty is fundamentally dependent upon the smallness of the total amount of income; the smallness of income is related in many cases to the earned income as well as to certain kinds of jobs as an income source. Concerning these aspects, poverty is obviously an economic phenomenon. However, the smallness of the earned income mostly occurs when the function of production in the family as a group is not given full play. It results, in many cases, from the lack or absence of a dependable supporter in the family. Thus there is a malfunctioning of the family unit. Also, smallness of expenditure restricts the function of

consumption of the family unit and therefore the desires of the family members are not sufficiently satisfied. The value standard of the family unit can not be adequately followed, thus we have the maladjustment of the family unit to society. In short, from the point of view of the production and consumption of the family, poverty is a phenomenon of social maladjustment and malfunctioning of the family as a social group. It is therefore closely connected with family disorganization.^{6/} In that sense, the so-called standard of living should, exactly speaking, be the standard of family living^{7/} and, consequently, its base should be the standard of the family. In other words, the normality of the structure and functions of the family can be a scale for measuring the level of living. Again, in short, the family organization is an important factor in determining the level of living. Thus, we can say that the problem of the level of living is sociological as well as economic. From the sociological point of view, the patterns of poverty denote the patterns of the poor family.

II. Viewing Poverty as Family Disorganization

The first problem is deciding the criterion of classification since there are various kinds of poor family patterns according to differences in criteria. The standpoints for classifying poverty can be divided into two main schools. The most common way is that which emphasizes the cause of poverty as a criterion. Concerning this viewpoint, however, we must be cautious since it involves not a classification of poverty itself but that of the causes of poverty. Actual poverty is an effect resulting from a cause. The classification of the cause is not necessarily the same as that of the effect. Also, since it is called the cause, it is, in this way of thinking, concerned with the past situation of the family. In addition, since the cause of poverty is usually interrelated with several factors, it is very difficult not only to decide the primary factor among them, but also to classify it according to a definite principle. Hence, if the classification system of this school is examined, one notices that poverty is classified according to the effect resulting from the cause, not the cause itself. The present situation of the poor, for example, sickness, thriftlessness, drunkenness, death or incapacity of

the chief wage-earner, low-income, irregular work, unemployment, ignorant or careless housekeeping, excessive size of family and so on^{8/} decides the classification. Other classifications can scarcely be discriminated as to whether they are cause or effect, such as habit, shiftlessness, improvidence, squalor and so on.^{9/}

On the contrary, the second major method of classification is that which takes up the future situation of the family as a criterion. These authors try to understand the economic rise and fall of the family in relation to the family life cycle.^{10/} By paying attention to the biological aspects of the family group, they insist that the welfare of the family unit is, in the long run, influenced by the increase or decrease of the wage-earners within the family and that there are terminal cycles or rhythms in the process of change. It is of practical value to estimate the balance of production and consumption abilities in the family by imagining the future family composition and predicting the undulation of poverty and wealth of the family unit. Due to its nature, however, such a study will nevertheless include certain assumptions since the family composition may be changed by unpredictable death or the removal of its members. A family's future situation will not always be the composite figure which is supposed today.

There may be many other points of view, but the position of this paper will be stated without further discussion. While it seems that the two schools stated above are trying to understand poverty in relation to the past and the future situation of the family, respectively, we would like to grasp it in just the present situation. The reason is as follows: The yardstick, whatever it may be, should be universal through time and space, uncomplicated and easily available to anyone. A form of measurement which meets these conditions is more valuable in terms of application; therefore, simply and directly, the present situation of the family provides the best approach. Sayings in Japan such as "Many children of the poor," "When the first child is fifteen, it is the lowest point of poverty," and "When the last child is fifteen, it is the climax of prosperity," are the products of the farmers' experience. For them, no doubt the easiest way to measure the levels of family living is by observing the family composition before their eyes. How then, can we understand poverty at present? It is possible to understand poverty if we view the

family structure itself in the present. According to our studies, poverty in Japan can be shown to reflect the patterns of the poor family and classified as those of the disorganized family unit.

III. The Normal Family

Before describing the patterns of the disorganized family unit, we must first analyze the organized family unit, for the former is a coordinate concept of the latter. There can be various interpretations of the concept of the organized family unit or the normal family since it is concerned with the substance of the family as a social group.^{11/} Abstractly, family may be defined as a perfect composition with interrelationships in harmony, fulfilling its proper functions, adjusting well to the larger society, and being approved as a sound social unit by society. Nevertheless, if we try to determine its component factors concretely, there may be many explanations. The exact definition of the normal family is of great significance. It has wide and deep influences upon practical problems and social structures in Japan. From the aspect of the quality of family relationships, it is connected with the country's family system; from the aspect of the quantity of family members, it is concerned with the optimum size of the family and consequently with national population problems.^{12/}

For developing the viewpoint of this paper, a working hypothesis regarding the normal family is submitted. According to our studies, the poor family is one which is destroyed either in form or in content. Therefore, we put together the characteristics of the poor family and then, contrarywise, ideal-typically composed a type of family which has structural attributes corresponding to the normal family. To discuss the conditions of the normal family prior to describing the characteristics of the poor family is inverted from the aspect of describing the research results. But it is logically systematic to first describe the normal family and then the non-normal family.

The requirements of the normal family have been induced as follows:

- (1) To consist of father, mother and children. It is fundamental for the normal family to be composed of these three

elements, and the family which is composed of husband and wife, or of other members such as their parents or collateral relatives follows after it.^{13/}

- (2) To not have too many children. The definition of "too many children" is, of course, relative, and it is very difficult to decide the optimum size of the family. However, according to our studies, we shall tentatively consider it as a family which does not include more than three or four children.^{14/}
- (3) To have all members healthy. All family members are in a sufficiently healthy condition as to be able to adequately perform their functions and roles as family members.^{15/}
- (4) To have a harmonious interrelationship. Internally, there is no serious conflict-tension relationship among the family members. They are held together with affection.^{16/}
- (5) To be in a state of social adjustment to society. On its external side, the life mode of the family as a group adjusts well to society. For instance, the family head possesses a job, receives an adequate income, and is fulfilling his social role through his job, and the family's consumption function is being satisfactorily displayed. In other words, the family is appreciated as an adequate social unit by society.^{17/}

Thus, we have named the family which meets all of the five above-mentioned requirements as the normal family. (1) and (2), above, are associated with the composition of the family, (3) with the physiological conditions of the family members, and (4) and (5) with the contents of the family. Corresponding to the latter two, the former three are related to the form of the family. The normal family should not be lacking in even one of these criteria.

IV. The Non-Normal Family or "Handicapped Households"

The non-normal family may therefore be defined in a manner referring to the requirements of the normal family. The types of non-normal family may be divided into three groups: disorganized as to form, disorganized as to contents, and disorganized both as to form and contents. We have named the first of these, "the broken

family,"^{18/} and have subdivided it into two subgroups: (a) the compositionally broken family whose composition is not perfect in corresponding to the requirements of (1) and (2) of the normal family; and (b) the physiologically broken family in which one or more members is invalid or has some physical or mental deficiency. The second group is "the disharmonized family,"^{19/} and also is divided into two subgroups: (a) the internally disharmonized family which has some serious and constant conflict-tension relationship among the members; (b) the externally disharmonized family which is in a state of maladjustment in relation to the larger society. The third is "the disrupted family,"^{20/} which includes both factors of the two former groups. These are summarized as follows:

The Non-Normal Family

- (1) The broken family--disorganized as to form
 - (a) The compositionally broken family
 - (b) The physiologically broken family
- (2) The disharmonized family--disorganized as to contents
 - (a) The internally disharmonized family
 - (b) The externally disharmonized family
- (3) The disrupted family--disorganized both as to form and as to contents

According to our empirical studies in Hokkaido, actual types of the non-normal family which are a household can be classified as follows:

Type A: The mother-and-children household. There is no father; it is composed of mother and children under 20 years of age.^{21/} The households such as the grandmother-and-grandchildren household, the adult sister-and-infant brother household and the household in which the father is in jail, etc., follow this type. This household cannot receive an adequately earned income because of the absence or lack of a dependable male member as a breadwinner.

Type B: The father-and-children household. There is no mother; it is composed of father and children under 20 years of age. The households such as the grandfather-and-grandchildren household, the adult brother-and-infant sister household and so on follow this type. In this household, because of the lack of a mistress who manages the household, consumption is loose or the

male breadwinner cannot perfectly perform his productive function.

Type C: The old persons household. It is composed of old persons only, who are over 65 years of age and have a reduced production function.

Type D: The children household. It is composed of children only, who are under 20 years of age and have an immature production function.

Type E: The too many children household. It is composed of both parents but many children. According to the reasons stated above, we shall tentatively consider here the definition of "too many children" as more than three or four children when discussing poverty. This household usually has an unbalanced budget due to the many children whose consumption function is large in comparison to the small degree of production.

Type F: The invalid household. It includes one or more invalid members, regardless of the breadwinner or others. The physically or mentally handicapped household follows after the invalid household.^{22/} In households of this type, the production function cannot be performed sufficiently because of the invalid and, due to his medical expenses, the consumption function is compressed.

Type G: The disrupted household. This is the internally discordant household. It is not the broken family as stated above. It is a family which constantly has some serious conflict-tension relationships among the members, for instance, between husband and wife, parents and children, mother and daughter-in-law, and so on. Owing to such discord, the production function of the family unit is not given full play or its consumption function is not sound, that is, there may be corruption or extravagance.^{23/}

Type H: The maladjusted household. This is the externally discordant or socially maladjusted household. It is neither the above-stated broken nor disrupted household. It is a household which cannot adjust to the larger society; for example, the household which has an inadequate or indefinite income, the unemployed household, the delinquent household, and the household which expends money without planning because of an ignorance of household management. It cannot sufficiently display its

production and consumption functions and therefore cannot be appreciated as a sound social unit by society; in other words, the underprivileged family.

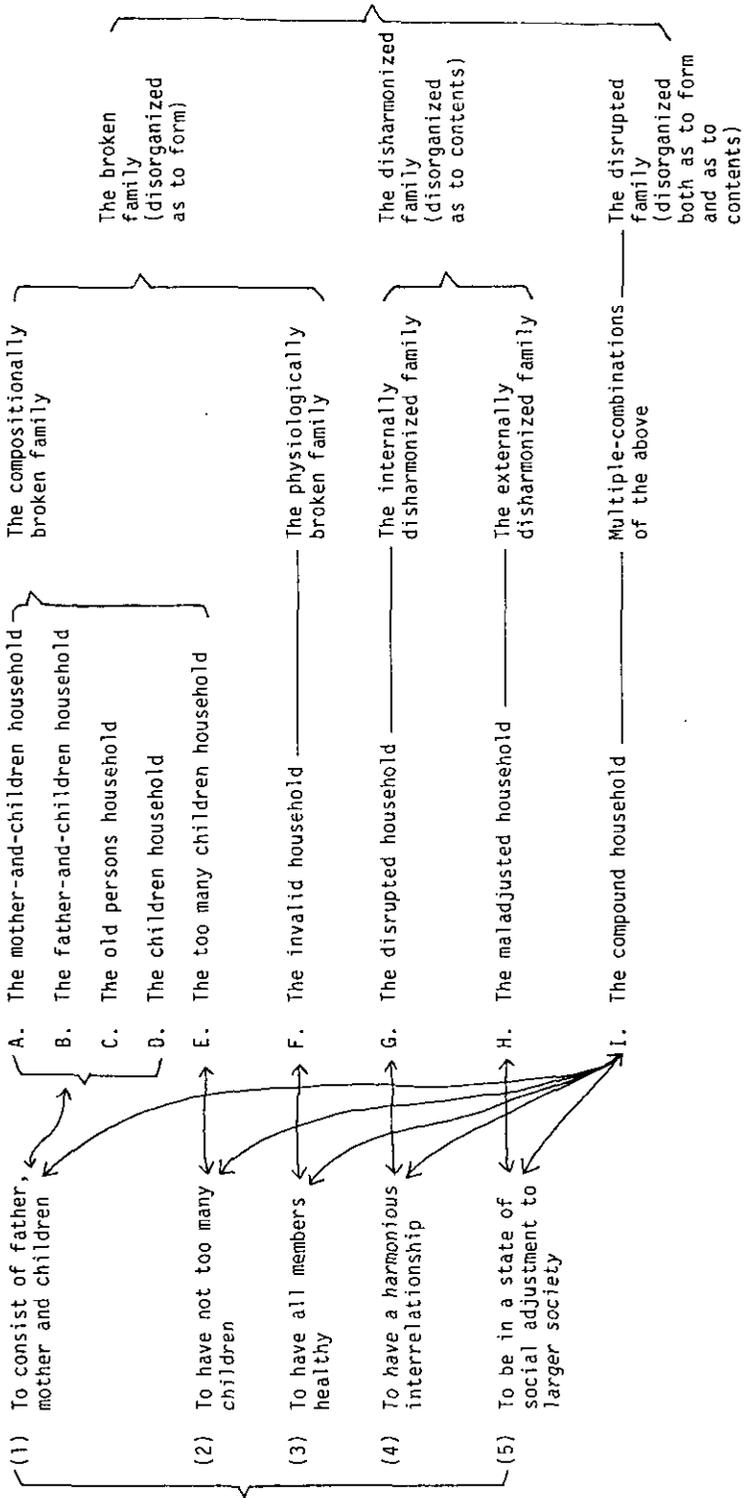
Type I: The compound household. It includes multiple-combinations of the factors which compose the above-stated household types. There can be various kinds of combinations. For example, type CD is composed of the aged and the children only, type AEF is composed of the sick mother and the many children, type GH includes the unemployed husband who is on bad terms with his wife, type EH is composed of the delinquent father, the mother and the many children, and so on.

We name these households "the handicapped households." The correlations of these nine types to the five above-stated requirements of the normal family are coordinated as follows: Types A,B,C and D are correlated to the first requirement, Type E to the second, Type F to the third, Type G to the fourth and Type H to the fifth, respectively. Again, Types A,B,C,D and E are the compositionally broken family, Type F is the physiologically broken family, and Type H is the externally disharmonized family. Type I is correlated to all five conditions of the normal family and includes the compound broken family (for example, Type AEF or Type CD in which the factors of the broken family are accumulated in diversity), the compound disharmonized family (Type GH in which the factors of the disorganized family are variously accumulated) and the compound broken-and-disharmonized family, namely, the disrupted family (for example, Type CG, Type EH or Type FG which is the combination of the broken family and the disharmonized family). These correlations are clearly shown in Diagram I.

Thus, we can say that the types of non-normal families are the types of poor families and are those of poverty which are classified by the present situation of the family. There are many studies explaining the level of living as a matter of the cost of living and measuring it by economic scales.^{24/} The minimum quantity of material things required for human existence, such as food, clothing and shelter, is almost fixed. However, if we try to prove this using an over-all index, such as price, it is not easy to make a definite yardstick. Especially in present-day Japan, the so-called "poverty-line"^{25/} has undergone changes in accordance with the fluctuations of

THE NON - NORMAL FAMILY

Diagram 1. The Correlation Between the Normal Family and the Non-normal Family



THE NORMAL FAMILY

monetary value or inflation.^{26/} Therefore, if understanding poverty from the point of view stated in this paper is granted, we shall be able to measure the level of living of a household rather easily by observing the present situation of the family. Although all aspects of the level of living cannot be explained in this way, the family as a group can be one of the stable yardsticks for measuring poverty.

V. Measures for Remedying Family Poverty

Through observation of the family structure, it is also possible to understand the level of living dynamics. The present situation of the family seems to be temporary and static but it is more than that. As stated above, the family as a group is constantly changing, either growing or decreasing. According to birth, death or removal of family members, its composition changes; according to the changes in age composition, it grows or decreases; its members' interrelationships usually move to and from the situations between conflict and harmony or adjustment and maladjustment. The family is a dynamic group. The present situation of the family, therefore, denotes the phase that a dynamic family group is in when, for example, a sectional diagram is cut at a present time point. In this phase, we can see both the remains of its past phase and the germination of its future phase at the same time. The former denotes the factors which are considered to be causes of poverty and the latter the factors by which the rise and fall of family status in society can be predicted. Accordingly, we shall be able to use adequate remedies to meet poverty according to the type of the poor family, since both the causes of poverty in the past and the trends of the family's welfare in the future are shown in the present phase. From the point of view of understanding poverty as a phenomenon of family disorganization, the method for getting rid of poverty is that of reorganizing the family structure; in other words, let the non-normal family revert to the normal family.^{27/} The measures for eliminating poverty according to household type are roughly considered as follows:

Type A: The mother-and-children household. In this household the cause of poverty is mainly the past situation in which the father has been lost through death, divorce, separation or desertion. The future situation of this household can be pre-

dicted by observing the working capacity of the mother as well as the number and ages of the children. For them, it is necessary to take measures to recover the production function until it returns to the normal family type. Such measures include, for example, giving the mother an adequate job until the children reach a productive age and become strong supporters of the household, or if obtaining a job is difficult, giving public assistance concerning the family life in general, or perhaps, according to the situation, counselling the remarriage of the mother.

Type B: The father-and-children household. The first step is to consider the remarriage of the father because, in Japan, remarriage is easier for men than for women. Another solution is to turn the children over to public welfare services, depending upon the circumstances.

Type C: The old persons household. This household expresses its past situation in that it has lost the children for some reason, has been deserted by them or has no children to assume the responsibility for support of the elderly members. There is no possibility that it will return to the normal family. This type of family, as a succession of generations, will decay. For this household, it is necessary to give public assistance according to the Daily Life Security Law or the Old Persons Welfare Law.

Type D: The children household. In opposition to the former, this is a household whose production function will develop according to the growth of the children. It is necessary to give them special protection by the public welfare system until they can become independent.

Type E: The too many children household. Adequate measures must be taken to reduce the expenses of bringing up the children, for instance, giving aid for education, livelihood, medical treatment and so on. According to the individual cases, other measures are to give the breadwinner a better job or to counsel in family planning.

Type F: The invalid household. Since the sickness of a family member is the cause of the poverty, recovery is crucial. In the case of a breadwinner being an invalid, it is necessary not only

to help with the expenses of medical treatment but also to give assistance for vocational rehabilitation to the member who will take his place in terms of the production function. Depending upon the case, various measures may be considered; for instance, applications of the Tuberculosis Prevention Law, the Physically Handicapped Person's Welfare Law or the Mental Hygiene Law and so on.

Type G: The disharmonized household and Type H: The maladjusted family. The levels of living cannot be improved merely by physical or economic considerations. The stabilization of daily life can be maintained by the harmonious interrelationships of the family members as well as the adjustment of the family unit to society. From this viewpoint, for both Type G and Type H, it is useful to teach family relationship maintenance and how to promote its adaptability to society. We are in need of contriving adequate techniques for this purpose. In addition, for the family which wastes money, it may be effective to give guidance regarding how to manage the household with patience.^{28/}

Type I: The compound household. In this type, it is apparent that the measures are conspicuously difficult because many factors have accumulated and various conditions are complicated within it. Although the conditions appear complex, they can be simplified by resolving them into each factor as stated above. Accordingly, it is not as difficult as it appears if we consider the measure corresponding to each factor and solve them one by one.

VI. Classification of Poverty Households in Hokkaido According to the Types of "Handicapped Households"

Table 1 shows that the types of handicapped households are actually applied to data on poor families in Obihiro City, comparing 1964 with 1953. As an example of the poor family, we used data on the families who received public assistance (considered as the lowest class by both law and society). The characteristics of the level of living in general can be distinctly shown in the life-style of the lower class as well as the fact that the lower classes in different areas can be more easily compared than can those of the upper class.

Table 1. Public Relief Households Classified According to the Types of the Handicapped Household: Obihiro City

Pattern	Year	
	1953	1964
Type A. The mother-and-children household	21.3%	23.3%
Type B. The father-and-children household	--	1.4
Type C. The old persons household	13.3	11.1
Type D. The children household	0.7	--
Type E. The too many children household	--	1.2
Type F. The invalid household	37.9	53.5
Type G. The disrupted household	--	0.3
Type H. The maladjusted household	1.2	5.8
Type I. The compound household	25.6	3.4
Type AF	21.6	--
Type BF	2.0	--
Type DF	0.3	--
Type EF	1.7	--
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of households	301	787

Table 2. Classification of Public Relief Households According to the Types of Handicapped Households: Hokkaido Prefecture, August 1, 1966

Type of Handicapped Household	Cities	Towns and Villages	All Hokkaido Prefecture
Type A	14.0%	12.1%	13.2%
Type B	1.1	0.8	1.0
Type C	11.4	13.3	12.2
Type D	0.5	0.3	0.4
Type E	2.0	2.2	2.1
Type F	48.4	48.7	48.5
Type G	0.7	0.3	0.5
Type H	8.2	5.7	7.2
Type I	13.7	16.6	14.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of households	24,637	16,819	41,456

The results show that in 1953, Type F had the most at 37.9 percent. The next was Type I (25.6 percent) and every factor of this type is connected with F. This result expresses a serious interrelationship between disease and poverty. Type A was the third (21.3 percent), but if we consider the families concerning A of Type I, the mother-and-children family accounts for 42.9 percent. The fourth was Type C at 13.3 percent. There were none of Types B, E and G and only a few cases of Type D and Type H. This suggests that the lack of a mother, too many children, or family discord can hardly independently cause poverty. General situations in 1964 were almost the same as in 1953, although the percentage of Type F increased.

According to Table 2, the situation of Hokkaido Prefecture in relating to the main theme of this paper is not so different from that of Obihiro City, and we can also see that the situations in towns and villages as well as in cities are almost the same. Of 41,456 families on public assistance in Hokkaido Prefecture, 28.9 percent are the compositionally broken family (including Types A,B,C,D, and E) and 48.5 percent are the physiologically broken family (Type F); namely, 77.4 percent of them are the broken family type.^{29/} This is, in contrast to the disharmonized family, readily visible allowing anyone to easily take notice of this type. The social caseworkers who are in contact with the poor family can measure its level of living by first observing the form of the family (whether it is the broken family or not) and analyzing the harmonizing conditions, and then by reviewing the job of the breadwinner and checking his income. According to our studies, those households on public relief sometimes include members employed as day laborers, laborers in small factories or shops, odd-job men, entertainers, home workers, peddlers, second-hand dealers, masseurs, carpenters, or dormitory nurses. There are no employed members in 56.4 percent of the total relief households.

We have yet another finding in this long term research. In 1964, the writer was fortunately able to recontact 12 households which were interviewed by him in 1953. Thus, we were able to do intensive case studies of these households, tracing their life histories during these eleven years and understanding how they followed the courses of life's vicissitudes in developing their family cycle. We analyzed the causes of the vertical mobility of these public assistance households and classified them into three types according to their status change:

the rising household, the fixed household and the fluctuating household.

1. The rising household

This is the type of household which has rid itself of public assistance and improved its level of living. There are two main causes of the improvement. One is that the breadwinner of the household has gotten a better job and the other is that the young children have grown up and gotten good jobs. The former type of household rises rapidly from the bottom of society and the latter rises slowly. The characteristics of both types can be seen by the composition of the family in terms of the *normal* or the *non-normal* family as stated above. Such families as the mother-and-children household, the children household, and the too many children household belong to this group.

Vocational training and guidance for the breadwinner and suitable education for the children are necessary for improved living conditions. It is desirable to establish social institutions for counseling the children of these households.

2. The fixed household

This is the type of household which has continuously received public assistance for these eleven years and has been fixed in the lower class of the city. Two categories of handicapped households belong to this type: the old persons household and the seriously disrupted household. In the former case, long term relief is of course necessary, and in the latter, children desert their old parents after they have grown up. Therefore, it is necessary for these households to have a family counsellor for regulating the members' relationships.

3. The fluctuating household

This is the type of household which has received public assistance intermittently. Most of them depend on relief for two or three months per year during emergency occasions and routinely repeat this pattern every year. The main causes of such mobility are the bad job of the breadwinner, a sudden accident or illness of a family member, many children and unplanned housekeeping.

In terms of the types of handicapped households, there are the too many children household, the under-privileged household and the household with invalid members. As most of these households need

public assistance for fuel in the winter, it is necessary to provide guidance for the domestic housewife.

VII. Summary and Conclusions

In this paper, we have explained that the disorganization of the normal family is, from the point of view of the production and consumption functions of the family, directly related to poverty and can be shown as actual types of non-normal families. However, there are also many cases in which poverty breaks down the family structure and results in family disorganization. The relationship between poverty and family disorganization is reciprocal. Nevertheless, there can be exceptions, since all families do not necessarily become poor even though the family structure is broken down. In cases in which there is enough property to prevent the members from becoming poor before the family structure returns to normal, or in which some of the family members can act for one whose function has been missed or can supplement it through cooperation, family disorganization will not immediately and explicitly result in poverty. In Japan, according to our studies,^{30/} there are not many families which have such a stable structure. On the contrary, the families whose bases were shaken by social and economic changes during and after the war have increased. Most of them are, so to speak, the latent poor class which implicitly contains the basis for poverty. Therefore, if one of these factors comes to the surface, others are influenced by it, and the family falls into the poor class. If, for example, a family has four children, it is not explicitly poor if the father is in good health and earns an income. However, if he dies suddenly and the family can not get an income, it becomes the mother-and-children household and, at the same time, the too many children household, and finally, the invalid household when the mother becomes sick due to overwork. It is Type I (AEF) and the family becomes more and more indigent.

Thus, in Japan, by analyzing the family structure (whether the normal family or the non-normal family), we can measure the level of living and the family's status in society. The normal family and the non-normal family have many important effects upon the formation of personality and the organization of society. They are closely concerned with social pathology.^{31/}

Notes

- 1/ See Max Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (Tubingen, SS, 1922) pp. 194-197; W.F. Ogburn and C. Tibbits, "The Family and Its Functions," in Recent Social Trends in the United States (New York: McGraw Hill, 1933) pp. 664-679.

- 2/ The so-called "Engel's laws" as explained by Ernst Engel, Die Lebenskosten belgischer Arbeiter-familien fruher und jetzt (Berlin, 1895); "very poor," "poor" and "above the line of poverty" refer to definitions from Charles Booth (ed.), Life and Labour of the People in London Vol. I: East London, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1891) 3rd edition, pp. 33, 37-62, 131-155. For a discussion of "primary" poverty and the "secondary" poverty, see B. Seebohm Rowntree, Poverty, A Study of Town Life (London: McMillan, 1901) pp. viii, 86-87, 296 and B. Seebohm Rowntree, Poverty and Progress (London: Longmans, 1941). For a discussion of subsistence standard of living, comfort standard of living, efficiency standard of life or living, standard of luxury, and normal standard of living, see N.L. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1934) Chap. xxviii, pp. 681 ff. Insufficiency, minimum subsistence, health and decency, comfort, and luxury are discussed in I.M. Rubinow, "poverty," in Seligman, ed., Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. XII (1930) pp. 284-292, and C. Brinkmann, "Standards of Living," *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 322-324.

See also Herman Miller, "The Dimensions of Poverty," in Ben B. Seligman (ed.) Poverty as a Public Issue (New York: Free Press, 1965) pp. 20-51.

- 3/ Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Huebsch, 1922) Chap. V; C.J. Galpin, Rural Social Problems (New York: Century, 1924) Chap. III; N.L. Sims, *op. cit.*; T.S. McMahon, Social and Economic Standard of Living (Boston: Heath, 1925) Chap. I; H.B. Hawthorn, The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Century, 1926) Chap. V; F.H. Streightoff, The Standard of Living among the Industrial People of America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911).

- 4/ H.P. Fairchild, Outline of Applied Sociology (New York: Mcmillan, 1916) pp. 139-142.

- 5/ Kiyohide Seki, The Urban Family (Tokyo: Seishin-shobo, 1966).

- 6/ "Family disorganization," in H.P. Fairchild, ed., Dictionary of Sociology (Ames: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1955) p. 96; R.E. Faris, Social Disorganization (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1948) Chap. 10, pp. 246 ff; M.A. Elliott and F.E. Merrill, Social Disorganization, 3rd edition (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950) Chap. XV. pp. 329 ff; C.C. Zimmerman, Family and Civilization (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947); E.R. Mowrer, Family Disorganization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939) revised edition; G.C. Atteberry and others, Introduction to Social Science, Vol. I (New York: McMillan, 1950) pp. 183-199; W. Waller and R. Hill, The Family, A Dynamic Interpretation

(New York: the Dryden Press, 1951) revised edition, Part Six, pp. 453 ff.

In the United States, the study of family disorganization is chiefly concerned with the breakdown of the husband and wife relationship. However, in Japan it is necessary to consider it in a fairly broader sense because of the family system. We would like to understand it as a lack of the normal family relationship and, as actual types of the disorganized family, to point out nine types (Type A-1), which will be explored later.

- 7/ Fairchild, op. cit., p. 83.
- 8/ Booth, op. cit., pp. 146-147; Rowntree, op. cit., pp. 119-145.
- 9/ Booth, op. cit., p. 146; H.M. Leyendecker, Problems and Policy in Public Assistance (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955) p. 161.
- 10/ Rowntree, op. cit., pp. 136-140; E. Suzuki, Principles of Rural Sociology in Japan (Tokyo: Jichosha, 1940) Chap. 4; "Terminal Rhythms in the Japanese Family Cycle," in The Family and the Village Community (Tokyo: Nikko-shoin, 1941) Vol. II, (both in Japanese); Paul C. Glick, "The Family Cycle", American Sociological Review, Vol. 12, 2, 1947, pp. 164-174; J.H. Kolb and E. de S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952) Fourth Edition, pp. 150 ff., Chap. 17, pp. 305 ff; T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Harper, 1947) Chap. 16, pp. 379-381.

E.L. Kirkpatrick, R. Tough, M.L. Cowles, The Life Cycle of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Standard of Living, 1934.

- 11/ The typology of the family from the standpoint of the normality and non-normality of its structure and function, in other words, the systematic classification of the normal family and the non-normal family, has not been previously presented. There have been, however, some examples similar to this. Engel set up the typical family for the purpose of determining the standard of living concretely (Engel, op. cit. S. 5). On the contrary, there is an opinion that the typical family is merely an imaginary concept and a statistical myth (G.C. Atteberry and others, op. cit., p. 171). Fairchild has used the term the typical family, the "standard" family, or the average family (Fairchild, op. cit., pp. 82-84, p. 141). Zimmerman has advocated a study of good family versus bad family. Carl C. Zimmerman, Outline of the Future of the Family (Cambridge: The Philips Book Store, 1947) pp. 113-119; C. Kirkpatrick, The Family: As Process and Institution (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1955) p. 80; E.W. Burgess and H.J. Locke, The Family: From Institution to Companionship (New York: American Book Co., 1953) 2nd edition, pp. 689-692.

These are entirely different from the point of view in this paper. Though we can find the term the normal family or the abnormal family in several books, it is not so systematically defined. For instance:

T.L. Smith and associates, Social Problems (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1955) p. 245, p. 258, p. 267; Elliot and Merrill, op. cit., p. 15, p. 329, p. 331; Elizabeth Bott, "Norms and Ideology: The Normal Family," in A Modern Introduction to the Family, ed. by N.W. Bell and E.F. Vogel (New York: The Free Press, 1960) pp. 435-452; E.M. Goldberg, "The Normal Family-Myth and Reality" in Social Work with Families (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1965) pp. 11-27; M.F. Nimkoff and Russel Middleton, "Types of Family and Types of Economy," in Neil J. Smelser, ed., Readings on Economic Sociology (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945) pp. 73-84.

- 12/ In Japan, the term family planning is used as a synonym of birth control. However, it should be considered as concerning not only the quantity of family members but also the interrelationship of the family members; moreover, even if it is chiefly concerned with birth control, it might be more effective if we consider it as a dynamic family planning in relation to the levels of living of the family unit in the future.
- 13/ In Japan, the family which is regarded as meeting the first requirement of the normal family, that is, composed of father, mother and children, is 81.9 percent of all families in Japan and 87.8 percent in the six major cities (T. Toda, The Family Composition (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1937) p. 368, pp. 504 ff.). The reason we treat families which include other members besides father, mother and children following it is that, under the Japanese family system, these families should be regarded as the normal family, if they meet all other requirements. The childless family, which is composed of young husband and wife, is the normal family in so far as it meets all other requirements; however, it will naturally become Type C if they have no children in their old age. As a Japanese proverb says, "children are the clamps which join husband and wife." The childless family is rather unstable. In this sense, we select the expression of father, mother and children rather than that of husband, wife and children.
- 14/ According to the Censuses of 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, 1955 and 1960, the average population per household in Japan was 4.89, 4.98, 4.99, 5.02, 4.97, and 4.56 respectively. Therefore, if we imagine the average family based on these numbers, it may be composed of father, mother and three children. However, according to our research on the poor family, we tentatively consider the number of children as being three or four.
- 15/ About health, there may be a definition from the medical point of view (see the Charter of the World Health Organization), however here we use the term in a sociological sense.
- 16/ The Japan Human Science Society, (ed.), A Study of the Social Tension (Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten (in Japanese), 1953).
- 17/ "Social adjustment," Fairchild's Dictionary of Sociology, pp. 257-276.
- 18/ This is different from the term broken home (kesson kazoku in Japanese) which is mainly used by the students of juvenile

delinquency. (S. and E. Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1950) p. 122; D.R. Taft, Criminology (New York: McMillan, 1947) pp. 138 ff.; E.H. Sutherland, Criminology (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1924) pp. 143-145). According to the Dictionary of Sociology (p. 142), it is "a family in which one or both the parents are removed." Therefore, the broken family (hason kazoku in Japanese) is used here in a broader sense. (Regarding the broken family, see Leyendecker, op. cit., p. 5; Smith and associates, op. cit., pp. 254 ff.)

- 19/ It is hacho kazoku in Japanese. It is a family which has an internal or external conflict-tension relationship. (See "mal-adjustment," Dictionary of Sociology, p. 181.)
- 20/ It is hakai kazoku in Japanese. It needs no detailed explanation.
- 21/ In Japan, how to demarcate the age between an adult and a minor is not always definite. According to the Child Welfare Law and Labour Standard Law, the definition of the boy or juvenile is one who is under eighteen years of age, but, according to the Juvenile Delinquency Law, he is under twenty years of age. Here we define it as the age class which is not yet considered adult by society in general; namely that age which is prior to the Adult Ceremony, a national event in Japan. This age class is not able to get an adequate income to support their households even if they work. The Law of Loaning the Mother-and-Children Welfare Fund regulates its object as the women who have no husband and maintain their children under twenty years of age. That this is different from the provision of the Child Welfare Law is significant.
- 22/ The reason for regarding the physically or mentally handicapped as being in the same category as the invalid is that the former is in almost the same situation as the latter, if we understand it as not being able to sufficiently perform their functions as family members. However, the measures should be, of course, different according to the cases.
- 23/ Concerning the idea that family discord causes poverty, see T. Makino, "The Types of the Family," Shakaigaku Taikei (Tokyo: Nikko-shoin) Vol. I, p. 61, p. 97 (in Japanese). The standard of living cannot be gauged merely by the monetary unit.
- 24/ K. Okawa, Measuring the Standard of Living, Tokyo (1953); K. Mori, ed., Standard of Living, Tokyo (1953); H. Arisawa, ed., Standard of Living in Japan, Tokyo (1954). All are in Japanese.
- D.W. Douglas, "Cost of Living" and "Family Budget," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences ed. by Seligman Vol. IV, pp. 478-483 and Vol. VI, pp. 73-78. E.L. Kirkpatrick, The Farmer's Standard of Living (New York: Century, 1929). Others see footnote 2.
- 25/ Peter Townsend, "Measuring Poverty", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. V, No. 2, 1954; Booth, op. cit., p. 132; Rowntree, op. cit., pp. 86-118, pp. 295-305.
- 26/ According to the regulations of the Constitution of Japan

(Article 25), the Ministry of Welfare has set up the standard of security which should fit the minimum standard of living in Japan. During seven years, from April 1946 to July 1953, this standard was revised thirteen times in accordance with the rise in prices. It shows how difficult it is to make a definite yardstick.

- 27/ Of 368 mother-and-children families, 24 percent want to remarry and 42 percent look forward to their children growing to adulthood. (Seki, The Mother-and-Children Family, pp. 390-394). We can understand the fact as this state in which the non-normal family is waiting for recovery to the normal family.
- 28/ Type H is caused by the external as well as the internal conditions of the family. Poverty is of course related to the social and economic conditions of the society. If Type H increases in our society, therefore, we have to pay attention not only to the non-normality of the family but also to that of society. It is concerned with social disorganization and social reorganization as well as the national levels of living.
- 29/ As for the whole of Japan, we have no statistics which classify the public assistance households according to the types of handicapped household yet. However, thanks to the research data of the Ministry of Welfare and large cities such as Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe, we can recognize the fact that the proportion of the mother-and-children household, the father-and-children household, the old persons household, the invalid household and the household which includes the physically or mentally handicapped is very high among the public assistance households.
- 30/ Seki, "The Poor Class and Its Living Conditions in a Japanese City", pp. 38-39.
- 31/ In this paper, we have intently analysed the interrelationship between the family and poverty, although poverty is concerned with the social and economic conditions outside the family as already stated. We have not referred to the household composed of one person, because it appears as the children household, the old persons household, the invalid household, or the maladjusted household insofar as poverty is concerned. The ideas in this paper might be useful in forming social welfare policy in countries which are still under the influence of traditional familism and whose social circumstances are rather similar to those of Japan.

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