KAKEIBO MONOGATARI: WOMEN'S CONSUMERISM AND THE POSTWAR JAPANESE KITCHEN, 1945-1964

by

HILLARY J. MAXSON

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of History
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

March 2018

DISSERTATION APPROVAL PAGE

Student: Hillary J. Maxson

Title: Kakeibo Monogatari: Women's Consumerism and the Postwar Japanese Kitchen, 1945-1964

This dissertation has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of History by:

Jeffrey Hanes	Chairperson
Andrew Goble	Core Member
Julie Hessler	Core Member
Barbara Sato	Core Member
Alisa Freedman	Institutional Representative

and

Sara D. Hodges	Interim Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

Degree awarded March 2018

© 2018 Hillary J. Maxson

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Hillary J. Maxson

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

March 2018

Title: Kakeibo Monogatari: Women's Consumerism and the Postwar Japanese Kitchen, 1945-1964

This dissertation explores the history of Japanese home cooking during the formative postwar period—focusing on the women who were responsible for its development. My research demonstrates that as the primary consumers who typically controlled the finances in their homes, and as the primary cooks, women shaped and directed many of the dietary and technological changes that took place in the postwar Japanese kitchen.

Chapter II argues that self-proclaimed housewife Nakamura Kimiko's pragmatic approach to household economy, demonstrated through her devotion to *kakeibo* (personal household account book) keeping, equipped her with the tools she needed to become a political leader in her community, as she became a central figure in Seikyō Co-Op's *kakeibo* movement and their campaigns for food safety throughout the 1970s. Kimiko's political participation was part of a broader pattern of women's civic engagement in postwar Japan: her politics were tied specifically to her role as a consumer. Chapter III examines the transformation in common nutrition knowledge that played out in the pages of women's *kakeibo*—both in the published and nationally circulated copies of *kakeibo*, and in the ways that women like Kimiko used *kakeibo*. Chapter IV takes up the "bright

life" years (1955-1962) from the perspective of consumers. It attributes value to household appliances, specifically kitchen appliances, based on how they affected women's domestic labor. Chapter V argues that women were integral to postwar changes in Japanese cuisine. Women bore the burden of bringing new ingredients and dishes to everyday life in the postwar home, and their consumption, labor, and cooking were integral to culinary change.

Current scholarship on postwar Japanese cuisine focuses on empire, politics, and macroeconomics as the impetuses of change, effectively placing the efforts of women at the periphery of historical narratives. My research contributes to current scholarship by demonstrating that the mental and physical labor many women carried out on a daily basis played an equally important role in transforming food in everyday life in postwar Japan.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Hillary J. Maxson

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
University of Nevada Las Vegas, Las Vegas

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy, History, March 2018, University of Oregon
Master of Arts, History, June 2012, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, History, December 2008, University of Nevada Las Vegas

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Modern Japanese History and Culture
History of Women and Gender
Food History

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Graduate Teaching Fellow, University of Oregon, 2011-2018

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Department of History Research Travel Grant, University of Oregon, 2017

Center for the Study of Women in Society, University of Oregon, 2016

Center for Asian and Pacific Studies Small Professional Grant, University of Oregon, 2016

Oregon Humanities Center Dissertation Fellowship, University of Oregon, 2016

Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, University of Oregon, 2014-2015

Thomas T. Turn Prize for Academic Success, University of Oregon, 2014

Center for Asian and Pacific Studies Small Professional Grant, University of Oregon, 2014

Center for Asian and Pacific Studies Small Professional Grant, University of Oregon, 2013

Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, University of Oregon, 2011-2012

PUBLICATIONS:

Maxson, Hillary J. "From 'Motherhood in the Interest of the State' to Motherhood in the Interest of Mothers: Rethinking the First Mothers' Congress." In *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, ed. by Julia Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the guidance and encouragement of the following mentors, colleagues, and friends. I am grateful to my advisor, Jeffrey E. Hanes, who guided me throughout my graduate career and supported this project from its inception, offering extensive advice and feedback along the way. Andrew E. Goble taught a number of seminars that helped me broaden my topical and thematic expertise. Julie Hessler encouraged me to engage with food history and helped me think comparatively about the topic. Alisa Freedman alerted me to trends in the field that proved helpful. Barbara Sato taught me the ropes of conducting research in Japan and gave great advice on working with women's magazines. April Haynes pushed me to think critically about women's and gender history. Yoshimi Shunya served as my advisor at the University of Tokyo and offered helpful advice along the way. Many thanks to my friends and colleagues from the University of Oregon, including Carrie Adkins, Josh Fitzgerald, Tristan Grunow, Bree Goosmann, Emily Cole, Alison Dodd, Jessica Gibson, Haley Williamson, Lucas Erickson, Lucas Burke, Molly Ingram, Rebecca Hastings, and Nichelle Frank.

Words cannot express my gratitude to Nakamura Kimiko for sharing her *kakeibo* and her life with the world. Kimiko's story made this project more meaningful than I ever imagined. I also want to thank Yamazaki Yūko at the National Women's Education Center for facilitating my meeting with Nakamura Kimiko. I greatly appreciate Hara Tomiko, Samejima Kimie, and Yamada Kazuhiro for taking the time to meet with me as well.

This project was supported by grants and fellowships from a number of academic

entities at the University of Oregon, including the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, the Center for the Study of Women in Society, the Oregon Humanities Center, and the Department of History. I am grateful to the archivists and support staff at the Ishikawa Takeyoshi Memorial Library for all of their help.

On a more personal level, I would like to thank my good friends Heather MacDavid, Leslie Tassoni, Julie Stocks, and Dez Dayton for their support. My friend, Yoshioka Kaori, showed me how to shop for ingredients at a Japanese grocery store and taught me how to cook a few wonderful home-cooked meals. My family has always believed in me, and I am grateful to them for that. Finally, special thanks are due to my partner, Kobayashi Yūhei, for all of his love and support, and to my best furry friend, Midori.

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, who never told me the odds.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Historiography 5

The History of Kakeibo 12

Sources 17

Organization 19

II. POLITICS IN THE KITCHEN 24

Education, Labor, and Leisure 29

Housing, Kitchen, and Family 39

Income and Expenditures 47

Politics 55

Retirement 61

Conclusion 62

III. BALANCED BUDGET, BALANCED DIET 64

Balanced Budget 68

Balanced Diet 75

Conclusion: Balanced Budget, Balanced Diet, and Kimiko's Kakeibo 98

IV. PURCHASER CONSUMERS AND USER CONSUMERS IN THE ERA OF HOME ELECTRIFICATION 101

Towards the Bright Life 106

Food Preservation and the Refrigerator 109

Refrigerators, Purchaser Consumers, and User Consumers 112

Chapter Page

Rice Cooking and Rice Cookers 128

Conclusion 138

V. CURRYING FLAVOR: CONSUMER COOKS AND POSTWAR CHANGES IN CUISINE 141

The End of the War and the Occupation 144

Staple Foods: Rice, Noodles, and Bread 151

International Foods 162

Meat, Dairy Products, and Seafood 171

Meal Structure 184

Conclusion 192

VI. CONCLUSION 194

APPENDICES 204

A. APPENDIX I 204

B. APPENDIX II 255

REFERENCES CITED 260

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Housewives (*kateifujin*) and the time they spent in minutes on housework 34
2. Kitchens and storage. 45
3. Average monthly income and expenditures 49
4. Sample *kakeibo* page 86
5. Food classifications 93
6. Kimiko's 1965 and 1972 *kakeibo* 95
7. Okamatsu's arrangement of staple foods for the week (1951) 157
8. One week of seasonal side dishes 160
9. Vegetables and tofu, 1955 and 1964 188
10. Selected meal entries from Kimiko's 1964 *kakeibo* 189

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph Page

1. Electric refrigerator and rice cooker diffusion (cities) 136

2. Electric refrigerator and rice cooker fiffusion (countryside) 137

3. Rice and bread purchases 155

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the history of Japanese home cooking during the formative postwar period—focusing on the women who were responsible for its development. In the course of my research for this project, I have compiled a short list of characteristics that distinguish modern home cooking. Modern home cooking contains two components: meal structure and ingredients. The meal structure, a traditional aspect of Japanese home cooking, includes a staple food (typically rice), and three to four side dishes, such as a meat dish, a vegetable dish, soup, and pickles. The second component, ingredients, changed dramatically during the postwar, as home cooks combined non-traditional ingredients, like bread, meat and dairy products, with traditional Japanese ingredients. Both non-traditional and traditional ingredients are prepared using different cooking methods, resulting in many fusion and international dishes becoming central to Japanese home cooking; nevertheless, the traditional meal structure never changed.

Arriving at this simple description of modern home cooking was no easy feat, however, as one home-cooked meal represents countless hours of women's labor carried out over the course of decades. This dissertation argues that women's mental and physical labor, as well as their power as consumers, crafted home cooking over the course of the 1940s, 50s, and 60s. This process was complicated and multifaceted, encompassing a number of seemingly disparate, yet intimately connected, historical processes that women became central to, including consumption, politics, technology, and cooking. Fortunately, one type of document, *kakeibo*, women's personal household

account books, ties all of these issues together, and presents them from the perspective of women.

Women who lived in the early postwar years were aware of the connections between politics, consumption, technology, the kitchen, and their lives. In the December 1959 issue of the popular Japanese women's magazine, *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*), some of the magazine's writers sat down with two housewives, Sumiko and Tomiko, to reflect on the fifteen years that had passed since the end of Japan's Fifteen Years War (1931-1945). To help themselves recollect both the important political moments they witnessed and the personal events that transpired in their own lives, the group examined Sumiko and Tomiko's personal household account books (*kakeibo*). These *kakeibo*, when filled out diligently by women like Sumiko and Tomiko, contain detailed daily accounts of everything purchased by households over the course of one year. When Sumiko and Tomoiko pulled out their fifteen volumes of *kakeibo*, a total of thirty *kakeibo* they were proffering, they represented fifteen years of their respective family's lives.

The group began with a perusal of Sumiko's 1945 *kakeibo*. On August 6, 1945, Sumiko bought some vegetables, then on August 8, she picked up some soy sauce. One week later, on August 15, 1945, the day that Emperor Hirohito announced the unconditional surrender of Japan, Sumiko's daily *kakeibo* entry was left blank—as was the following day. The authors of the article stated that the entire population of Japan was in such a state of shock at the time, that for two days, no one went out to shop, and even if one had wanted to, there was nowhere to buy anything. On August 17, the new

reality began to sink in, and Sumiko went shopping, diligently recording her purchases in her *kakeibo*.

In the years 1945 and 1946, almost all of Sumiko's purchases were food items, as her family could not afford much else. High inflation affected the prices of all goods, and was the bane of consumers' existence. One month, Sumiko paid 30 *sen* for a daikon radish, and just a few months later, the same radish cost more than thirty times that amount. Delays in rice ration deliveries also brought cries of outrage from the public, Sumiko recalled. One such delay in May 1946 resulted in the "Food May Day" movement and "Give us rice!" protests. In response to such bleak conditions, black market stalls popped up across the country. Out of desperation one day, Sumiko ventured to the black market in search of *hirame* fish, which she believed would help heal her young daughter, Yūko, who was in poor health at the time. The *hirame* cost Sumiko 30 yen, an exorbitant price at the time.

Amid ongoing hostilities on the Korean Peninsula in 1951, Tomiko said she felt a sense of peace when Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which officially ended the Allied Occupation of Japan. After the treaty went into effect in 1952, standards of living began to improve, and Tomiko, whose story the magazine writers turned to next, was able to afford a washing machine by the end of 1953. The period of "household electrification" (*kateidenka*) began to take off as Japan entered a period of rapid economic growth in the mid-1950, and more families purchased electrical appliances, like televisions, refrigerators, and rice cookers, to fill their homes.

The article mentions a few more major life events in Sumiko and Tomiko's family histories—births and deaths, milestones in their children's lives—weaving them

together with significant moments in Japanese history, such as Prime Minister Hatoyama Ichirō's signing of the Soviet-Japanese Joint Declaration in 1956, a treaty that finally restored diplomatic relations between the two countries. The article includes one of the top news stories of the decade: Crown Prince Akihito and commoner Shōda Michiko's wedding. On April 11, 1959, when Sumiko bought a pack of stamps that commemorated the Crown Prince's love marriage, she also picked up some medicine for the family dog. In keeping with a common theme that runs throughout the article, Sumiko and Tomiko concluded their commentary with a discussion of food. Sumiko compared her 1945 New Year's Day party shopping list—*kinton*, *kamaboko*, *kobumaki*, *kuromame*, and *kazunoko*—to her 1958 list—ham, sausage, *ikura*, and *kunsei*.[1] The foods she purchased for important holidays had even changed. By reviewing their *kakeibo*, Sumiko and Tomiko became cognizant of the changes that they had unwittingly made in their food-related customs.

The magazine writers, along with Sumiko and Tomiko, gradually came to the conclusion that *kakeibo* tell more than the story of one family: taken as a whole, *kakeibo* include the essential information needed to tell the story of Japanese households across the nation. By closely examining their kakeibo and thinking about the time that had passed, Sumiko and Tomiko connected their families' struggles and periods of growth over the span of fifteen years to those of all Japanese people, and Japan itself. Throughout the article, the two housewives made a number of comments about national and international politics and the connections they shared with their personal lives, including their shopping, engagement with new technologies, and cooking. Of course,

[1] "*Kakeibo wa tsubuyaku: sengo jū go nen no katei no seichō," Shufu no tomo,* December 1959, 92-99. This article is not attributed to an author, the last page simply says, "This magazine's reporter(s) (*honshi kisha*)."

this group broached the topic through the medium of *kakeibo*, documents that embodied the important role women played as consumers in their society. This dissertation will use *kakeibo*, a source that scholars have largely overlooked, as a lens to examine modern home cooking and the women who were crucial to its development.

Historiography

Sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists have produced most of the existing scholarship on postwar Japan. Despite Andrew Gordon's call in 1993 for historians to consider the postwar as history, Japanese historians in the English literature have been slow to delve into the postwar experience.[2] This has been especially true for scholarship on women's and gender history. Much like the broader historical scholarship on the postwar, women's and gender historians have given attention primarily to the Allied Occupation.[3] Women's and gender historians have given some attention to

[2] Andrew Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Some scholarship that has examined the postwar includes: On social movements: Ellis Krauss, ed., *Conflict in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984); Wesley Makoto Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001); On politics and economy: Nathaniel Thayer, *How the Conservatives Rule Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Ezra Vogel, *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982); Bai Gao, *Japan's Economic Dilemma: The Institutional Origins of Prosperity and Stagnation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Laura Hein, *Reasonable Men, Powerful Words: Political Culture and Expertise in Twentieth-Century Japan* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2004).

[3] For more on the Allied Occupation, see Susan Pharr, "The Politics of Women's Rights," in *Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation*, ed. Robert Ward and Sakamoto Yoshikazu (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999); Takemae Eiji, Sebastian Swann, and John Dower, *Inside GHQ*: *The Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy* (New York: Continuum, 2002); Rinjiro Sodei, *Dear General MacArthur: Letters from the Japanese during the Allied Occupation* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001); Yoshiaki Yoshimi, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Toshiyuki Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation* (London: Routledge, 2002).

feminist movements, but the lives of women who do not fit this mold have largely fallen through the cracks.[4] The one exception has been scholarship on the rise of the housewife, which has primarily been sociological, anthropological, or ethnographic.[5] There is simply very little historical scholarship that explores women as agents of change, focusing on the significance of their daily decisions as consumers, citizens, and cooks.[6]

More recently, scholarship on women's and gender issues in the postwar has taken a political turn, engaging with a "Cold War" framework of interpretation. In *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan*, Jan Bardsley examines the emergence of the Japanese housewife in 1950s Japan, arguing that, as a symbol of the alliance between Japan and the United States, the housewife was a controversial representation of the early

---

[4] Scholars who have discussed postwar women's organizations include Kathleen Uno, "The Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'?" in *Postwar Japan as History,* ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Akiko Tokuza, *The Rise of the Feminist Movement in Japan* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 1999); Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment, and Sexuality* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); LeBlanc, *Bicycle Citizens*.

[5] For more on the housewife, see Murakami Nobuhiko, "*Katei no seikatsu,*" in *Meiji joseishi—joken to ie* (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1981); Ueno Chizuko, *Shufu ronsō o yomu: zenkiroku* (Tokyo: Keisoō Shobō, 1982); Aoki Taiko. "*Shufu pawaa no rekishiteki tōjō: 'midori' to gendaa gyappu*," in *Gendai no riron* 210, 69-77 (Tokyo: Gendainorironsha, 1985); Anne Imamura, *Urban Japanese Housewives: At Home and in the Community* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987); Matsumura Naoko, "*Seikatsu no gendaiteki tokuchō to shufu yakuwari*," in *Josei seikatsu shi dai go kan: gendai*, ed. Itō Yasuko (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shupankai, 1990); Tanaka Yasumasa, "*Tokai no shufu to chihō no shufu*," in *Gakushūin Daigaku Hōgakubu Kenkyū Nenpō* 25 (Tokyo: Gakushūin Daigaku Hōgakkai, 1990); Kunihiro Yōko, "*Toshi no seikatsu sekai to josei no shufu ishiki,*" in *Toshi to josei no shakaigaku*, ed. Yazawa Sumiko (Tokyo: Saiensusha, 1993); Joy Hendry, "The Role of the Professional Housewife," in *Japanese Women Working,* ed. Janet Hunter (New York: Routledge, 1993); Imai Yasuko, "The Emergence of the Japanese Shufu: Why a Shufu is More Than a Housewife," in *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal English Supplement* 6 (March 1994); Anne Imamura, ed. *Re-Imaging Japanese Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Shimizu Michiko, "*Jochū imeeji no henyō*," in *Onna no Bunka: Kindai Nihon Bunkaron*, ed. Aoki Kawamoto, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000); Kazumi Ishii and Nerida Jarkey, "The Housewife is Born: The Establishment of the Notion and Identity of the Shufu in Modern Japan," in *Japanese Studies* 22, No. 1 (2002); Ofra Goldstein-Gidoni, *Housewives of Japan: An Ethnography of Real Lives and Consumerized Domesticity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[6] Some scholarship that does, however, look at the everyday life of women in postwar Japan include Trager, *Letters from Sachiko* and Gail Lee Bernstein, *Haruko's World: A Japanese Farm Woman and Her Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983).

Cold War years.[7] While Bardsley focuses on the housewife as an icon, Mire Koikari examines the political significance of the encounters between American housewives and Okinawan women in the era of Cold War expansionism. The homes of women in both America and Okinawa, Koikari contends, became the sites of Cold War politics.[8] Such scholarship, including Ann Sherif's work on Cold War films and literature, has found a new way to position Japanese culture in the broader context of Cold War politics.[9] While this dissertation engages with women's involvement in politics, it is not a Cold War history. It does not use a Cold War framework, but it does engage with the inherent connections between domesticity and politics.[10]

This dissertation builds on recent scholarship in the field of gender in food history. Broadly speaking, across almost all societies and cultures, throughout all of human history, women have been responsible for cooking in the home. In the last thirty years, more historians have taken up issues concerning food preparation and gender as serious subjects of inquiry. Much of this fruitful scholarship has focused on the United States. In *America's Collectible Cookbooks*, Mary DuSablon examines recipes and cookbooks spanning a two hundred-year period, and argues that their female compilers played a

[7] Jan Bardsley, *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan* (London: SOAS Studies in Modern and Contemporary Japan, 2014).

[8] Mire Koikari, *Cold War Encounters in US-Occupied Okinawa: Women, Militarized Domesticity and Transnationalism in East Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[9] Ann Sherif, *Japan's Cold War: Media, Literature, and the Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

[10] For example, see Philip Muehlenbeck, ed., *Gender, Sexuality, and the Cold War: A Global Perspective* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2017); Shane Hamilton and Sarah Phillips, *The Kitchen Debate and Cold War Consumer Politics* (Boston: St. Martin's, 2014).

significant role in shaping American culture.[11] Sherrie Inness' *Dinner Roles: American Women and Culinary Culture* explores the development of cooking in the home in twentieth century America, and Mary Mcfeely's *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie? American Women and the Kitchen in the Twentieth Century* assesses domestic imagery of women and how it shaped traditional gender roles.[12]

We can identify some striking parallels between the construction of domestic ideology in the United States and in Japan. Much like the "cult of domesticity" in the United States and Great Britain, domestic ideology gained traction in Meiji Japan (1868-1912), as well as in Korea and China, with the popularization of the maxim "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*). Ideologies of domesticity like the "cult of domesticity" and "good wife, wise mother" emphasized ideas of femininity that placed women within the home, and set expectations that women should devote all of their time to the socialization of children and the cultivation of domestic skills like cooking. In the 1920s, New Women and Modern Girls around the globe challenged this monolithic construction of womanhood.[13] Despite such protests, historians have argued that the ideas about femininity and womanhood that were encapsulated in the "cult of domesticity" and "good

---

[11] Mary DuSablon, *America's Collectible Cookbooks: The History, the Politics, the Recipes* (Ahtnes: Ohio University Press, 1994).

[12] Mary Drake, *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie? American Women and the Kitchen in the Twentieth Century* (Amhurst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000); Sherrie Inness, *Dinner Roles. American Women and Culinary Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001). Sherrie Inness also wrote Sherrie Inness, *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). Increasingly, scholars who situate their research outside of US history have contributed to scholarship on gender and food.

[13] See Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600*-1945, ed. by Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Dina Lowy, *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007); *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*, ed. by Alys Eve Weinbaum et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

wife, wise mother" have been remarkably resilient, and unpaid domestic labor, like cooking, largely remained "women's work" during the wartime and postwar eras.[14]

Yet, some women found empowerment through their domestic work. Whereas some scholarship on food and gender tends to highlight the repressive nature of traditional gender roles that attribute cooking labor to women, some scholars have approached the topic differently. *Food and Gender: Identity and Power*, edited by Carole Counihan and Steven Kaplan, examines "personal power: whether men's and women's relationship to food and its meanings contributes to a sense of self. Men's and women's attitudes about…the importance of their food work reveal whether their self-concept is validating or denigrating."[15] Many Japanese women found a sense of personal power in their relationship to food. As will be examined extensively in this dissertation, many Japanese women found meaning and a valued sense of self in making public their private food labor. They saw the importance of their food work as self-validating and inherently political.

Certainly, the story of women's cooking labor is not just one of empowerment. A lot of pressure to perform was placed on the shoulders of women, and their work in the kitchen was mentally and physically taxing. This dissertation will discuss these issues at length. Nonetheless, this project does not frame the kitchen as an intrinsically repressive space for women during this period. The subjects of this dissertation saw their labor in the kitchen as inherently political and used their labor as a political tool to better their work conditions and communities. This is to say that the kitchen may have been

---

[14] See Kathleen Uno, "The Death of Good Wife, Wise Mother?" in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. by Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[15] Carole Counihan, "Introduction," in *Food and Gender: Identity and Power*, ed. Carole Counihan and Steven Kaplan (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 1-2.

repressive for some women and empowering for others. In sum, this dissertation focuses on the significance of women's cooking labor, its connection to politics, and the value food had in their lives.

In the broadest of terms, housewives are the subjects of this dissertation, if only because *kakeibo* keeping and budget management were gendered practices prescribed to housewives. Certainly, women who were not housewives also played a role in constructing modern Japanese cuisine. Female domestic workers stand out as a group of women other than housewives that spent a significant amount of time in the kitchen. This population of young women shopped and cooked for upper and middle-class households in the 1940s and 1950s.[16]

At the same time, housewives themselves were a diverse group of women. In the second half of the twentieth century, large numbers of women referred to themselves as "housewives" even though many performed wage-earning labor outside, or inside, the home.[17] Furthermore, many housewives were politically active. As early as 1948, members of the Housewives' Federation (*Shufuren*) donned the trappings of a typical housewife—an apron and *shamoji* (rice paddle)—in public, political protests. The group formed after its members had all repeatedly received rations of poorly-produced matches that failed to ignite. The government's failure to distribute usable matches significantly impeded women's cooking labor, and members of the group expressed their frustrations

---

[16] While I have heard anecdotes about female domestic workers, unfortunately, the data I collected for this project did not say anything substantial about these women. It is not my intention to exclude marginalized groups of women from the historical narrative. Most of my sources dealt primarily with housewives, so they are central to this dissertation, but they were certainly not the only female agents of change. I use inclusive language throughout the dissertation in hopes to include women who were not, or did not identify as, housewives.

[17] Large numbers of women in both the countryside and in cities worked for family businesses or did *naishoku* (employed work in the home). Most *naishoku* consisted of one sewing in her home for pay.

through activism. Federation members continued to take the streets in the 1950s and 1960s, as they opposed increases in the prices of many food items, including rice, tofu and milk.[18] They protested against price hikes by throwing rallies, coordinating door-to-door canvassing, and boycotting food products with inflated prices. In 1954, the Federation began a "Ten Yen Milk Movement." When milk prices increased by one yen the following year, the Housewives marched in opposition to the price increase. Even though these women identified as housewives, they were involved in significant, time-consuming political campaigns that improved their communities.[19] Some elected female politicians even referred to themselves as housewives.[20]

One common gender norm that united many housewives was the keeping of *kakeibo*. Many Japanese wives used *kakeibo* to make budgets and manage their families' finances. A survey conducted in 1965 revealed that half of all surveyed households kept *kakeibo* and 41% regularly wrote in them.[21] Beyond this, many housewives also had complete control over their husbands' incomes. Even today, the custom holds that the hard working, middle-class salaryman hands over his paycheck to his wife, and that she, in turn, gives him a monthly allowance. Both the government and women's organizations heavily promoted this gender norm during the late 1940s and 1950s. Government officials believed that both household savings and the rationalization of consumption were integral to Japan's postwar economic recovery. With these goals in

---

[18] *Shufuren* is still around today.

[19] "*Shufuren no ayumi*," last modified 2006, http://shufuren.net/modules/tinyd4/

[20] See Robin LeBlanc, *Bicycle Citizens: The Political World of the Japanese Housewife* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[21] Sheldon Garon, *Beyond Our Means: Why America Spends While the World Saves* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 271.

mind, the government communicated extensively with women's organizations and relied heavily on them to promote and carry out household savings and consumption-related initiatives—so much so that savings associations earned the title "mothers' banks." Women's organizations urged women to keep *kakeibo* and record in them every day. Some government agencies and women's organizations even went as far as to distribute *kakeibo* directly to women.

The History of Kakeibo

Historians of women's and gender history typically assess the lives of housewives and other "ordinary" women in the past by examining their diaries. American Historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's classic *A Midwife's Tale* is a good example of one such diary, or in Japanese history, *Makiko's Diary*.[22] Scholars of Japanese women's history have also examined women's magazines and letters, which tend to be rich sources filled with insight into different aspects of women's lives.[23] *Kakeibo*, or women's personal household account books, are exceptional historical documents in that they are filled out almost exclusively by women and provide valuable insight into the lives of "ordinary" women.[24]

---

[22]Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage, 1991); Makiko Nakano and Kazuko Smith, *Makiko's Diary: A Merchant Wife in 1910 Kyoto* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

[23] Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*; Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); James Trager, *Letters from Sachiko*: *A Japanese Woman's View of Life in the Land of the Economic Miracle* (New York: Atheneum, 1982).

[24] I have never come across an article that discusses men using *kakeibo*. Men, do, however, show up as financial experts in budget-related articles in *The Housewife's Companion*.

The first *kakeibo* and *kakeibo* keeper I encountered exceeded my expectations. Nakamura Kimiko, a housewife originally from Yamanashi prefecture, wrote in her household account book every single day.[25] Since Nakamura Kimiko's story is integral to this dissertation and her name appears in every chapter, I have chosen to refer to her as Kimiko, following examples set by scholars who have used women's personal names when writing extensively and intimately about their lives. I do so with respect, and with the hope that using Kimiko's personal name will elicit a sense of familiarity from readers.[26]

From the time she married her husband, Nakamura Kōsaku, in 1954, until the 2000s, Kimiko wrote down every single item and service her household purchased. In 1957, the Nakamura family moved to Yokohama, in Kanagawa prefecture, where they settled down and raised their family. In 1968, Kimiko attended a household group course (*kateihan*) run by the Yokohama Seikyō Co-Op.[27] The group decided to start a *kakeibo* movement. As a woman who had diligently kept a *kakeibo* for more than ten years, Kimiko naturally became central to the movement. Kimiko collected the *kakeibo* of her fellow co-op members and kept complete lists of all of their expenses. This compilation of data was printed in newspapers and presented to the Diet in the 1970s. In 1971 Kimiko became a representative for Seikyō and even designed her own *kakeibo*, which

[25] Kimiko took a few breaks before and after the birth of her children.

[26] For example, see Trager, *Letters from Sachiko*; Bernstein, *Haruko's* World; Nakano and Smith, *Makiko's* Diary; and Yamazaki Tomoko and Karen Colligan-Taylor, *Sandakan Brothel No. 8: An Episode in the History of Lower-Class Japanese Women* (Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).

[27] At the time there were approximately 40,000 members altogether in the Co-Op. The Co-Op was primarily concerned with issues of public health, such as pollution and harmful foods filled with additives.

was later published and sold by Seikyō. The *kakeibo* Kimiko created is still being used to this day.

Kimiko donated all of her account books to the National Women's Education Center (*Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan*) located in Saitama prefecture. The National Women's Education Center, recognizing the significance of Kimiko's documents, displayed Kimiko's *kakeibo* in their museum, publicized the collection, and digitized all of her *kakeibo*. The amount of information contained in Kimiko's account books is extensive, detailed, and personal. After glancing at a few pages from Kimiko's 1954 *kakeibo*, I knew it would become central to this project.

A document like Kimiko's *kakeibo* demonstrates that even if a housewife was not a politician, an intellectual, or a member of a woman's organization, as a consumer and cook, she played a significant role in the development of home cooking. Kimiko's account book provides an unusual window into the lives of women who shaped modern Japan. Her *kakeibo* tells the story of one woman's journey in adapting to and bringing about change in her family's diet. Of course, Kimiko's account book is *Kimiko's* account book; it does not speak for all Japanese women. It does, however, echo most of the changes that occurred in Japanese food culture at the time. Perhaps, most importantly, Kimiko's *kakeibo* gives us insight into how women maintained traditional food customs, while incorporating new ones, in a period of immense cultural transformation.

The history of *kakeibo* reaches back further than Kimiko's lifetime. *Kakeibo* keeping emerged alongside diary keeping in nineteenth-century Japan.[28] Keeping a record of one's household and its finances was connected to Meiji-era (1868-1912) nation

---

[28] Nishikawa Yūko, *Nikki o tsuduru to iu koto: kokumin kyōiku sōchi to sono itsudatsu* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), 96.

building and the construction of the "family nation" (*kazoku kokka*). Meiji ideologues identified the state with the family, designating the Emperor as the father to his childlike subjects, and each family acted as the foundation of the nation state. The "good wife, wise mother" role emerged in tandem with the rise in Japanese nationalism and the idea of the "family nation." As part of the family nation, the loyalty of "good wives and wise mothers" was tied to their loyalty to their nation and emperor.[29] Financial record keeping and budgeting became one of the duties "good wives and wise mothers" were expected to perform to demonstrate their loyalty and filial piety vis-a-vis family and nation.[30]

Meiji ideologues were not the only proponents of this new, gendered custom, as women's magazines played an integral role in promoting *kakeibo* keeping. For example, in October 1887, *Anata no* tomo (*Your Companion*) magazine printed an article titled "*Kanai bokihō*" ("A Wife's Bookkeeping Guide"). The article asserted that a wife's main role in the family was to manage the household's finances, and that it was her responsibility to balance expenditures and income.[31] While the authors used the word "*nikki chō*" here, rather than "*kakeibo*," historian Nishikawa Yūko compellingly argues that this was in fact the origin of *kakeibo*.[32] Three additional women's magazines from the Meiji period, *Katei zasshi* (*The Home* Journal, 1892-1898), *Katei zasshi* (*The Home Journal*, under a different owner, 1903-1909), and *Fujin no tomo* (*Woman's Companion*, 1904-present), often took up the topic of household record keeping.

---

[29] Ibid., 106.

[30] For more on "*Kazoku kokka*," see Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[31] Nishikawa, *Nikki o tsuduru to iu koto*, 104.

[32] Ibid., 105.

Hani Motoko, the first Japanese female journalist and founder of *Fujin no tomo* (*The Woman's Companion,* 1904, later changed to *Katei no tomo*, *The Family Friend*) magazine, invented the first "*kakeibo*" in 1904. Three years later, in 1907, Hani created the "*Hani Motoko kōan kakeibo*," a version of the *kakeibo* that is still around to this day. The "*Hani Motoko kōan kakeibo*" included detailed explanations of how to calculate a budget and even included tips on how to make money-saving meal plans. The publication of Hani's *kakeibo* reinforced the gender norm of the budget-keeping housewife.[33]

The modern tradition of *kakeibo* keeping continued into wartime and the postwar period. Publishers printed *kakeibo* with nationalistic slogans in the margins during the Pacific War (1941-1945). Understandably, however, women and their families faced constant dangers and anxieties during the war, and as a result, pushed careful financial planning and recordkeeping to the wayside. After the war ended, however, *The Housewife's Companion* urged readers to take up their *kakeibo* once again—restoring a sense of normalcy and planning to their lives. In making the plea, *The Housewife's Companion* played a major role in reviving the *kakeibo* tradition in the postwar; and, in 1950, it published a *kakeibo*.[34]

This dissertation picks up at this point early in the postwar, where *kakeibo* keeping connected women to a modern, relatively new gender norm, while also setting the stage for women to become important economic actors in the postwar. This dissertation examines *kakeibo* through the lenses of politics, nutrition, technology, and diet—but beyond this, more importantly, it is an exploration of women's agency as

---

[33] Ibid., 107-108.

[34] Ibid.,, 120; 248-249.

consumers. Ultimately the dissertation contends that *kakeibo* illuminate women's empowerment as consumers and cooks in the changing landscape of postwar Japan.

Sources

In order to make a case for the significance of women's consumerism, I have drawn from a variety of published and archival sources, with attention given to primarily to the years 1954 to 1964. For these eleven years, here I compiled a chart based on data listed in Kimiko's *kakeibo*. The chart lists every single food item Kimiko purchased during these years and is included in the appendix. Details about Kimiko's life were bolstered by two interviews conducted by the National Women's Education Center. Additionally, I met Kimiko in the summer of 2017 and had a discussion with her about Japanese food history. A few tidbits from this conversation have been included in the dissertation.

In order to provide context for Kimiko's *kakeibo,* this dissertation relies heavily on survey data. Surveys conducted by the Institute for Finance and Labor (*Ginkō rōdō kenkyūkai chōsabu*), the Economic Planning Agency (*Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku*), the Institute for Finance and Labor (*Ginkō rōdō kenkyūkai chōsabu*), the Ministry of Health and Welfare (*Kōseishō Kōshū Eiseikyoku*), and the Statistics Bureau Management and Coordination Agency (*Nihon tōkei kyōkai*) include information about the diffusion of kitchen technologies, nutrition and dietary change, and consumers. Such surveys provide data that clarifies the ways in which Kimiko's individual consumption patterns reflected

or deviated from national trends, giving additional perspective on broader patterns of women's agency as consumers.

Finally, this dissertation draws on articles and advertisements from *The Housewife's Companion*, one of the most popular women's magazines in twentieth-century Japan. Along with radio, film, and newspapers, magazines for women and men alike expanded in the Taishō period. By 1920, what came to be known as the Big Four women's magazines of the interwar years, *Fujin sekai* (Woman's World, 1906), *Fujin kōron* (Woman's Review, 1916), *Shufu no tomo* (Housewife's Companion, 1917), and *Fujin kurabu* (Woman's Club, 1920), rose to national prominence. *Woman's World* was the first women's magazine to publish family-oriented articles towards young married readers. The founder of *The Housewife's Companion*, Ishikawa Takemi, adopted this concept and created a magazine specifically for a "housewife" readership, with the goal of teaching housewives all the knowledge they needed to know to run a proper household. *The Housewife's Companion* found its niche in printing "practical articles" that focused on cooking, cleaning, and homemaking. By 1931, *The Housewife's Companion* boasted the highest circulation numbers of the Big Four women's magazines. Over the course of the interwar years, the readership for women's magazines broadened. It was not the case that only middle-class housewives read magazines like *The Housewife's Companion,* as factory girls, farm women, and professional working women also enjoyed the magazine.[35]

The Housewife's Companion remained the most popular women's magazine in the postwar period. In fact, it was the third most popular magazine in Japan. The

---

[35] Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, 79-80, 94-95, 112. For more on magazines during the interwar period, see Sarah Frederick, *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

women's magazines *Fujin kurabu* (*Woman's Club*), *Shufu to seikatsu* (*The Housewife and Daily Life*), and *Fujin seikatsu* (*Woman's Life*), also shared significant success in the postwar, as they ranked fifth, sixth, and seventh, respectively, in the country.[36] Due to its high circulation numbers, incredible popularity, and focus on household labor, in addition to the crucial role the magazine played in reviving the practice of *kakeibo* keeping, every chapter in this dissertation utilizes articles from *The Housewife's Companion*, using it as a window on contemporary gender norms and roles. *The Housewife's Companion* also printed a vast number of recipes and articles on traditional, newly popular, and fusion dishes, giving readers insight into food items that resonated with consumers and cooks, like Kimiko.

Chapters

The four chapters of this dissertation take up the following themes: women's consumer-centered civic activism, nutrition and meal structure, the diffusion of household appliances during the "bright life" of 1955 to 1962, and cooking.

Chapter II argues that self-proclaimed housewife Nakamura Kimiko's story is not one of followership—responding to a state pushing and prodding her to modernize her community—but, rather, one of leadership. Kimiko's pragmatic approach to household economy, demonstrated through her devotion to *kakeibo* keeping, equipped her with the tools she needed to become a political leader in her community. The knowledge she gained from her daily *kakeibo* entries made local politics both a natural and logical next

[36] Emiko Ochiai, "Decent Housewives and Sensual White Women—Representations of Women in Postwar Japanese Magazines," in *Japan Review* No. 9 (1997): 152.

step. In 1968, Kimiko attended a household group run by the Yokohama Seikyō Co-op, and after attending just one Co-Op meeting, Kimiko became a central figure in both the Co-Op's *kakeibo* movement and their campaigns for food safety right through the 1970s.

Kimiko's political participation was part of a broader pattern of women's civic engagement in postwar Japan: her politics were tied specifically to her role as a consumer, or what American historian Lizabeth Cohen calls "citizen consumers." Cohen defines "citizen consumers" as a politically engaged segment of the population that sees itself as "responsible for safeguarding the general good of the nation, in particular for prodding government to protect the rights, safety, and fair treatment of individual consumers in the private marketplace."[37] Chapter II uses this term to frame housewife political activism in postwar Japan.

Chapter III examines the late 1950s and early 1960s, a period of culinary flux and new possibilities. By examining *kakeibo*, it becomes clear that by 1965, home cooks had figured out how to consolidate a flood of culinary changes—including new nutrition knowledge, new ingredients, and new cuisines—within the traditional meal structure. This chapter explores the transformation in common nutrition knowledge that played out in the pages of women's *kakeibo*—both in the published and nationally circulated copies of *kakeibo*, and the ways that women like Kimiko used *kakeibo*. Here, I borrow Lizabeth Cohen's term "purchaser consumer," which Cohen defines as someone who contributes to her society by exercising her purchasing power.[38] In postwar Japan, the government, women's organizations, and women's magazines all identified women as the primary

[37] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 18.

[38] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 18-19.

purchaser consumers of their homes. The chapter concludes that *kakeibo* help us to construct a historical narrative of how purchaser consumers gradually incorporated new nutrition knowledge, ingredients, and cuisines into Japan's traditional meal structure.

Chapter IV takes up the "bright life" years (approximately 1955 to 1962) from the perspective of consumers. It introduces a new historical interpretation of postwar household appliance acquisition that places women as consumers and laborers at the center of the narrative, accomplishing this by attributing value to household appliances, specifically kitchen appliances, based on how appliances affected women's domestic labor.

Two forms of labor are examined: purchase and use. I argue that in the 1950s and 1960s, Japanese housewives did not passively "enjoy" time saving appliances, but rather that housewives had to proactively learn about new appliances, frugally purchase them, and incorporate appliances into their daily life routines. To aid in this analysis of the diffusion of domestic kitchen technologies in Japan, which occurred primarily in the postwar, I build upon Cohen's scholarship by coining a new term—the user consumer—to address the labor that went into the process of purchasing and integrating household appliances into the kitchen. I define the "user consumer" as one who contributes to her society by learning how to use new products and incorporate them into daily life. A housewife's purchasing power did not end after she bought a new appliance, I argue, because she took on the additional role of user consumer. User consumers were integral to the diffusion of new household appliances, and in acting as both the primary purchaser consumers and user consumers of their households, Japanese women influenced the appearance and functionality of the modern Japanese kitchen. This chapter focuses on

two of the most popular kitchen appliances at the time: the refrigerator and the rice cooker.

Chapter V looks at the integral role women played in constructing postwar home cooking. This chapter uses the term "consumer cook" to characterize women's agency in purchasing, cooking, and literally consuming new foodstuffs. In order to make new, fusion recipes in the home, consumer cooks engaged with new cuisines, ingredients, and cooking methods.[39] By rising to this challenge, however, consumer cooks did more than merely *engage* with change; they themselves were the *agents* of change. It was women, after all, who bore the burden of bringing trendy dishes to everyday life in the postwar home, and their impact on postwar Japanese cuisine is too often taken for granted. Consumer cooks' consumption, labor, and cooking were integral to culinary change.

This chapter explores Kimiko's involvement with four big changes in the postwar Japanese diet: "Staple Foods," "International Foods," "Animal Products, Meat, and Seafood," and "Meal Structure." To avoid making historical claims based on Kimiko's experience alone, I use survey data to illustrate the ways in which Kimiko's individual consumption patterns reflected or deviated from national trends. This chapter also integrates articles from the popular women's magazine, *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*), to provide additional perspectives on broader patterns of women's agency as consumer cooks.

[39] For the purposes of this chapter, by "fusion dish," I am referring to a dish with what we might think of as traditional elements of Japanese cuisine fused together with new elements added to the cuisine in the modern era, such as new ingredients, meat, animal products, etc. For example, curry with Japanese white rice, or chicken-cutlet donburi. In contrast, by "international dish" I am referring to a dish with almost entirely foreign origins that has been, for the most part, unaltered in Japan, although it might certainly have a unique preparation style. For example, spaghetti, fried rice, ramen, and pizza.

Taken together, these four chapters offer a consumer and cook-centered narrative of postwar culinary change. By examining *kakeibo* and the *kakeibo* stories of women like Sumiko, Tomiko, and Kimiko, this dissertation hopes to make a valuable contribution not only to Japanese history, but to global studies in the fields of women and gender history, consumerism, and the growing scholarship on food history, highlighting the connections and intersections between these fields of scholarship.

CHAPTER II

POLITICS OF THE KITCHEN

Akira Kurosawa's 1952 award-winning film *Ikiru* ("To Live") depicts the life of a middle-aged, downtrodden bureaucrat, Kanji, who works in a government office gripped by bureaucratic gridlock.[40] At the beginning of the film, a women's group walks into the office to file a complaint about a nearby mosquito-infested cesspool. Office workers give the women's group the runaround; the women are shuffled from office to office, told repeatedly that they are in the wrong place and that no one can help them. Meanwhile, after learning that he will soon die from stomach cancer, Kanji embarks on a soul-searching journey to escape his red-tape littered life. He eventually decides to listen to the women's group, ultimately fixing the problem they have tirelessly brought to the attention of the government. Kanji becomes a bureaucratic maverick, breaking all the rules, and successfully turns the public health hazard into a park.

Awakened to action by the challenges looming in his personal life, Kanji resolved to effect meaningful change in his community. The female characters' story arcs in the film, however, are not afforded this same privilege. While the efforts of the women's group are certainly visible in the film, they receive peripheral attention. Ultimately, the male protagonist of the film is the hero, and the women simply honor his accomplishments without receiving any acknowledgement for their own hard work and dedication.

Ikiru's story is not all that different from the current historiography on postwar social change in Japan. Women are visible, but they are often depicted as peripheral,

[40] *Ikiru*, Kurosawa Akira (1952, Tokyo: Toho).

supporting figures: women are present, in other words, but their respective interests in politics are not taken seriously by historians. In *Molding Japanese Minds*, Sheldon Garon follows this trend in arguing that the Japanese state played a strong and not so subtle role in mobilizing the population, largely women, to help the state achieve its goals.[41] A significant portion of Garon's work focuses on the contributions of women's organizations, mainly comprised of housewives, to the 1950s and 1960s New Life Movement, a movement promoted by the Ministry of Agriculture, Education, and Welfare in tandem with Japanese corporations such as Tōshiba Electric and Toyota Automobile. The New Life Movement, inspired by the American way of life, set out to improve everyday life, including kitchens and domestic hygiene.[42] While Garon gives credit to the significant role that women's organizations played in postwar social transformation, his argument often falls back on the comfortable assertion that women's organizations passively cooperated with the state. In "Managing the Japanese Household," Andrew Gordon also presents a top-down interpretation of the New Life Movement in which he examines how the movement's *male* leaders addressed and guided housewives, reinforcing traditional gender roles along the way, effectively placing housewives in a passive position.[43]

Housewives who participated in postwar social movements have not necessarily fared any better under the gaze of women's and gender scholars. In *Feminism in Modern Japan*, Vera Mackie calls the mobilization of women as housewives in the postwar a

[41] Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds,* 5.

[42] Gordon, "Managing the Japanese Household," 424-425.

[43] Ibid., 425.

"paradox" because women identified heavily with domesticity after having recently earned full political rights in the public sphere.[44] Garon, Gordon, and Mackie's interpretations rest on the assumption that housewives merely did what they were told to do, either by carrying out the state's plans, or by faithfully fulfilling gender roles constructed and promoted by the state. Neither interpretation grants women much agency. By contrast, this chapter places housewives at the center of the narrative, demonstrating that they were politically active *on their own terms*.

Recently, some scholars of Japanese women's and gender history have begun to challenge the minimalization and peripheralization of housewives' political activism.[45] Robin LeBlanc's monograph, *Bicycle Citizens*, examines the relationship between politics and the daily lives of housewives. LeBlanc takes on a "bicycle citizenship" approach to elucidate the ways in which housewives participate in politics differently than "taxi citizens," or elite, educated men.[46] Likewise, in *The Rise of the Feminist Movement,* Akiko Tokuza examines the life of politician Oku Mumeo and the central role she played in organizing social movements of women that included more than elite

---

[44] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern* Japan, 123.

[45] For more on Japanese women's political activism more broadly, see Dorothy Robins-Mowry, *The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan* (Boulder: Westview Press,1983); Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983); Gail Lee Bernstein, ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Mikiso Hane, *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows: Rebel Women in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour, and Activism, 1900-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Joanna Liddle and Sachiko Nakajima, *Rising Suns, Rising Daughters: Gender, Class, and Power in Japan* (London: Zed Books, 2000); Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 2003; Tomida Hiroko, *Hiratsuka Raichō and Early Japanese Feminism* (Boston: Brill, 2004); Ueno Chizuko, *Nationalism and Gender* (Portland: International Specialized Book, 2004); Miriam Murase, *Cooperation Over Conflict: The Women's Movement and the State in Postwar Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Marnie Anderson, *A Place in Public: Women's Rights in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

[46] LeBlanc, *Bicycle Citizens*, 24.

circles of privileged women.[47] Tokuza praises Oku for her ability to meet the concerns of many women, predominantly housewives, in postwar Japan by making clear the connection between politics and housewives' daily lives.

This chapter contributes to this new wave of scholarship in arguing that the central actor of this dissertation, self-proclaimed housewife Nakamura Kimiko, embarked on what became both a personal and political journey when she began keeping her *kakeibo*. Kimiko's story is not one of followership—responding to a state pushing and prodding her to modernize her community—but, rather, one of leadership. In the end, it was Kimiko's pragmatic approach to household economy that equipped her with the tools she needed to become a political leader in her community. The knowledge she gained from the daily routines in her life, especially her daily *kakeibo* (account book) entries, made local politics both a natural and logical next step. From the start of her marriage in 1954 until the fateful day in 1968 that she attended a household group run by the Yokohama Seikyō Co-op, Kimiko wrote in her *kakeibo* almost every day. After attending that co-op meeting, Kimiko threw herself into both the co-op's *kakeibo* movement, culminating in the Ministry of Finance Committee presenting data compiled by Kimiko to the Diet in 1974.[48]

Kimiko's political participation was part of a broader pattern of women's civic engagement in postwar Japan: her politics were tied specifically to her role as a consumer, or what American historian Lizabeth Cohen calls "citizen consumers." Cohen defines

---

[47] Tokuza, *The Rise of the Feminist Movement in Japan*.

[48] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan Archive Center); *Josei akaibu shiryō chōsa*, February 22, 2010," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); "*Kakeibo Katsudō no rekishi*." Last modified December 7, 2006. http://www.ucoop.or.jp/hiroba/report/files/140919kakeibokatudounorekishi.pdf

"citizen consumers" as a politically engaged part of the population that see themselves as "responsible for safeguarding the general good of the nation, in particular for prodding government to protect the rights, safety, and fair treatment of individual consumers in the private marketplace."[49] Here, the term is used to frame housewife political activism in postwar Japan.

This chapter has two intertwined goals. First, it is intended to illuminate aspects of housewives' daily lives in the 1940s, 50s and 60s. The chapter is divided into four sections: Education, Labor, and Leisure; Housing, Kitchen, and Family; Income and Expenditures; and Politics. Each section includes vignettes from Kimiko's life that have been reconstructed, admittedly, from a scattering of sources, including two interviews conducted by the National Women's Education Center, Kimiko's *kakeibo*, and a few tidbits I picked up from Kimiko in a casual, informal conversation. Using Kimiko's well-documented domestic life as a window on the living conditions of housewives across the country more generally, each section uses survey data collected in the 1950s and 1960s to compare Kimiko's circumstances to other housewives.

After exploring the landscape of postwar housewives and domesticity, the chapter concludes with an examination of the second goal, the political activism of Kimiko and other housewives. I argue that Kimiko's life as outlined throughout the chapter—that is, her attention to education, labor, leisure, housing, family, and budget, along with her devotion to writing daily in her *kakeibo*—equipped her with all the skills she needed to become politically active. As the final section of this chapter demonstrates, hundreds of thousands of other housewives also became politically active in the 1940s, 50s, 60s, and

---

[49] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 18.

70s. Kimiko's story is part of a broader pattern of renewed civic engagement in the postwar: citizen consumerism.

Education, Labor, and Leisure

Nakamura Kimiko was born in Yamanashi prefecture in November of 1929.[50] Kimiko began working in a war plant (*gunjikōjo*) when she was a second-year student in girl's school, and was fifteen years old and in her third year when the Pacific War ended in August of 1945. The average girl born in the same decade as Kimiko typically graduated from high school at the age of fifteen and a half, if she graduated at all.[51] Location played a role in the level of education that a girl born before the end of the war attained. In one 1958 survey of housewives' lives, the Japan Institute of Women's Employment sampled a group of housewives born before 1945. The surveyors targeted four different types of communities throughout Japan: a big city (Tokyo), a mid-sized city (Fujisawa, Kanagawa), a rural town (Tatomi, Yamanashi), and a fishing village (Hiraiso, Kobe).[52] Housewives who lived in Fujisawa were the most educated, with 41% completing high school. By contrast, 35% of housewives in Tokyo completed high school, just 18% in rural Tatomi, and only 9% in Hiraiso. 7% of housewives from Tokyo and Fujisawa graduated from college, with Hiraiso at 3% and Tatomi graduating none. This is to say that girls who lived in cities were more likely to graduate from high school

[50] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); "*Josei akaibu shiryō chōsa*, February 22, 2010," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[51] Rōdōshō Fujinkyoku, *Fujin rōdō no jitsujō: Shōwa 59 nenpan* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1984), 20.

[52] Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Shufu no seikatsu to iken* (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1958), 1.

than girls who lived in rural areas, although there was certainly no guarantee. As well, girls who lived in cities were also more likely to attend college than girls who lived in rural areas. Shockingly, however, a high number of *all* surveyed housewives had not completed more than an elementary level of education, including 23% in Tokyo, 19% in Fujisawa, 34% in Tatomi, and 50% in Hiraiso.[53]

Significantly, education greatly improved across the country for the generation of girls born after the end of the war. The American Occupation forces instituted changes that had a lasting effect on Japan's educational system: Compulsory education was extended from six to nine years (six years of elementary school and three years of lower secondary school) under the Occupation's reforms, and the Occupation forces also introduced a free and coed American-style high school of three years.[54] Over time, such reforms helped improve access to education for girls across the country. By 1955, 55.9% of girls advanced to high school, 3% attended a junior college, and 2.3% attended college. Just ten years later, in 1965, 69.6% of girls advanced to high school (a 14% increase), and the numbers of women who attended junior college (6.7%) and college (4.6%) doubled in number.[55]

It was as a high school student that Kimiko learned to keep a *kakeibo*. Although the number of *kakeibo* courses taught across the country before 1945 is hard to ascertain, the same 1958 survey of housewives' lives (mentioned above) found that a higher level

---

[53] Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Shufu no seikatsu to iken* (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1958), 7.

[54] William Cummings, *Education and Equality in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 23, 33.

[55] Rōdōshō Fujin Kyoku, *Fujin rōdō no jitsujō Shōwa 59* (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Kyoku, 1984), appendix, 34.

of education correlated with higher rates of *kakeibo* usage.[56] Housewives who graduated from middle school or above were more likely to use a *kakeibo* than those who only attended elementary school. Furthermore, a woman's husband's education level also correlated with her *kakeibo* usage, as husbands with white-collar jobs were more likely to be married to a woman who kept a *kakeibo* and a budget.[57] In sum, by their generation's standards, housewives who kept *kakeibo* were well educated, as were their husbands. Because they controlled their household's finances, women who kept *kakeibo* were also more likely to set aside their own spending money, indicating that they had more financial independence from their husbands than housewives who did not keep *kakeibo*.[58]

After graduating from high school, Kimiko picked up a job as a clerk at a pharmacy, a job she kept to help supplement her family's income.[59] Following the end of the war, the population of women workers like Kimiko increased dramatically.[60] While only one and a half million women held jobs in 1948, more than sixteen million women had jobs by the end of 1954, accounting for 41% of all jobholders. Most women worked in one of three industries: manufacturing, service trades, or finance.[61] In these jobs,

---

[56] Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Shufu no seikatsu to iken* (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1958), 1.

[57] Ibid., 22-23.

[58] Ibid., 28.

[59] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[60] For more on women in the workplace, see Jeannie Lo, *Office Ladies, Factory Women: Life and Work at a Japanese Company* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1990; Mary Saso, *Women in the Japanese Workplace* (London: H. Shhipman, 1990); Yuko Ogasawara, *Office Ladies and Salaried Men: Power, Gender, and Work in Japanese Companies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Jean Renshaw, *Kimono in the Boardroom: The Invisible of Evolution of Japanese Women Managers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Alisa Freedman and Laura Miller, and Christine Yano, ed., *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility, and Labor in Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

[61] 80% of women worked in one of these three industries. "Finance" included jobs in wholesale, retail, insurance, and real estate. Rōdōshō Fujinkyoku, *Fujin rōdō no jitsujō: Shōwa 59 nenpan* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1984), 8.

women almost always received lower wages than men. Between the years 1947 and 1953, a woman typically received anywhere from 43% to 46% of a man's cash earnings.[62] Young women like Kimiko tended to stay at their jobs for an average of three years. While many women quit their jobs after they married, this was not always the case.[63]

Kimiko married her husband, Nakamura Kōsaku, in 1954 at the age of 25.[64] Kimiko's *kakeibo* indicates some side income from time to time, so it is a possibility that she continued to work at the pharmacy occasionally.[65] Yet, she referred to herself as a housewife, as did many other women at the time. In one 1960 survey, of the women who identified as housewives, 65.9% stated that their primary activity was "housework and family affairs" (*kaji*), while 14.2% said that they were focused on continuing their education.[66] Five years later, in 1965, the number of women who answered, "housework and family affairs" fell one percent, while the women who continued their education

---

[62] Rōdōshō Fujinkyoku, *Fujin rōdō no jitsujō: Shōwa 59 nenpan* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1984), 8.

[63] In 1953, 8.2% of female employees had husbands. Ministry of Labor, "Status of Japanese Women Workers, 1955" (Tokyo, Ministry of Labor, 1955); Rōdōshō Fujinkyoku, *Fujin rōdō no jitsujō: Shōwa 59 nenpan* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1984), 1-7.

[64] "*Kimiko-san chi no kakeibo*," Advertisement, (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan). There are a few breaks in her *kakeibo* usage.

[65] For example, on November 25, 1956, Kimiko wrote a note about her part-time job (*arubaito*) and that income is recorded as "*rinji*" ("special"). Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:3-1. "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 31nen han.*" In her 1959 *kakeibo*, Kimiko also wrote part-time job (*arubaito*) in the front-page budget sheet. Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:6-1. "*Nikki kenyō kakeibo.*"

[66] The remaining 20.1% women responded with "other."

increased four percent, indicating that more housewives were interested in pursuing higher education.[67]

Attending college while carrying out the "housework and family affairs" labor of a household would have proven difficult for most women, given the time-consuming work of housewives. To learn details about women's labor inside and outside of the home, The Ministry of Labor Women and Juvenile Bureau (Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku) conducted a survey in the early 1950s that focused on the households of employees from eight large factories located in the Keihin region (Tokyo, Yokohama, and Kawasaki). In total, the Ministry sent out surveys to the households of four hundred factory employees.[68] According to the results, the wives of the factory employees carried out almost all the labor in their homes. Of the surveyed households, 99% of the wives frequently cooked, 97% frequently cleaned up the dishes, 99% frequently did the laundry, 98% frequently cleaned, 92% frequently sewed, 94% frequently shopped, and 20% frequently chopped wood. Of the surveyed households, 4% of men frequently cooked, while 70% never cooked, 6% frequently cleaned the dishes, while 64% never cleaned the dishes, 4% frequently did the laundry, while 76% never did the laundry, 16% frequently cleaned, while 31% never cleaned, 6% frequently shopped, while 49% never shopped, and 57% frequently chopped wood, while 19% never chopped wood. Based on the

[67] Rōdōshō Fujinkyoku, *Fujin rōdō no jitsujō: Shōwa 59 nenpan* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1984), appendix, 5. Specific percentages: Fell from 65.9% to 64.1%; Rose from 14.2% to 18.4%.

[68] Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Kōjō rōdōsha kazoku no seikatsu: seikatsu jōkyō no jittai to seikatsu jikan* in *Fujin kankei shiryō shirizu* No. 8 (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1952), 11-14. In total, 91 staff member households and 309 factory worker households filled out the surveys.

results, shown in Table 1, housewives performed almost all of the housekeeping and food-related labor in their homes, including cooking, cleaning, and shopping.[69]

Table 1
Housewives (*kateifujin*) and the time they spent in minutes on housework[70]

Labor	Weekday *Naishoku*[71]	Weekday No *Naishoku*	Weekend *Naishoku*	Weekend No *Naishoku*
Cooking Breakfast	68	67	69	64
Cooking Lunch	30	32	35	37
Cooking Dinner	84	82	78	77
Total Time Cooking	182	181	182	178
Sewing	86	194	72	160
Washing Clothes	35	52	33	51
Shopping	50	54	74	56
Cleaning	50	56	34	45
House Repairs	1	3	5	6
Wood Cutting	1	4	1	3
Work in the Fields	0	4	5	7
Other	23	25	22	21
Breastfeeding	8	18	10	16
Playing with Child	41	85	25	61

The same survey attempted to ascertain how much time women spent on these labors. On average, housewives spent about fifty minutes a day shopping on weekdays, and seventy minutes a day on weekends. They typically spent more than one hour on

[69]Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Kōjō rōdōsha kazoku no seikatsu: seikatsu jōkyō no jittai to seikatsu jikan* in *Fujin kankei shiryō shirizu* No. 8 (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1952), 45; The mother, children, and siblings of the male employee interviewed also contributed to household labor. Female siblings and female children carried out more of the labor than their male counterparts.

[70] Data displayed in Table 1 is from: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Kōjō rōdōsha kazoku no seikatsu: seikatsu jōkyō no jittai to seikatsu jikan* in *Fujin kankei shiryō shirizu* No. 8 (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1952), 91.

[71] This survey categorized housewives based on whether or not they performed wage-earning labor (*naishoku*) in the home.

cooking breakfast, about thirty minutes on lunch, and almost an hour and a half on dinner. Altogether, housewives spent about three hours a day on cooking, and that did not include the time it took to go grocery shopping. The surveyors also cross referenced the data based on the surveyed women's ages. Women in their fifties spent more time cooking and shopping than women in their thirties and forties. Women in their thirties and forties, alternatively, spent more time on laundry and cleaning.[72]

A different survey of housewives from 1958 asked them what housework their husbands did, and what housework they thought their husbands should do. On the former question, the results matched the above survey: housewives did most of the housekeeping and food-related labor. On the latter question, most housewives responded that ideally, their husbands should help pick up things around the house or clean rooms. Very few housewives said that they wanted their husbands to cook or do laundry.[73]

Labor related to "housework and family affairs" also differed based on location. Women who lived in the countryside often spent a significant amount of time laboring in the fields. In 1950, the Women's and Minors' Bureau Ministry of Labor Japan carried out a survey on the division of labor in rural households in Gunma, Yamagata, Iwate, Aichi, and Okayama prefectures. In most cases, husband and wife worked together in the fields for almost the same amount of time daily; on average, the housewife worked 6.8 hours a day, while her husband worked for 7.75 hours. In some cases, the wife spent more hours

[72] Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Kōjō rōdōsha kazoku no seikatsu: seikatsu jōkyō no jittai to seikatsu jikan* in *Fujin kankei shiryō shirizu* No. 8 (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1952), 95.

[73] Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Shufu no seikatsu to iken* (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1958), 15.

in the fields than her husband, and in others she spent less.[74] Additionally, large numbers of women in both the countryside and in cities worked for family businesses or did *naishoku* (employed work in the home).[75] Most *naishoku* consisted of sewing piecework in the home. This practice began in the interwar era and helped supplement the incomes of many families. According to one survey of major cities conducted in the mid-1950s, 6 to 10 percent of households had at least one woman performing *naishoku* in their home.[76]

Although being a housewife was never a leisurely occupation, the number of leisure hours housewives took for themselves gradually increased in the postwar. According to Ōhashi Shizuko, essayist and owner/editor of the magazine *Kurashi no techō* (*The Lifestyle Notebook*), the time women spent cooking decreased between the years 1948 and 1967 while the time women spent out and about increased.[77] In 1948, housewives typically spent one hour a day outside of the home (*gaishutsu*), in which she largely shopped and ran errands. Ōhashi argues, however, that by 1957 the definition of the term "*gaishutsu*" began to expand to include free time that housewives took for themselves outside the home. In 1957, surveyed housewives said they spent 1.33 hours a day "out," and by 1967 that amount of time had doubled, as surveyed housewives spent

---

[74] Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Fujin no katei seikatsu ni kansuru shiryō* (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1950), 6-11.

[75] Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, *Shufu no seikatsu to iken* (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1958), 8. According to this survey more than half of the women in Tokyo, Fujisawa, and Hiraiso did not have a job. Only 35% of the women living in the farm town, Tatomi, did not have a job. This is, however, a bit misleading. A large percentage of housewives (Tokyo: 34%, Fujisawa: 59%, Hiraiso: 51%, Tatomi: 89%) worked in the agricultural industry or for their family's shop. In Tokyo and Fujisawa, 43% and 31% respectively did *naishoku*.

[76] Andrew Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers: The Sewing Machine in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 201-207.

[77] Ōhasi Shizuko, "'*Kurashi no techō' 50 nen kara mita kateiseiaktsu no henka: menyū ga kataru 'tsukurite*,'" in *Nihon no Shoku 100nen <Tsukuru>*, ed. Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1997), 31.

3.02 hours of their day outside the home.[78] One might assume that the "rationalization" of housework that accompanied the purchase of time-saving domestic appliances might have played some role in the increase in housewives' free time, but Ōhashi does not believe this explanation suffices. She argues that postwar housewives' labor was never done, as they always had plenty of work to do, but that housewives simply began to make time for their own leisure.[79]

The idea that a housewife might make time for leisure was not an idea met without controversy in postwar Japan. In her book, *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan*, Jan Bardsley examines various aspects of the postwar "Housewife Debate." This debate, which was conducted in essays published in women's magazines between the years 1955 and 1976, took up myriad topics, including the issue of leisure. In February 1955, Ishigaki Ayako, the instigator of the debate, wrote that housewives "spend their time in selfish leisure, working whenever they wish, even on a moment's whim, and for this they receive no criticism whatsoever."[80] Many female essayists fired back against Ishigaki's heated assertions, and while they refuted the disparaging way in which Ishigaki characterized housewives, it was not until the 1970s that essayists involved in the debate penned any defense of the idea of housewives enjoying leisure for leisure's sake. The idea that a housewife should pursue self-cultivation was not disputed, but leisure for leisure's sake was another issue altogether.[81] Rather than argue that it should be acceptable for housewives to enjoy leisure time, essayists involved in the 1950s' feud

[78] Ōhasi, "'*Kurashi no techō,'*" 32.

[79] Ibid., 32. Other scholars have made similar arguments. See Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982); Ueno, *The Modern Family in Japan*.

[80] Bardsley, *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan*, 47.

[81] Ibid., 60.

focused on the fact that housewives worked really hard and did not have any free time. Even famous feminist Hiratsuka Raichō argued that leisure was an indulgence not suited for serious women.[82] Considering Ōhashi's research discussed above, this should not come as a surprise, and the views of essayists like Hiratsuka, expressed in the 1950s, reflected popular notions of how housewives should spend their time. It took nearly a decade for the idea of a housewife "going out" to enjoy leisure time as acceptable, and most housewives could not openly indulge this anyway until the mid 1960s.

Despite the suspect nature of housewife leisure in the 1950s, Kimiko enjoyed forms of leisure and entertainment in her own life. From time to time in her *kakeibo* we read that she "went to a movie," for example. Yet, not all forms of housewife leisure and entertainment required "going out." In 1962, Kimiko's family purchased a television, and it is possible, of course, that Kimiko enjoyed staying in and watching television shows like *Walt Disney Presents* or *Gekkō Kamen*.[83] Kimiko also occasionally picked up the women's magazine *The Housewives' Companion*.

Published for the first time in 1917, *Housewives' Companion* was one of the four most popular women's magazines in the postwar period, alongside *Fujin Seikatsu* (Ladies Life), *Fujin Kurabu* (Ladies Club) and *Shufu to Seikatsu* (The Housewife and Daily Life).[84] Many women enjoyed reading women's magazines as a form of leisure, yet they were also obviously informational. In 1958, the four major women's magazines had a

---

[82] Ibid., 71.

[83] Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:9-1. "*62 nikki kakeibo*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); For more on television, see Jayson Chun, *A Nation of a Hundred Million Idiots?: A Social History of Japanese Television, 1953-1974* (London: Routledge, 2009).

[84] Nishikawa, *Nikki o tsuzuru to iu koto,* 111; Bardsley, *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan,* 111.

combined circulation of 2,200,000.[85] *The Housewives' Companion* was the most widely read. In the first half of 1959, for example, 417,947 copies of the magazine were in circulation.[86]

The growing encouragement of housewife leisure and free time in the wider Japanese society provided housewives with the means to change Japan economically and culturally through their consumer power, as they bought televisions for their families and women's magazines for themselves. The rise in housewife free time also helps explain why so many housewives like Kimiko joined co-ops and other politically-minded organizations. An additional explanation, however, lies in the changes in space and living quarters in the postwar, which we will turn to next.

Housing, Kitchen, and Family

In 1954 Kimiko and Kōsaku rented their first home, a six-mat[87], bathless room in Kōfu, the capital of Yamanashi prefecture.[88] Kōsaku worked at a small factory in town as an electrical engineer. At the time, his monthly salary was a meager 12,000 yen. 1957 brought both blessings and challenges for Kimiko and Kōsaku. Their first daughter, Yoshiko, was born at 4:30 am on January 31.[89] According to the Japan Institute of

---

[85] Bardsley, *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan,* 111.

[86] Shuppan Nyūsusha, *Shuppan deta bukku: 1945-1984* (Tokyo: Shuppan Nyūsusha, 1985), 122; This number dropped in the second half of 1959 to 234,695 copies.

[87]Referring to tatami mats, roughly 6x3 feet each.

[88] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[89] Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:4-1. "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 32nen han*." (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Women's Employment, the average woman married at the age of 23, had her first child at the age of 24.4, and her last child by the age of 30.8[90] Kimiko married a bit later, however, at the age of 25, and did not have her first child until the age of 28. Shortly after the birth of Yoshiko, a fire broke out at Kōsaku's workplace, putting him out of a job. Desperate to find work to support his family, Kōsaku sought the advice of his younger brother, who helped convince him to move to urban Yokohama to search for a new job. The Nakamura family decided to make the move to Kanagawa prefecture, although it took time for Kōsaku to find a steady job and stabilize the family income.[91]

Many families made the decision to leave the countryside for better job prospects in cities. Although the history of urbanization along the *Tōkaidō* highway dates back to the Edo period, the Big Six, Tōkyō, Ōsaka, Kyōto, Kōbe, Yokohama, and Nagoya, experienced significant demographic growth in the postwar. As early as 1950, one-third of all Japanese lived in one of the Big Six, and in 1965, just fifteen years later, half of the population of Japan lived in one of the Big Six metropolitan areas along the Pacific coastline.[92]

In 1961, Kimiko and Kōsaku purchased 25 *tsubo*[93] of land and built a single-family home in one of the Big Six: Yokohama. Their second daughter, Akiko, was born that same year. To bump up their monthly income, the Nakamuras invited two college students, who paid 20,000 yen a month, to board with them in 1961. Other families in

---

[90] Rōdōshō Fujinkyoku, *Fujin rōdō no jitsujō: Shōwa 59 nenpan* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1984), 20.

[91] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); "*Josei akaibu shiryō chōsa*, February 22, 2010," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[92] Jeffrey Hanes, "From Megalopolis to Megaroporisu," in *Journal of Urban History* Vol. 19, Issue 2 (1993): 63.

[93] One *tsubo* is approximately 35.5 square feet.

the neighborhood followed suit, and the neighborhood became known as a boarding "*machi*" (town) for college students. In 1963, Kōsaku began working for a public housing management company and the family began enjoying greater economic security.[94]

While rural to urban migration was common, building one's own house was a bit more unusual, as *danchi*, large public-housing complexes, became the most popular form of housing in the postwar. Following the end of the war, Japan, like other heavily-bombed countries, had a housing crisis on its hands. By the end of the war, Japan was 4.2 million dwellings short.[95] The housing crisis (*jūtaku nan*) lasted longer than one might expect; it was not until 1968 that the government met its policy goal of one house per household nationwide.[96] This goal was achieved, in part, by the Japan Housing Corporation's commitment to construct *danchi*. Middle-income families often occupied *danchi* buildings, and the business of *danchi* building was booming into the 1980s.[97]

Along with the housing crisis came a kitchen crisis. Kimiko had an exclusive, albeit small, kitchen in her apartment in Kōfu, but shared kitchens were not uncommon in postwar urban housing. According to the Office of the Prime Minister's 1955/1956 *Japan Statistical Yearbook*, altogether 6,398,000 kitchens in urban districts were exclusive-use, while 379,000 were shared-use. Apartments were more likely to have a common kitchen than an exclusive-use kitchen, while other types of dwellings varied. While 132,000

---

[94] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); "*Josei akaibu shiryō chōsa*, February 22, 2010," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[95] Ann Waswo, *Housing in Postwar Japan: A Social History* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 46.

[96] Waswo, *Housing in Postwar Japan*, 2.

[97] Kiyoko Yamaguchi, "Housewives-Lib and Co-op in Japan (1970s-1990s)," in *Women's Activism: Global Perspectives from the 1890s to the Present* ed. Francisca de Haan, Margaret Allen, June Purvis, and Krassimira Daskalova (London: Routledge, 2013), 137.

apartments had exclusive-use kitchens, 216,000 apartments had shared kitchens.[98] It took decades for the shared kitchen to go out of style. In the 1963 *Japan Statistical Yearbook*, for example, 10,034,000 houses in urban dwellings had exclusive-use kitchens, but 586,000 homes still had common-use kitchens. Furthermore, a staggering 196,00 urban dwellings had no kitchen at all.[99]

Wife and mother, Sasaki Kyōko, who conveys her experience with the 1960s housing and kitchen crisis, provides vivid insight into the difficulties posed by shared kitchens. In Sasaki's 1961 dwelling, seven apartments had to share a common kitchen. Additionally, the kitchen sink often became a space used to soak laundry because there was not a laundry room in the building. Only four families lived in the dwelling at the time that Sasaki lived there, but she noted that it was nearly impossible for the women, who took charge of the kitchen, to get along harmoniously.[100]

The Japanese kitchen more broadly underwent a dramatic transformation during the 1940s, 50s, and 60s. This transformation occurred over the course of the twentieth century, but change accelerated in the postwar.[101] Although the push for home electrification began in the Taishō period (1912-1926), the dream of electrified homes

---

[98] Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1955, 1956* (Tokyo: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, 1956), 392. Data is from 1953.

[99] Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1963* (Tokyo: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, 1963), 194. Data from 1958.

[100] Waswo, *Housing in Postwar Japan*, 6.

[101] For more on changes in the kitchen throughout the twentieth century, see Yamaguchi Masatomo, "'*Tsukuru' bassho no 100nen: daidokoro kara kicchin e, soshite…daidokoro no henka to chōri no henka*" in *Nihon no Shoku 100nen <Tsukuru>*, ed. Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1997).

picked up steam in the postwar with the American Occupation.[102] As comics like the American strip "Blondie" and radio programs like *Letters From America* gained popularity in Japan, more Japanese were exposed to American nuclear families who lived in homes with fully electrified kitchens.[103]

In comparison to the idyllic women and families depicted in popular comics like "Blondie," however, Japanese housewives appeared to live a life of unnecessarily painful labor. As a result, the Japanese housewife became central to the narrative of kitchen reform. According to the 1963 guidebook *Daidokoro to Monoire* (*Kitchens and Storage*), in the past, houses often had north-facing kitchens. Since north-facing rooms are the rooms with the least amount of sun exposure in the northern hemisphere, north-facing kitchens, while useful for food preservation, made the kitchen a dark, cold, and difficult work space for women. This changed, however, in the postwar. In part, the diffusion of the refrigerator eliminated the need to design Japanese homes with food preservation in mind.[104] But concern over the working space of housewives also fueled this change. *Kitchen and Storage* described the change in the following way: "In the past, the comfort of guests was central to home design, but now, happy family get-togethers in the living room and the comfortable movement of the housewife in the kitchen, have become central to home design."[105] While this certainly was an ideal, and not necessarily a

---

[102] For more on the kitchen in the early twentieth century, see Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[103] Yamaguchi, ""*Tsukuru' bassho no 100nen,'"* 142.

[104] Tani Naoki, "*Uchi to sumikokorochi*," in *Shōwa no sesōshi,* ed. Ishige Naomichi (Tokyo, Domesu Shuppan, 1993), 53.

[105] Shufu to Seikatsusha, *Daidokoro to Monoire* (Tokyo: Shufu to Seikatsusha, 1963), 77.

reality, for everyone at the time, the new criteria for a "good kitchen" ("*yoi daidokoro*") were ease of use and comfort for the housewife.[106]

The *Kitchen and Storage* guide articulated three major components of an easy-to-use and comfortable kitchen. First, the kitchen should be close to the front door (*genkan*). This was important for a few reasons. When she took out the garbage, a housewife did not want to drag the garbage through anyone's bedroom. In general, according to the guide, the housewife should have been able to exit the front door of the house from the kitchen without having to walk through any other rooms. Having this arrangement also made it easier to transport groceries from the front door to the kitchen, as well as any fuel needed for the kitchen.[107] Second, the housewife should have had everything she needed for all forms of labor in the kitchen itself. She should not have had to walk across the house to gather something she might need to use in the kitchen. *Kitchen and Storage* even included a chart, shown in Table 2, to explain the significance of this point. Third, the kitchen itself needed to be measured properly and be wide enough. The housewife needed to be able to accomplish all tasks smoothly and comfortably. Naturally, a narrow and small kitchen was inconvenient, whereas a kitchen being too big was almost never a problem.[108]

---

[106] Shufu to Seikatsusha, *Daidokoro to Monoire*, 77.

[107] Ibid., 77.

[108] Ibid., 78.

Table 2

Kitchens and storage[109]

The Job the Housewife Needs to do in the Kitchen	The Things She Needs to Accomplish Task
Go shopping; the door to door salesman transports food items and ingredients	Close proximity to the entrance of the house Window Blackboard Scale
Put away purchased items	Cupboards Refrigerator
Wash, cut, simmer, and grill food items	Sink Counter Stove range Exhaust fan
Pull out and arrange tableware and dishes	Dish cabinet Drawer Serving table/cart (*haizendai*)
Move the dinner table (*shokutaku*)	Serving table/cart Dinner table (*shokutaku*, Western-style table)
Sit together with family at the table	Dining room Living room
Clean up, wash up, and put things away	Sink Dish cabinet

Constructing a "good kitchen" for the modern housewife meant leaving elements of the traditional Japanese kitchen behind. Housewives exchanged traditional instruments that were in close proximity to the floor, like the *kamado* (the hearth) and the *shichirin* (charcoal stove) for key elements of household electrification, such as a countertop rice cooker and an elevated gas or electric stove top.[110]

Elements of dining changed as well. For example, from 1887 on, the *chabudai* table had been a staple in the Japanese home. The *chabudai*, a low, round or square table

[109] Data displayed in Table 2 is from: Shufu to Seikatsusha, *Daidokoro to Monoire,* 77.

[110] Tani, "*Uchi to sumikokorochi*," 53.

with four feet that required diners to sit on the floor, reached the height of its popularity near the end of the Taishō and early Shōwa periods. As part of the Americanization that occurred in the postwar, the western-style dining table became a more popular choice in the mid-1950s, ultimately eclipsing the *chabudai*. Pulling out a dining table and sitting in chairs while eating had become a sign of modernity and western-style dining.[111] By 1985 the western-dining table had completely eclipsed the *chabudai* table.[112] The Japanese kitchen and dining room transformed significantly in a very short period of time, resulting in kitchen items like the *chabudai* having an old-fashioned charm despite their rather recent origins.

"Good kitchens," however, were often squeezed into small living quarters. As mentioned above, company-owned *danchi* rose in popularity across Japan in the postwar. *Danchi* living spaces tended to be narrow, granting them and other small living spaces the nickname "rabbit hutches." Ironically, the small size of these *danchi* living spaces helped housewives organize and form communities. In the 1970s, Japanese co-ops delivered food items to housewives on the first floor of the *danchi*. Housewives gathered there to distribute the goods, allowing them time to socialize about both personal matters and news about the co-op. *Danchi*, while small and difficult to live in at times, helped facilitate housewife networks.[113]

While Kimiko's story deviated from many of the patterns mentioned in this section, like many families in postwar Japan, Kimiko's had moved to a city. Kimiko

---

[111] Yamaguchi, "'*Tsukuru' bassho no 100nen,*'" 136.

[112] Koizumi Kazuko, *Chabudai no Shōwa* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2002), 4-5.

[113] Yamaguchi, "'*Tsukuru' bassho no 100nen,*'" 140-141.

never had to use a shared kitchen, and her family lived in a house, not a *danchi*. This suggests that housewives joined co-ops for many reasons, and women who lived outside of *danchi* were also drawn to co-ops. What drove Kimiko to attend her first co-op meeting is unclear, but we do know that she stayed because she met like-minded housewives who were also interested in *kakeibo* keeping and budget management.

Income and Expenditures

Despite the dramatic changes and ideal imaginings of good homes and good kitchens that we have described, many postwar families still struggled to stay above water financially. Kimiko has referred to herself as a poor, obscure housewife "*namonaku mazushii hitori no shufu*."[114] In one interview, Kimiko mentioned that at the beginning of her marriage, Kōsaku made a "meager 12,000 yen a month." But how did Kimiko's family's expenditures compare with those of other families? Two of Kimiko's account books, one from 1955 and one from 1962, provide insight into her family's finances. These two particular *kakeibo* also provide some chronological range, allowing readers to see how Kimiko's family's finances looked at the start of her marriage, and later, as the Nakamuras grew to a family of four.

As mentioned above, Kimiko and Kōsaku moved during these years. In 1955, they lived together in Kōfu, Yamanashi. But by 1961, they had purchased a single-family home in Yokohama, Kanagawa, and by 1962 had two children and two college students living with them. Most importantly, however, Kimiko's 1955 and 1962 *kakeibo* both have thoroughly filled-out annual accounting pages. Kimiko usually recorded some

[114] "*Kimiko-san chi no kakeibo*," Advertisement, (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

information in each of her *kakeibo*'s annual accounting pages, but she often left pertinent details out. Her 1955 and 1962 *kakeibo* do not appear to be missing any relevant information, and therefore provide complete records of Kimiko's husband's salary, their household expenses, and their savings for those years.

At the end of 1955, Kimiko's household brought in a total of 280,323 yen. This total amount included a balance carried forward from the previous year (61,121 yen, this amount is not included in the annual income), her husband's salary (188,160 yen) that included two bonuses (August, 13,400 yen and December, 14,432 yen), and a miscellaneous income of 3,210 yen (potentially from Kimiko's side job). Kimiko's household income in 1955 came to a total of 219,202. The national average monthly income in 1955 was 29,169 yen a month, or 350,028 yen a year.[115] Comparatively, then, Kimiko's household brought in significantly less income than the national average.

Kimiko spent a total of 31,241 yen on food in the year 1955. This included 20,122 on side dishes, 4,277 on staple foods, 3,699 on flavorings, and 3,143 on luxury items. Her annual food expenses took up more of her budget than her household's annual rent and furnishing expenses of 20,605 (a total of 20,605 yen; rent was 1,600 yen a month). In total, her household living expenditures came to 125,474 yen, and Kimiko put an impressive total of 110,620 yen into savings. According to the *Japan Statistical Yearbook*, nationally an average household of 4.8 persons living in an urban area in 1955 spent a total of 278,532 yen (57, 547 per person) on living expenditures, and 130,692 yen (27,002 per person) of that was spent on food. Kimiko's household only had two people in it, bringing her living expenditures to 62,737 per person and food expenses to 15,620

[115] Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1958* (Tokyo: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, 1958), 335.

per person. While Kimiko's living expenditures were a bit higher than the national average, her food costs were quite low. Kimiko only spent one ninth of her total budget on food expenses, whereas the average urban housewife spent nearly fifty percent of her household's budget on food in 1955.[116] A chart of Kimiko's income and expenditures in 1955 and 1962 respectively is included below in Table 3.

Table 3

Average monthly income and expenditures

	1955[117] Kimiko, 2 in household, Kōfu	1962[118] Kimiko, 4 in household, Yokohama
National Income	29,169	50,817
National Expenditures	23,211	38,587
National Food Expenditures	10,891	15,063
Kimiko's Household's Income	18,267	39,751
Kimiko's Household's Expenditures	10,456	36,242
Kimiko's Household's Food Expenditures	2,603	10,738

In 1962 Kimiko's income was approximately one fifth less than the national average, despite having two boarders staying in the family home. The percentage of family income spent on food increased dramatically, from one ninth of her income in

[116] Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1958,* 374.

[117] Data displayed in Table 3 is from: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1958,* 375-376; Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:2-1, "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 30 nenpan,"* (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[118] Data displayed in Table 3 is from: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1963*, 387-388; Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:9-1, "*62 nikki kakeibo*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

1955 to one fourth of her household's income in 1962. The average salaried workers' household in 1962 spent 36.7% of their income on food, while the average non-salaried workers' household spent 43.2% of their budget on food, meaning that Kimiko still spent less money on food than other families, especially considering that six people, four adults and two children, lived in her home.[119]

Kimiko's household's income and expenditures followed some national trends, but also deviated in some ways. Kimiko's household income was less than the average national household in the mid 1950s and first half of the 1960s. Nonetheless, Kimiko's expenditures were quite low in comparison to other consumers in 1955. Typically, families in lower income groups tended to spend a larger percentage of their income on food than higher income groups.[120] Nationally, in the 1950s families spent approximately 35-26% of their income on food expenses, in the 1960s this percentage dropped to 26-23%.[121] Kimiko's food expenses were significantly below average in 1955, but after the birth of her two children in 1962 and the addition of two boarders in her home, her food expenses matched the national average. It is also worth noting that Kimiko spent more money on side dishes than on staple foods, which became a national trend in the postwar. In the prewar period, families spent more money on staple foods than side dishes.

Keeping a *kakeibo* allowed Kimiko to reflect on her expenses and keep track of inflation and consumption tax. Later, when she joined Seikyō Co-op, her team began collecting the *kakeibo* of other housewives, affording her and her team the opportunity to

---

[119] Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1963*, 386; In 1962 Kimiko spent 43,480 yen on staple foods and 58,758 on meat, fish, and vegetables.

[120] Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1958*, 374. Lower income groups spent approximately 45 to 60 percent of their income on food expenses between the years 1949 and 1957. This percentage declined over the course of this period, however.

[121] Nishikawa, *Nikki o tsuzuru to iu koto*, 247.

see broader patterns in price and tax rate fluctuations. Despite the challenges that accompanied inflation and ever-increasing consumption taxes, broadly speaking, Kimiko's finances were generally not in the red, indicating that even if Kimiko was a "poor, obscure, housewife," as she stated, her economical shopping habits helped keep her family financially afloat.

But what did shopping look like in the 1950s and 1960s? And where did thrifty shoppers like Kimiko shop? An article published in the June 1951 issue of *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no* tomo) provided tips for shoppers, which gives a feel for typical shopping conditions and practices at the time. The article suggests that readers take a close look at the store before purchasing anything, as some stores are dirty and sell items covered in dust. A reliable store, the article continues, should have an attentive and well-informed staff willing to answer any questions a customer might have. Although the article portrays haggling as a common part of shopping, it advises against frequenting shops that allow haggling. Stores that clearly display prices and stick to them are more reliable, the article explains.[122]

Early 1950s articles in *The Housewife's Companion* often discussed department stores or specialty shops as the most common businesses that their readers patronized for food purchases. The magazine gave attention to the pros and cons of department stores and specialty shops, emphasizing that either one could have potential quality control issues. Overall, articles stressed that readers should be able to trust the shops they frequented.[123] The significance of trustworthiness and customer-employee relationships

---

[122]"*Kateiyōhin no erabikata to kaikata*," *Shufu no tomo*, June 1951, 225.

[123] Hatayama Yoshihiro, "*Deppato to senmonten dewa dochira ga okaidoku ka*?," *Shufu no tomo*, December 1953; *Shufu no tomo*, December 1953, 225.

at the grocery store changed, however, as the self-service supermarket rose in popularity in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Supermarkets appeared for the first time in Japan in the 1950s. While department stores had gained popularity in the Taishō period (1912-1926) and became increasingly popular during the so-called "economic miracle" (1960s to early 1990s) for their high-quality goods, supermarkets set themselves apart in that they carried fewer varieties of items and were more specialized.[124] For companies, the self-service business model of supermarkets helped keep the prices of commodities down by saving them labor costs. The fact that most supermarkets belonged to chains also helped cuts costs, as the chain-store model allowed for stocking and pricing decisions to be made at one major headquarters, effectively decreasing the amount of labor done at local stores. The idea of a chain store was not entirely new to Japan, but the numbers expanded significantly in the postwar to include all types of stores, including supermarkets, fast food shops, clothing stores, and pharmacies.[125]

Customers also enjoyed self-service supermarkets. The first self-service supermarket, Kinokuniya, opened in the Aoyama district of Tokyo in 1953. It was the first self-service store that sold a wide range of food products. In the 1950s, *The Housewife's Companion* began printing articles about the rise of the supermarket, praising self-service as one of its key selling points. One 1959 article described a supermarket in the following way:

---

[124] Kazuya Makoto, *Monodukuri nihonkeieishi: Edo jidai kara gendai made* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppansha, 2012), 368.

[125] Kazuya, *Monodukuri nihonkeieishi*, 370-371.

> At the entrance to the supermarket you pick up a basket and carry it into the store. While walking around you can look at the displayed items, and if you see an item you are interested in, you can pick it up and put it in your basket. There aren't a lot of workers, so you won't be annoyingly followed around and you can choose items at your own convenience. On the way to the exit, there is a counter where your purchases are calculated. You pay for all of your items at once, so you only have to pull out your wallet and fish out your change one time."[126]

The article goes on to talk about how common supermarkets had become in the United States, thus tacitly urging Japan to jump on the bandwagon. According to the magazine, by the end of 1958, approximately 150 supermarkets had been opened for business in Japan.[127]

Based on these numbers, obviously, not all housewives had access to supermarkets. A 1963 *Sankei Newspaper* survey of housewives in the twenty-three wards of Tokyo and twelve surrounding cities, which received a total of 865 responses, asked housewives where they went to shop. One question asked housewives where they went to buy beer and whiskey. Of the housewives living in Tokyo, 63.9% purchased these items from a nearby grocery store, 1.7% from a supermarket, and 0.8% from a department store. Of the housewives living in the surrounding cities, 62.2% purchased these items from a nearby grocery store, 3.3% from a supermarket, and 1.1% from a department store. When it came to purchasing items like butter or cheese, 12.3% of women living in Tokyo purchased these items from a supermarket, 6.1% from a nearby grocery store, and 3.1% from a department store. 66% of women living in the surrounding cities purchased these items from a nearby grocery store, 20% from a supermarket, and 4.4% from a department store. Other options were listed as well, including "company stores" and "other stores." But based on this survey, as of 1963

---

[126] Maeda Umematsu, "*Suppamaketto senpū no shōtai*," *Shufu no tomo*, September 1959, 136.

[127] Umematsu, "*Suppamaketto senpū no shōtai*," 137.

housewives primarily shopped at local grocery stores, supermarkets, and department stores. Women living in the cities surrounding Tokyo shopped more frequently at nearby grocery stores than supermarkets, perhaps indicating that supermarkets were more common in Tokyo than in other parts of Japan at the time. Women living in Tokyo still used nearby grocery stores at high rates, however, and some women living in the surrounding cities shopped at supermarkets.[128] By 1972 supermarkets' sales numbers overtook those of department stores; and the largest supermarket company, Daiei, surpassed the sales numbers of the largest department store company, Mitsukoshi.[129]

While the number of supermarkets rapidly increased in the 1960s, ironically, smaller, local co-op grocery stores also gained popularity. Citizens began forming co-ops during the Occupation period, but "citizen co-ops" formed and run primarily by housewives in response to perceived unhealthy effects of food industrialization, such as the increased usage of chemical food additives, rose in popularity in the mid 1960s.[130] When asked about where she liked to shop, Kimiko responded that the Seikyō Co-op was her favorite grocery store. This is not surprising, given that Kimiko was one of the many housewives who became central to the operation of her local Seikyō Co-op. For Kimiko, and many other housewives, patronizing a grocery store or supermarket was not just about convenience or saving money, but also about politics.

[128] Sankei shinbunsha, *Shōhi seikatsu jittai chōsa: shufu to kaimono* (Tokyo: Sankei shinbunsha, 1969), 1-6.

[129] Kazuya, *Monodukuri nihonkeieishi*, 371-372.

[130] "Co-op: About Us" August 24, 2017 http://jccu.coop/eng/aboutus/history.php

Politics

In 1968, Kimiko attended a household group (*kateihan*) course run by the Yokohama Seikyō Co-op.[131] At this course, held once a month, the group decided to begin what they called a *kakeibo* movement (*kakeibo undō*). Although Kimiko was new to the group, as a woman who had filled out a *kakeibo* almost every day since her marriage back in 1954, she became central to the movement. Kimiko's responsibilities included collecting *kakeibo* from female Co-op members once a month (Kimiko would have been responsible for up to 800 members) and calculating their expenses. Female members of the Seikyō Co-op are still conducting this kind of research presently.

In 1971 Kimiko became a Seikyō representative and began designing *kakeibo* to be published by Seikyō Co-op. Kimiko's work included the design of expense tables and categories included in the *kakeibo*. Seikyō Co-op published, printed, and circulated one thousand copies of Kimiko's *kakeibo*, and Kimiko herself began using it in 1972. At the time, Seikyō sold the *kakeibo* for 400 yen a piece. Seikyō is currently still printing the *kakeibo* design that Kimiko helped create and has even applied the same scheme to their free *kakeibo* smartphone application.

The purpose of Seikyō Co-op's *kakeibo* movement was to track the average prices of commodities, as well as other expenditures, like taxes. The data compiled by Kimiko and her colleagues was printed in the newspaper and later presented to the Diet by the

[131] At the time, there were approximately 40,000 members altogether in the Co-op. The Co-op was primarily concerned with issues of public health, such as pollution and harmful foods or foods filled with additives.

Ministry of Finance Committee in 1974.[132] The national attention received by Seikyō Co-op resulted in the opening of Seikyō Co-ops across the country. Kimiko characterized the *kakeibo*'s three main purposes in the following way: to be helpful to women's lives, to be helpful to the work of Seikyō, and to help women speak out in their society. According to Kimiko, keeping a *kakeibo* helped women participate more directly in their government and economy.

As Kimiko suggested in one other interview, however, *kakeibo* also helped consumers think about maintaining a balanced diet. In this vein, Seikyō Co-op's grassroots activism on the part of housewives also addressed issues of food safety. In the 1970s, members of Seikyō Co-op became increasingly concerned about processed foods with harmful additives. Wiener sausages and ham became frequent targets of housewives' criticisms. Yokohama's inadequate refrigeration infrastructure also became an issue that Seikyō took up, as a lack of refrigerated trucks and refrigerators in grocery markets resulted in large quantities of food rotting on grocery-store shelves.[133]

From Kimiko's perspective, the *kakeibo* movement and concern over food commodities developed side by side. Seikyō's advocacy, and the pivotal role that housewives played in setting and accomplishing the co-op's goals, clearly articulated the connection between daily life and politics. By taking charge of the family budget and her husband's salary, and by carefully and consistently recording purchases in her *kakeibo*, Kimiko directly engaged with taxation and commodity price fluctuations on a regular

---

[132] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); "*Josei akaibu shiryō chōsa*, February 22, 2010," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); "*Kakeibo Katsudō no rekishi*," last modified December 7, 2006, http://www.ucoop.or.jp/hiroba/report/files/140919kakeibokatudounorekishi.pdf

[133] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); "*Josei akaibu shiryō chōsa*, February 22, 2010," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

basis. Kimiko also stated that keeping a *kakeibo* enabled women to talk directly to their husbands about finances and, even more importantly, allowed them to influence their husbands' and families' awareness of the impact of politics on their lives.[134]"

Activism that highlights the relationship between politics and the kitchen has a long history in Japan. Prior to the start of Japan's Fifteen-Year War (1930-1945), Oku Mumeo, (1895-1997) a feminist and activist who fought for women's suffrage and political rights in the Taishō period and who was voted into the National Diet after the end of the war, believed achieving women's equality in the home would result in women achieving equality in the realm of politics. This political worldview motivated Oku to establish the Fujin Shi Kumiai Kyōkai (Women's Consumer Cooperative Society) in 1928. Since women were typically in charge of household purchases, Oku's organization aimed to tap into women's collective power as consumers. The Women's Consumer Cooperative Society fought to lower prices for consumer goods that women often purchased, but the purpose behind this movement had a much deeper meaning for Oku, as she saw the broader significance of the organization as "discover(ing) new ways for all women to unite as an economic class and solve practical problems."[135] From Oku's perspective, citizen consumer activism was one successful way to mobilize women to act politically, and Oku accomplished this goal prior to women's enfranchisement.

Oku continued her women-led consumer-based political activism in the postwar when she founded the Housewives' Federation (*Shufu Rengōkai; Shufuren*). Formed in 1948 to bring attention to the poor quality of matches that the government distributed to

[134]"*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[135] Tokuza, *The Rise of the Feminist Movement in Japan*, 210.

the public, the Housewives' Federation worked to meet the basic needs of women and their families. Throughout the late 1940s and 1950s, the Federation opposed increases in food prices, including rice, tofu, and milk. They protested price hikes by throwing rallies, coordinating door-to-door canvassing and boycotting food products with inflated prices. In 1954, the Federation began a "Ten Yen Milk Movement" aimed at stabilizing the price of milk. When milk prices rose by one yen the following year, the Housewives marched in opposition to the increase.[136] The organization brought together hundreds of thousands of women who donned white aprons that represented typical housewife attire as their uniform. During protests the Housewives carried large signs in the shape of *shamoji*, or rice scoops. In discussing her thoughts behind the usage of *shamoji*, Oku stated:

> A rice scoop can serve as a symbol of the cries, feelings, and minds of housewives all over the country. Desires, vexations, frustrations, and annoyances—every housewife might carry as many of these as the number of rice scoops in her kitchen. I'd like to address those desires and frustrations by laying them on the table of politics for consideration.[137]

The Housewives' Federation advocated for the improved conditions of housewives' labor in the home, and aimed to publically politicize those conditions.

The early postwar was the perfect time for Oku to relaunch a women's consumer movement. Under Japan's new constitution, promulgated by SCAP (The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) and the Occupation forces, women finally achieved full political rights. Women all over the country quickly exercised their new rights. On April 10, 1946, approximately 67 percent of women voted in Japan's first postwar

[136] "*Shufuren no ayumi*," last modified 2006, http://shufuren.net/modules/tinyd4/

[137] Tokuza, *The Rise of the Feminist Movement in Japan* 218-219.

national election.[138] Additionally, 39 women were elected to the Diet. Oku began her term in office in 1947 and stayed for three terms, until 1965. Japanese women finally experienced full political rights that many, like Oku, had fought so hard for in the early twentieth century.

In addition to achieving universal suffrage, women's activism helped to remove the Meiji-era "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo)* domestic ideology from Japan's educational system. Still, although the maxim was withdrawn, the prescriptive values that it had long promoted proved to be remarkably resilient, and remained a powerful view of womanhood into the 1980s. Nonetheless, the name and attire of the Housewives' Federation did not simply reflect a revised version of this antiquated gender ideal. Housewifery in postwar Japan was no longer a domestic duty for women subjects; it had become a political power, later labeled "*shufu* (housewives)-Lib," that was incisively and intentionally wielded by many women citizens like Oku and Kimiko. [139]

Furthermore, the poor food, shelter, and clothing conditions of the Japanese after the end of the war provided a good opportunity for women to come together and advocate for better living conditions. In doing so, they combined women's new political rights with early-twentieth century forms of citizen consumer activism—a form of activism that proved to be appealing to hundreds of thousands of women, like those who joined the Housewives' Federation. The poor living conditions in the early postwar, however, do not sufficiently explain the rise of postwar housewives' activism, which continued to expand and increase in the 1960s and 1970s and continued its popularity into the

[138] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan,* 120-123.

[139] Yamaguchi, "Housewives-Lib and Co-op in Japan," 136.

1990s.[140] Citizen consumer activism became a longstanding form of housewives' activism that continued despite Japan's improving, and, eventually, thriving economy.

In fact, it is safe to say that housewife-dominated co-ops gained popularity in the 1960s and 1970s in part *because* of Japan's high-speed economic growth. According to scholar Kiyoko Yamaguchi, Japan's economy "grew at the expense of the environment, food safety and people's health"—with significant negative side effects, including inflation, pollution, and new cases of pollution diseases, such as asthma, Minamata disease, and *itai-itai* disease.[141] Furthermore, concerns about the increased use of food additives and preservatives that became popular with the industrialization of food systems during Japan's economic growth period occupied the minds of housewives like Kimiko.[142] Politically-active housewives did not follow the orders of the state: On the contrary, indeed, housewives led the way in criticizing the ineptitude of the government in handling the environmental consequences of high-speed economic growth.

Both Oku and Kimiko saw a direct link between politics and the kitchen.[143] In Oku's case, this thinking influenced her time in the Diet, as she believed it was her duty to explicitly illustrate this connection to others, especially to her skeptical male colleagues. One year after Oku finished her third and final term as a member of the upper house of the Diet in 1968, Kimiko joined Seikyō Co-op. Despite the improved

---

[140] Kimiko herself did not become active in Seikyō until the late 1960s.

[141] Yamaguchi, "Housewives-Lib and Co-op in Japan," 139.

[142] Ibid., 139.

[143] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan). This is a well-known fact about Oku Mumeo, for more on Oku Mumeo see: Tokuza, *The Rise of the Feminist Movement in Japan;* Ronald Loftus, *Telling Lives: Women's Self-Writing in Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

economy, from Kimiko's perspective a lot of work remained to be done in demonstrating to politicians and the public alike the link between politics and housewives' daily lives.[144] Housewives continued to carry on the work started by women like Oku Mumeo. Yet, when I asked Kimiko about Oku Mumeo, she had never heard of her—although the "Housewives' Federation" rang a bell. It does not appear to be the case that Oku Mumeo and the Housewives' Federation inspired all other organizations that drew the participation of housewives in large numbers. Based on Kimiko's answer, the development of consumer groups with similar interests appeared without necessarily directly influencing each other.

Oku and Kimiko were joined by hundreds of thousands of politically active housewives in the postwar. While we might be more inclined to place Oku's long political career in the category of exceptional, the story of Kimiko, a "typical" housewife, is also quite extraordinary, even more so when considering that many citizen consumer housewives like Kimiko proactively engaged with politics in postwar Japan.

Retirement

In 1980 Kimiko and her family moved to Ninomiya, in Southern Kanagawa prefecture.[145] The long commute to and from Yokohama led Kimiko to decide to retire from her work at Seikyō. In Ninomiya, Kimiko took leather crafting classes for three

---

[144] Tokuza, *The Rise of the Feminist Movement in Japan,* 203-204.

[145] "*Josei akaibu shiryō chōsa*, February 22, 2010," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

years and eventually began teaching her own classes. Kōsaku retired in 1985.[146] In 2010, Kimiko decided to donate her *kakeibo* to the National Women's Education Center after hearing about a woman who had donated fifty years' worth of her *kakeibo* to the National Museum of China. Kimiko's decision to donate her *kakeibo* to the National Women's Education Center in and of itself was a political one. Both Kimiko and the National Women's Education Center recognized the historical significance in Kimiko's life's work. The brave act of making one's private world public, and saying that one's story matters, is not the behavior of a follower, but of a leader.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that life changed significantly for women in the postwar. Education improved, time for leisure increased, the housing crisis was resolved, kitchens were reimagined, grocery shopping options diversified, the economy gradually improved, and women had full political rights. Despite the fast-paced nature of these changes, however, they did not go unchecked or unquestioned. Many housewives chose to keep their local and national government in check through political activism as citizen consumers. Housewives like Kimiko were heavily concerned about inflation, taxes, labor conditions in the home, sanitation, pollution, and food safety.

Understanding Kimiko's story allows us to see the clear connection to a woman's daily life, including activities like writing in a *kakeibo* every day, and her ability to become politically involved in her community. It was not necessarily the case that housewives believed they had to portray themselves as housewives to have a political

[146] "*Kimiko-san chi no kakeibo*," Advertisement, (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

voice; rather, many housewives saw housewifery as intrinsically political, and causes like those of Seikyō Co-Op resonated with women like Kimiko. Kimiko's story offers a bigger picture of housewife activism, allowing us to imagine that Japanese housewives like herself observed politics in their daily lives, and as a result, saw their lives as inherently political.

Positioning women like Kimiko at the center, rather than the periphery, of postwar Japan history allows for a more complicated understanding of social change. Kimiko was not a compliant woman who passively accepted the leadership of the state, but rather someone who developed her own political worldview throughout the course of her life, culminating in a ten-year career of political activism in her community. Indeed, often the government became a subject of Kimiko's criticism. Japanese housewives were the complex protagonists of their own stories and the main characters in the story of their country, rather than followers of a paternalistic state.

CHAPTER III

BALANCED BUDGET, BALANCED DIET

In a 1951 article entitled "Saving on a Tight Budget: A Collection of Problem Solving Strategies for Wives Who Are Trying to Make Ends Meet," *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*) magazine advised women to keep their families' budgets under control. According to the article, to succeed in this endeavor one needed a *kakeibo* (household account book): "On the night that you receive your husband's salary, make sure you write down a monthly budget in your *kakeibo*." "Writing in your *kakeibo* every day," the article continued, "is the most important step in living a rational life."[147] Three pages later, one of the contributors to the article, Fukuda Toshiko, posed an additional challenge to *Housewife's Companion* readers:

> In the past I rarely thought about nutrition. Because of this, my budget was insufficient, and creating a problem-solving strategy to supplement my family's diet became my greatest concern. Now I put a lot of thought into my family's nutrition.[148]

Living a rational life required more than keeping one's family's budget balanced, and it was no coincidence that a discussion of nutrition appeared in an article devoted to household budgeting. In postwar Japan, household accounting and nutrition were intimately linked—ideally, families were advised to maintain both a balanced budget and a balanced diet.

As this *Housewife's Companion* article pointed out, the main purpose of keeping a *kakeibo* was to manage the family budget. But, as the article also emphasized, a

---

[147] *"Yoyū no nai kakei kara chokin o umidasu: okusama no yarikuri kufū shū," Shufu no tomo,* December 1951, 177.

[148] *"Yoyū no nai kakei kara chokin o umidasu,"* 180.

family's financial health was not the only issue at stake. When building a budget, women also needed to plan on spending their money on nutritious foods for their families. The *kakeibo*, therefore, was not merely a budget-keeping book; it was also a meal-planning document.

During the 1950s and 1960s, a period of dynamic change in postwar Japan, two influential culinary approaches influenced the ways women recorded the food items they purchased in their *kakeibo*. The first approach was ingredient and nutrition based. In the 1950s, the general public become more knowledgeable of basic principles of nutrition science. As the primary cooks in the home, women had to learn about nutrition and how to adjust their cooking styles accordingly. The second approach was structural. Traditionally, the Japanese meal consisted of two elements: a staple food item—rice—and multiple side dishes. The two approaches, nutrition and structure, appeared individually and, eventually, were combined in the pages of *kakeibo*.

Additional challenges presented themselves to women in the 1950s. First, as "new" ingredients such as meat, dairy products, and bread became more and more popular, women were expected to integrate them into the diet. Second, new cuisines, such as Western and Chinese, also rose to prominence, prompting women's magazines and other popular media to urge women to learn how to cook international and fusion dishes.

This chapter argues that the changes that unfolded simultaneously in the postwar Japanese diet, including newly popular nutrition knowledge, ingredients, and cuisines, pushed the integrity of the traditional meal structure to its limits. The late 1950s and early 1960s, I contend, presented new possibilities in terms of how to conceptualize the typical Japanese meal. By examining *kakeibo*, however, it becomes clear that by 1965

women had figured out how to consolidate a flood of culinary changes within the traditional meal structure.

In this chapter I argue that the transformation in common nutrition knowledge played out in the pages of women's *kakeibo*—both in the published and nationally circulated copies of *kakeibo*, and in the ways that women like Kimiko used *kakeibo*. I begin by exploring the vaunted gender role of women as the primary "purchaser consumers." First proposed by the US historian Lizabeth Cohen in her book *A Consumers' Republic*, the term "purchaser consumer is defined as someone who contributes to her society by exercising her purchasing power.[149] In postwar Japan, the government, women's organizations, and women's magazines all propped up women as the primary purchaser consumers of their homes, and their *kakeibo* as their weapons of choice in the battle for budget management.

Next, I will follow the trajectory of the nutrition history in modern Japan. This chapter will utilize two government surveys: one from the Ministry of Health and Welfare (*Kōseishō Kōshū Eiseikyoku*), the other from the Economic Planning Agency (*Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku*). These two surveys represent two "contentious" culinary approaches that emerged in the postwar: nutrition versus meal structure. After reviewing the two surveys, I will provide an overview of Kimiko's *kakeibo*, comparing her approach to those of the two contemporary government surveys. Finally, I will use *kakeibo* to demonstrate how purchaser consumers gradually incorporated new nutrition knowledge, ingredients, and cuisines into Japan's traditional meal structure—effectively resolving the tension between the two approaches to cooking.

[149] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 18-19.

Kakeibo do not just inform us about how women managed their family's budgets, they also demonstrate how purchaser consumers combined nutrition knowledge with meal planning. Kimiko's *kakeibo* entries between the years 1954 to 1964 show us how a consumer made sense of change, how changes unfolded from the perspective of a consumer, and how a consumer was an agent of change. Furthermore, setting aside the way that Kimiko filled out her own *kakeibo*, the styles of the various *kakeibo* she acquired in the span of eleven years—*kakeibo* that thousands of women purchased or acquired—illuminate how Japanese women broadly understood nutrition and meal planning on a national scale

Historians such as Katarzyna Cwiertka and Ishige Naomichi have examined the significant transformations that occurred in the modern Japanese diet. Both scholars have identified the postwar as an especially formative period in modern Japanese cuisine. While Cwiertka and Ishige have effectively identified some of the forces and agents of change, including the global economy, the military, and the Occupation forces, the agents in charge of home cooking in postwar Japan (that is, women), are largely left out of the story. This chapter offers a critical intervention in the current historiography to argue the significance of women as primary change agents in the postwar transformation of Japanese nutrition and meal structure.

Yet, while this chapter is focused on women's physical labor as it was revealed in *kakeibo*, it also aims to examine the intellectual labor that went into designing them. After all, the *kakeibo* is not merely a time sheet and account book; it is an intellectual document. The purpose of this chapter, then, is not to pore over exactly what Kimiko bought—a topic that will be taken up in subsequent chapters—but to elucidate the ways

in which Kimiko organized and recorded the food items she purchased. Again, the purpose of a *kakeibo* is to help one build and keep track of a budget, but something more was as stake. Women who filled out *kakeibo* unwittingly chronicled postwar life, and, equally important, documented their intellectual engagement with these changes.

Balanced Budget

In theory, Japanese wives controlled their families' finances in the postwar period. Even today, the custom holds that the hard working, middle-class salaryman hands over his paycheck to his wife, and that she, in turn, gives him a monthly spending allowance. Women's magazines espoused this ideal not only for full-time, middle-class housewives—a rare occupation in the 1950s—but for working women as well. For example, in a 1956 article in *The Housewife's Companion* on "Incidental Income and Incidental Expenses: Housewives and Working Women's Household Economy Study Group," a group of women gathered together for an in-depth discussion of their families' budgets. The participants, characterized as either middle-class housewives or working women, with budget lines in the red and in the black, discussed their money-saving strategies. Sitting down together for a roundtable, they exchanged their views on how to spend their husbands' summer bonuses.[150]

Other magazine articles tackled the same subject. In an article written in 1964, Aoki Shigeru, a professor at an arts college in Aichi prefecture and frequent contributor to *The Housewife's Companion*, wrote, "At last you have your long-awaited bonus in

[150] "*Rinji shūnyū to rinji hi o chūshin ni shita: shufu to hataraku fujin no kakei kenkyūkai*," *Shufu no tomo*, June 1956, 170-174.

your hands and your heart is cheerful. But, how should you balance your savings and expenditures? For the housewife entrusted with the responsibility of family finances, it is a profoundly important season."[151] An image of a wife and husband sitting down next to each other at a small table accompanied Aoki's article. The back of the husband's head faces the camera, so the viewer can only see the wife's face. While the husband holds his cash bonus in his hand, his wife leans forward, confident, yet relaxed in her authority, and points to an image of a car in a magazine that lays open on the table. From the image, we can see that she is instructing him on how to spend their money.[152] Articles in *The Housewife's Companion*, and the images that accompanied them, consistently promoted the idea that a wives were both the primary purchaser consumers of the family and those responsible for the family finances.[153]

The wife's role as primary purchaser consumer of her household was not merely an ideal found in the pages of women's magazines, however, it was a social norm that had a strong basis in reality. In 1950, sociologist Ronald Dore wrote a case study of families living in Shitayama-cho, one of Tokyo's "low city" wards. He discovered that, in most cases, wives had complete control over their husbands' incomes. Husbands controlled the finances in 4% of the households interviewed, and, typically, if husbands engaged in any additional side jobs they kept that money for themselves. Furthermore, Dore discovered that wives who married into families of higher socio-economic classes tended *not* to receive their husbands' paychecks. A whopping 78% of the wives Dore

[151] Aoki Shigeru, "*Bonasu o ikasu tsukaikata tamekata*," *Shufu no tomo*, December 1964, 327.

[152] Aoki, "*Bonasu o ikasu tsukaikata tamekata*," 327.

[153] A series of images from the magazine are included in the Appendix.

interviewed, however, revealed that they received the entirety of their husbands' checks and, after paying all of the household's bills, gave their husbands back some pocket money. Dore concluded that the purchaser-consumer wife appeared most frequently in lower and middle class households.[154] Indeed the protagonist, of their account Kimiko, offer us a concrete example of a lower- to middle-class woman who was in charge of her family's budget, and used her *kakeibo* to its fullest potential.

Throughout the 1950s, both the government and women's organizations endeavored to transform the gender ideal that Dore observed into a strict gender norm. According to Sheldon Garon, author of *Molding Japanese Minds*, both government officials and women's organizations, who worked together extensively, believed that household savings and the rationalization of consumption were integral to Japan's postwar economic recovery. With these goals in mind, the government communicated extensively with women's organizations and relied heavily on them to promote and carry out household savings and consumption-related initiatives—so much so that savings associations earned the title "mothers' banks." These women's organizations, in turn, urged women to keep *kakeibo* and write in them every day. Doing so, they argued, would help women boost their families' savings. Some government agencies and women's organizations even went as far as to distribute *kakeibo* directly to women. A survey conducted in 1965, for example, revealed that half of all surveyed households kept *kakeibo* and 41% regularly wrote in them. Whether or not the efforts of the government, the media, and women's organizations actually boosted this number is difficult to gauge,

[154] Dore, *City Life in Japan,* 173-174.

but we do know that all three of these actors promoted women as primary consumers in their homes and believed that *kakeibo* were key to their financial success.[155]

Japan's gendering of the primary purchaser consumer differed significantly from the postwar gendering of the primary purchaser consumer in the United States. Sociologist Yoshimi Shunya has argued that the "American way of life" heavily influenced Japan during the 1950s.[156] And, more recently, scholars such as Jan Bardsley and Mire Koikari have explored how the US Occupation forces propped up the American housewife as the epitome of democratic progress in postwar Japan.[157] Despite the intensity of American influence in Japan during the Occupation years and beyond, however, Japan's gender norms did not conform to those of the United States. A comparison between the twentieth-century histories of women's purchaser consumerism in the US and Japan reveals the irony of the Occupation forces' celebration of the "liberated" American housewife and their Orientalist assumptions about the "oppressed" Japanese housewife.

In the first half of the twentieth century, American women often wielded their influence as purchaser consumers to gain access to power that was traditionally denied to them. While women found empowerment through this role and even hit their stride during World War II, after the end of the war women found themselves increasingly marginalized as their influence as consumers subsided. Throughout the late 1940s and

---

[155] Garon*, Beyond Our Means,* 271.

[156] Yoshimi Shunya makes this argument in a number of his works, but for example see Yoshimi Shunya, "'America' as Desire and Violence: Americanization in Postwar Japan and Asia during the Cold War," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 4:3 (December 2003).

[157] Bardsley, *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan*; Mire, *Cold War Encounters in US-Occupied Okinawa*.

1950s, the gendering of the primary purchaser consumer in the United States shifted, at first, from women to couples and families, and gradually, to men alone.

With the help of new gender stereotypes presented in the media, the 1950s' male breadwinner took charge of the household finances in the United States. When it came to purchasing domestic technologies, the media portrayed the American housewife as an especially incapable consumer.[158] A well-loved 1952 episode of *I Love Lucy* is especially revealing.[159] In the episode, Lucy suggests that she and her husband, Ricky, purchase a freezer to save money on meat expenses. But, Ricky, who is clearly in charge of the couple's finances, refuses. Ignoring Ricky's protests, Lucy and her friend, Ethel, decide to buy a decently priced freezer from Lucy's relative. All seems to have gone well until Lucy accidentally orders 700 pounds of beef and then proceeds to lock herself in the walk-in freezer. In this widely-viewed situation comedy, the episode finds comedic fodder in the new gender norms that portrayed women as inept consumers.[160]

The depiction of women's inability to logically purchase expensive domestic appliances in this episode of *I Love Lucy* is quite striking when compared to the 1959 Japanese comedy, *Ohayō*.[161] One of the film's plotlines follows a group of female neighbors who all belong to the same women's organization. Some of the dues owed to the women's organization mysteriously vanish, and the women begin to gossip amongst themselves about which female neighbor shortchanged the organization. In one scene,

---

[158] For more on American housewives and grocery shopping, see Tracey Deutsch, *Building a Housewife's Paradise: Gender, Politics, and America Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[159] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 150; *I Love Lucy*, "The Freezer," directed by Marc Daniels, CBS, April 28, 1952.

[160] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 150.

[161] *Ohayō*, Ozu Yasujirō (1959, Tokyo: Shōchiku).

one of the women, who had been gossiping about one of the neighbors, whispers, "Mrs. Haraguchi (recently) bought a washing machine," implying that Mrs. Haraguchi misappropriated the organization's funds to purchase an item for her family. Shortly after this scene, a different female character repeats the same exact gossip about Mrs. Haraguchi and her new washing machine in an entirely different conversation. This series of scenes highlights a few cultural assumptions at the time. First, they suggest that Mrs. Haraguchi had control over her family's finances and that she made the decision to purchase the washing machine. Second, all of the female characters clearly knew which households owned which domestic appliances, supporting that women were well aware of the diffusion of domestic technologies in their communities. All in all, the world of household finances and appliances belonged to the women in the film.

One of the other plotlines in *Ohayō* revolves around two young boys who try their best to convince their mother to buy them a television. Although their father is present in many of the scenes in the film, the boys' demand for a television is predominantly directed at their mother. Toward the end of the film, the boys return home to find a television waiting for them in the hallway. Both of the boys enter the dining room and immediately ask their mother if she bought the television. She responds that the father was actually the one who purchased the television for them. Although the father was ultimately the one who picked up the television from the store, the children expected the mother to have been the one to do it. In the end, *I Love Lucy* and *Ohayō* depict women and their ability to make sound purchases very differently. This is not to say that all of the portrayals of women in the film *Ohayō* were positive. The film depicts women as gossipy and petty at times, although to great comedic effect. Nonetheless, the film

assumes that women were more than capable of taking charge of their family's finances, and their ability to make important financial decisions is unquestioned.

American women's lack of financial power was not just a gender trope used in popular culture. Financial institutions that discriminated based on gender played a role in women's inability to make large purchases in the United States. Credit cards were introduced for the first time in the late 1950s and early 1960s in the United States, but credit card companies largely excluded women from using them. Stores and national credit card companies like American Express and Carte Blanche did not allow women to be legal holders of credit accounts. Even in the event that a woman's husband depended on his wife financially, credit card companies still insisted on the husband being the primary holder on an account.[162]

Credit also became a popular form of currency in 1950s Japan. Companies such as Toshiba made credit installment plans available to those who bought radios, washing machines, and refrigerators. Banks also created incentives for their customers to use credit, such as easy payment programs. Like their American counterparts, Japanese women also faced discriminatory business practices from financial institutions. Finance companies typically only lent money to consumers with salaried employment, which disqualified many women, and also some men. However, there were some exceptions to this rule. One finance company, Marui, lent money directly to housewives. Additionally,

[162] This was also reflected in the name placed on the credit card: "When Carte Blanche solicited a household, for example, the card always bore the husband's name, although 'a special HERS card to give your wife all the credit she deserves'—in shocking pink—was offered to wives." Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 147.

small electrical retailers typically allowed all of their customers to sign up for credit plans.[163]

In sum, not all Japanese women took charge of their family budgets, but many did, and the government, women's groups, and women's magazines strongly promoted this well-known and highly promoted gender ideal. This Japanese gender ideal and norm deviated from the American housewife's waning purchasing power and control over her household's finances in the same period. This is especially ironic given that throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s, the US Occupation forces often propped up the American housewife as the Japanese housewife's more liberated counterpart.[164] Contemporary dialogues on *kakeibo*-keeping culture in postwar Japan asserted the belief that Japanese housewives were more than capable of both keeping a reasonable budget and making important financial decisions for their households.

Yet, *kakeiko* keeping was about more than just budget management, it was also about planning meals and ensuring nutritional balance for one's family. Before moving on to a more thorough discussion of *kakeibo*, we will examine the history of nutrition in modern Japan to better contextualize contemporary dialogues on foodways and their connection to *kakeibo*.

Balanced Diet

Although food scholars have traced the origins of different understandings of the effects of certain foods on the human body back to the ancient Chinese, Greeks, Romans,

[163] Partner, *Assembled in* Japan, 168-169.

[164] See Bardsley, *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan*.

and other civilizations, what we have come to know as modern nutrition science began to develop in the early nineteenth century.[165] Modern nutrition science developed alongside industrialization, modernization, and the rise of modern nation states. Railways and electric telegraphs expedited the transportation of food products across great distances and facilitated international trade agreements. Knowledge of new preservation technologies, such as canning, circled the globe, and companies affixed advertising logos that pitched the nutritional value of their products to the cans they sold.[166] One of the largest groups of consumers who benefitted from breakthroughs in both transportation and food technology were the hungry armies of nation states. Modern armies required able-bodied men; and as knowledge of nutrition science became increasingly sophisticated, and clearly articulated the relationship between health and diet, nation states disseminated nutrition knowledge to encourage their populaces to boost the power of their nations by eating healthy diets.[167]

The Japanese government's interest in nutrition science dates back to the late 1850s. At the time, the Tokugawa *bakufu* decided to employ Dutch physicians who were knowledgeable of Western nutrition science. German scientists followed in the footsteps of the Dutch, as they moved to Japan in the 1870s to work for the new Meiji government. As the German scientists disseminated nutrition knowledge, as a part of the Meiji government's goal of pursuing Western technology, sloganized as "Civilization and

---

[165] Hans Teuteberg, "The Birth of the Modern Consumer Age: Food Innovations from 1800," in *Food: The History of Taste*, ed. Paul Freedman (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2007), 239. Scholars of Japanese history have also explored examples of this in Japan's Classic and Medieval periods. See Andrew Goble, *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).

[166] Teuteberg, "The Birth of the Modern Consumer Age," 239.

[167] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 119-120.

Enlightenment" (*Bunmei kaika*), the Home Ministry set up Hygiene Experiment Stations. Employees of this government facility began compiling nutritional data of Japanese foods in the late 1880s.[168]

Faced with the real consequences of malnutrition-related diseases, such as scurvy and beriberi, and fueled by the Meiji government's second goal "Rich Army, Strong Country," (*Fukoku kyōhei*) the Imperial Army and Navy conducted its first nutrition surveys in 1881. It was soon discovered by Takaki Kanehiro, director of the Tokyo Naval Hospital, that Japanese troops suffered from beriberi at higher rates than Western troops. Identifying the phenomenon as an "Asian Disease," he linked the cause of the disease to diet. In 1884, Takaki tested out a "cure" for beriberi on the *Tsukuba* naval ship by serving Western-style meals to the crew. His experiment succeeded, and the Tsukuba's crewmembers did not contract beriberi. Due to their high cost, however, Takaki's dietary reforms did not last. [169] Nonetheless, the military continued to devote resources to developing healthy diets for its soldiers.

Following the 1918 Rice Riots, both the civilian government and the military began to disseminate nutrition knowledge to the general public. In 1919, the civilian government set up the Imperial Government Institute for Nutrition. One of the first institution in the world devoted to the study of human nutrition, the Institute took up the practical application of nutrition and brainstormed economical diets. With the help of Japan's leading scientist of dietetics, Saiki Tadasu, who set up his own private nutrition institutions, the Institute offered cooking demonstrations and lectures on proper nutrition

[168] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 120. For more on beriberi in Japan, see Alexander Bay, *Beriberi in Modern Japan: The Making of a National Disease* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2012).

[169] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 69.

to the public. Due to the work of the Institute, nutrition knowledge began to appear in the pages of textbooks, cookbooks, and women's magazines in the 1920s.[170]

In the 1930s radio programs and newspaper articles also circulated information on the importance of nutrition. Intellectuals touted the benefits of eating Chinese and Western foods, cuisines that were believed to be highly nutritious because of their high meat, oil, fat, and spice content. Nutrition scientists regarded dishes that contained meat to be an especially good source of energy.[171] Nonetheless, approximately fifty percent of Japan's population still lived in rural areas prior to the start of the Second World War. And, since Western and Chinese restaurant proprietors primarily opened shop in large cities, people who lived in rural regions would not have frequented Western or Chinese style restaurants, nor would they have prepared such foods at home.[172]

Despite the proliferation of knowledge that took place in nutrition science in the 1920s and 1930s, the reality of poor food conditions during the late 1930s and 1940s affected both the military abroad and the home front. Between 1937 and 1945, half of all Japanese military deaths were caused by starvation or malnutrition-related diseases. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five, the food conditions on the home front both during the war and the Occupation were so dire that the government urged the civilian population to grow their own personal gardens and to eat any edible weeds they could find.[173]

---

[170] Ibid.,122.

[171] Ishige Naomichi, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food* (London: Kegan Paul, 2001), 157-158.

[172] Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese* Food, 158.

[173] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 132.

The severe food shortages that plagued the Japanese during the late 1940s dissipated by the mid 1950s. Government surveys, such as the Economic Planning Agency's survey in 1957, emphasized the transformation that occurred in the everyday food conditions of Japanese citizens.[174] Newspapers and other media outlets followed suit and began running articles that celebrated the taste and appearance of new dishes.[175]

Such a jubilant attitude towards food and cooking was reminiscent of the more affluent 1920s. This was related to the rise in the standard of living in the mid 1950s. Japan's industrial output had fully recovered by 1955, as had farm output. Farm families enjoyed a rise in wages as policies of agricultural diversification that favored in-demand commodities brought in more money for producers. Some family members also took jobs in town, earning extra incomes for their households. The standard of living in rural Japan compared favorably with urban levels, which also improved. Consumption levels in cities returned to the 1935 normal in the mid 1950s. Urban families were able to afford items like new clothing, and they had the financial resources to undertake home improvement projects, or even move to a new home.[176] The overall rise in income and standard of living in the mid 1950s allowed many families, rural and urban, the opportunity to start enjoying tasty and nutritious food items.

Different branches of the Japanese government paid close attention to the transformation that occurred in daily life and tracked change by conducting surveys and compiling results. The surveyors involved in the two surveys analyzed for the purposes of

---

[174] Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, *Kokumin seikatsu no genjō* (Tokyo, Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, 1957), 50.

[175] Barak Kushner, *Slurp!: A Social and Culinary History of Ramen, Japan's Favorite Noodle Soup* (Boston: Global Oriental, 2012), 215.

[176] Gary Allinson, *Japan's Postwar History: Second Edition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 79.

this chapter, the Ministry of Health and Welfare's *Citizen's Nutrition Survey* and The Economic Planning Agency's *Present Conditions of Citizens' Lives*, investigated the phenomenon of consumers eating "new" foods in higher quantities—such as more international foods, meat, dairy, and processed foods. The surveyors then classified the various food items and inserted them into different classifications schema. These charts illuminate two different ways that government institutions viewed food products in the mid-1950s and early 1960s. The Ministry of Health and Welfare, on one hand, classified food items solely from the perspective of nutrition found in items Japanese commonly ate, or ideally, should eat. The Economic Planning Agency, on the other hand, grouped food items within the traditional structure of the Japanese meal.

The Ministry of Health and Welfare set its sights on the eating habits of Japanese citizens in 1957. Their survey focused on what citizens ate, the nutritional value of the foods that were eaten (vitamins, minerals, etc), and the physiological effects that dietary patterns had on the population (weight, height, etc).[177] After conducting their surveys, surveyors categorized food items into a series of distinct classifications: "Grains," "Types of Nuts," "Types of Potatoes," "Types of Sugar, Fats and Oils," "Types of Legumes," "Marine Products," "Animal Meat, Eggs, Dairy and Dairy Products," "Beta-Carotene Vegetables," "Citrus Fruits and Tomatoes," "Fruit," "Other Vegetables," "Dried Vegetables," "Seaweed," "Pickled Vegetables," and "Flavorings and Luxury Items."[178] Additionally, the Ministry of Health and Welfare scrutinized the nutritional value of both traditionally Japanese foods (pickled vegetables, seaweed, and marine products) and

---

[177] Kōseishō Kōshū Eisei Kyoku, *Kokumin eiyō hakusho Shōwa 32 nendo kokumin eiyō chōsa seiseki* (Tokyo, Daiichi Shuppa, 1959), 1.

[178] Kōseishō Kōshū Eisei Kyoku, *Kokumin eiyō hakusho,* 92-94.

newly popular foods (meat, eggs, dairy, and dairy products). This included an examination of the protein, fat, carbohydrates, calcium, phosphorous, and vitamins A, B1, B2, and C contained in these foods.[179]

The Ministry of Health and Welfare's survey provides an example of the ways in which the government promoted the consumption of new food items in the postwar diet. Not only did the Ministry of Health and Welfare discuss the popularity of newly popular food items, such as "Sugars, Fats, and Oils," and "Animal Meat, Eggs, Dairy and Dairy Products," but they identified many of these items as nutritionally *necessary* foods that the public should be consuming on a daily basis. As mentioned above, the study of modern nutrition science began in the 1850s in Japan, and media outlets discussed nutrition in the 1930s, but knowledge of nutrition became more widely consumed by the public in the postwar. Government agencies like the Ministry of Health and Welfare encouraged the general population to partake in specific dietary practices, and, members of the general population, especially *kakeibo* keepers like Kimiko, learned and practiced nutritious eating habits. Nutrition became a popular way to discuss food in the postwar, and thanks to a rise in income and the standard of living, nutritious eating became possible for more people.

Like the Ministry of Health and Welfare's survey, the Economic Planning Agency's *Present Conditions of Citizens' Lives* also classified popular food items into different categories, but in a different way. The surveyors looked over the *kakeibo* of different families to examine the transformation in the everyday lives of citizens. In doing so, the food item classification scheme closely resembled the food categories

[179] This data is shown throughout the survey, but I pulled this specifically from Kōseishō Kōshū Eisei Kyoku, *Kokumin eiyō hakusho,* 56.

printed in *kakeibo*, which included: “Staple Foods,” “Non-Staple Foods,” “Seafood,” “Meat, Milk, and Eggs,” “Flavorings,” and “Alcohol and Other.” The fact that surveyors sorted food items into “Staple Foods” and “Non-Staple Foods” groups demonstrates that they took meal structure into account, a prominent feature in contemporary *kakeibo*.

The traditional Japanese meal structure of a typical meal consisted of one main dish (staple food, rice) and multiple side dishes. This meal structure continues to exist in the present day in Japan and can be seen in many parts of East and Southeast Asia as well. For example, in China the staple food, rice, is referred to as *fan*, and dishes are called *cai*.[180] This meal structure differs from that of the traditional Western meal structure, which revolves around an entrée course.[181]

For the most part, the Economic Planning Agency’s 1957 survey placed newly popular food items into the “Staple Food” and “Side Dish” meal structure. The survey also included a series of graphs and interpretations of data that devoted attention specifically to examining the increase in “Non-Staple Foods.” This classification of “Non-Staple Foods,” according to the Economic Planning Agency, included side dishes, flavorings, and luxury items.[182] The Agency interpreted the increase in side dishes, especially ones that included pricier food items, like meat, as a general rise in the standard of living.[183]

The survey contradicted itself at times, however. They did so by placing meat, seafood, eggs, and dairy products in both the “Non-Staple Foods” classification and

[180] Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food*, 175.

[181] Ibid., 176.

[182] Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, *Kokumin seikatsu no genjō* (Tokyo, Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, 1957), 49.

[183] Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, *Kokumin seikatsu no genjō*, 49.

classifications of their own. Meat, for example, appeared into both the "Non-Staple Food" and "Meat, Milk, and Eggs" sections. [184] This is but one example of the tension that existed between an approach to food that favored traditional meal structure and one that favored nutrition.

An examination of the classification schema used by the Economic Planning Agency reveals that at least one government agency predominantly approached culinary change from a perspective similar to the "Staple Food" and "Side Dish" meal structure. While the surveyors did not refer to the latter category as "Side Dish" specifically, the main idea of the meal structure remained intact with their creation of the "Non-Staple Food" classification. Nonetheless, the change in name, as well as the establishment of additional groups such as "Meat, Milk, and Eggs," challenged the traditional meal structure in a way that suggests that the Japanese had reached a culinary crossroads, or a fork in the road. One path led to the traditional meal structure the other to a nutrition-based approach to food.

Adding an additional meal-planning document, a *kakeibo*, to this analysis of postwar approaches to food reinforces the idea that the late 1950s and early 1960s were a period of culinary flux. Should the Japanese abandon the staple food and side dish approach to meal planning for one centered on nutrition and ingredients? Or, potentially, a Western-style, entree meal structure? As mentioned above, in 1884 the Japanese navy temporarily abandoned the traditional Japanese diet to try out the seemingly more nutritious Western diet, so a significant change in Japanese culinary tradition was not outside the realm of possibilities. Like contemporary government surveys, Kimiko's

[184] Ibid., 49-59.

kakeibo reveals some potential for an upheaval in traditional Japanese meal planning during this same period, which we will turn to now.

Women like Kimiko were probably not sitting around reading government surveys, but the dissemination of nutrition knowledge and the challenge it presented to the traditional meal structure is visible in Kimiko's *kakeibo*. Indeed, the same two approaches to diet, nutrition and meal structure, that we have examined in the government surveys appeared in *kakeibo*. But, *kakeibo* also presented a solution. As the primary purchaser consumers, women were predominantly responsible for planning meals, purchasing food items, and preparing food. The *kakeibo*, for its part, brought contemporary approaches to food together in a practical setting. *Kakeibo* embodied a confluence of contemporary food dialogues, and engaged with both the broad nutritionalization of the diet and the traditional meal structure. Kimiko did not toss out the idea of nutrition and solely focus on meal structure—nor did she forget about meal structure and fixate on nutrition. Additionally, she did not experiment with one national cuisine at a time, nor did she stick to traditional ingredients. Instead, she, and other purchaser consumers, merged newly popular ingredients, knowledge of nutrition, and international cooking styles together and incorporated them into the structure of their family's conventional meals. This process was messy and it took time. Kimiko's *kakeibo* do not tell a story of clear, linear progression—as government surveys tended to—but rather, one of experimentation in a time of dynamic change.

Let's begin by taking a close look at Kimiko's *kakeibo*. Currently, the National Women's Education Center of Japan has digitized Kimiko's *kakeibo* from the years 1954 to 2002—a total of forty-eight books. Not all of Kimiko's *kakeibo* from these years look

the same. From 1972 onwards, Kimiko used her co-op's *kakeibo*, which she designed. But early on, she experimented with different styles of *kakeibo* from various publishers. Between 1954 and 1964, she purchased *kakeibo* published by *Ladies' Club* (*Fujin kurabu*), *The Housewife's Companion*, *Life and Home Housewives* (*Shufu to seikatsusha*), and one from one unknown publisher.

Kimiko's first *kakeibo*, filled out in 1954, was very simple. Each page had a total of only five columns for the user to fill out: date, "summary" (which included a one-word description of utilities, expenses, and items bought), income, payment amount, and remaining account balance. None of the rows were labeled.[185]

Kimiko's 1955 *kakeibo* contains more detail, starting with a geometric-patterned orange cover with the title "A diary and account book." Right off the bat, it is clear that Kimiko made this account book her own by crossing out "Shōwa 29" (1954) and writing in "Shōwa 30" (1955) on the cover, making an old account book work for her in the present. The women's magazine *Ladies' Club* (*Fujin kurabu*) published this particular *kakeibo*, and the name of the magazine was printed near the bottom of the cover.[186] The second page of this *kakeibo* provides a chart that includes spaces for expenses, savings, and earnings from January to December. Such a page, if the housewife decided to use it—and in some years, Kimiko only partially filled out charts like this—gave the housewife an overview of the entire year's budget.[187] The third page includes detailed instructions for the user. It details how she should go about recording the family's

[185] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:1-1, "*Kakeibo: Shōwa 29 nen,"* (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[186] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:2-1, "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 30nen han*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[187] Ibid.

expenses and which categories various expenses fall under. For example, if Kimiko went to see a movie, she should write down "movie" and the price of her movie ticket under the "culture" category.[188] This page, included below as Table 4, provides an example of how housewives note expenses incurred over the course of one week.

Table 4

Sample *Kakeibo* page[189]

April

	Monthly Budget	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Balance Forward	150,000	150,000	12,993	12,680	12,550	11,920
Income				Side Job: 300		
Side Dish Fees	4,500	Allotment: 150 Eggs: 32 Croquette: 20 Daikon: 10 Carrot: 20 Wakame: 10 Flaked Bonito: 35 Total: 127 Balance: 23	Allotment: 173 Food Boiled in Soy: 30 Beef: 80 Green Onion: 20 Tofu: 15 Konnyaku Noodles: 15 Spinach: 15 Potato: 8 Total: 183 Balance: -10	Allotment: 140 Fried Food: 10 Fish: 45 Konnyaku Noodles: 10 Pickled Daikon: 15 Taro: 20 Total: 100 Balance: 40	Allotment: 190 Natto: 20 Onion: 30 Pork: 120 Cabbage: 30 Total: 200 Balance: -10	Allotment: 140 Daikon: 20 Carrot: 20 Dark Seaweed: 20 Fried Food: 15 Fish: 50 Tofu: 15 Total: 140 Balance: 0
Staple Food	1,800	Bread: 15	Udon: 20		Bread: 30	
Seasoning	700	Sugar: 40		Miso: 40		Soy Sauce:

[188] Ibid.

[189] Data displayed in Table 4 is from: Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:7-1, "*1960 nikki kakeibo*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

						130
Luxury Item	500	Apple: 30	Biscuit: 20			Apple: 30
House, Utensils, Furniture	450	Tea Cup: 30		Glass Repair: 130		
Light, Heat, Water	900					
Clothing	500				Shirt: 300	
Job	1,500	Husband's Spending Money: 1,500				
Childrearing, Education	550		Toys: 50			
Culture	800	*Fujin Club*: 185		Movie: 160		
Entertainment	300	Postcard: 50				Phone: 10
Health, Hygiene	700	Laundry: 30	Bathing: 40		Haircut: 100	Bathing: 40
Taxes, Donations	300					
Savings, Insurance	1,500					
Expenses Total	15,000	2,007	313	430	630	350
Amount on hand		12,993	12,680	12,550	11,920	11,570

This *kakeibo*, like most of the ones Kimiko filled out, has a rather sophisticated structure. Each column includes the day of the week and the date at the top so that the user does not need to write this information in. Each day has two columns—one labeled "summary" and the other labeled "cost." The format of the 1955 *kakeibo* differed significantly from the 1954 one in that it had thirteen pre-printed rows of expenses, including clothing, entertainment, health, etc. The vast majority of space, however, is allotted to food items. The row labeled "Side Dish Fees" has the most space devoted to it, indicating that the editors who worked for *Ladies' Club* believed that k*akeibo* owners

bought more side-dish ingredients than anything else. Three other food-related expense rows are printed below the Side Dish Fees row: Staple Foods, Seasonings, and Luxury Items.[190]

Not all women filled out their *kakeibo* as diligently as Table 4 depicts. A survey conducted in 1956 by the Women's and Minors' Bureau (*Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnenkyoku*) asked women who lived in four different areas, a large city (Tokyo), a mid-sized city (Fujisawa, Kanagawa), as well as a rural (Tatomi, Yamanashi) and fishing town (Hiraiso, Kobe), about *kakeibo*. The Women's and Minors' Bureau collected a total of 944 surveys, a majority of which came from women in Tokyo.[191] When asked about whether or not they kept a *kakeibo*, 38% (Tokyo), 48% (Fujisawa), 35% (Tatomi), and 26% (Hiraiso) of women said they did so regularly. 8%, 4%, 9%, and 4% stated that they used it only for big purchases, and 14%, 9%, 11%, and 10% replied that they used it sometimes. Based on these numbers, it might seem that committed *kakeibo* usage depended on where one lived, but there is one more important factor that affected *kakeibo* keeping. According to the surveying group, housewives in their twenties, like Kimiko, used *kakeibo* both more religiously and universally than housewives in their fifties. Furthermore, housewives who had graduated from middle school or above were more likely to use a *kakeibo* than those who had only attended elementary school. While many women did not fill out their kakeibo as thoroughly as Kimiko or the example provided in

---

[190] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:2-1, "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 30nen han* (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan), 15.

[191] Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnenkyoku, *Shufu no seikatsu to iken* (Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnenkyoku, 1958), 1.

Table 4, in Fujisawa, almost fifty percent of the surveyed women wrote in their *kakeibo* regularly, so a significant number of women did earnestly fill out *kakeibo*.[192]

The format of Kimiko's 1956 *kakeibo* resembled the 1955 version, except that the publisher, *Ladies' Club*, added an additional row to the "Staple Food" section. This suggests that the publisher had responded to the fact that purchasers continued to buy staple foods other than rice, such as noodles and bread. Kimiko's 1956 *kakeibo* also included a write-in box attached to the bottom of each calendar date. Kimiko occasionally recorded details about her life in these boxes, such as when her family took a trip.[193] In her 1957 *kakeibo*—the structure of which greatly resembled the one from 1956—Kimiko wrote on January 31 that she went to the hospital to give birth to her first child, Yoshiko.[194] The biggest takeaway from Kimiko's 1955, 1956, and 1957 *kakeibo*, however, is that the publishers created an expense table that emphasized the traditional side dish and staple food meal structure. Over the next few years, this changed.

Kimiko's 1958 *kakeibo*, decorated with two Scottish terriers on the cover, was a throwback to the one she owned in 1954. Whereas the 1954 *kakeibo* had only five columns labeled, the 1958 version had fourteen columns and write-in boxes included on every page. The columns, however, did not include a lot of detail. One column labeled "Food Expenses" covering all food items—side dishes and staple foods alike. Published by *Life and Home Housewives* (*Shufu to Seikatsusha*), this 1958 *kakeibo* serves as a reminder that *kakeibo* came in different styles. Kimiko's selection of *kakeibo* do not

---

[192]Ibid., 28.

[193] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:3-1, "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 31nen han*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan), 15.

[194] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:4-1, "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 32nen han*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan), 15.

represent all *kakeibo* kept by all women at the time, but certainly her collection gives us a sampling of the variety that existed.

Kimiko's 1959 *kakeibo* is the most revealing because Kimiko filled in her own food-expense categories. Her 1959 *kakeibo* included an already labeled column for "Food Expenses" that was subdivided into six columns that were deliberately left blank by the publisher, *The Housewife's Companion*. Kimiko added the following categories: "Staple Foods," "Vegetables/Seaweed," "Fish/Meat," "Seasonings," "Luxury Items," and "Total Cost." The structure that Kimiko set up in this *kakeibo* informs the reader of how she thought about her food purchases. The way she labeled her food expenses differed from the way she recorded items in her previous *kakeibo* in that she did not organize her items into the traditional "Staple Food" and "Side Dish" structure. While she did still use "Staple Foods" as one of the categories, she thought about her side dishes in terms of ingredients. This is indicative of a broader, yet gradual, shift in which *kakeibo* users and publishers constructed a modified way of thinking about meal planning. Kimiko did not plan her family's meals with just meal structure in mind; rather, she incorporated nutrition knowledge and specific ingredients into her meal plans. The categories she created demonstrate the thought she put into including carbohydrates (staple foods), proteins, vegetables, spices, and oils into the food she prepared for her family.[195]

In the *kakeibo* Kimiko used the following year, 1960, the publisher, *The Housewife's Companion*, printed almost the exact same categories that Kimiko had written into her 1959 account book. The categories included: "Staple Foods," "Meat, Fish, etc," "Vegetables," "Flavorings," and "Luxury Items." The only noticeable

---

[195] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:6-1, "*Nikki kenyō kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

difference is that Kimiko had written in "Seaweed" next to her "Vegetables" category.[196] According to the editors of Kimiko's 1960 *kakeibo*, they had taken their customers' feedback to heart when creating the new version. The editors even went as far as to include a question and answer section on the instruction page. One of the questions specifically addressed the food expense columns:

> Q: "Dealing with food expenses is the most vexing problem for housewives. Is there a method I can use to record in my *kakeibo* that would allow me to easily see whether or not my meals are nutritionally balanced?" "Is there an easy way for me to keep my spending limit on side dishes in the range of 200 yen?" "What if I would like to avoid spending money on eating out?"[197]

In answering the first question, the editors provided a nutrition table on the instruction page and an explanation of how the food expense columns coordinated with the table:

> Staple foods (the source of calories), Fish, Meat, Etc. (eggs, milk, beans are included here, all items that contain protein), Vegetables (Seaweed is also included, the source of vitamins and minerals) are the general classifications, but if you would like to divide the sources of protein into animal proteins and vegetable proteins, you could use one of the blank columns to record vegetable proteins (beans and other items). Or, possibly, you could examine "typical vegetables" and devote the blank column to one of these items.[198]

The editors also suggested that *kakeibo* owners take advantage of the blank column to calculate side dish and eating out expenses. This question and answer page reveals that *kakeibo*, especially the detailed kind that Kimiko tended to use, served more than a budgetary purpose. In this case, the editors of the *kakeibo* clearly saw a connection between expenses and nutrition, and they specifically designed the *kakeibo* to enable users to employ it for both purposes. Furthermore, the instructions focused on a nutrition

[196] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:7-1, "*1960 nikki kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[197] Ibid., 2.

[198] Ibid., 2-3.

and ingredient-based approach to meal planning rather than meal structure. This question and answer page also demonstrates that the idea of a side dish still persisted, yet, the editors did not decide to include it as a category, instead leaving it as an option for women to fill in. Additionally, both the record-keeping pages of *kakeibo* and contemporary women's magazines still discussed "side dish" recipes at length. Side dishes did not vanish altogether; they simply did not exist alongside the ingredient-based approach to meal planning in the record-keeping pages of *kakeibo* that Kimiko used in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Kimiko's 1961 to 1964 *kakeibo*, all published by *The Housewife's Companion*, followed a similar format. The *kakeibo* she acquired in these years also included small boxes attached to specific calendar dates. Kimiko occasionally jotted down recipes in these boxes, and, in 1964, it looks as if Kimiko utilized these boxes to plan her meals during certain months of the year.[199]

Now that we have examined the different categorization schema of surveys conducted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Economic Planning Agency, as well as Kimiko's *kakeibo*, it is important to note that both the classification of food items and the placement of specific foods items in particular classifications was not necessarily intuitive. For example, sometimes Kimiko recorded dried sardines in the "Fish" column, while at other times she placed them in the "Seasonings" column. Kimiko typically considered fruits, such as apples, to be "Luxury Items." Even relatively common foods could fit into multiple categories depending on myriad factors, such as preparation style

[199] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:8-1, "*1961 nikki kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:9-1, "*62 nikki kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:10-1, "*1963 nikki kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:11-1, "*1964 nikki kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

(e.g. dried sardines, which are fish, but are often used to flavor Japanese foods), or price (in the case of fruits). The way consumers thought about food items, therefore, could differ from person to person, and from government agencies. A chart that compares the classification schema of *kakeibo* and government agencies is listed below as Table 5.

Table 5
Food classifications

Kimiko's *Kakeibo* (1955)[200]	The Ministry of Health and Welfare (1957)[201]	The Economic Planning Agency (1957)[202]	Kimiko's *Kakeibo* (1959)[203]
Staple Foods	Grains	Staple Foods	Staple Foods
Side Dishes	Types of Nuts	Non-Staple Foods	Vegetables/Seaweed
Seasonings	Types of Potatoes	Seafood	Fish/Meat
Luxury Items	Types of Sugar	Meat, Milk, and Eggs	Seasonings
	Fats and Oils	Flavorings	Luxury items
	Types of Pulse	Alcohol and Other	
	Marine Products		
	Animal Meat		
	Eggs		
	Dairy and Dairy Products		
	Beta-Carotene Vegetables		
	Citrus Fruits and Tomatoes		
	Fruit		
	Other Vegetables		
	Dried Vegetables		
	Seaweed		
	Pickled Vegetables		
	Flavorings and Luxury Items		

[200] Data displayed in Table 5 is from: Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:2-1, "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 30nen han*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[201] Data displayed in Table 5 is from: Kōseishō Kōshū Eisei Kyoku, *Kokumin eiyō hakusho.*

[202] Data displayed in Table 5 is from: Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, *Kokumin seikatsu no genjō* (Tokyo, Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, 1957) 117-119.

[203] Data displayed in Table 5 is from: Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:6-1, "*Nikki kenyō kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Looking at Kimiko's 1955 *kakeibo*, it is clear that she did meal planning strictly with the traditional meal structure in mind. Her *kakeibo* included only four categories, and the way she recorded expenses centered on the "Staple Food" and "Side Dish" meal structure. In Kimiko's 1959 *kakeibo*, however, that structure vanished. She continued to use "Staple Food" as a category, but she *eliminated* the "Side Dish" category and replaced it with ingredient and nutrition-based groupings, such as "Vegetables/Seaweed" and "Fish/Meat." The meal structure approach to food, therefore, ceded to the ingredient-based, nutrition approach to food. *Kakeibo* publishers followed suit, and from 1960 to 1964 the *kakeibo* Kimiko purchased did not include the "Side Dish" category in the record-keeping pages of the *kakeibo*. Overtime, however, this also changed. In 1965, the "Side Dish" category returned, but not in the same way that it had appeared in 1955. In 1955, Kimiko's *kakeibo* only listed "Staple Foods" and "Side Dishes." In 1965, *kakeibo* publishers printed both categories, but they included various subcategories of ingredients. In Kimiko's 1965 *kakeibo*, published by *The Housewife's Companion,* the categories printed in the *kakeibo* included: "Staple Foods," "Meat, Fish, etc.," "Vegetables," "Eating Out," "Flavorings," and "Luxury Items." But, both the "Meat, Fish, Etc.," and "Vegetables" categories were subcategorized under a "Side Dish" section, which also included a "Total Side Dish Expense" row. From 1965 forward, new ingredients and nutrition-based approaches to meal planning had been fully incorporated into Japan's traditional staple food and side dish meal structure. The nutrition and meal structure approaches to Japanese food converged—and they did so in the pages of *kakeibo*. Despite the new possibilities introduced in the 1950s and 1960s, an examination of *kakeibo*,makes clear that purchaser consumers like Kimiko played a role in the

conceptualization and execution of Japan's transformed, yet still traditional, postwar cuisine.

Although this dissertation focuses on Kimikos' *kakeibo* from the years 1954 to 1964, it is worth briefly mentioning the design of one of her later *kakeibo*. In Kimiko's 1972 *kakeibo*, designed by Kimiko herself, and published by Seikyō Co-op, the food categories are arranged in the following way: Staple Foods: "Rice," "Bread," and "Noodles." Side Dishes: "Seafood," "Meat," "Milk and Eggs," "Vegetables," "Dried Foods and Seaweed," "Processed Foods," and "Seasonings." Luxury Items: "Sweets," "Fruit," "Alcohol," "Drinks," "Eating Out." With the exception of one, all of her subsequent *kakeibo* use this structure.[204] As time passed, the way publishers categorized food in *kakeibo* became increasingly intricate, especially in comparison to the 1950s and 1960s *kakeibo* that Kimiko used. The method of food categorization in her *kakeibo*, however, plateaued in the 1970s, as they all looked the same up to 2002. A chart comparing Kimiko's 1965 and 1972 *kakeibo* is listed below as Table 6.

Table 6

Kimiko's 1965 and 1972 *kakeibo*

Kimiko's *Kakeibo* (1965)[205]	Kimiko's *Kakeibo* (1972)[206]
Staple Foods	**Staple Foods:**
Side Dishes:	-Rice
-Fish, Meat, Etc.	-Bread
-Vegetables	-Noodles

[204] Kimiko's final *kakeibo*, from 2002, is the only one that does have "Side Dish" included in its categorization schema. Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:49-1, "*Seikyō no kakeibo: 2002: nenpan"* (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[205] Data displayed in Table 6 is from: Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:12-1, "*65 nikki kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[206] Data displayed in Table 6 is from: Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:19-1, "*Seikyō no kakeibo: Shōwa 47 nen*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Eating Out	Side Dishes:
Flavorings	-Seafood
Luxury Items	-Meat
	-Milk, Eggs, Dairy
	-Vegetables
	-Dried Foods, Seaweed
	-Processed Foods
	-Flavorings
	Luxury Items:
	-Sweets
	-Fruit
	-Alcohol
	-Drinks
	-Eating Out

While Chapter Five will discuss this in greater detail, a brief discussion of the incorporation of Western and Chinese cuisines into the traditional Japanese meal structure is relevant here. Food historian Ishige Naomichi argues that the traditional Japanese meal structure discussed above—a meal consisting of one staple dish and side dishes—still persists to this day; and, the structure is in fact so sturdy that Western and Chinese dishes have quite cleverly been brought into the fold. In 1972 Ishige conducted a survey of the eating habits of fifty families. Setting aside meals that combined the staple food and side dishes into one dish (sushi, noodles, sandwiches, etc), the respondents ate only one staple per meal. They did not, say, eat bread and rice together in one meal—they always ate just one or the other. [207]

Additionally, the families Ishige interviewed tended to follow a pattern that allowed for certain foods to be eaten with bread, and certain foods to be eaten with rice. If a member of the family ate a food item with bread, that food item was of Western

[207] Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food*, 168.

origin, such as butter and jam. Chinese and Japanese foods, on the other hand, were never eaten with bread. Respondents never even ate bread with green tea—they always ate their bread with coffee, black tea, juice, or milk. Rice was the most flexible staple food and was eaten alongside Chinese, Japanese, and Western side dishes.[208] Ishige characterizes this trait of the modern Japanese meal structure in the following way: "Hence rather than the Westernization or Sinicization of Japanese home cooking, we should think in terms of the Japanization of foods of Western and Chinese origin."[209] Although Ishige's sample size was small, he insists this eating style is quite common throughout Japan to this day.

Yet, it is important to note that the agents of change are notably missing from Ishige's argument, even the phrase "the Japanization of foods" points to this ambiguous, agentless historical process that occludes the work of individuals. This chapter highlights how changes, perceptively identified by Ishige, occurred incrementally. Certainly, the traditional Japanese meal structure did not adapt all by itself to the proliferation of new cuisines and ingredients in modern Japan. Examining the *kakeibo* of women provides additional insight into how this change occurred incrementally over time—and more importantly, how the intellectual labor of women was integral to maintaining the traditional meal structure while integrating new cuisines and food items. Many purchaser consumers used the same exact *kakeibo* as Kimiko, therefore, looking at the structure of Kimiko's *kakeibo* can help us make sense of how purchaser consumers "Japanized" Western and Chinese cuisines.

[208] Ibid., 169.

[209] Ibid., 170.

The way change unfolded from the perspective of the consumer was different than that of the government. In the 1950s and 1960s, it seemed possible that the traditional meal structure of Japan could change and veer towards a more nutrition, ingredient-based meal structure. Certainly, meal-planning alternatives presented themselves at the time. But, instead, purchaser consumers upheld the traditional structure of the Japanese meal and adapted new cuisines, ingredients, and nutrition knowledge to the structure, rather than the other way around. The ways in which the Japanese diet changed during the postwar are just as intriguing as the ways it did not change. New ingredients, cuisines, and nutrition knowledge were added to the mix, but rather than transforming the meal structure altogether, women adapted these changes to fit tradition.

Conclusion: Balanced Budget, Balanced Diet, and Kimiko's Kakeibo

As Japanese food historians have argued, macro-level agents and factors—the state, the military, and economics—played a significant role in the history of modern foodways and in promoting knowledge about food, such as nutrition science and its practical application to daily life. This chapter does not work to dismiss this argument, but to complicate it by examining micro-level agents and their tools, such as Kimiko and her *kakeibo*. Furthermore, agents at the meso level, such as women's organizations and women's magazines, delegated the primary purchaser consumer role to women like Kimiko. As we have examined in this chapter, women's magazines, women's organizations, and the government all urged women to take charge of their family's finances as the primary purchaser consumers of their homes, and to use *kakeibo* as their

tools for success. The wife as the primary purchaser consumer in the family, furthermore, was not just a gender ideal, but also a widespread gender norm.

Keeping in mind that many women acted as the primary purchaser consumers, and therefore bought food for their households, Kimiko's *kakeibo* becomes a fruitful source to examine the history of postwar culinary change from the perspective of the purchaser consumer. With the help of contemporary government surveys, this chapter argues that multiple approaches to food—in addition to new staple ingredients (bread, noodles), side dish ingredients (meat, dairy), and international cuisines (Western, Chinese)—circulated in the postwar; and, reading Kimiko's *kakeibo* helps us understand how women put such approaches to practical use when it came to planning and shopping for meals on a day to day basis. Additionally, *kakeibo* editors listened to the feedback from their customers and worked in counsel with women to design the most pragmatic *kakeibo*. Individual women, in turn, chose the style of *kakeibo* they wanted to use each year. Women could also make even the most intricate *kakeibo* their own —whether by adopting an old *kakeibo* years later or by customizing a new one by writing in their own desired categories. In Kimiko's case, later down the road, in 1972, she literally created her own *kakeibo* for Seikyō Co-op. In sum, individual purchaser consumers had agency in purchasing, using, and in some special cases, even designing *kakeibo*.

From the micro level up to the macro level, from government organizations down to community groups and individual women, different dialogues and views on foods spread and were in conversation with each other. Women's organizations and women's magazines informed women about the government's goals for improving the health of the Japanese people through nutritious eating habits, but the government surveys we have

examined also relied on sources like *kakeibo* to learn about what Japanese citizens consumed. While meso and macro-level factors played a significant role, at the end of the day, the burden of practical, everyday output, mental and physical, fell to women like Kimiko. The *kakeibo* Kimiko used tell a story of new possibilities for culinary change in the postwar. The current, yet traditional, meal eaten in homes across Japan today was not an inevitability, but an innovation on the part of women who skillfully learned how to incorporate new foods and nutrition knowledge into Japan's traditional meal structure.

Allow me to conclude by returning to the article discussed in the introduction of this chapter. Namely, Fukuda Toshiko's piece in 1951, written for *The Housewife's Companion*, in which she argued that writing in one's *kakeibo* every day was integral to proper budget management. While budgeting certainly was an important part of keeping *kakeibo*, according to Fukuda, it was not their only function. She also argued that one had to set aside enough money not to merely feed one's family, but to provide healthy food for one's family. Kimiko's *kakeibo* presents us with an opportunity to see not only how Kimiko carried out the goals set by Fukuda and others for individual women, but also how Kimiko aimed to serve nutritious meals within an aesthetically balanced meal structure that represented traditional Japanese cuisine. As their kakeibo illustrate, Japanese housewives did not merely seek to balance the nutritional value of the meals they served, as well as their budgets—they strove as well to balance tradition and change.

CHAPTER IV

PURCHASER CONSUMERS AND USER CONSUMERS IN THE ERA OF HOME ELECTRIFICATION

Japan is home to a number of museums devoted to the history of everyday life. Some of these museums promote incredibly well-defined historical narratives. Take the immaculate Edo-Tokyo Museum located in Sumida, Tokyo, for example. The museum has a well-marked route laid out for visitors, with informative placards posted about every foot or so. The layout of the postwar exhibit encourages a narrative of historical progress, one of the "bright life" that took over in the mid-1950s and the new, middle-class family that accompanied it. Any bright life exhibit would not be complete without a display of three special household appliances—the washing machine, refrigerator, and black-and-white television—the so-called "three sacred treasures" that became symbols of middle-class consumption during the bright life years. On this front, the Edo-Tokyo Museum did not disappoint, as the three regalia were seated on well-lit display risers, just like royalty.[210]

Not all museums in Japan share the same narrative, however, and some have no narrative at all. The Shōwa Era Lifestyle Museum in Kitanagoya is a good example of this. Tucked away on the third floor of a library, one enters the museum with little fuss and little direction. Unlike the Edo-Tokyo Museum, the Shōwa Era Lifestyle Museum contains only a handful of display panels with text. Instead, the museum is an eclectic and relatively disorganized collection of household appliances and myriad other

[210] Edo-Tokyo Museum, Sumida, Tokyo, 2014.

examples of material culture. This ragtag assortment of items has no historical narrative attached to them. Upon entering the museum, rather than encountering the familiar "three sacred treasures," visitors confront a wall of small household appliances mostly comprised of different types of rice cookers. As visitors pass through the charming one-room museum, they eventually find washing machines, refrigerators, and black-and-white televisions, but these are interspersed with countless electrical appliances and kitchen supplies. In the Shōwa Era Lifestyle Museum, household goods appear as equals, no one more sacred than the others.[211]

The bright life narrative of the mid-1950s and early-1960s, conceptualized then and perpetuated to the present, is a history dominated by marketers, advertisers, and electronics companies. Historian Simon Partner characterized the bright life vision in the following way:

> The "bright life" …was a common shorthand for an ill-defined but widely held set of attributes. The term implied a level of affluence sufficient to transcend the daily struggle for survival. It implied a "modern" home with a middle-class standard of living. It implied a nuclear family with a housewife at its center. And it implied ownership of certain talismanic possessions, notably electrical goods such as a television, washing machine, and refrigerator.[212]

The "bright life" described a utopic world—but not the real world in which progress actually lived.

As Partner, Yoshimi Shunya, and Ueno Chizuko have discussed, the housewife emerged as a subject of significant interest in the "bright life" years.[213] Ad campaigns featuring the middle-class housewife surrounded by household appliances, including the

[211] Shōwa Era Lifestyle Museum, Kita-Nagoya, 2016.

[212] Partner, *Assembled in Japan*, 137.

[213] Partner, *Assembled in Japan*; Yoshimi, "'Made in Japan;'" Ueno, *The Modern Family in Japan*.

talismanic “three sacred treasures,” permeated Japanese culture at the time. These advertisements, especially the ones directed towards men, often included language about the ways in which household appliances allayed the burden of housewives’ domestic labor. Yoshimi has concluded that such advertisements were intended to persuade housewives to purchase electric appliances and utilize them in their homes.[214]

While the bright life narrative may be a useful way to conceptualize Japan’s postwar economic and technological development, its cursory and self-serving exploitation of women’s domestic labor is arresting. The bright life, from the perspectives of marketers and advertisers, was never about liberating women from domestic labor and scholars need to stop humoring this false narrative. Despite the imagery of housewives that appeared throughout the bright life years, the bright life was not about housewives. Advertisers used housewives as emotive props to sell new and expensive electronics, and any concern about women’s labor was superficial.

This chapter calls for a new historical interpretation of postwar household appliance acquisition that falls between the popular “bright life” story perpetuated by the Edo-Tokyo Museum and the lesser known, structureless approach taken by places like the Shōwa Era Lifestyle Museum. A revised vision of consumerism needs to elevate women’s voices. With this in mind, I propose here to place women as consumers and laborers at the center of the bright life narrative, and attribute value to kitchen appliances based on whether or not they relieved women’s domestic labor.

This chapter takes up two forms of labor: purchase and use. I argue that in the 1950s and 1960s, Japanese housewives did not passively “enjoy” time-saving appliances, but rather that they proactively learned about new appliances, frugally purchased them,

[214] Yoshimi, “‘Made in Japan,’” 160.

and incorporated appliances into their daily life routines. In essence, women oversaw the diffusion of domestic kitchen technologies in postwar Japan. To aid in this analysis, again I utilize Lizabeth Cohen's framework for the "purchaser consumer." Cohen defines the purchaser consumer as someone who contributes to her society by exercising her purchasing power.[215] Here, I build upon Cohen's scholarship by coining a related term—the user consumer—to articulate the labor that went into the process of purchasing and integrating household appliances into the kitchen. I define the "user consumer" as someone who contributes to her society by learning how to use new products and to incorporate them into daily life. A housewife's purchasing power did not end after she bought a new appliance, I argue, because she took on the additional role of user consumer. User consumers were integral to the diffusion of new household appliances, and in acting as both the primary purchaser consumers and user consumers of their households, Japanese women determined the appearance and functionality of the modern Japanese kitchen.

In terms of attention received in women's magazines and increasing rates of use in households, two kitchen appliances were most prominent in the eyes of purchaser and user consumers: the electric refrigerator, one of the three "sacred treasures," and the humble rice cooker. Regarding these two technologies, this chapter argues that despite its beloved place in the bright life history, the electric refrigerator needs to be reevaluated. In terms of labor in the kitchen, the mid-1950s and 1960s electric refrigerators did not have much to offer user consumers. While we might be able to consider the refrigerator a money-saving technology, it was not a labor-saving technology. In its stead, scholars should consider the significance of the rice cooker from the perspective of purchaser and

[215] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 18-19.

user consumers. Some scholars have referred to the rice cooker as a symbol of women's liberation, and as such, it should take its rightful place as a talisman of the bright life.[216]

This chapter bases its argument on the depictions and appearances of refrigerators and rice cookers in the popular women's magazine, *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no Tomo*). Articles in *The Housewife's Companion* discuss the intricate, almost mundane details that user consumers needed to know when operating new domestic technologies. These articles shed light on the gendered dynamics of the introduction of domestic technologies into households, providing insight into the good and bad points of the refrigerator from the perspective of the first generation of user consumers. This chapter also utilizes surveys conducted by the Institute for Finance and Labor (*Ginkō rōdō kenkyūkai chōsabu*), the Economic Planning Agency (*Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku*), and the Institute for Finance and Labor (*Ginkō rōdō kenkyūkai chōsabu*) to provide data on household penetration rates, consumer feedback, and information on the costs of household appliances at the time.

This chapter begins by providing some historical background to the postwar bright life. Next, it examines the history of food preservation and refrigerators in Japan. Then, it explores articles from *The Housewife's Companion* to contextualize the amount of labor asked of women in purchasing and integrating refrigerators into kitchens across the country. Next, the chapter shifts gears to look at the history of rice cooking labor in Early Modern (1600-1867) and Modern Japan, leading into a discussion of the significance of the rice cooker. Here, it highlights the peculiar way in which it was advertised to women during the bright life years. Finally, the chapter ends with a discussion of electric refrigerators and rice cookers' impacts on women's lives.

[216] Koizumi Kazuko, *Shōwa daidokoro natsukashi zukan* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1998), 114.

Towards the Bright Life

The history of obtaining and using gas and electric power in Japan dates back to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Gas was used for streetlights as early as 1872, and began being used for cooking and heating in homes in the last few years of the twentieth century.[217] Nonetheless, in the early twentieth century, most consumers still used gas predominantly for lighting. For example, in 1907 gas usage demands broke down in the following way: light: 57%; fuel 14%; power 19%; streets 3%. At the time, out of 40,000 households in Tokyo, one out of nine homes used gas for lighting and one out of one hundred households used gas for cooking.[218] The electric power industry followed the gas industry in Japan, expanding rapidly near the end of the Meiji era (1868-1912) and throughout the Taishō period (1912-1926).[219] Manufacturers made both electric and gas appliances, but electric appliances gained the upper hand with the economic boom during World War I. This pattern continued in the aftermath of the Great Kantō Earthquake (1923), as electricity appeared to be safer than gas following the colossal loss of life from post-quake fires caused, in part, by broken gas lines.[220] Furthermore, the generation of a large supply of electric power incentivized electricity companies to popularize electricity in households. Like gas, initially most homes used electricity simply for lighting at night, but electric companies wished to see appliances

---

[217] Kosuge Keiko, *Nippon daidokoro bunkashi* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1998), 57-58.

[218] Kosuge, *Nippon daidokoro bunkashi*, 63.

[219] Yoshimi, "'Made in Japan,'" 153.

[220] Kosuge, *Nippon daidokoro bunkashi*, 162.

that would stimulate daylight energy consumption. As a result, electronics companies began making household appliances of all sorts: fans, stoves, irons, heaters, and so on.[221]

The attention devoted to household appliances came to a temporary halt during the war, as bureaucrats pushed technology companies towards the development of military and defense innovations.[222] After the war ended, business leaders, politicians, and ordinary people returned their attention to household appliances. Japan's top economic planners envisioned industrial science as the key to Japan's revival. In 1949, the formation of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) brought such planners together, in part, to help make Japanese companies competitive in the international market. MITI emphasized dependency on other nations' technological expertise, especially in the realm of the electrical goods industry.[223] In the early 1950s, dozens of Japanese companies purchased MITI-approved foreign patents and license fees. Electrical goods companies benefited from this significantly, as their purchases grew their enterprises. Historian Chalmers Johnson identifies MITI's golden age as 1952-1961 and argues that MITI unquestionably played a central role in creating Japan's economic miracle.[224]

Alas, all the new household appliances launched by electronics companies, with the help of MITI, were all for naught if Japanese consumers did not buy them. After a visit to the United States in the early 1950s, leading Japanese business leaders concluded

---

[221] Yoshimi, "'Made in Japan,'" 152-153.

[222] Partner, *Assembled in* Japan, 34-42.

[223] Ibid., 54-61.

[224] Partner, *Assembled in* Japan, 109-111; Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle*; For more on women during Japan's economic miracle, see Trager, *Letters from Sachiko*; Mary Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

that one of the major keys to the development of a successful electrical goods industry in Japan was to unlock the potential of the Japanese consumer. Business leaders set out to replicate a middle-class consumer culture like that of the contemporary United States.[225] One way to fuel such a mass consumer culture in Japan was to popularize a new slogan that not only embodied optimism and modernity, but also promoted specific ideals and consumer products. Although initially coined together in conjunction with Japan's new constitution *(Atarashii Kenpō, Akarui* Seikatsu, New Constitution, Bright Life), the wildly popular phrase the "bright life" became associated with a new middle-class standard of living.[226] This included the repackaging and rebranding of the Japanese family. The housewife and her salary man husband became the new normal—despite the fact that neither figure accurately reflected the reality of most people's lives in the 1950s.

The "three sacred treasures" of the 1950s became integral components of this new, bright life. The origin of the application of the phrase the "three sacred treasures" to household appliances is unclear; however, it broadly began to appear in print as the economy improved, from 1955 on. The phrase "three sacred treasures," which traditionally refers to the three sacred regalia of the emperor (a sword, jewels, and a mirror), initially reinforced nationalist discourse. The phrase's new use successfully combined emperor-centric discourse with the trappings of the newly defined modern, middle-class family and modern, middle-class home.[227]

As Japan's economy improved, business leaders began pushing a hegemonic vision of the middle-class family in order to produce a middle-class consumer culture.

---

[225] Partner, *Assembled in* Japan, 61-64.

[226] Dower, *Embracing Defeat,* 402; Partner, *Assembled in Japan*, 137.

[227] Yoshimi, "'Made in Japan,'" 155-156.

The components of the new middle class included a nuclear family, comprised of a salary man husband, housewife, and children. This middle-class family's home included the newest cutting-edge technologies, like a washing machine, television, and refrigerator. All of this can be summarized broadly as the "bright life," and based on the resonating imagery of the late 1950s and early 1960s in Japan today, business leaders were successful in constructing this new vision of the postwar family. Despite the proliferation of advertisements in the 1950s and 1960s, however, one of the sacred treasures, the refrigerator, had a longer history in Japan.

Food Preservation and the Refrigerator

Food preservation technology was one of the scientific advances felt around the world in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Traditionally, Japanese food preservation methods included brining, pickling, and canning to produce shelf-stable products. To increase the shelf life of some temperature-sensitive foods eaten fresh, such as fruits and vegetables, many families placed them in pots and suspended them inside of wells. This method decreased the temperature of foods by about sixteen degrees Celsius. Running cold water over food items was another time-tested technique. Additionally, some families built special food shelves underneath their sinks or water tanks to take advantage of the coolness provided by these water fixtures. Storing food items on these shelves helped cool them down by approximately ten degrees Celsius.[228]

---

[228] "*Katei reizō no subete ja kara reizōko made," Shufu no tomo,* June 1958, 182.

Different places in and around the traditional Japanese home also served historically as spaces to preserve foodstuffs. The *itanoma*, a room with a wooden floor, often had a movable floorboard that provided an additional spot to store firewood, charcoal, pickles, sake, soy sauce, and other goods.[229] Since this storage spot was located underneath the wooden floor, it typically stored foods at a temperature fifteen degrees Celsius cooler than other spots in the kitchen, and therefore could be used to increase the shelf-life of fresh food items as well.[230] While the Japanese used methods like these to keep food fresh, there was little historical precedent for the modern refrigerator.

The United States was largely responsible for inventing most of what Jonathan Rees calls the world's modern "cold chain," or the vast infrastructure that transported cold foods from their point of origin to their final destination—the consumer's refrigerator. Since the United States has historically developed and exported most of this cold chain, Rees affectionately refers to it as the "Refrigeration Nation."[231] American consumers began purchasing ice refrigerators in the 1870s and by the early twentieth century most Americans owned ice refrigerators.[232] The first electric refrigerator went on the market in the United States in 1914. Between the late-1910s and early-1920s, as the electric refrigerator became more affordable, American consumers gradually transitioned

[229] Koizumi, *Shōwa daidokoro natsukashi zukan*, 21.

[230] "*Katei reizō no subete ja kara reizōko made,"* 182-183. Families also stored foods in pits near their homes, and, more recently, during and after the end of World War Two, they even used air raid shelters. This technique was especially useful for storing vegetables. Unfortunately, rats and other vermin also enjoyed making use of such pits and air raid shelters, rendering these methods only marginally hygienic.

[231] Jonathan Rees, *Refrigeration Nation: A History of Ice, Appliances, and Enterprise in America* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013).

[232] Rees, *Refrigeration Nation*, 137.

from the ice refrigerator to the electric refrigerator. Most ice refrigerator manufacturers in the United States went out of business in the 1930s.[233]

The ice refrigerator was first unveiled in Japan during the Meiji period at the 1903 Fifth National Industrial Exhibition in Osaka, and it went on sale domestically in 1908. Traditionally, ice refrigerators were made of wood and with an upper cabinet designed to take a large block of ice and a lower cabinet meant for food items. Users purchased blocks of ice from local vendors who towed them on a trailer attached to a bicycle.[234] Originally, fish vendors who worked at riverside markets were the primary users of the ice refrigerator. This new technology did not catch on as quickly within the general population, since most Japanese families in the Meiji, Taishō, and early Shōwa periods bought fish and other perishable foods on a daily basis. Additionally, as one might expect, the ice refrigerator was very expensive, at first, such that wealthy families alone would have been able to afford them in the first place.

The electric refrigerator followed the ice refrigerator, and was one of the many electrical appliances manufactured during the Taishō period (1912-1926) in Japan.[235] The electric refrigerator differed from the ice refrigerator in that it did not require ice to cool the space inside. Instead, it used a compressor. Usually located at the bottom or top of the refrigerator, the compressor—the "heart" of the electric refrigerator—heats a refrigerator coolant. The condenser, located on the back of the fridge, expels the heat, and the pressurized coolant circulates through pipes located on the back. As it travels, the

[233] Ibid., 137.

[234] Koizumi, *Shōwa daidokoro natsukashi zukan*, 15.

[235] Ibid., 17.

coolant absorbs and expels heat from the inside of the fridge. This process repeats as needed under the control of a thermostat to maintain a uniform temperature inside the refrigerator.[236] Like the ice refrigerator, the electric refrigerator was too expensive for most consumers in the first half of the twentieth century. It was not until the bright life years, when families had more economic resources, that owning one became a possibility.

Refrigerators, Purchaser Consumers, and User Consumers

Since the electric refrigerator was one of the bright life's sacred treasures, information and advertisements flooded the pages of Japan's popular women's magazine, *The Housewife's Companion*. Women, as purchaser consumers, played a major role in the postwar economy, and therefore, had a say in the items that ended up in their homes, including refrigerators. Chapter Three argued that, while not all women necessarily took charge of their family's budgets, the government, women's groups, and women's magazines all strongly promoted the well-known and highly promoted gender ideal of women as the primary purchaser consumers for their homes. Many of the articles and advertisements from *The Housewife's Companion* cited in Chapter Three consistently demonstrated confidence in the Japanese female consumer's ability to be a competent purchaser of expensive household appliances. This section will expand on this point,

[236] "*Kai Umai*," *Shufu no tomo*, May 1961, 255-256. Gas refrigerators also appeared on the market, albeit later down the road. The liquids inside the gas refrigerator follow the same scientific principles as alcohol. If alcohol is applied to one's skin it feels cold because the alcohol takes away the surrounding heat as it evaporates. Similarly, within the gas fridge's generator, an aqueous solution of ammonia is heated by gas and is turned into steam. It then travels into the condenser and returns to a liquid form. The liquid ammonia then mixes with hydrogen gas and evaporates. When evaporation occurs, the surrounding heat is taken away and the temperature decreases, effectively cooling the inside of the fridge. "*Reizōko no kaikata, tsukaikata,*" *Shufu no tomo*, June 1956, 220-221.

giving specific examples from refrigerator articles that ran in *The Housewife's Companion* during the bright life years.

First, however, it is important to keep in mind that Japanese women encountered barriers when it came to accessing funds to make large purchases. In Japan, finance companies typically only lent money to consumers with salaried employment, which disqualified many women. However, some financial services were accessible to women. For example, one finance company, Marui, lent money directly to housewives. Additionally, small electrical retailers typically allowed all of their customers, male and female alike, to sign up for credit plans.[237]

Women could also purchase new household appliances from door-to-door salesmen. The persistent door-to-door salesman was a common sight in the 1950s and 1960s, and these figures played a significant role in dispersing new technologies. Popular culture even captured this moment in history with the popularity of the "*Tora-san*" movies. *Otoko wa tsurai yo* ("It's Tough Being a Man") films, commonly referred to as *Tora-san* movies, which followed the story of a traveling salesman who wandered from town to town selling his wares.[238] For purchaser consumers, encountering a salesman like Tora-san was, at times, a source of anxiety. A 1960 article from *The Housewife's Companion* titled "Salesman Number 18: The Battle Between Wives and Salesmen," for example, used a game of baseball as a metaphor for the tense relationship between housewives and salesmen. The article discussed the constant barrage of items that salesmen "pitched" to women, as well as the salesmen's shrewd sales tactics. Items

---

[237] Partner, *Assembled in* Japan, 168-169.

[238] *Otoko wa tsurai yo*, Yamada Yoji (1969-1995, Tokyo: Shochiku).

for sale included anything from cheap items like pencils and makeup, to larger things, such as household appliances. Despite their peskiness, the door-to-door salesmen nevertheless allowed purchaser consumers to exercise purchasing power from the comfort of their own home.[239]

Whether household appliances came from stores or salesmen, purchaser consumers needed to arrive at a decision of which particular appliances they wanted to buy. A number of negative stereotypes of Japanese consumers have appeared in Western scholarship on this topic from time to time. For example, in his groundbreaking book, *Japan's New Middle Class*, Ezra Vogel had this to say about how the Japanese went about purchasing new household appliances, like refrigerators:

> As yet these families have little critical judgment in making their new purchases. For example, a family buying its first refrigerator probably would not look into the number of cubic feet, the size of the freezer unit, or the location of the door handle, as long as it was produced by a "big maker." Japanese advertising reflects a lack of critical public judgment, for it includes almost no details.[240]

Based on what he writes above, it is quite clear that Ezra Vogel never read a women's magazine. *The Housewife's Companion* printed articles filled with detailed information about new household appliances. Since prevailing gender ideals identified women as the primary consumers in homes across the country, marketers placed the responsibility for learning about, purchasing, and incorporating new household appliances on women. In reading *The Housewife's Companion*, it becomes clear that companies expected women to buy appliances and carry out all forms of mental and physical labor associated with them. The refrigerator offers us a solid case study in the gendered expectations that

[239] "*Serusuman to Okusan no Kōbōsen,*" *Shufu no tomo*, September 1960, 132.

[240] Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class*, 72.

accompanied the bright life. Magazine articles taught women how to buy, incorporate, and use refrigerators, ultimately establishing women as the primary purchaser and user consumers of refrigerators.

Articles published in *The Housewife's Companion* dished out detailed advice to purchaser consumers about how to calculate the financial savings of owning a refrigerator. According to the magazine, owning a refrigerator—electric or ice—made it possible for families to buy meat, vegetables, fish, and fruit at cheap prices, put them in the refrigerator, and use them a few days later. Storing food in the refrigerator provided a less expensive alternative to purchasing products at fluctuating prices on a daily basis, something women who lived through the Occupation would have been all too familiar with. Some families, the magazine reported, said purchasing a refrigerator decreased their dining out expenses, saving them money in the long run.[241]

In order to bring this message home, one article published in *The Housewife's Companion* urged readers to rethink the reasons why they might want to purchase a refrigerator. Rather than being lured into an expensive refrigerator purchase just to be fashionable or to try cold treats, the author of one 1961 *The Housewife's Companion* article titled "Shop Smart" suggested that readers alter the way they thought about refrigerators: "Rather than saying 'cold (food) is delicious,' let's say that the electric refrigerator's primary benefit is that it is the coolest place in the house. Food will not go bad inside the fridge, it is a preservation tool."[242] In a 1963 article titled "New Years' Food from the Refrigerator," another journalist compared the ways that Americans and

---

[241] "*Yahari katte yokata," Shufu no tomo*, April 1962, 77.

[242] "*Kai Umai*," *Shufu no tomo,* 255.

Japanese used refrigerators. The author argued that Americans thought about the refrigerator differently than the Japanese. According to the article, in 1963 the household penetration rate of the electric refrigerator in the United States was 98.7 percent, while in Japan it was only 25 percent.[243] Setting aside differences in wealth, the author argued, "In America, rather than [enjoying] cold things, the most important point of the refrigerator is its ability to store foods."[244] Making the shift to a refrigerator lifestyle promised to free up the time of the "rational madam" of the Japanese household because she would be able to store a week's worth of groceries in the refrigerator, saving her multiple trips to the grocery store. Although enjoying cold treats on a daily basis was a tempting reason to purchase a refrigerator—and certainly advertisements and recipes that appeared in *The Housewife's Companion* played a large role in promoting the refrigerator as a tool to store treats like ice cream and jellies –this particular article urged readers to reconceptualize the overall significance of the refrigerator in the modern Japanese home before making a purchase.

Accompanying this menu of consumer incentives, the magazine published instructional, allegedly real-life examples, advising readers on the use of the *kakeibo* (household account book) to calculate transportation and food shopping costs, and the cost-savings of purchasing a refrigerator. One article discussed a potentially fictive Mrs. Suihara who diligently kept a *kakeibo.* As she and her husband expanded their family, the expenses in their household increased steadily and Mrs. Suihara found it difficult to keep her family in the black. Apparently, her husband's drinking, as well as her

---

[243] According to the Central Research Services Company's diffusion chart, it was 39.1%. The Central Research Services Company (Chūō Chōsasha), "*Taikyūzai no Henyō,*" http://www.crs.or.jp/backno/old/No614/6141.htm

[244] "*Oshōgatsu ryōri wa reizōko kara," Shufu no tomo,* January 1963, 188.

children's favorite ice cream treats, took their toll on her family's finances. Mrs. Suihara looked over her household account book and realized that she could save money on ice cream by buying multiple packages and tossing them in the freezer rather than heading out every day to buy them for her children. Even more importantly, she learned she would save money on public transportation fees. First, Mrs. Suihara calculated how much it cost for her and her children to ride the bus to and from the store (30 yen for her+50 for her children—80 yen totalx30 [days in a month] =2,400 yen). Even if she only went out every other day, she still would have spent 1,200 yen a month. So, Mrs. Suihara calculated the estimated cost of a refrigerator's electricity bill and compared it to her transportation costs (electric bill: 11 yenx30 [days in a month] =630 yen). Since the cost to run a refrigerator for one month equaled the cost of 10 days of transportation; in the long run, it was cheaper to pay for the refrigerator's electricity bill rather than to continue paying for a bus ride every day.[245]

Mrs. Suihara also debated whether she should buy an electric refrigerator or an ice refrigerator. If women wanted to purchase a refrigerator, they had to choose between the two different technologies. To make this important decision, Mrs. Suihara turned to her *kakeibo* once again and thought prudently about the costs associated with both options. In her case, she calculated the cost of purchasing ice regularly. She figured out that in the summer months she would have to purchase 600 kg of ice, in the winter, 150 kg, and in the in-between months, 300 kg. This added up to 1050 kg (or 280 *kan*). At the time, in 1962, one *kan* cost 35 yen, and therefore a one-year supply of ice would cost 9,800 yen. Supplying an ice refrigerator with ice for a period of five years would cost 49,000 yen. The ice refrigerator itself cost 15,000 yen, so altogether the ice refrigerator cost 64,000

[245] "*Denki reizōko o kaimashita: Suihara-san no kakeibo kara," Shufu no tomo,* April 1962, 74.

yen for five years of use. According to Mrs. Suihara's calculations, the electric refrigerator would cost an average of 8 yen in electricity for one day's use. A year's worth of electricity, then, cost 2,920 yen. Five years' worth of electricity would cost 14,600 yen. Ice, therefore, was 3.3 times more expensive than the cost of electricity. The electric refrigerator, however, at the price of 50,000 yen, was 3.3 times the cost of an ice refrigerator. In the end, purchasing and using an ice refrigerator for five years cost 64,000 yen while purchasing and using an electric refrigerator for five years cost 64, 600 yen.[246] Mrs. Suihara decided to buy an electric refrigerator because it would save her money over the course of ten or fifteen years of use.[247]

Imagining large numbers of women actually sitting down with their *kakeibo* just like Mrs. Suihara and calculating the expenses and savings associated with purchasing a refrigerator is perhaps a stretch. Nonetheless, these types of articles frequented *The Housewife's Companion*, and reinforced the idea that women—not their husbands—should be in charge of the finances, especially when it came to big purchases. Furthermore, Mrs. Suihara's example suggests that wives who controlled their family's finances ought to be frugal, even if being frugal meant spending a large sum of money up front to save in the long run. Mrs. Suihara's example reflected the general conclusion that all refrigerator-related *The Housewife's Companion* articles came to: if one just wanted a refrigerator that could last for five years, the ice refrigerator was more

[246] "Denki *reizōko wo kaimashita*," *Shufu no tomo,* 74.

[247] Ibid.,74.

economical. But, if one wanted a refrigerator that could last up to ten or fifteen years, the electric refrigerator was a better investment.[248]

As mentioned earlier, the ice refrigerator disappeared in the United States in the 1930s as businesses and consumers shifted towards using electric refrigerators, but this change occurred more than two decades later in Japan, in the 1950s and early 1960s. For Japanese consumers, ice refrigerators were still a desirable option in the postwar. A 1957 survey published by the Institute for Finance and Labor (*Ginkō rōdō kenkyūkai chōsabu*) illuminates the popularity of ice refrigerators in the latter half of the 1950s. The surveyors set out to investigate the popularity of various electronics and technologies. The surveyors divided surveyees into five categories based on their employment: those who worked for large companies, for mid-sized and small companies, service industry jobs, self-employed, and government sector. According to the survey, 18.9% of surveyed consumers owned an ice refrigerator, while only 2.66% owned an electric refrigerator. [249] The survey went on to ask the following questions: "Did you buy an ice refrigerator (response: 1.91%) or electric refrigerator (response: 0.85%) in 1956? Do you want to buy an ice refrigerator (response: 9.36%) or electric refrigerator (response: 10.87%)? Do you have a plan to buy an ice refrigerator (response: 2.53%) or electric refrigerator (response: 2.09%)?" Based on this survey, we can see that as of 1956 and 1957, the ice refrigerator was still a competitive technology. While the percentage of surveyed consumers wanting to buy an electric refrigerator was higher, a higher number of surveyed consumers

---

[248] "*Katei reizō no subete ja kara reizōko made," Shufu no* tomo, 191.

[249] Ginkō Rōdō Kenkyūkai Chōsabu, "*Shōhinaiyō wa dou kawatteiruka," Ginkō Rōdō Chōsa Jihō* 83 (November 1957): 18. The household penetration rates of the electric and ice refrigerator listed in this survey are further verified by the Economic Planning Agency's (*Keizai Kikakuchō*) 1957 survey, which placed the household penetration rates of the electric refrigerator and ice refrigerator at 2.7% and 19% respectively. Keizai Kikakuchō, *Kokumin Seikatsu no Genjō*, (Tokyo, Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, 1957), 83.

actually planned on purchasing an ice refrigerator.[250] Finally, a few years after this survey was published, the electric refrigerator began to gain a higher degree of popularity.

So the *Housewife's Companion* began to gradually push the electric refrigerator over the ice refrigerator. One strategy was to discuss food safety issues. A 1961 article, aimed at teaching women how to buy an electric refrigerator, went into detail about the demerits of the ice refrigerator. Essentially, the ice refrigerator's internal temperature could not be maintained over time, especially in the summer. The article cited a scientific experiment carried out in the United States. In this experiment, scientists set a frozen sandwich on a plate and placed it inside an ice refrigerator. Next, the scientists manipulated the temperature of the ice refrigerator by carrying out normal use activities, like opening and closing the door and packing the refrigerator full of items. Although the sandwich was frozen, the surface of the sandwich increased by five degrees Celsius over time—just enough to promote spoilage and the growth of certain pathogenic bacteria. The scientists concluded that the ice refrigerator could not hold a cold item at a safe temperature reliably for an extended period of time.[251] According to scientific standards in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the danger zone for foodborne pathogenic bacteria was ten degrees Celsius.[252] Electric refrigerators at the time could dependably stay at a temperature from zero to ten degrees Celsius. Ice refrigerators, on the other hand, had internal temperatures ranging anywhere from twelve to fourteen degrees Celsius.[253]

---

[250] Ginkō Rōdō Kenkyūkai Chōsabu, "*Shōhinaiyō wa dou kawatteiruka,*" 18.

[251] "*Kai Umai*," *Shufu no* tomo, 258-259.

[252] According to the USDA as of today, that temperature is actually 4.4 degrees Celsius.

[253] "*Katei reizō no subete ja kara reizōko made," Shufu no tomo*, 189.

Still, electric refrigerators provided unexpected challenges for purchaser and user consumers. When considering buying a refrigerator, purchaser consumers had to think carefully about where to put it. Finding the perfect spot to place a refrigerator was not easy, especially in a small Japanese kitchen. The refrigerator required a strong, sturdy, and level floor. It also could not be placed in direct sunlight and was not supposed to be near anything that conducted heat, especially the stove. Ideally, the refrigerator was meant to be placed directly in front of an outlet.[254] The way the refrigerator opened, either to the right or the left—another factor to consider when buying a refrigerator—also affected where the consumer could put it.[255] Incorporating a refrigerator into one's kitchen was not just a matter of space; however, it was also a matter of the senses. Refrigerators both vibrated and made a lot of noise. Since the motor was located on the bottom of the refrigerator, its activities often violently shook the floor. If the floors in one's home were not sturdy, it was possible to build a base for the refrigerator, but that cost time and money.[256]

Due to the noisy and shaky nature of refrigerators, purchaser consumers also needed to take servicing into account. Although articles tended to emphasize the reliability of electronics, they also stressed the significance of purchasing a refrigerator with a warranty. During the Occupation (1945-1952), it was not all that uncommon for purchasers to shop with a healthy amount of skepticism. Since shop owners often used underhanded selling techniques, especially on the black market, patrons became wary of

---

[254] "*Kai Umai*," *Shufu no* tomo, 260.

[255] "*Denki reizōko no subete*," *Shufu no tomo*, May 1961, 252; "*Erabikata, Kaikata, denki reizōko," Shufu no tomo,* May 1962, 213-215.

[256] "*Katei reizō no subete ja kara reizōko made," Shufu no tomo*, 184.

being duped. For this reason, *The Housewife's Companion* emphasized the reliability of electronic appliances. The magazine informed readers that MITI (the Ministry of International Trade and Industry) inspected household appliances as a measure of quality assurance, making household appliances trustworthy.[257] Nonetheless, the magazine warned that a warranty was still important. If one purchased a warranty from a store, the store served as a proxy between the company and the purchaser, alleviating a lot of hassle. If one did not purchase a warranty from the store, and the electronic appliance failed in any way, returning to the store for assistance was not an option. As a result, stores that did not sell warranties with their electronic appliances could afford to sell them at a cheaper price, a selling tactic that the magazine warned its readers about. Having a reliable warranty, according to *The Housewife's Companion*, was worth the additional price.[258] Considering after services added one more item to the to-do list of the purchaser consumer, forcing her to think carefully about where she should purchase a refrigerator.

Ironically, while *The Housewife's Companion* talked up the MITI-guaranteed quality of kitchen appliances, it also taught women to identify any potential operational or aesthetic problems with new refrigerators. Despite the fact that refrigerators were generally noisy machines, one "Shop Smart" article recommended that women listen carefully to a refrigerator before purchasing it. If the refrigerator made any abnormal sounds, the article warned, this could indicate that the refrigerator was not running

---

[257] "*Kaimono hōten katei yōhin no erabikata to kaikata,*" *Shufu no tomo*, June 1951, 237-238.

[258] A few articles that suggested warranties include: "*Kaiumai*," *Shufu no tomo*, 256; "*Yahari katte yokata,*" *Shufu no tomo, 78*; "*Reizōko no kaikata, tsukaikata,*" *Shufu no tomo,* 220-221.

properly.[259] Simply looking at the refrigerator could also reveal whether or not it had any mechanical problems. For example, if condensation puddled around the bottom of fridge, it was possible that the refrigerator was not well insulated. Aesthetically, even brand-new refrigerators might have chipped paint on the outside, and shelves inside the refrigerator were not always level. Furthermore, making sure a specific refrigerator meshed with the intended user was also important. "Shop Smart" advised consumers that they should ask themselves a number of sensory-related questions before purchasing a refrigerator, such as, "Can you reach your hand into the fridge and maneuver around inside comfortably? Does the door open smoothly? Does the handle fit well in your hand? Is it easy to grasp and does it feel smooth? Does the door close completely?"[260] Multiple home refrigeration guides also recommended the "business card test." This test required the buyer to try and fit a business card through the space between the closing of the refrigerator door. Since the refrigerator door should completely block out any outside air, something even as small and thin as a business card should not be able to slide through the door.[261]

One must wonder, of course, whether women commonly carried around business cards when refrigerator shopping. Which is to say that articles in *The Housewife's Companion* like those mentioned above did not necessarily reflect how women actually went about purchasing refrigerators; but, the sheer amount of detail and information about finances, food safety, and technology that articles from *The Housewife's*

---

[259] "*Kai umai*," *Shufu no tomo,* 256.

[260] "Ibid., 256.

[261] "*Kai umai,"Shufu no tomo,* 260-262; "*Katei reizō no subete ja kara reizōko made," Shufu no tomo,* 195; **"***Tanoshii shoppingu gaido*," *Shufu no tomo*, November 1963,120-121.

Companion directed towards women does suggest the central role that women played in purchasing and incorporating new household appliances.

After women purchased refrigerators, they were also expected to learn how to use them. Based on articles found in *The Housewife's Companion,* this was not an intuitive process. User consumers were fraught with questions, frustrations, and anxieties about refrigerators. In fact, the majority of refrigerator-related articles in *The Housewife's Companion* addressed practical problems that accompanied refrigerator usage.

One anxiety user consumers seem to have had about electric refrigerators was how they affected the smells and tastes of food. According to a 1961 article titled "Shop Smart," two common questions women asked about refrigerators were: Will odors inside the refrigerator mix? And, will the refrigerator dry out the food inside? According to the article, the answer to both of these questions was a resounding yes. For example, if one put both fruit and fish inside one's refrigerator, the fish odor would affect the fruit. Refrigerators allowed for foods' flavors and odors to mix, unmediated. As mentioned above, fish merchants were the first group of people to use ice refrigerators in Japan, so any concerns regarding fish stinking up other food items inside refrigerators were legitimate, especially given that Japanese cooked and consumed a lot of fish. Furthermore, the article stated that due to the circulation of air, electric refrigerators also tended to dry foods out.[262] In fact, some families chose the ice refrigerator over the electric refrigerator for this very reason. They believed that unlike the electric refrigerator, the ice refrigerator did not dry foods out because it did not circulate air.[263]

---

[262] "*Kai umai*," *Shufu no tomo,* 255-256.

[263] Ibid., 258-259.

The Housewife's Companion also documents new items user consumers learned to incorporate into the kitchen to counteract refrigerators' shortcomings. For example, plastic wrap and aluminum foil accompanied the diffusion of the refrigerator. Wrapping up foods in polyethylene wrap, vinyl wrap, or aluminum foil prevented foods from drying out and also kept various food odors from mingling. This practice also helped preserve foods for longer periods of time.[264] One article, titled "How to Use your Refrigerator 100%," suggested that good user consumers ought to wash vegetables and fruits and then wrap them in plastic individually before placing them in the refrigerator. Doing so would keep them fresh.[265]

While learning to wrap up food items in plastic coverings might have been inconvenient, the most laborious refrigerator-related task that user consumers became responsible for was defrosting. Due to the volume of articles and advertisements that mentioned defrosting labor, it seems that user consumers aired their complaints about the bothersome nature of this chore.[266] As the refrigerator ran, ice accumulated in the freezer and the build-up resulted in various problems. First, the ice took up space in the freezer compartment. Second, the refrigerator's cooling efficiency declined. And third, a poorly running refrigerator ran up the electric bill.[267] Older refrigerator models often did not have a defrosting function. To defrost a refrigerator, the owner had to remove all of the food from the refrigerator and place it in an ice chest. Next, the user unplugged the

---

[264] "*Toshi to nōson,*" *Shufu no tomo*, July 1956, 174; "*Purasuchikku no subete*," *Shufu no tomo*, September 1962, 199-207 also shows the overall rising popularity of plastic, not just for food use.

[265] Yoshizawa Hisako, "*Hyaku pa-sento katsuyōhō denki reizōko*," *Shufu no tomo*, August 1962, 260-261.

[266] *Oshōgatsu ryōri wa reizōko kara," Shufu no tomo,* January 1963, 188.

[267] "*Denki reizōko no subete*," *Shufu no tomo*, May 1961, 251.

refrigerator and left it alone for a few hours to let the accumulated ice melt. This process was messy, and the owner most likely had to lay towels on the floor to clean up the melted water. Defrosting was a difficult and time-consuming job, both in the kitchen and in the laundry room. Nonetheless, *The Housewife's Companion* recommended that owners should defrost their refrigerator at least once a week. [268]

Perhaps due in part to user consumers' complaints, improving the defrosting function of the refrigerator became a major concern for electronics companies. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, some new refrigerators on the market had built-in defrosting functions. Instead of requiring user consumers to unplug the refrigerator, some models included a defrost dial. One simply turned the dial, closed the freezer door, and waited for all of the ice to melt and accumulate on an ice plate.[269] Some models claimed to have a quick defrosting function that only took a total of ten minutes. Although the technology seemed to have improved, *The Housewife's Companion* still recommended that users remove all items from the freezer before defrosting, which indicated that despite new defrosting functions, the process was still messy. Some designs unveiled in the early 1960s included a defrosting drainage hose that ran the melted water from the freezer down into a hose concealed behind the refrigerator, where the water ultimately collected inside a removable tray.[270] One article that advertised this specific feature was titled "Liberation from Defrosting." Despite the fact that electronics companies boasted that new household appliances decreased the housewife's labor, then, they obviously came

[268] "*Denki reizōko no subete*," *Shufu no tomo, 251*.

[269] "*Katei reizō no subete ja kara reizōko made," Shufu no tomo,* 196.

[270] "*Denki reizōko no subete*," *Shufu no tomo*; "*Erabikata, Kaikata, denki reizōko," Shufu no tomo,* 213-215.

with new time-consuming and laborious challenges of their own to which women were tied.[271] The irony is palpable.

Perhaps due to the intellectual labor that went into purchasing a refrigerator—an item that had little historical precedent in the Japanese kitchen—and the physical labor that accompanied owning one, along with the high price tag, electric refrigerators were not widely purchased during the bright life years. The household penetration rates of the electric refrigerator attest to this. The Central Research Services Company (*Chūō Chōsasha*), a public opinion poll and market research association founded in 1954, reported the following household penetration rates for electric refrigerators: 1958: 3.2; 1959: 5.7; 1960: 10.1.[272] A different report from the Central Research Services Company placed the electric refrigerator in 1960 at 9, and the ice refrigerator at 10, meaning that even the ice refrigerator's household penetration rate was higher than of the electric refrigerator during most of the bright life years.[273]

While the three sacred treasures angle of the bright life marketing schema informs us about the history of technology in postwar Japan, it is not a narrative told with the perspective of consumers in mind. A purchaser-consumer centered historical narrative of modern development in the kitchen requires historians to dethrone the electric refrigerator, and in its stead, elevate the position of the rice cooker, which we will turn to next.

---

[271] "*Shimo tori kara no kaihō,*" *Shufu no tomo*, April 1963, 214-215.

[272] Abe Kizō, "*Toshi Setai no Kakei Shishutsu to Taikyū Shōhisai Fukyū Dōkō*," in *Chūō Chōsahō* 57 (1960): 4-5.

[273]The Central Research Services Company (*Chūō Chōsasha*), "*Daidokoro, chūbō kiki no hoyūritsu no suii,"* http://www.crs.or.jp/backno/old/No607/6071.htm

Rice Cooking and Rice Cookers

To understand the significance of the rice cooker to user consumers, it is important to examine the nature of women's cooking labor in the Early Modern (1600-1867) and Modern (1868-present) periods of Japanese history. Scholar Koizumi Kazuko describes the typical day of a "housewife" who lived "back in the day" (*mukashi no shufu*) in the following way:

> She woke up earlier than anyone else in the house, fired the furnace up, cooked rice, fed the family, sent them out for the day, cleaned the house, crouched beside the well and cleaned a mountain of laundry, and after she hung up to clothes to dry, she sewed, caught up with her neighbors, and after the sun went down, she brought in the laundry, went shopping, and came home. While she warmed the bath, she prepared dinner; after dinner she cleaned up the kitchen, and did things like sew clothes at night. Finally, after everyone in her family took a bath, she took one herself. Sleep was the least important part of her day, because no matter how tired she was, she had to prepare food and she had to clean up.[274]

This routine only scrapes the surface of a housewife's day, as she also had to care for the well-being of her children, husband, other family members, and guests.[275] Based on the description above, it becomes clear that much of a housewife's daily labor, what Koizumi calls "unseen labor," had to do with acquiring food, cooking, and cleaning up after cooking. Traditionally, both cooking and cleaning were incredibly strenuous forms of labor for many women.

A good amount of cooking labor revolved around the *kamado*, Japan's distinct version of a wood or charcoal hearth. The bottom of the knee-high *kamado* structure included two enclosed fireplaces, and the top of the *kamado* had two large holes

---

[274] Koizumi Kazuko, *Shōwa no kurashi hakubutsukan* (Tokyo: Kawadeshobōshinsha, 2011), 106.

[275] This description is rather general. Certainly, a woman's labor would have depended on her class background, family dynamics, etc., but nonetheless, Koizumi's description gives us a good idea of what domestic labor looked like.

positioned above the two fireplaces. The holes were designed for the *kama* (iron pots) that rested inside them. Historically, women cooked rice and most other food items on the *kamado*. Between the Edo period (1600-1867) and World War II—more than three hundred years—the *kamado* was not updated much at all. Since the traditional *kamado* did not have an attached chimney, women's bodies were exposed to large volumes of smoke at various times throughout the day. Extended exposure to smoke resulted in many women suffering from cases of trachoma, a serious eye infection. It was not until the postwar that improving the *kamado* came up for discussion, when the GHQ-led Daily Life Reform Movement (GHQ refers to the Allied Occupation of Japan; *Seikatsu kaizen undō*) of 1948 to 1951 set out to redesign it. The Daily Life Reform Movement constructed a new *kamado* that included a brick and iron structure complete with an attached chimney. The new *kamado* had two or three holes installed—the biggest hole meant for the *kama* (iron pot), the second-biggest hole meant for *nabe* pots, and the third, smallest hole used to boil water. Cooks could throw various types of fuels into the new *kamado*, including firewood or leaves.[276]

Cooking labor looked a bit different for women who lived in cities during the modern period. As mentioned earlier, gas appliances went on the market in the Meiji period (1868-1912), and around 1897 gas companies began promoting gas kitchen appliances, like gas cooking ranges and gas ovens. These items were too expensive at the time and did not take off with consumers, so gas companies began selling gas *kamado* in 1904. The gas *kamado* was a rather big appliance; it contained one big, deep, and round unit that came with a *kama* (iron pot) inside. Unlike previous gas appliances, the gas

---

[276] Koizumi, *Shōwa daidokoro natsukashi zukan*, 66-67.

kamado was more affordable and became rather popular with consumers. The gas *kamado* stayed on the market into the Shōwa period (1926-1989).[277]

Matches rose in popularity along with appliances like the gas *kamado*, as user consumers had to turn on the gas just a little bit, and then use a match to light it.[278] Not long after gas appliances went on the market, electric appliances became an additional option for consumers. Items like electric stoves showed up in advertisements in the late Meiji and Taishō periods. Electric *shichirin,* or grills, also appeared in stores after the Kantō Earthquake in 1923. Many of these appliances, however, were incredibly expensive at the time and would have found their way only into the wealthiest of households.[279]

In both rural and urban kitchens, the most important tool was the *kama* (iron pot, or kettle). Cooks primarily used *kama* to prepare rice, but also used it to steam foods and boil water. Both cooking with the *kama* and cleaning the *kama* after cooking were difficult tasks. When cooks in Japan prepared rice, they rinsed the rice multiple times, requiring the cook to pick up and hold the heavy rice and water-filled *kama* many times. After cooking and serving rice, women washed the *shamoji* (rice paddle) and the heavy wooden lid that covered the top of the *kama*. After washing these two items, women polished them with polishing sand and *washi* (rice paper). Next, women picked up an old knife and scraped the soot off the bottom of the *kama*. Women then washed the *kama* itself, polished it, and put it back in the *kamado*.[280] While the gas *kamado* that women in

---

[277] Kosuge, *Nippon daidokoro bunkashi*, 63.

[278] Ibid., 51.

[279] Ibid., 165.

[280] Koizumi, *Shōwa daidokoro natsukashi zukan*, 94-95.

cities used did not have the issue of soot on the bottom of the *kama*, the bottom of the *kama* would still get burnt, especially if rice water spilled over and got stuck on the side. This sort of rice spillage also stuck to the outside of the gas *kamado* as well, and women needed to clean it off. Women who cooked on the regular *kamado* needed to sweep up the ash caused by the fire after cooking dinner.[281]

The immense amount of labor involved in preparing and cleaning up after rice helps explain why women would be interested in easy-to-use alternatives. According to Yamada Shōgo, the inventor of the automatic rice cooker, the history of the rice cooker dates back to around 1915-1916, and discussions surrounding the use of the rice cooker in the home began in 1917 and 1918. It was not until after the end of the war, however, that electronics companies began working on the technology to create an automatic, self-contained rice cooker specifically designed for individual kitchens. By 1952, Yamada, who worked for Toshiba, created a design for an automatic rice cooker, and in 1953 his team created a trial product.[282] Toshiba began selling the rice cooker in 1955, and other companies followed suit.[283]

There is no denying the fact that the rice cooker helped alleviate women's cooking labor. The rice cooker's *kama* was lightweight and easy to maneuver, making rice rinsing and clean up a less physically demanding task. Women could also walk away from the rice once it started cooking; electric rice cookers could prepare rice in thirty to forty minutes, while gas rice cookers got the job done a bit faster. Timer switches also

---

[281] Ibid., 114.

[282] Yamada Shōgo, *Kaden Konjaku Monogatari* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1983), 140-143.

[283] Tokyo Shibaura Denki Kabukishiki, *Tōshiba Hyakunenshi* (Kawasaki: Tokyo Shibaura Denki Kabukishiki, 1977), 478.

allowed women to set a time for the rice cooker to turn on, allowing women to sleep in, or allowing them to allow the rice to begin cooking while they were out running errands or working.

Yamada believed the rice cooker would help reduce user consumers' labor and included it in a list of fifteen reasons behind the push for the development of a home electronics industry in postwar Japan. The third reason included on this list was "to promote the idea that the rationalization of daily life was vital to the societal advancement of women."[284] While this chapter argues that the "bright life" was about marketing more so than women's labor, it is true that certain individuals did care about women's labor. Yamada's commitment to alleviate women's labor in the home is evident throughout his book. He even includes graphs that explain how many hours women typically slept in a day and how that number could increase with the help of household appliances. According to Yamada, the rice cooker allowed women to sleep longer because it could be programmed (either with a timer switch, or later this function was built in) to turn on automatically at a certain time, thus alleviating the need for women to wake up and spend an hour or so preparing rice for their families.[285] This information about the sleeping habits of women also appeared in some advertisements.[286] Even this discussion of labor, however, was not really about *labor*. Yamada fixated on women's time rather than their physical exertion.

Ironically, even *The Housewife's Companion* regularly ignored rice cookers as labor-saving devices, and focused on consumers' taste buds instead. First and foremost,

[284] Yamada, *Kaden Konjaku Monogatari*, 150-151.

[285] Ibid., 152-153.

[286] Partner, *Assembled in Japan*, 154-155.

articles and advertisements directed towards purchaser consumers heavily pushed the idea that rice cooked in a rice cooker tasted good, suggesting that electronics companies believed their purchaser consumers would buy a rice cooker primarily based on taste.[287]

Articles that discussed taste tended to connect well-cooked rice to ideal womanhood. One article published in July of 1956 contained the story of a 23-year-old newlywed woman, Kitabayashi Reiko. Reiko said that her new rice cooker was convenient and quick, but that the number one reason she loved it was that it could cook delicious rice. "In the household, cooking rice is most important," the article stated, "in the olden days, if a young bride could not cook rice very well, she would lose face."[288] Kitabayashi went on to discuss how, thanks to her rice cooker, young women (and other members of the household) would no longer have to worry. Other articles in *The Housewife's Companion* also reinforced the idea that a young bride should be able to cook rice and that the rice cooker was a solution to a mother's fear that her daughter would not be up to par as a wife.[289]

Many of these same articles talked about the rice cooker being easy to use. Once again, Reiko told *The Housewife's Companion*, "the inside of the rice cooker displays the amount of rice and water needed to cook the rice, so even when (I'm) not home, my husband can use it without problems."[290] A 1958 article included the story of a single man, "Mizuno-kun," who also enjoyed using the rice cooker. Mizuno-kun hooked his rice cooker up to a timer switch and set it to turn on and cook the rice while he was sleeping.

---

[287] "*Watashi no uchi demo tsukatteru: daidokoro no denki kigu,*" *Shufu no tomo*, December 1962, 218-219; "Denkigama," *Shufu no tomo*, December 1963, 322-323.

[288] "*Toshi no maki,*" *Shufu no tomo*, July 1956, 175.

[289] "*Tsukatte mite: denkigama*," *Shufu no tomo*, March 1958, 396.

[290] "*Toshi no maki,*" *Shufu no tomo,* 175.

"Until now," Mizuno-kun mentioned, "I went without eating breakfast, but now I can cook rice easily, so I am eating breakfast again. I also think it is good for my health."[291] The message here, however condescending, is obviously that the rice cooker is so easy to use even a man can't mess it up.

Rice cooker articles and advertisements in *The Housewife's Companion* also touted the multifunctionality of the appliance. Advertisements for the Toshiba Hotto 70, for example, boasted that it could steam chicken and boil eggplant.[292] Oddly enough, food items other than rice were often pictured alongside rice cookers. Especially odd was the appearance of cakes. One 1963 advertisement for the Toshiba Hotto 70 included a question and answer format that mentioned rice-cooker cake:

> Q: Is it true that it can also make cake?
> A: Yes, that is correct. The one special feature of the Toshiba rice cooker is that just one pot can be used to make food in all ways imaginable.[293]

It is possible that electronics' companies were nervous that consumers would not buy a household appliance that only prepared one kind of food, and perhaps the more multifunctional the rice cooker was, the more likely purchaser consumers would be to buy it.

Even a relatively cheap and multifunctional household appliance could not escape the *kakeibo* test. Advertisements and articles that appeared in *The Housewife's Companion* discussed money at length. For example, in the October 1962 issue, an article about the rice cooker and timer switchers talked about the pros of the rice cooker, including detailed information about the electric bill: "The rice cooker sounds like such a

---

[291] "*Tsukatte mite: denkigama*," *Shufu no tomo,* 396.

[292] "*Denkigama de seikatsu kaizen*," *Shufu no tomo*, October 1964, 100.

[293] "*Denkigama*," *Shufu no tomo,* 322.

convenient item, surely the maintenance fees must be—nope, don't worry! The electrical fee for cooking 1.8 liters of rice is 4 yen (as one kilowatt hour costs 11 yen)."[294] Other articles also made mention of electricity costs;[295] and according to Yamada Shōgo, the inventor of the rice cooker, his team worked hard to get the energy costs down to sell it.[296] And purchaser consumers bought them. Although it was not deemed one of the "bright life's" three sacred treasures, the rice cooker was actually very popular with purchaser consumers at the time. The Central Research Services Company (*Chūō Chōsasha*) reported the following household penetration rate numbers for rice cookers: 1958: 9.0; 1959: 20.7; 1960: 31.0.[297] As of 1963, the household penetration rate for the rice cooker in cities was 52.9, and in rural areas it was 25.0.[298]

Comparing the household penetration rates of the electric refrigerator and rice cooker and the effect they had on women's labor illuminates the fact that while the electric refrigerator was a sacred treasure from the perspective of manufacturers and advertisers, the rice cooker was the sacred treasure of new kitchen appliances from the perspective of purchaser and user consumers (See Graph 1 and Graph 2). The rice cooker had a longer history precedent in Japan than the refrigerator; the rice cooker was affordable, while the refrigerator was not; the rice cooker had no real competitors, while the electric refrigerator had to compete with the ice refrigerator; and the rice cooker

---

[294] "*Watashi no uchi de tsukatteru: denkigama to taimusuicchi*," *Shufu no tomo*, October 1962, 236.

[295] "*Denkigama*," *Shufu no tomo,* 396.

[296] Yamada, *Kaden Konjaku Monogatari*, 142.

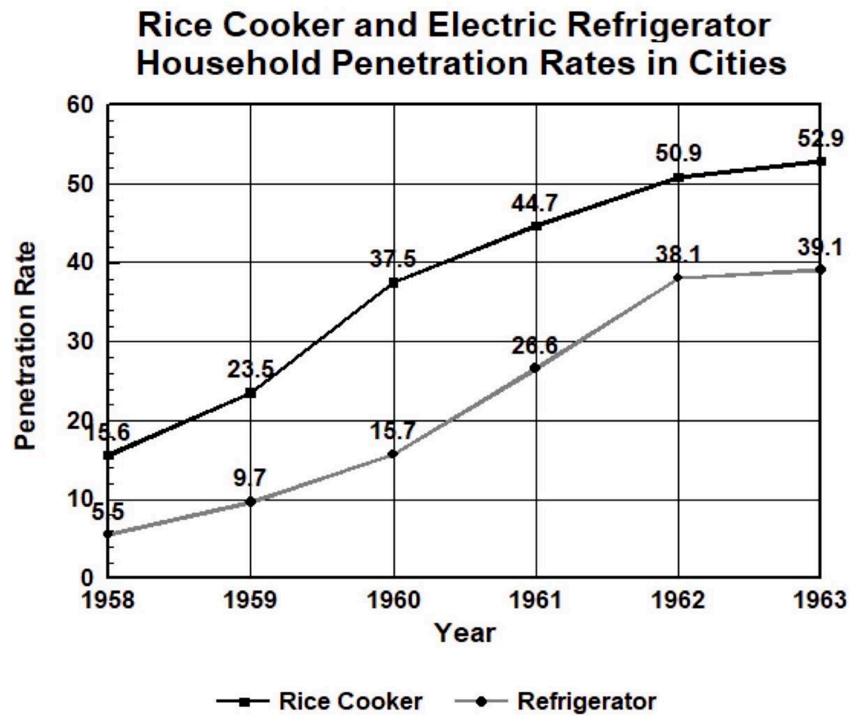
[297] Abe Kizō, "*Toshi setai no kakei shishutsu to taikyū shōhisai fukyū dōkō*," *Chūō Chōsahō* 57 (1960): 4-5.

[298] Keizai Kikakuchō Tōkeika Kanshū, *Nihon no keizai tōkei*: *shita* (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1964), 91.

actually transformed the nature of women's cooking and cleaning labor for the better, while the refrigerator added additional labor for women in the kitchen.

Graph 1

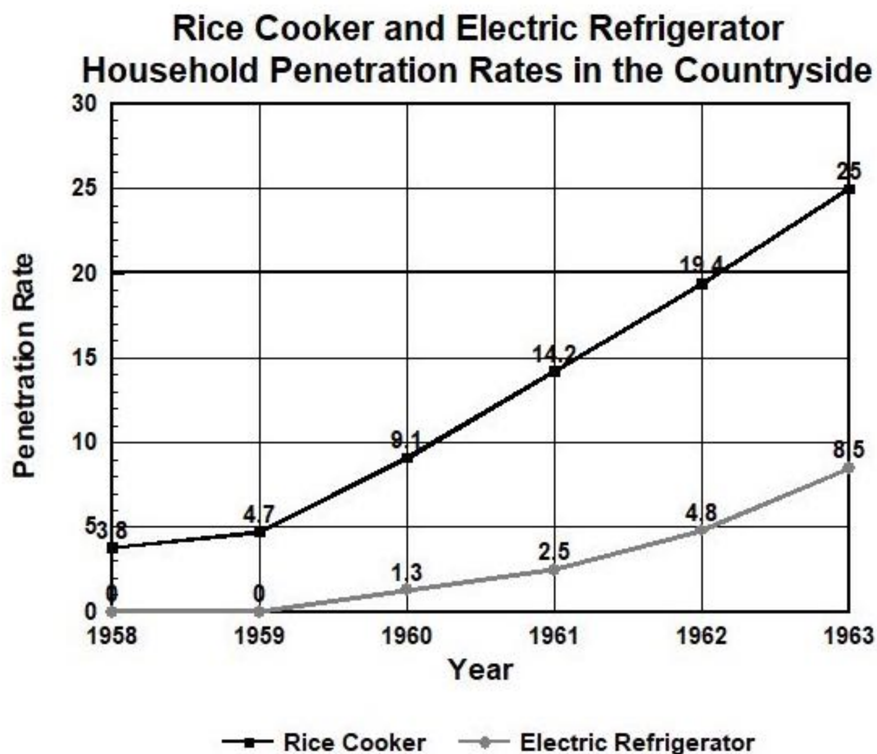
Electric refrigerator and rice cooker diffusion (cities)[299]



[299] Data displayed in Graph 1 comes from: Keizai Kikakuchō Tōkeika Kanshū, *Nihon no keizai tōkei*: *shita* (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1964), 91

Graph 2

Electric refrigerator and rice cooker diffusion (countryside) [300]



Kimiko's *kakeibo* provides us with one specific example of a purchaser consumer's purchases of household appliances during the "bright life" years, including the electric refrigerator and rice cooker. Based on some of the materials she purchased from 1954 and on, including cloth, needles, and sewing machine oil, it appears that Kimiko owned a sewing machine around the time she got married. In March of 1960 she

[300] Data displayed in Graph 2 comes from: Keizai Kikakuchō Tōkeika Kanshū, *Nihon no keizai tōkei*: *shita* (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1964), 91. By 1969, the household penetration rate of the rice cooker hit almost 100%, and the household penetration rate of the electric refrigerator hit approximately 90%. The Central Research Services Company (*Chūō Chōsasha*), "*Taikyūzai no Henyō,"* http://www.crs.or.jp/backno/old/No614/6141.htm

purchased a washing machine (18,000 yen) and a laundry hose. This was followed by the purchase of a rice cooker (3,200 yen) and a timer switch in May (950 yen). In 1962, she purchased a television. And in 1964 she purchased a vacuum cleaner (11,000 yen) in January, and an electric refrigerator (30,000 yen) in June.[301] In Kimiko's case, she bought a rice cooker before an electric refrigerator. Her household eventually acquired all three sacred treasures, but of the three, the electric refrigerator was her last purchase.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the "bright life" narrative of the mid-1950s to the early 1960s needs to be amended to include women's labor as purchaser and user consumers. Incorporating new household appliances into the home was in and of itself a form of labor, a form of labor women carried out. This type of labor was inextricably tied to the roles of primary purchaser and user consumer. Their tasks included balancing the budget and calculating the household expenses incurred from the purchase of appliances, operational costs and electricity demands, as well as determining the offsets in potential savings through purchase.

This new type of intellectual labor and self-study informed user consumers' choices and actions, and it shaped the ways in which users applied new technologies, like the refrigerator and other culinary products that accompanied modern daily life, such as

[301] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:1-1, "*Kakeibo: Shōwa 29 nen"* (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:7-1, "*1960 nikki kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:9-1, "*62 nikki kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:11-1, "*1964 nikki kakeibo*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

plastic wrap and aluminum foil. Informed women learned new tasks, such as how and when to properly defrost the refrigerator and other maintenance needs. In other words, women confronted the labor head-on, leading the diffusion of such physically and mentally challenging labor as was codified in the pages of *The Housewife's Companion*.

At the same time, purchaser and user consumers made informed choices and did not passively obey commercial marketing. The slow market penetration of electric refrigerators at the time reflected purchaser consumers' apprehensions about running out to purchase these new, expensive appliances. Instead, it appears that women like Kimiko more eagerly picked up the affordable, familiar, and easy-to-use rice cooker. Reviewing the history of women's cooking labor in this chapter, especially the labor that went into cooking and cleaning up rice, shows that the rice cooker technology greatly affected the quality and quantity of time and effort spent in the kitchen. The "bright life's" fixation on the talismanic refrigerator unfortunately neglected the most significant new and omnipresent appliance: the ritualized rice cooker.

Nonetheless, advertisements for both the refrigerator and the rice cooker shared commonalities. First, marketers for both talked to women as if they were the primary purchaser and user consumers for the household. Second, neither rice cooker nor refrigerator marketing published in *The Housewife's Companion* stressed the products' potential to alleviate women's workload. Rather, they sold purchasers on usability, taste, and cost. Popular histories, like those found in the Edo-Tokyo Museum, tell the narrative that a main outcome of the 1950s-60s "bright life" lifestyle was the liberation of women from domestic labor. Yet, *The Housewife's Companion* refrigerator discourse made it quite clear that new forms of labor would also enter into a "bright life" woman's life.

Contrastingly, though rice preparation and clean up was one of the more difficult tasks performed by women, rice cooker marketing barely discussed the ways in which the appliance might ease user consumers' lives. It is surprising that a magazine would so indifferently prescribe all sorts of refrigerator-related duties to its women readers while minimizing its description of the rice cooker's helpfulness. On top of this, some articles even went as far as to try to shame women into buying rice cookers by implying that their subpar rice cooking skills would make them an inadequate wife.

There is very little evidence that "bright life" lifestyles were, in the end, genuinely about improving women's domestic lot in life. Nonetheless, this chapter has positioned women's labor at the center of the "bright life." By exposing the "bright life's" actual relation to women's labor, I have argued for the dethronement of the "bright life's" electric refrigerator as kitchen ruler. Instead, the rice cooker is due that respect and best dons the crown as one of the period's three sacred treasures. While both the electric refrigerator and the rice cooker hold permanent places in modern Japanese kitchens today, the first electric refrigerator models were expensive, required a lot of upkeep, had a steep learning curve, and were in competition with ice refrigerators. Rice cookers, on the other hand, became the more wildly popular "bright life" companion. Purchaser and user consumers may have lived in the world of a prepackaged and heavily-marketed "bright life," but based on knowledge of their *kakeibo* and lived experiences, many chose to build their own version of the "bright life."

CHAPTER V

CURRYING FLAVOR:

CONSUMER COOKS AND POSTWAR CHANGES IN CUISINE

Curry says a lot about the postwar transformation in modern Japanese cuisine.[302] First, like many postwar dietary changes, curry has historical roots in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but it really did not take off until after the end of the war. Second, it is a dish with international origins. The Japanese learned about curry from the British, who learned about it from the Indians. So, actually, curry is a twice-removed international recipe. Third, it is almost always prepared with meat. Fourth, it can be served with rice, noodles, or bread.[303] Finally, although one can find a curry restaurant almost anywhere in Japan, its connection to the home is undeniable. Curry rice is one of those comfort foods that tastes best when a loved one prepares it for you.

The history of modern Japanese curry, and more broadly, modern Japanese cuisine, dates back to Japan's period of rapid modernization following the Meiji Restoration in 1867. Ishige Naomichi, a prolific Japanese food scholar, has identified a number of changes that occurred in Japanese cuisine following the Restoration: the integration of Western and Chinese cuisines, the widespread consumption of meat and dairy products, and a slight decline in rice consumption coinciding with the rise of bread, noodle, and side-dish consumption. While Ishige highlights a few actors central to the changes that unfolded during this period—discussing, for example, the media circus

[302] This chapter uses "change(s) in cuisine" and "culinary change(s)" interchangeably.

[303] Curry udon, curry bread, and curry rice all appeared in Kimiko's *kakeibo*.

surrounding the emperor's first-ever bite of beef in 1872—human agents are not Ishige's focus.[304] Instead, Ishige's *History and Culture of Japanese Food* provides a broad overview of the historical development of Japanese cuisine.

Food historian Katarzyna Cwiertka has contributed to the scholarship on the history of Japanese cuisine by identifying several forces behind Japan's culinary changes. According to Cwiertka, consumption of international foods and meat in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Japan was intimately linked to the expansion of the empire. Chinese food, for example, became popular in Japan at the height of the empire, in the 1920s and 1930s. Additionally, in the postwar, hundreds of thousands of repatriated soldiers from Japan's former empire returned home having tasted various Chinese foods, such as *gyōza* dumplings. Soldiers' piqued interest in Chinese cuisine, Cwiertka argues, helped popularize the dumplings in Japan.[305]

This chapter builds on, but also departs from, current scholarship by arguing that as the primary consumers and cooks in Japanese homes, women were integral to postwar changes in Japanese cuisine. Previous chapters utilized United States' historian Lizabeth Cohen's terminology to help frame consumerism in postwar Japan.[306] This chapter is no

[304] Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food*. Ishige has been involved in a number of food history collections that have looked at different aspects of culinary change, see: Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi, ed., *Nihon no shoku 100-nen "nomu,"* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1996); Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi, ed., *Nihon no shoku 100-nen "tsukuru,"* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1997); Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi, *Nihon no shoku 100-nen "taberu,"* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1998).

[305] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 150. Cwiertka has also written extensively on Japanese food history. See: Katarzyna Cwiertka, ed., *Critical Readings on Food in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Katarzyna Cwiertka, "Beyond Black Market: Neighborhood Associations and Food Rationing in Postwar Japan," in *Japan Since 1945: From Postwar to Post-Bubble*, ed. Christopher Gerteis and Timothy George (London: Continuum, 2013): 89-106; Katarzyna Cwiertka, "Washoku, Heritage, and National Identity,' in *Routledge Handbook of Modern Japanese History*, ed. Sven Saaler and Christopher Szpilman (London: Routledge, 2017).

[306] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*.

different. This chapter will use the term "consumer cook" to characterize women's agency in purchasing, cooking, and literally consuming new foodstuffs.

As mentioned above, curry rice, a metaphor for myriad fusion dishes that became popular in postwar Japan, has strong associations with home cooking, as consumer cooks engaged with new cuisines, ingredients, and cooking methods in order to make curry rice in the home.[307] By rising to this challenge, however, consumer cooks did more than merely *engage* with change; they made themselves the *agents* of change. Women became familiar with international cuisines that appeared in trendy restaurants in the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-1926) periods, even patronizing such restaurants themselves, but women bore the additional burden of bringing these trendy dishes to everyday life in the postwar home. Women's impact on postwar Japanese cuisine is undeniable, yet largely taken for granted.

While macro-level forces in both the world and Japan played a role in changing the Japanese diet, as food historians have established, so too did women's time spent in grocery stores and kitchens. Consumer cooks' consumption, labor, and cooking were integral to culinary change. As evidence of this, I propose to examine the Kimiko's *kakeibo*, using it to reconstruct a postwar narrative of culinary change from a consumer cook's perspective. This chapter explores Kimiko's involvement with four big changes in the postwar Japanese diet: "Staple Foods," "International Foods," "Dairy Products, Meat, and Seafood," and "Meal Structure." To avoid making historical claims based on

[307] For the purposes of this chapter, by "fusion dish," I am referring to a dish with what we might think of as traditional elements of Japanese cuisine fused together with new elements added to the cuisine in the modern era, such as new ingredients, meat, dairy products, etc. For example, curry with Japanese white rice, or chicken-cutlet donburi. In contrast, by "international dish" I am referring to a dish with almost entirely foreign origins that has been, for the most part, unaltered in Japan, although it might certainly have a unique preparation style. For example, spaghetti, fried rice, ramen, and pizza.

Kimiko's experience alone, this chapter utilizes *The Comprehensive Time Series Report on the Family Income and Expenditure Survey, 1947-1986* (*Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho, Shōwa 22nen~61nen*).[308] The compilers of this survey, the Statistics Bureau Management and Coordination Agency, sampled 8,000 households throughout Japan. The surveyed households "were requested to keep daily accounts of all the transactions both in money and in kind in the household economy."[309] The sections pulled from the survey for this chapter include an "All Urban" section from the years 1947 to 1962, and an "All Japan" section from the years 1963 to 1986.[310] This survey data is used to illustrate the ways in which Kimiko's individual consumption patterns reflected or deviated from national trends. This chapter also integrates articles from the popular women's magazine, *The Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*), to provide additional perspectives on broader patterns of women's agency as consumer cooks.

The End of the War and the Occupation

Kimiko was sixteen years old noon on August 15, 1945, when Emperor Hirohito announced the Empire of Japan's surrender. The war ended with the Allied Occupation of Japan. A total of 500,000 Allied troops entered Japan in 1945. The United States had firebombed 66 of Japan's major cities, and dropped nuclear weapons on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Even the small city of Kōfu, where Kimiko shared her first

[308]Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen: Comprehensive Time Series Report on the Family Income and Expenditure Survey 1947-1986* (Tokyo: Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, 1988).

[309] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei Chōsa Sōgō Hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 11.

[310] Ibid., 86-105; 618-643.

home with her husband, Kōsaku, was not spared from firebombing. 40 percent of Japan's urban environment had been destroyed, 25 percent of its urban infrastructure had been rendered useless, and 30 percent of the total population left homeless. In Tokyo, only 35 percent of homes survived the war, in Osaka, 43 percent, and in Nagoya, 11 percent.[311] One American described postwar Japan in the following way: "In every major city, families were crowded into dugouts and flimsy shacks, or in some cases, were trying to sleep in hallways, on subway platforms, or on sidewalks. Employees slept in their offices; teachers in their schoolrooms."[312]

Broken infrastructure and a lack of shelter were not the only problems postwar Japanese people struggled with on a daily basis. Hungry women, men, and children constantly worried about food. As described by Matsudaira Makoto, the situation was desperate: "The people of this period were, generally speaking, starving."[313] Matsudaira argues that one major reason for this was the Japanese government's mismanagement of food distribution. Since most people did not have enough officially-sanctioned food to eat, they had to throw ridiculous sums of money into the local black-market economy in order to survive.[314] According to one survey conducted in October 1947 by the Metropolitan Police Department in Tokyo, the average monthly salary was a meager 3,500 yen, yet the average family was 1,580 yen in the red by the end of each month. This was due to the high price of commodities sold on the black market, often costing at

---

[311] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 45-46.

[312] Ibid., 48.

[313] Matsudaira Makoto, *Yamiichi maboroshi no gaidobukku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbō, 1995), 88.

[314] Matsudaira, *Yamiichi maboroshi no gaidobukku*, 88.

the very least twice the "official" price.[315] The first black market stall opened almost immediately after the end of the war, on August 20, 1945. The last permanent stall closed on December 31, 1950.[316] Black markets mostly appeared in urban areas, where the population was most severely affected by food shortages. Many women, even the wives of government officials, utilized the black-market stalls to buy food for their families.[317]

Unable to locate a *kakeibo* filled out during the occupation era (1945-1952), for this early period, I rely on articles from the magazine *The Housewife's Companion* to piece together a narrative of the food conditions during Japan's food crisis years (1945-1947) from the perspective of consumer cooks.[318] Women's magazines certainly do not reflect an unbiased reality; however, when it comes to the food crisis years, even articles in women's magazines, at times, depicted an incredibly desperate food situation. Reading through magazine articles written from 1945 to 1947 provides a glimpse into how consumer cooks likely prepared foods to help their families survive.

The August 1945 issue of *The Housewife's Companion* opened with a transcript of the Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War. An article written by the founder of *The Housewife's Companion*, Ishikawa Takeyoshi, followed the Rescript. The third article printed in this somber issue of the typically light-hearted magazine was titled

---

[315] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 116.

[316] Matsudaira, *Yamiichi maboroshi no gaidobukku*, 211-218.

[317] Judge Yamaguchi Yoshitada's story is the best example of this. See Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 99-100.

[318] For more on the politics of the food crisis years, see Chris Aldous, "Contesting Famine: Hunger and Nutrition in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations,* 17:3 (2010).

"How Do We Overcome the Decrease in Rations of Staple Foods?"[319] The article mirrored the reaction of the general population to the loss of the war. First, the Japanese had to come to terms with the fact that the war was over and Japan had lost. Second, the people had to figure out how to survive the seemingly hopeless food situation.

The Housewife's Companion met their readership's needs by printing articles on survival cooking methods.[320] The most notable survival cooking technique promoted during the occupation was *setsumaishoku*, or rice-conserving meals. The Economic Planning Agency estimated that between the years 1934 and 1936, the average person consumed 1,237 calories from rice on a daily basis.[321] In contrast, an August 1945 article in *The Housewife's Companion* stated that 3 *gō* (approximately 2.5 cups; 640 calories) of rice was sufficient to feed one person per day, meaning that *The Housewife Companion's* recommended nearly half the amount of rice that individuals ate prior to the war. The article continued on to recommend a shocking recipe for a meal that would result in an inadequate calorie intake. The recipe called for readers to cook 9 *gō* (approximately 7.5 cups; 1,920 calories) of rice for a three-person household. The family, the recipe continued, should not eat all of the rice, but instead, reserve *two servings* of rice for leftovers the next day. The consumer cook could satiate her family's appetite that

---

[319] "*Shushoku genpai o dō kaiketsu suru ka: shokuyōko, tōmorokoshi, daizu, jagaimo, kabocha no ōzuna tabekata*," *Shufu no tomo*, August 1945, 6-8.

[320] One word that often appeared in the titles of magazine articles in the latter half of the 1940s was "kufū," or solving a problem ingeniously. Here I used the phrase "survival cooking methods" to encapsulate the overall feeling I got from these types of articles. "Kufū," was, however, used in other types of articles as well.

[321] Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, *Kokumin seikatsu henbō no jittai* (Tokyo: Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, 1956), 99.

evening by providing a side dish, such as pumpkin.[322] In the morning, the consumer cook could add water to the rice to make a porridge, which, the author assured readers, would provide breakfast for three people. Despite the positive spin the magazine put on this particular "recipe," given that most people at the time were not consuming much more than rice, nutritionally a diet that included meals like this would have put families near the starvation point.[323]

Another commonly recommended rice-conserving meal consisted of 2/3 cup of rice with 1/3 cup of an additional staple food. *The Housewife's Companion* suggested soybeans, corn, or flour as additional staple foods. Furthermore, the magazine recommended that readers add cooked leaves or wood chips to their rice supply. If worrying about the rice supply was not enough, this article also warned consumer cooks to conserve their family's fuel supply. Having to worry about conserving rice and fuel, naturally, limited food preparation techniques.[324]

When it came to vegetables, articles recommended that families try to eat almost anything they could get their hands on. Even vegetables, roots, or grasses with incredibly hard fibers could be delicious and filling if consumer cooks boiled them long enough, food-column authors claimed.[325] Alternatively, authors also recommended that everyone

[322] This article is overly optimistic in assuming that readers would be able to acquire pumpkin at this time. Kabocha does not even appear in *The Family Income and Expenditure Survey* until 1951. Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 96. Additionally, Kimiko only purchased pumpkin a handful of times in ten years.

[323] "*Shushoku genpai o dō kaiketsu suru ka*," *Shufu no tomo,* 6-8; Many families relied on staples other than rice, such as sweet potatoes.

[324] Ibid., 6-8.

[325] Ibid., 7.

try eating raw vegetables.[326] One December 1945 article went into great detail about the large numbers of people who suffered from vitamin deficiencies. The author, Tsukuda Takichi, argued that rice alone could not keep a body in healthy condition; humans needed vitamin-rich foods in their diets to stave off illness. Tsukuda discussed different types of vitamins and explained that some essential vitamins are destroyed when vegetables are boiled. To counter this, Tsukuda advised readers to eat more raw vegetables to help maintain a balanced diet rich with vitamins. Ultimately, he recommended that one meal should include both raw and cooked vegetables.[327] Tsukuda's article reinforces the tremendous pressure placed on the shoulders of consumer cooks. Not only did they have to conserve rice and fuel, they also had to worry about providing nutrient-rich cooked and raw vegetables for their family members to prevent them from developing vitamin deficiencies.

Malnutrition and vitamin deficiencies under the wartime regime and in the food crisis years of the occupation, were not just fears, it should be emphasized, but realities. These conditions resulted in the stunted growth of Japanese children, a drop in birthrates, and in some instances, deaths. In October 1945, for example, some 733 individuals died of starvation in the combined metropolitan cities of Kobe, Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya, and Yokohama.[328] The occupation forces shipped food to Japan to alleviate the food crisis, including "wheat, flour, corn, legumes, sugar, small quantities of rice, powdered milk, and tinned goods."[329] Nonetheless, the Japanese government's distribution of such goods

[326] "*Eiyō shicchōshō to seishokuhō,*" *Shufu no tomo*, December 1945, 52-54.

[327] "*Eiyō shicchōshō to seishokuhō,*" *Shufu no tomo,* 52-54.

[328] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 92-93.

[329] Ibid., 94.

remained chaotic, resulting in a thriving black market where consumer cooks paid outrageous prices for food they desperately needed to feed their families.[330]

Japan's fragile food situation improved as the country's GDP began growing again at the start of the Korean War (1950-1953), as Japan became a major supplier of military goods to the United States during the war, and the United States' procurement spending in Japan boosted the Japanese economy.[331] Pinning down an exact year that food conditions returned to the prewar "normal" proves tricky, but a few significant changes can be noted. As mentioned earlier, permanent black market stalls closed up shop in 1950. Another early indicator of food conditions returning to normal was the dramatic drop in root vegetable purchases. Sweet potatoes and white potatoes in particular helped people stave off starvation during the war and food crisis years, and these purchases dropped significantly in 1950 (sweet potatoes: 1,518 100g units to 806.25; white potatoes: 761.25 100g units to 401.25). From 1950 on, the numbers of sweet potatoes and white potatoes purchased per household continued to drop, indicating steady improvement in food conditions.[332] Finally, rice production returned to 1930s levels in 1955, indicating an overall return to normal food conditions.[333]

By the end of the 1950s, Japan had entered a period of high-speed economic growth, also referred to as the beginning of the "economic miracle," that lasted into the early 1990s. As family incomes increased during this era, the dietary composition of

---

[330] Ibid., 94.

[331] David Flath, *The Japanese Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 89.

[332] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 94.

[333] Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food*, 162.

Japanese families also changed. Kimiko began writing in her *kakeibo* in 1954, providing us with a window on the formation of new eating habits during the 1950s and 1960s.[334] This chapter utilizes information from a chart compiled from data listed in Kimiko's *kakeibo* from the years 1954 to 1964. The chart lists every single food item Kimiko purchased during those years. Some *kakeibo*-entry years are more detailed than others—for example, Kimiko did not write in her *kakeibo* for a few months before and after the delivery of her first child—but, generally speaking, she wrote in her account book almost every day. [335] Kimiko's purchasing habits did not always follow clear trajectories of gradual increases or decreases, and irregular shopping habits were common. Yet, they show a significant amount of dietary change in a relatively short amount of time. From a consumer cook's perspective, changes in Japanese cuisine at the beginning of Japan's economic miracle were dramatic, but also dynamic. One of the best examples of this is Kimiko's staple food purchases.

Staple Foods: Rice, Noodles, and Bread

Kimiko wrote in her *kakeibo* for the first time on May 29, 1954, and on that day she bought bread. Why, we might ask, did she not buy rice? The war and the Occupation heavily impacted Japan's supply of its most important staple: rice. Since rice was Japan's primary staple food, the Japanese government began rationing it in April

[334] Ibid.,162.

[335] Kimiko often recorded the amounts of food she bought—the weight of her rice purchase, how many pieces of fish, how many potatoes, etc., but I did not include that information in my chart. The chart displays the numbers of times the items were purchased but does not include the amount purchased on each individual day. The charts I constructed are included in Appendix I.

1941 to protect the supply.[336] Civilians' access to rice and other rationed foods on the home front gradually declined from then on. After the war ended, Japan's empire collapsed, resulting in declining rice imports from its former colonies, including Taiwan and Korea. Correspondingly, the war and Occupation also impacted the rise of a less utilized staple: wheat. Following the end of the war, the United States sent large quantities of food commodities, including wheat, to Japan. Government programs like GARIOA (Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Areas) and emergency relief organizations, like LARA (Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia) were central to this operation. Such aid helped alleviate the effects of starvation in occupied Japan.[337]

After Japan's food crisis came to an end in 1947, the United States continued to export large volumes of food commodities to Japan, albeit for different reasons. In the 1950s, the United States' agriculture industry, drowning in surplus commodities, desperately needed to increase its farm exports. To solve this problem, the United States Congress passed Public Law 480 (PL 480) in 1954. PL 480 allowed for the United States to sell commodities to friendly governments, like Japan.[338] The law helped the United States unload its surplus food commodities abroad, and in exchange, provided countries like Japan with large quantities of food, especially wheat.[339]

---

[336] Aldous, "Contesting Famine: Hunger and Nutrition in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952," 236.

[337] Koizumi Kazuko, *Pan to Shōwa* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2017), 78-79.

[338] Aaron Forsberg, *America and the Japanese Miracle: The Cold War Context of Japan's Postwar Economic Revival 1950-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 142.

[339] Koizumi, *Pan to Shōwa*, 85.

In accordance with PL 480, the United States also provided wheat and nonfat dried milk to Japan for school lunch programs.[340] As early as 1950, school lunch programs served bread to students through GARIOA's funding program. After both PL 480 and Japan's School Lunch Law of 1954 passed, Japanese schools continued to provide lunches that included bread as the primary staple food. This practice continued until 1976.[341]

By the mid 1950s, domestic rice production had stabilized and the Japanese had access to affordable bread both at school and home. The responsibility of balancing the two available staple foods in the realm of home cooking fell on the shoulders of consumer cooks. Furthermore, consumer cooks had access to not two, but three staple foods, as noodles had also become more popular. This left consumer cooks with three staple foods and three meals a day, compelling them to construct and execute a plan for when, and how, rice, bread, and noodles should be consumed in the home.

In Kimiko's household, bread, rice, and noodles had all become permanent staple foods by the mid 1950s. Kimiko purchased large quantities of rice, bread, and varieties of noodles, such as *soba*, *udon*, *sōmen*, and ramen. In 1960, significantly, Kimiko made a decision that appears to have permanently altered her staple-food shopping habits: she bought a rice cooker.[342] Before acquiring a rice cooker, Kimiko recorded "bread" 140 and 123 times in 1959 and 1960, respectively. From the years 1961 to 1964, however,

---

[340] United States Department of State, "Japan: Agricultural Commodities: School Lunch Program," *United States Treaties and Other International Agreements 7* (1956): 987-1004; Koizumi, *Pan to Shōwa*, 85.

[341] Koizumi, *Pan to Shōwa*, 117.

[342] Kimiko never wrote down a quantity next to her bread purchases, and she only occasionally wrote down the quantity of rice she picked up. It is important to note that overall Kimiko bought more rice less frequently and less bread more frequently because bread molded quickly, whereas rice could be stored safely for a longer period of time.

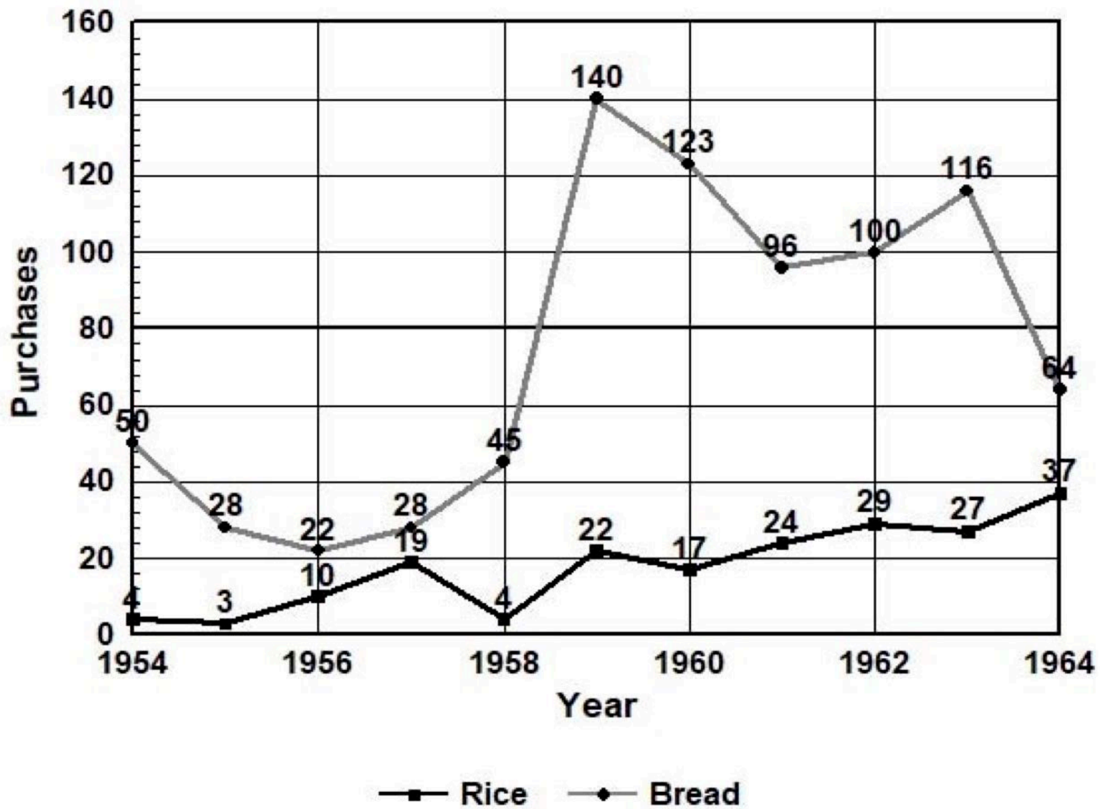
these high numbers began to trend downwards as she wrote "bread" 96, 100, 116, and 64 times.[343] Alternatively, her rice purchases began to trend upwards, hitting all-time highs of 24 purchases in 1961, 29 in 1962, 27 in 1963, and 37 in 1964. A graph that compares Kimiko's rice and bread purchases appears below as Graph 3. After her family bought the rice cooker, her bread purchases gradually decreased, although with some fluctuation, and her rice purchases increased.[344]

[343] From 1958 to 1964 Kimiko purchased wheat flour one to four times a year, so it is possible she made bread from time to time. It is also possible, however, that she used the flour for other purposes.

[344] For this reason, the amount of rice by weight could not be tracked for the purposes of this project. See examples from her *kakeibo*, September 4, 1954 and January 7, 1964, Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:1-1, "*Kakeibo: Shōwa 29 nen,"* (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan); Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:11-1, "*1964 nikki kakeibo*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).
Certainly, the rice cooker would have decreased Kimiko's kitchen labor, as it did for many women. The rice cooker was an incredibly popular domestic technology, and its household market penetration rate hit almost 100% by the end of 1970. As discussed in the previous chapter, cooking rice without a rice cooker was a laborious and time-consuming task for consumer cooks. It should not be surprising that the purchase of a rice cooker would result in consumer cooks cooking rice more frequently.

Graph 3

Rice and bread purchases[345]



Even after purchasing a rice cooker, Kimiko still bought bread and in relatively high quantities. Perhaps Kimiko's family, which included two college-aged students raised in the 1950s with bread as a staple food, simply enjoyed bread. But sociologist Ronald Dore offers a better explanation.[346] While conducting research in Tokyo, Dore learned that some women chose to feed their families bread for breakfast because it saved

---

[345] Data displayed in Graph 3 comes from Appendix I.

[346] It is not the case that Kimiko's children ate and became accustomed to bread at school, as Kimiko's oldest daughter, Yoshiko, only turned six in January of 1963.

them time.[347] He made this observation very early on, in 1950. A rice cooker simplified cooking rice, but bread was still a convenient, relatively labor-free food to serve for breakfast.

An article from the September 1951 issue of *The Housewife's Companion* would appear to reinforce Dole's assertion that women fed their families bread for breakfast. The author, Okamatsu Kiyoko, created a chart titled "Arrangement of Staple Foods for the Week," depicted below in Table 7. She placed bread as the breakfast staple food for Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and as the lunch staple food for the same days. Okamatsu listed rice as the staple food for breakfast on Tuesday and Saturday, as the lunch staple for Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, and as the dinner staple for all the days of the week except Tuesday. She recommended noodles for Tuesday night and Sunday afternoon, kabocha pumpkin for Wednesday morning, and hot cakes for Sunday morning.

The arrangement of staples in Okamatsu's meal chart suggests the start of two new cooking routines in the home that aligned well with Kimiko's purchases: one, the conscious balancing of the three staples (rice, bread, and noodles) throughout the week, and two, the serving of bread for breakfast and rice for dinner.[348] According to a 1960 survey, a good percentage of women fed their families bread for breakfast. Families who ate bread usually had it for breakfast, although rice was still more popular (rice: 62.0%, bread: 35.6%). For lunch, 50.7% of respondents ate rice as their main staple, 26.2% had bread, while 22.0% chose noodles.[349]

---

[347] Dore, *City Life in Japan*, 60.

[348] Okamatsu Kiyoko, "*Okusama ga kufūshita kondate to tsukurikata kisetsu no osōzai ishūkan*," *Shufu no tomo*, September 1951, 266-271.

[349] Ōhashi Shizuko, "'*Kurashi no techō,*'" 30.

Table 7

Okamatsu's arrangement of staple foods for the week (1951)[350]

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thurs	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Breakfast	Bread	Rice	Bread	Kabocha	Bread	Rice	Hotcakes
Lunch	Bread	Rice	Bread	Rice	Bread	Rice	Noodles
Dinner	Rice	Noodles	Rice	Rice	Rice	Rice	Rice

Bread recipes also appeared frequently in the pages of *The Housewife's Companion*. Sandwich recipes were far and away the most popular. One article from the April 1947 issue included recipes for ham sandwiches, buttered sandwiches, and lettuce sandwiches. A more creative recipe called for consumer cooks to make vegetable creams out of green peas or carrots to spread on bread.[351] *The Housewife's Companion's* authors often submitted canape, or small, open-faced sandwich recipes for publication in the magazine.[352] In May 1952 the magazine even advised readers on how to toast not just bread, but a whole sandwich.[353] And, if some consumer cooks preferred not to use bread to make sandwiches, *The Housewife's Companion* had them covered. According to the magazine, Western-style crackers were readily available at the grocery store (Kimiko bought crackers a total of five times in 1959, 1960, and 1961) and they could be used in lieu of bread to make a cracker sandwich. The magazine recommended that readers stack

[350] Data displayed in Table 7 comes from: Okamatsu, "*Okusama ga kufūshita kondate to tsukurikata kisetsu no osōzai ishūkan*," 266-271.

[351] "*Osushi to sandoicchi no tsukurikata*," *Shufu no tomo*, April 1947, 90.

[352] "*Kanape*," *Shufu no tomo*, February 1949, 48; "*Sandoicchi kanape*," *Shufu no tomo*, September 1949, 128; "*Serufu sandoicchi*," *Shufu no tomo*, August 1959, 52.

[353] "*Sandoicchi*," *Shufu no tomo*, May 1952, 308-309.

crackers on top of each other with ingredients like jam, marmalade, or lettuce and tomato placed in the middle.[354] A recipe for hot dogs served with tomato soup also appeared in the August 1959 issue.[355] Kimiko began buying sausages in higher numbers (27 times) that same year; and indeed, sausages had only been added to *The Family Income and Expenditure Survey* by 1956, indicating that perhaps serving sausages with bread became a popular combination.[356]

Articles in *The Housewife's Companion* also gave advice on foods that went well with bread. In September 1952, the magazine included an article, written by Seki Misako, on how to serve bread alongside different side dishes. "Spreading butter and jam on bread is not really economical, nor does it provide a lot of nutrition," Seki wrote, "Like rice, bread too can be served with side dishes, and I will introduce you to some of those side dishes."[357] According to Seki, serving side dishes alongside a bread-based meal was one way to cook healthier. She suggested that readers serve bread with seasonal salads, stews, and miso soup. But Seki also included some indulgent recipes for things like croutons, "special pudding" (bread pudding), and French toast.[358]

Whether her family ate bread for breakfast, lunch, or dinner, based on her *kakeibo* entries, bread was a permanent staple in Kimiko's household. Consumer cooks' decision to serve toast for breakfast during the 1950s and 1960s played a role in bread becoming a

---

[354] "*Kurakka sandoicchi*," *Shufu no tomo,* August 1959, 53; Kimiko bought a variety of Japanese-style crackers, here I am referring to what she wrote down as "kurakka."

[355] "*Hotto doggu," Shufu no tomo,* August 1959, 52.

[356] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 93.

[357] Seki Misako, "*Pan muki osōzai to pan ryōri no tsukurikata*," *Shufu no tomo*, September 1952, 371.

[358] Seki, "*Pan muki osōzai to pan ryōri no tsukurikata*," 371-373.

permanent fixture in the Japanese diet. The results of a more recent poll conducted in 1985 showed that 49.7% of respondents ate rice for breakfast, while 46.1% ate bread, effectively dividing the country into opinionated pro-rice and pro-bread factions.[359]

Despite bread becoming such an important staple in Japan, when asked in an informal conversation about what kinds of foods she cooked in the past, every single meal that Kimiko named off the top of her head included rice; she named not one bread product. One of the first meals Kimiko mentioned was white rice with miso soup and side dishes (*okazu*). Menus printed in *The Housewife's Companion*, included below as Table 8, reinforced this structure as a popular way for women to conceptualize and cook meals. Even weekly menus filled with international dishes and new food items contained multiple rice and side-dish meals. Breakfast on Tuesday and Saturday; lunch on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday; and dinner on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday are examples of this from Table 8.

---

[359]Ōhashi, "'*Kurashi no techō,*'" 34.

Table 8

One week of seasonal side dishes[360]
1951

	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner
Monday	Bread Cooked Vegetable Soup with Egg Tomato Juice	Sandwich Vegetable Salad Mayonnaise Sauce and Tomato	Rice Fatty Tuna Konbu Soup Grilled Eggplant Chilled Tofu
Tuesday	Rice Taro Stem and Aburaage Miso Soup Dried Young Sardines Oroshi	Rice Bentō Grilled Tarako Sweet Potato Cooked in Umani	Zhaziangmian Cabbage Soup
Wednesday	Bread Roll Clam Chowder	Bread Peanut Butter Jam Cooked Onion and Potatoes	Rice Yakifu and Greens Soup Squid and Vegetables Stew
Thursday	Salted and Cooked Kabocha and Sweet Potato Cooked Clams	Rice Bentō Squid Broiled with Soy Sauce Kinpira	Meat Curry Rice Pickles
Friday	Buttered Toast Potato Miso Soup Cucumber and Tomato Salad	Bread Roll Sandwich Potato Salad Mayonnaise and Tomato	Rice Kakitama Soup Skewered Fish
Saturday	Rice Wakame Miso Soup Cooked Eggplant	Rice Bentō Budō Ame Cucumbers and Dressing	Rice Fish Cake Soup Tempura with Garnish
Sunday	Hotcakes Fried Eggs Cucumber and Cabbage with Peanut Dressing	Udon Kabocha with Meat and Ankake Sauce	Fried Rice Eggplant Pickles

[360] Data displayed in Table 8 comes from: Okamatsu Kiyoko, "*Kisetsu no osōzai isshūkan*," *Shufu no tomo*, September 1951, 266-271. This menu has been abbreviated; the full version is included in the Appendix.

This menu demonstrates the popularity of bread and noodles during the 1950s, but more importantly, it shows the persistently-prized position of rice in the Japanese home. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, by the mid 1950s, rice, bread, and noodles had become more widely available and popular. It was up to consumer cooks to determine how to balance the three staples in their family's diets. Women's labor played a key role in how they treated the staple foods—for example, consumer cooks often served bread for breakfast because it was easy and fast. It also seems to be the case that women like Kimiko began cooking rice more frequently after the easy-to-use rice cooker went on the market, but women's labor was not the sole reason consumer cooks continued to cook rice.

Even though bread and noodles gained popularity in the postwar, rice was still the staple food with the most significant ties to Japanese culture and cuisine. In a survey conducted in 1960, a whopping 90.9% of respondents named rice as their staple of choice for dinner. In strictly serving rice for dinner, women chose to emphasize rice's significance as the most important staple in the Japanese diet, and simultaneously promoted dinner as the most important meal of the day. Additionally, women's labor affected the ways they thought about balancing staple foods. Many consumer cooks regarded bread primarily as a convenience food, so many women served it for breakfast. But, rice preparation also became simpler over time with the advent of the rice cooker, allowing for individual preferences on bread and rice to develop. Nonetheless, while many women made peace with letting their families chow down on bread in the morning and slurp noodles for lunch, they maintained rice's central role in Japanese cuisine by

almost always serving it for dinner, allowing rice to be enjoyed at a slower pace with the family.[361] Kimiko likely remembered the rice-based dishes that she cooked because they required more of her time and labor. Toasted bread was, more often than not, a convenient breakfast food consumer cooks prepared in haste for their families, making it less memorable for women like Kimiko.

But, even rice dishes got a bit of a makeover in the 1950s Japanese home. As scholars like Ishige Naomichi and Kamura Naoko have noted, the availability of new international foods in Japan changed elements of Japanese cuisine itself.[362] The menus from *The Housewife's Companion* often listed "rice" as the staple food for various meals. In these instances, "rice" appears in Japanese as "*gohan*." When Kimiko mentioned that she cooked side dishes alongside white rice, she also used the word "*gohan*." When she mentioned that she also liked to cook "curry rice," however, she used the word "*karē raisu.*" Whereas *gohan* refers to plain, cooked white rice served in a rice bowl and eaten with chopsticks, "*raisu*," refers to rice dishes, usually served on a plate and with a spoon, that have a foreign sensibility to them.

International Foods

Karē raisu (curry rice) is one of the more popular *raisu* dishes that appeared in the modern era. The first curry recipes in Japan appeared in an 1872 cookbook. One of the first recorded versions of the recipe, believe it or not, included frog, and was called

[361]Ōhashi, "'*Kurashi no techō,'"* 42.

[362] Kamura, "*Katei ryōri no tayōka to sono haikei*," 87. Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food*, 162-171.

"*kaeru karē*."[363] The new Meiji government wrote about a recipe for "curry rice" (*karē raisu*) in 1874, but "rice curry" (*raisu karē*) appeared in writing in 1877.[364] The controversy surrounding the two ways of saying the dish's name continued for almost 100 years. The ongoing debate surrounding "*raisu karē*" or "*karē raisu*" hit its peak around the time of the Tokyo Olympics (1964). Ironically, neither expression reflects the original English language used in the British dish from which it came, "curried xxx with rice."[365] The dish is commonly called "*karē raisu*" today.

In any case, both of the dish's names contained the word "*raisu*," the history of which reaches a little further back than the origin of the *karē raisu* dish in Japan. Around the time of the Meiji Restoration (1867), "*raisu*" as a term came into use, having a certain high-collar image attached to it.[366] Shortly thereafter, in the early Meiji period, Western restaurants (*yōshokuya*) began popping up in big cities, like the recently renamed capital, Tokyo. Western restaurants served curry rice, *hayashi* rice (beef and tomato hash with rice), rice pilaf, pork cutlet (*tonkatsu*), omelets, steak, and fried seafood. Chinese restaurants began opening for business a few decades later, in the 1910s. The most popular fare at Chinese restaurants was *Shina* (China) *soba*, a noodle dish served with pork in a flavorful broth. The dish received a new name, *ramen*, in the postwar era.[367] Though Japanese consumers found Chinese food more familiar in some respects, the half-century lead that Western restaurants had in Japan made them more popular than

---

[363] Morieda Takashi, *Karē Raisu to Nihonjin* (Tokyo: Kōdansha,1989), 125-126.

[364] Ibid., 140-141.

[365] Ibid., 138-140.

[366] Ibid., 142.

[367] Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food*, 155-157.

Chinese restaurants in the early-twentieth century, and the most popular dish served at Western restaurants was curry rice.[368]

Though recipes for Western-style dishes appeared in *The Housewife's Companion* in the Taishō period (1912-1926), and some women experimented with cooking curry in the home, curry rice did not become a popular home-cooked meal until the postwar. Kimiko first recorded "curry powder" in 1954, in her first *kakeibo*. She purchased prepackaged instant curry roux twice in 1955 and from then on bought various brands of instant curry roux multiple times every year.[369] Curry powder is a dry mixture of spices, including coriander, turmeric, cumin, and chili peppers that one would add to a homemade roux (a mixture of fat and flour used to thicken up a sauce). A prepackaged instant curry roux, however, eliminates the step that requires consumer cooks to make a roux, meaning that the curry powder came premixed with thickening agents. Food historians tend to associate curry made from curry powder with the prewar period, and curry made from prepackaged instant roux with the postwar period, but the reality was not so cut and dried. Articles from both the July 1951 and August 1957 issues of *The Housewife's Companion*, for example, called for curry powder rather than instant curry roux.[370] The gradual transition from using curry powder to curry roux played out in

---

[368] Ibid., 155.

[369] The brands Kimiko purchased included Bell Curry Roux, House Curry, and SB Curry. She did not always write a brand name, however.

[370] Matsuura Tatsuzo, "*Karē ryōri to sono hoka*," *Shufu no tomo*, July 1951, 261-263; Tsunoda Noriko, Sugiyama Kazuo, and Hashiguchi Kurako, "*Karē Raisu*," *Shufu no tomo*, August 1957, 344-345. This 1951 article included a recipe for curry udon, indicating that consumer cooks began experimenting with mixing curry and noodles.

Kimiko's *kakeibo* as she purchased both, but she preferred to add the instant roux to her *karē raisu* as time went on.[371]

The term "*raisu*" was not just reserved for *karē raisu*. Articles throughout the 1950s' issues of *The Housewife's Companion* were filled with different *raisu* recipes. An April 1952 article provided Western and Chinese-style *raisu* recipes, one example being *chahan*, or Chinese fried *raisu* [372] One 1957 article provided a recipe for *tomato raisu* (rice, onion, and ketchup) that could be added to *omuraisu* (an omelet with tomato rice inside) and piccata. If serving tomato rice with piccata sounds like an odd combination, fear not, as the piccata recipe in the magazine called for "tomato rice, egg, beef, green bell pepper, onion, and pepper," rendering it completely different from a traditional Italian or American piccata, which typically includes chicken or veal served with a lemon, white wine, and caper sauce.[373] *Hayashi raisu*, a dish made of tomatoes and beef, also became a popular home-cooked dish during the postwar. Kimiko purchased *hayashi-raisu* flavorings and roux 5 times between the years 1959 and 1964.

Not all fusion rice-based dishes in Japan were referred to as *raisu*, however. A notable exception to this rule was *donburi*. *Donburi* refers to a bowl of white rice with different food items on top. Kimiko mentioned in passing that she often cooked *donburi* because the dish was easy to make.[374] Some of the most popular *donburi* included *oyakodon* (chicken, eggs, and onion served over white rice), *gyūdon* (beef and onion served over white rice), *katsudon* (pork cutlet, egg, and onion served over white rice),

---

[371] Morieda, *Karē Raisu to Nihonjin*, 202.

[372] Tanaka Tokusaburō, "*Katei no seiyō rikōza*," *Shufu no tomo*, April 1952, 288-289.

[373] Tsunoda, Sugiyama, and Hashiguchi, "*Karē Raisu,*" *Shufu no tomo,* 344-345.

[374] Nakamura Kimiko mentioned this in an informal conversation I had with her.

kaisendon (raw seafood served over white rice), and *tendon* (tempura served over white rice). The first three *donburi* examples contained chicken, eggs, beef, and pork. Although *donburi* was a traditional dish in Japan, it became a rice dish prepared with meat, eggs, and international ingredients in the home during the postwar, resulting in a Japanese and international fusion dish.

To cook all sorts of new internationally-inspired dishes, women like Kimiko had to buy new international ingredients and foodstuffs. A few international foodstuffs written in Kimiko's *kakeibo* stand out: flake cereal, ramen, spaghetti, macaroni, peanut butter, popcorn, hotcake flavoring, margarine, mayonnaise, jam, ketchup, and sauce (a Worcestershire-style sauce). She purchased some of these items, like sauce, mayonnaise, jam, and ketchup in quantity, because of their long shelf life.

Not all of Kimiko's international-ingredient purchases steadily increased over time. She picked up flake cereal twice in 1960, and that was it. In the case of macaroni, she bought it once in 1954, and not again until 1960. She wrote down "ketchup" 4 times in 1956, once in 1957, 0 times in 1958, and 5 times in 1959. The purchases noted in her *kakeibo* demonstrated a consumer cook's ability to buy what new foods she and her family liked, craved, and did not like—as well as those that took some getting used to. Kimiko's shopping habits also indicate that she occasionally experimented with one product, forgot about it, and then gave it another try later. The data reported in the *Family Income and Expenditure Survey* also indicate that consumers did not purchase increasingly high quantities of international ingredients. Overall, the survey reported relatively low numbers for international foods and condiments. In 1962, for example, the survey lists an average of 29.40 100ml units of Worcestershire sauce purchased per

household, compared to an average of 286.32 100ml units of soy sauce, or 182.01g of miso paste.[375]

Kimiko's "Christmas cake" purchases provide another fascinating example of occasionally, but not consistently, purchasing special, international items. Christian missionaries in the sixteenth century brought knowledge of Christmas to the Japanese islands, but Christmas did not gain any real popularity until after the Meiji Restoration. Although ideas about Christmas became more commonplace in the Taishō period, the occupation forces spurred interest in the holiday. The Japanese mass media and retailers also jumped on the bandwagon to promote Christmas in the 1950s and 1960s.[376] Given the Occupation forces' strong presence in Japan, the popularity of Christmas cakes during the Occupation was kind of an enigma, as Americans did not eat Christmas cakes. Christmas cakes were popular in Britain and many commonwealth countries, but not in the United States. Articles about Christmas cakes—round cakes with icing and strawberries—and other Christmas confectionary appeared in the Winter issues of *The Housewife's Companion*, often with recipes included to help curb the costs of purchasing these expensive treats from a department store.[377] Kimiko bought a Christmas cake for the first time in 1954, but not again until 1960. She picked up a Christmas cake in 1961, wrote down "Christmas sweets" in 1962, bought nothing Christmas-related in 1963, and in 1964 she purchased a "decoration cake" (another name for a Christmas cake) on

---

[375] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 100.

[376] David Plath, "The Japanese Popular Christmas: Coping with Modernity," in *The Journal of American Folklore*, 76:302, (1963), 309-310.

[377] The earliest Christmas Cake (or decoration cake) article that I found was from 1949. "*Kodomo honi no kurisumasu*," *Shufu no tomo*, December 1949, 157-160; Ōtsuka Toshirō, "*Kurisumasu Keki to kappukeki no tsukurikata*," *Shufu no* tomo, December 1956, 23-26.

Christmas Eve. Eating Christmas cakes on Christmas Eve is currently a very popular custom in Japan, and women like Kimiko played a part in its proliferation, but, based on Kimiko's *kakeibo,* it is clear that the custom took more than a decade to develop. Like trends with other international ingredients, it is not the case that international-ingredient purchases steadily increased, as there was a five-year gap between Kimiko's first and second Christmas cake.

The fusion cuisine that consumer cooks whipped up in their homes necessitated more than an incorporation of new recipes, ingredients, and holiday cakes; it also required women to learn multiple cooking methods. The most popular cooking method in traditional Japanese cooking was the simmering (*nimono*) of Japanese foodstuffs, like bamboo shoots, lotus roots, and shiitake, in a *shiru* stock, comprised of sake, soy sauce, and mirin. Alternatively, Western food in Japan was distinguished by baking foods in the oven and flame broiling (*tenpiyaki, yakimono*). Bone broth or cream-based Western-style soups were also distinctive from dashi (made from kelp and skipjack tuna shavings) or bonito-based Japanese-style soups. Chinese food in Japan was usually deep fried or stir fried (*agemono, itamemono*), the latter becoming very popular in home cooking. All three cuisines could incorporate all of these different cooking methods, but broadly speaking, certain methods were more commonly associated with certain cuisines.[378]

As the Japanese diet diversified, the number of pans and knives a consumer cook kept in her kitchen also increased. According to a survey conducted in the early 1990s, within the surveyed group, the largest percentage of married women owned three types of knives (31.9%), and the second largest percentage group owned four (22.6%). More than

[378] Kamura, "*Katei ryōri no tayōka to sono haikei*," 85.

half of the married women surveyed had six types of pots and pans on hand (52.3%).[379] This is because the proper execution of certain international dishes warranted specific cookware. Preparing a stir-fried Chinese dish, for example, required the cook to own a wok.[380] As consumer cooks prepared more diverse dishes, they required additional kitchen equipment and utensils.

Japanese women learned to cook international dishes through multiple mediums. As this chapter suggests, recipes found in women's magazines provided detailed instructions to women on how to prepare fusion dishes. Consumer cooks also clipped recipes from newspapers; however, cooking demonstrations also played an important role in teaching consumer cooks to replicate new dishes in the home.[381] During the Occupation, General Headquarters' (GHQ) Civil Information and Education Section (*minkan jōhō kyōiku kyoku*) gave demonstrations in Tokyo on how to prepare American food.[382] The United States relief and recovery effort teams also set up cooking demonstrations in Okinawa.[383] In the countryside of mainland Japan, in 1948, the same year in which the GHQ-led Daily Life Reform Movement (*Seikatsu kaizen undō*) was established, the Life Improvement Extension Workers (*Seikatsu kairyō fukyūin*) also began teaching cooking classes. This group of workers gave cooking demonstrations in communal kitchens and kitchen cars (*kicchin ka—*). Housewives who lived in the countryside—sometimes in an attempt to escape for a few hours during peak farming

[379] Ibid., 87-89.

[380] Ibid., 87-89.

[381] Koizumi, *Chabudai no Shōwa*, 58-59.

[382] Ibid., 59.

[383] Koikari, *Cold War Encounters in US-Occupied Okinawa*, 58-59.

seasons—attended these classes in droves. Women who did not come from farming families also joined. The cooking classes taught both *kamado* cooking (the Japanese hearth) and bread baking. To give an idea of attendance numbers, in 1958, within Niigata prefecture, sixteen classes were held and 891 people attended. Across the country, instructors taught a total of 2,429 classes and 57,090 people took advantage of the courses offered. While the Life Improvement Extension Workers taught consumer cooks how to bake bread, more often than not they showed attendees how to cook other international and Japanese recipes, like curry, gyōza, *saba nimono* (boiled mackerel), vegetable tempura, and other side dishes that complimented rice.[384]

Although many consumer cooks learned a lot about baking bread and cooking international dishes, according to scholar Kamura Naoko, consumer cooks' home cooking *did not* become increasingly international as time passed. She argues that culinary trends are like a pendulum that swings back and forth. According to Kamura, in 1965, consumer cooks prepared 36.2% of food in the home in the Japanese style, 37.2% in the Western style, and 22.4% in the Chinese style. But by 1995, consumer cooks prepared 40.6% of food in the home in the Japanese style, 31.4% in the Western style, and 18.3% in the Chinese style.[385] This can be explained in part by a renewed interest in nutrition and an increased focus on dieting (both trends favored Japanese cuisine) during the Heisei era (1989-Present). Kamura's argument reinforces this chapter's argument, namely that women's agency as consumer cooks was central to the development of international, fusion, and modern-traditional Japanese cuisine.

[384] Koizumi, *Pan to Shōwa,* 124-124; At around the same time that the United States Congress passed PL 480 (1954), American wheat manufacturers also dispatched kitchen cars to Japan to teach Japanese consumers how to cook with wheat flour and bread. Koizumi, *Chabudai no Shōwa*, 59.

[385] Kamura, "*Katei ryōri no tayōka to sono haikei*," 85.

Kimiko bought many international ingredients and cooked new international and fusion recipes, but her *kakeibo* was primarily filled with ingredients for preparing traditional Japanese dishes. Kimiko consistently purchased soy sauce, miso paste, bonito flakes, dried sardines, konbu, wakame, nori, daikon radish, uri gourd, gobō, natto, spinach, pickles, tofu, fish cakes, furikake, and fish. It is quite clear that while many consumer cooks experimented with international foodstuffs and fusion dishes, they regularly continued to prepare and serve myriad Japanese side dishes and soups, accompanied by rice, to their families. One element of the Japanese diet that consumer cooks permanently changed in home food preparation, however, was the incorporation of meat, dairy products, and seafood. These were thrown into the vast number of Japanese, Western, Chinese, and fusion dishes that are eaten in Japan today, and we will turn to this topic next.

Meat, Dairy Products, and Seafood

Historically, the Japanese did not have meat and dairy industries. It was not until the 1860s that the Japanese began "beefing up" their diet. The milk and dairy industry was created in 1863, and, shortly thereafter, in 1869, *gyūba kaisha* (horse and cattle companies) began raising and selling cattle for beef. Butcher shops popped up in urban areas not long after this. The modern Japanese military began feeding meat to its troops, and in 1872 the emperor ate beef for the first time.[386] Despite their growing familiarity with meat eating in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, however, most

[386] Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food*, 142-148.

Japanese people did not enjoy meat or dairy as a part of their regular diet until the postwar.[387]

An increase in consumer demand for meat and dairy products coincided with the expansion of the domestic livestock industry in the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, the Economic Planning Agency's (*Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku*) 1957 White Paper attributed the rise in meat and dairy consumption to the consumer demand that accompanied an overall rise in wages and standard of living.[388] Changes in Japan's agricultural policies help explain how Japan's agricultural industry met this demand. Historically, Japan's agricultural policies focused primarily on rice production, and this was the case in the postwar as well. From 1945 to 1955, the Japanese government put most of its energy into expanding rice cultivation in the agricultural sector. Later, between the years 1955 and 1961, Japan's agricultural policy transitioned to one focused on agricultural diversification. The Agricultural Basic Law (*Nōgyō Kihon Hō*) of 1961, for example, shifted farmers away from rice cultivation and into in-demand commodity production. In doing so, the law called for the expansion of the livestock industry. The government focused most of its initial energies on the raising of pigs and chickens rather than cattle. This was due to the fact that, biologically, it was easier to increase the numbers of pigs and chickens faster than cattle. Additionally, importing chickens and pigs in the 1960s was not possible, but the government could import cattle. At the time, draft cattle, along with imported beef, comprised most of the beef sold in Japan. The

---

[387] Kamura, "*Katei ryōri no tayōka to sono haikei*," 80-81. Although different in various respects, this pattern is not entirely unique to Japan; it is true that Europeans also began eating greater quantities of meat after the end of World War II. See *Food: The History of Taste*, Paul Freedman, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Pass, 2007), 356.

[388] Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, *Kokumin seikatsu no genjō* (Tokyo, Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, 1957), 50.

Japanese government decided to enable the mass production of pork, chicken, and eggs, and gave limited attention to the domestic beef industry.[389]

Broadly speaking, pork was more popular than beef amongst Japanese consumers—in 1967 pork purchases permanently surpassed beef purchases—because it was cheaper and more readily available. Whereas the Japanese government had to import beef in the 1950s to meet the demands of consumers, the pork and poultry industries' domestic production kept up with demand in the 1950s and 1960s. Even in the 1970s, pork and poultry imports comprised only a small percentage of the total market.[390]

Regional factors also played a role in meat consumption patterns. Traditionally, pork was more popular in Eastern Japan (from Tokyo to Hokkaidō) and beef was popular in Western Japan (Nagoya, Osaka, and Kyūshū). Kimiko, who lived in Eastern Yokohama, for example, ate pork more often than beef. People who lived in the Kinki Region of Japan (Kyōto, Kōbe, and Osaka), on the other hand, tended to eat large quantities of beef. In contrast, people who lived in the Tōhoku region (northern Honshu) ate the least amount of beef, as there were fewer cattle in the region because farmers tended to use horses rather than cattle as their draft animals.[391]

The popularization of nutrition science also provides insight into the rise in consumer demand for meat and dairy consumption in postwar Japan. As discussed at length in Chapter Three, although its roots dated back to the nineteenth century, nutrition science took off during the postwar. Nutrition scientists urged the population to eat meat

---

[389] John Longworth, *Beef in Japan: Politics, Production, Marketing, and Trade* (New York: University of Queensland Press, 1983), 23-33.

[390] Kakuyu Obara, John Dyck, and Jim Stout, "United States Department of Agriculture: Pork Policies in Japan," in *Electronic Outlook Report from the Economic Research Service* March (2003): 2.

[391] Longworth, *Beef in Japan, 2*-5.

and dairy products, as they believed that these foods provided good sources of protein. "Meat," as an expense category, became common in published *kakeibo* for this very reason, and consumer cooks began preparing meat in their homes to improve their families' health. Some *kakeibo,* like Kimiko's 1960 version, even contained specific nutrition advice about daily protein intake. Her 1960 *kakeibo* included a chart of the amount of protein that a grown man needed on a daily basis (70g), and a list of corresponding food items that satisfied this amount. This included 100g of fish or meat, 180g of milk, 20g of eggs, and 100 grams of beans (soybeans).[392] *The Housewife's Companion* also frequently printed articles about nutrition. An April 1958 article titled "A Practical Guide to Essential Nutrients," for example, included images of milk, eggs, fish, seafood, and meat with their corresponding recommended daily intake, which matched the information printed in Kimiko's *kakeibo* (100g of fish or meat, etc.)[393] The nutrition guidelines included in *kakeibo* and women's magazines was not ignored, as consumer cooks' consumption patterns actually began to align with popular advice circulated in the postwar.

Finally, taste also needs to be taken into account when thinking about the popularity of meat in the postwar. Katarzyna Cwiertka argues that one explanation for the rise in meat consumption during the Occupation was directly related to Koreans opening up food carts that served grilled tripe and other internal organs to Japanese customers. In this case, meat was not associated with the West, or China, or nutrition, but instead, customers simply enjoyed the flavor of meat combined with delicious sauces. In

[392] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:7-1, "*1960 nikki kakeibo*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan), 3.

[393] "*Hitsuyōna eiyō o gōriteki ni torutame ni*," *Shufu no tomo*, April 1958, 318-320.

time, after the end of the food crisis, the grilled food served at these food carts began to appear in restaurants, presented as *yakinikuya* ("grilled meat restaurants"), and ultimately became a very popular food in modern Japan.[394]

Kimiko's purchases provide an excellent example of consumer demand for meat, as she bought meat routinely and her family's meat consumption increased over the course of a decade. Her *kakeibo* tells the story of a consumer cook purchasing meat *before* the Japanese government carried out its policies to expand the livestock industry. In 1954, one year before the Japanese government enacted a policy of agricultural diversification, Kimiko purchased pork thirteen times and beef twice.

Although the amount of pork, beef, and chicken products that Kimiko bought fluctuated between the years 1954 and 1964, we can identify some broad patterns. Kimiko purchased pork products significantly more often than beef or chicken products, and that did not change. In 1955, she recorded pork products 52 times, beef twice, and chicken once. In 1964, she bought pork products 96 times, beef 29 times, and chicken 20 times, demonstrating that her overall meat consumption both increased and diversified over the eleven-year period. Looking at the big picture, in 1955 Kimiko picked up meat products a total of 55 times, and less than a decade later, in 1964, that number more than tripled.[395] In 1955 the *Family Income and Expenditure Survey* reported 7,928g (17 pounds) of beef purchased per household, 3,143g (almost 7 pounds) of pork, and 1,144g (about 2 ½ pounds) of chicken.[396] In 1964, these numbers rose to 8,744g (19 pounds) of

[394] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine,* 150.

[395] 172 times.

[396] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 92-93. There are approximately 453 grams in one pound.

beef, 7,489g (16 ½ pounds) of pork, and 3,937g (8 pounds) of chicken.[397] During these nine years, beef purchases increased ten percent, pork by 138 percent, and chicken by 254 percent. Pork purchases surpassed beef purchases for good in 1967.[398] In 1955, the average Japanese family spent an average of 6,196 yen per year on meat products, and by 1964 this number rose to 17,566 yen, almost triple the amount.[399]

Kimiko's family, along with many Japanese families, also ate diverse cuts of meat. In 1958, Kimiko bought chicken products more often than beef, but she bought nothing but chicken skin. In fact, a decent number of chicken products she picked up included chicken bones (likely used to make a stock), skin, and internal organs. Kimiko was not the only consumer cook interested in cooking with organ meats, bones, and skin. A 1956 article in *The Housewife's Companion* titled "A Focus on Economical Meats: Wives' Food Study Class" included a transcribed conversation amongst housewives about how they prepared meat. In their class, the housewives took up the topic of affordable and nutritious internal organs. One woman joked that because *The Housewife's Companion* often promoted organ meats as a healthy, economical, protein source, many housewives would likely run out to purchase them, potentially resulting in a nationwide price hike.[400]

The article went on to discuss some of the housewives' favorite internal organs to eat, including liver, and also talked about eating brains, tongues, ears, and tails. One housewife noted that the only downside to serving these cuts of meat was the long

---

[397] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 626-627.

[398] Ibid., 626.

[399] Ibid., 93, 626.

[400] "*Keizaitekina niku o chūshin ni shita: okusama no ryōri kenkyūkai*," *Shufu no tomo*, April 1956, 200-225.

cooking time.[401] Both the magazine and Kimiko's interest in organ meats shows the wide range of experimentation among consumer cooks in the postwar, especially in regard to different cuts of meats.[402] Kimiko and other consumer cooks embraced meat eating in multiple capacities.

Perhaps the most astounding change in Kimiko's family's diet was the increase in eggs. Like meat and dairy, eggs were also heavily promoted as a nutritious food by myriad government agencies in the postwar, and consumer cooks wasted no time in adding them to their diets. Between 1954 and 1964 Kimiko's egg consumption went from 10 purchases a year to 169. In 1959, she wrote down "eggs" only 64 times, meaning that between 1959 and 1964 her yearly egg purchases more than doubled. This impressive increase in egg consumption was a national trend. In the *Family Income and Expenditure Survey*, families bought an average of 47 eggs per year in 1947. This number climbed every subsequent year until the average family ate a total of 626 eggs per year in 1962.[403] Two sample menus from the September 1951 and August 1956 issues of *The Housewife's Companion* provided a number of recipes that called for eggs, including soups, sandwiches, potato salad, fried rice, *tamagoyaki* (rolled omelet), and *nabe* (hot pot).[404]

---

[401] "*Keizaitekina niku o chūshin ni shita*," *Shufu no tomo,* 222.

[402] Longworth, *Beef in Japan*, 4. Kimiko also wrote down "minced meat" (likely a combination of pork and beef) quite often, she bought horse meat once in 1960, and she recorded mutton 4 times in 1964, both of which were produced domestically and imported in the 1960s

[403] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 94. Data is missing for the years 1963 and 1964.

[404] Okamatsu, "*Kisetsu no osōzai isshūkan*," *Shufu no tomo,* 266-271; "Isshūkan no kondatehyō," *Shufu no tomo*, August 1956, 308-309.

The increase in Japanese people's consumption of protein reflected the rise in meat and egg consumption. According to the Economic Planning Agency, between the years 1934 to 1936 the predominant source of protein in the Japanese people's diet was rice; the average person's daily diet included 45.4 grams of plant proteins, and only 7 grams of animal proteins. In 1951, the daily consumption of protein from plants (44.8 grams) decreased while protein from animals (11 grams) increased.[405] Finally, by 1955, both sources of protein increased in the average daily diet with 49.9 grams coming from plants and 14.8 grams from animals. While the overall average caloric intake did not rise dramatically during these years (1934-1936: 2,083 calories; 1951: 1,998 calories; 1955: 2,180 calories), the amount of animal proteins in people's diets changed dramatically, more than doubling over a 21-year timeframe.[406]

Of course, animal proteins in the Japanese diet did not just come from terrestrial animals, but seafood as well. Japan's increase in meat consumption was not at the expense of seafood. In fact, seafood consumption increased slightly in the 1960s, and Kimiko's purchases of meat and seafood products shared a similar trajectory.[407]

This was a rather recent development, as Japan's fishing industries had taken a giant hit during the war. Like rice, the Japanese government began rationing seafood in April 1941. After the start of the Pacific War, much of Japan's fishing industry was wiped out by Allied naval forces. During the war, most seafood in Japan came from local

---

[405] Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, *Kokumin seikatsu henbō no jittai*, 6.

[406] Ibid., 7-8.

[407] Longworth, *Beef in Japan*, 4.

coastal fishing.[408] After the war ended, the Occupation forces adamantly supported the recovery of Japan's fishing industry, although they placed restrictions on how far Japanese boats could venture out from the coast for fish in the Western Pacific. Japanese fishing firms expanded into the North and Central Pacific after the end of the Occupation in 1952. This allowed for a resumption, and an increase, in seafood consumption like we see in Kimiko's *kakeibo*.[409]

Consumption of seafood products in both Kimiko's household, and households across Japan, increased overall in the mid 1950s. The average annual quantity of fresh fish and shellfish consumed per capita hit an all-time high of 90,480 grams in 1954, but that number gradually fell to the range of approximately 60,000-70,000 grams per year in the late 1950s and 1960s.[410] Kimiko bought fresh fish, shellfish, raw fish, dried and salted fish, fried fish, canned fish, whale, and even dolphin. Consumer cooks likely used some of these items as seasonings for soups and side dishes, or as the main ingredient in a side dish. While Kimiko did not always write down the weight or amount of the fish she purchased, the number of times she picked up seafood items from the store doubled, from 144 times in 1955 to 300 times in 1964. This number did not increase gradually, but instead, wavered at times. For example, in 1958 she only bought seafood items a total of 64 times.

Fluctuation in the market prices of seafood affected Kimiko's shopping habits. Two good examples of this are horse mackerel (*aji*) and pacific saury (*sanma*). Kimiko

[408] Theodore Bestor, *Tsukiji: The Fish Market at the Center of the World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 116.

[409] Bestor, *Tsukiji*, 117-118.

[410] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 88, 621.

bought both fish every single year, suggesting that her family liked both, but the number of times she purchased these fish varied from year to year.[411] The same trend for both fish can be seen in *The Family Income and Expenditure Survey* as well, as the quantity purchased by the average household fluctuated.[412] The market prices of horse mackerel and pacific saury played the largest role here, as price hikes usually resulted in the fish being purchased less often. In 1955, the price of horse mackerel was 8.10yen/100g, but in 1956 and 1957 the price rose to 8.75yen/100g and 8.67yen/100g. In 1955 Kimiko picked up horse mackerel 14 times, but this number dropped to 7 times a year in both 1956 and 1957 after the price increased.

Although Kimiko's seafood purchases fluctuated at times, she consistently bought a diverse range of seafood products. Excluding roe, sea urchin, scallops, clams, oysters, shrimp, and fried seafood, she bought a total of 36 types of fish and other marine life.[413] Kimiko picked up very few items on a regular basis, and she only purchased a handful of seafood items more than once a month.

Kimiko's family clearly ate a lot of different types of seafood, but this did not mean that they liked all of them. In particular, Kimiko and her family did not seem to care for canned seafood. Kimiko bought canned mackerel, pacific saury, salmon, and whale, but, with the exception of canned mackerel, she never repurchased any of them. She picked up canned mackerel once in 1956, and one more time in 1959, but given that

---

[411] The number of times Kimiko purchased Horse Mackerel from the years 1954-1964: 4, 14, 7, 7, 6, 19, 11, 13, 19 14, 25; Pacific Saury: 3, 23, 16, 2, 4, 14, 8, 8, 16, 27, 25.

[412] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 89, 91, 621.

[413] Hokke, Kamasu, Saba, Sanma, Sake, Funa, Kujira, Iruka, Aji, Karei, Bora, Hirame, Tobiuo, Tara, Mutsu, Kisu, Ishimochi, Shirōo, Buri, Sawara, Warasa, Tako, Nishin, Tarakasu, Tai, Iwashi, Nijimasu, Hatahata, Ara, Tachiuo, Masu, Same, Katsuo, Ika, Kajikimaguro, and Maguro.

she did not buy canned mackerel a third time, Kimiko likely reminded herself of the reason she had not bought it in three years. She was clearly willing to give canned seafood a try, but it failed to win her over.

One of the most conspicuous items written down in Kimiko's *kakeibo* was whale. As mentioned above, in 1952, Japan's northern sea fisheries reopened for business, and shortly thereafter distributers began selling whale in bacon, fillet, and *sarash*i (refined) forms.[414] Kimiko wrote down "whale" in her first *kakeibo* once, and her purchases increased from then on. She usually bought whale once, sometimes twice a month. According to *The Family Income and Expenditure Survey*, Japanese families in the mid 1950s and early 1960s ate whale more often than chicken, but less often than pork. Recipes for fried whale cutlet also appeared frequently in the pages of *The Housewife's Companion*, indicating that this was a popular way to prepare whale in the home.[415]

Along with meat and seafood, dairy products were also prepared in higher numbers in kitchens across the country during the postwar. Dairy products frequently graced the pages of Kimiko's *kakeibo*, in fact, "milk" appeared for the first time on the third page of her first *kakeibo*. Kimiko bought different varieties of milk, including condensed milk, cream, whole milk, skim milk, and what she recorded as a "milk fee," which was most likely a milk delivery service charge.[416] While her milk purchases varied throughout the years, from 1958 on Kimiko picked up milk at least once,

---

[414] Koizumi, *Chabudai no Shōwa*, 57.

[415] See the menu included in this chapter. Whale consumption started to decline from 1964 on, see Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 92, 93, 626, 627.

[416] During the Meiji period, milk was delivered by rickshaw or bike. Milk consumption increased significantly in the postwar, so milk companies began using cars to deliver larger quantities of milk to more customers. Zenkoku Gyūnyū Ryūtsū Kaizen Kyōkai, "*Takuhai gyūnyū rekishi shiryōkan*," http://zenkaikyou.or.jp

sometimes twice, a month. Quantifying the amount of milk Kimiko and her family consumed is tricky because she typically did not record how much milk she bought. But, based on how much she paid for the milk, it appears that she often purchased more than one small milk bottle (180mL). For example, on February 2, 1960, she paid a 294-yen "milk fee."[417] Based on the average price of 180mL milk in 1960 as recorded in the *Family Income and Expenditure Survey*, 294 yen got her about one US gallon worth of milk (approximately 3,785mL).[418] In 1960 Kimiko bought milk a total of 15 times. If she picked up somewhere around one gallon of milk each time, Kimiko's family's milk consumption was only slightly above average in 1960, as the average family purchased about 13 US gallons of milk per year.[419] In short, in 1960, both Kimiko and many Japanese families consumed an average of a little more than one gallon of milk per month. This is a dramatic change given that in 1947 the average family drank a little less than one gallon of milk in one *year*.[420]

The amount of butter Kimiko bought was also quite impressive. In 1954, she picked up butter once, and from then on, her purchases tended to increase, although in 1956 she did not record "butter" in her *kakeibo* at all. In 1963, she wrote down "butter" 13 times, but in 1964 this number dropped to 8. While Kimiko's butter purchases generally increased, they diverged from the clear trajectory seen in her egg purchases. An apprehensive approach to butter usage was also reflected in the *Family Income and*

[417] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:7-1, "*1960 nikki kakeibo*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[418] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 93.

[419] Ibid., 93.

[420] According to the survey, milk consumption climbed up steadily from 1947 on. Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 93.

Expenditure Survey. While typically butter purchases rose across the board, the numbers wavered. In 1960, the average family bought approximately 700 grams of butter (115 grams of butter is equal to one US stick of butter—so about 1 stick of butter every other month), but in 1961 this number dropped to approximately 600 grams of butter.[421] Based on sample menus found in *The Housewife's Companion*, it is likely that Kimiko and other consumer cooks used butter primarily for toast, sandwiches, and roux. Some recipes, like potato cream and butter fish, also called for butter.[422]

Although she picked it up less frequently than other dairy products, Kimiko also bought cheese. She purchased cheese for the first time in 1962 and continued to do so in signficant numbers in 1963 and 1964. Cheese appeared for the first time in the 1963 *Family Income and Expenditure Survey*, indicating its slightly wider availability, but it was not a highly-purchased item at the time.[423]

In sum, consumer cooks like Kimiko purchased large quantities of meat and dairy products in the 1950s and 1960s, and in doing so, played a critical role in fueling consumer demand for these commodities. The Japanese government implemented policies that expanded the livestock industry and the government also imported beef in the same period, which helped meet this demand. Not only did consumer cooks proactively purchase meat, which was still a relatively unfamiliar ingredient for the home cook in the postwar, they also learned how to incorporate dairy and various cuts of meat, as well as very large quantities of seafood, into multiple international, fusion, and

---

[421] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen*, 93.

[422] Okamatsu, "*Kisetsu no osōzai isshūkan*," *Shufu no tomo,* 266-271; "Isshūkan no kondatehyō," *Shufu no tomo,* 308-309.

[423] Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen*~61nen, 628.

modern-traditional recipes. Examples of popular international dishes with meat and dairy products listed in 1951 and 1956 menus found in *The Housewife's Companion* included *Zhaziangmian* (a dish that includes meat, noodles, and soybean sauce), sandwiches with butter, hotcakes with fried eggs, and fried rice.[424] The same menus also listed fusion and modern-traditional dishes such as meat curry rice, grilled soy sauce beef liver, kabocha pumpkin with meat, and *Yanagawa nabe* with egg.[425] Additionally, consumer cooks served fusion, international, and modern-traditional dishes alongside complementary side dishes, soups, and pickles, which we will turn to next.

Meal Structure

This chapter has examined the ways in which consumer cooks incorporated new staple foods, international recipes, meat and dairy products into their kitchens, and has demonstrated that consumer cooks often opted to serve rice and side dishes for dinner—but how did consumer cooks combine culinary changes together with the traditional rice and side dish meal structure? What did dinner time look like? This chapter has placed postwar culinary changes into separate categories and taken them up one by one to discuss them effectively, but it is important to remember that Kimiko and other consumer cooks executed all of these changes *simultaneously*.

As examined in Chapter Three, traditionally, consumer cooks structured Japanese meals into two parts: the *shushoku* or the "staple food," which was always rice; and the

[424] Menus from 1951 and 1956 are included in the appendix.

[425] Okamatsu, "*Kisetsu no osōzai isshūkan*," *Shufu no tomo,* 266-271; "Isshūkan no kondatehyō," *Shufu no tomo,* 308-309.

fukushoku, or "side dishes." Historically, rice held the prioritized position of any given meal, and most of the calories consumed in a meal came from rice. In the postwar, however, this changed, as side dishes became increasingly central to the meal. People who lived in rural Japan ate up to twice the amount of rice as people who lived in the city during the 1950s, but the consumption of more calories from side dishes even picked up steam there as well.[426] Chapter Three argued that Kimiko's *kakeibo* provides an historical narrative of how purchaser consumers gradually incorporated new nutrition knowledge, ingredients, and cuisines into Japan's traditional meal structure of rice and side dishes, discussing this topic conceptually, but here, the meal structure will be discussed on a practical, cooking level.

To begin with, let's look at what constituted a "traditional" Japanese meal served in the home. Daily life scholar Koizumi Kazuko has written about what a typical meal looked like prior to the start of the Pacific War. According to Koizumi, commonly eaten foodstuffs depended on region, socioeconomic status, and season. For breakfast, someone who lived in the heart of Tokyo would have eaten something like boiled rice and barley, miso soup with tofu, pickles, and a vegetable or other food item simmered in soy sauce. For lunch, the same person might have had salted salmon or *tarako* and pickles. For dinner, she might have eaten boiled rice and barley, Japanese anchovies cooked in salt, and boiled taro and squid. Depending on the region where one lived, one might eat white rice instead of rice and barley. Side dishes also varied by region and season, affecting the types of fish and vegetables eaten, the types of pickles women

[426] Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, *Kokumin seikatsu henbō no jittai*, 13.

pickled, and the ingredients placed in miso soup. Broadly speaking, however, this menu would have been fairly similar across Japan.[427]

Each meal in traditional Japanese cooking was comprised of rice and side dishes, but side dishes were broken down further into four specific categories. Side dishes included *shusai*, the main side dish, which usually consisted of fish, meat, or eggs; *fukusai*, a side dish mainly composed of vegetables, beans, salad or tofu; *shirumono*, a soup, with miso being the most popular; and *tsukemono*, or pickles.[428]

It is worth discussing vegetables, often found in *fukusai* dishes, at more length here. According to Kamura Naoko's research, a study of the amount of vegetables consumed on average in three respective periods, 1917-20, 1965, and 1995, revealed an overall rise in the consumption of vegetables in the latter two periods. Some Japanese vegetables, like *daikon* and *komatsuna* (mustard spinach), however, were consumed in higher numbers in the years 1917-1920 than in 1965 and 1995 (although, they made a small comeback by 1995). On the other hand, vegetables from Western and Chinese origins that were not available in Japan during the 1917-1920 period, like lettuce, green asparagus and *hakusai* (Chinese cabbage), gained some popularity amongst consumers by 1965, indicating that the varieties of vegetable consumed in Japan diversified in the latter half of the twentieth century.[429]

There are a few economic explanations behind this development. As mentioned in the section on meat, seafood, and dairy consumption, the Agricultural Basic Law of

---

[427] Koizumi, *Chabudai no Shōwa,* 8-11.

[428] Ōhashi, "'*Kurashi no techō,*'" 40-41.

[429] Kamura, "*Katei ryōri no tayōka to sono haikei*," 82-83.

1961 called for the increased production of in-demand commodities, and that included the expansion of vegetable and fruit-growing industries.[430] Additionally, seasonality became less of an issue during the postwar, allowing for more vegetables to be eaten year round. This was due in part to the improvement in greenhouse technology, as well as an increase in vegetables imported to Japan.[431]

Authors of popular nutrition advice literature also urged consumer cooks to eat more vegetables. Kimiko's 1960 *kakeibo*, for example, included information about what vegetable groupings provide vitamins, calcium, and iron. The editor of this particular *kakeibo* recommended a daily intake of 150g of vegetables high in beta-carotene (*ryokuōshoku yasai*; asparagus, okra, green beans, *kabocha* pumpkin, mustard spinach, tomatoes, carrots), 350g of low beta-carotene vegetables (*tanshoku yasai*; onions, cabbage, turnips, *daikon* radish, *hakusai* cabbage, lotus root, cauliflower) and 150g of potatoes.[432] When it came to vegetables, popular nutrition authors stressed both variety and quantity.

Despite the overall rise in vegetable consumption in the postwar, Kimiko's vegetable purchases did not increase as much as one might think, especially considering that she had a two-person household in 1955 and a six-person household in 1964 (Table 9). What a close examination of Kimiko's *kakeibo* does reveal, however, is an overall diversification in the vegetables she bought. Although the number of times she

---

[430] Longworth, *Beef in Japan,* 32.

[431] Kamura, "*Katei ryōri no tayōka to sono haikei*," 83.

[432] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref#32:7-1, "*1960 nikki kakeibo*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan). Beta carotene is an orange or red plant pigment found in certain vegetables. Beta-carotene vegetables are a good source of Vitamin A.

purchased certain vegetables did not increase significantly in nine years, the overall variety of vegetables her family consumed expanded marginally.

Table 9

Vegetables and tofu, 1955 and 1964[433]

	Kimiko 1955 Number of Times Purchased	Kimiko 1964 Number of Times Purchased
Bean Sprouts	4	17
Cabbage	12	48
Carrots	27	59
Cauliflower	0	1
Cucumber	19	1
Daikon	21	42
Eggplant	19	26
Gobo	7	25
Green Bell Pepper	3	22
Green Onion, Negi	60	80
Kabocha Pumpkin	0	1
Lettuce	0	1
Onion	0	1
Potato	8	37
Salads[434]	20	0
Spinach	17	39
Tofu	8	72
Tomato	9	30
Turnip	0	2

[433] Data displayed in Table 9 is from Appendix 1.

[434] Salads became a popular side dish in the postwar. Traditionally, most Japanese vegetable dishes were comprised of cooked or pickled vegetables, and salads provided a raw alternative. As discussed earlier, articles published in *The Housewife's Companion* during the Occupation urged families to eat more raw vegetables because they contained more nutrients than boiled vegetables. The decrease in Kimiko's salad purchases is rather interesting, perhaps she began making her own salads rather than buying premade salads from the store. I believe this to be the case because she wrote down recipes for salads in her 1964 *kakeibo*.

This chapter has argued that consumer cooks began incorporating bread and noodles, international ingredients, new recipes, vegetables, meat, and dairy products into both the *shushoku* and *fukushoku* categories of the traditional Japanese meal structure, and fortunately, Kimiko's *kakeibo* provides an example of this. In her 1964 *kakeibo*, Kimiko occasionally wrote notes on what she planned to cook for dinner, and these notes were the only piece of writing in Kimiko's 1954 to 1964 *kakeibo* that provided specifics about what Kimiko cooked.[435] A selection of these notes is included below as Table 10.

Table 10

Selected meal entries from Kimiko's 1964 *kakeibo*[436]

March 10 *Sukiyaki* *Wakegi* Green Onion and Spinach Served *Nuta* Style
March 14 *Oyakodon* (Chicken, Eggs, and Onion Served over Rice) Spinach *Sumashijiru* (clear soup)
March 21 Curry Rice Vegetables Pickled in Soy Sauce (*fukujinduke*) Apple
March 24 Mutton *Hayashi* Rice Spinach, Cabbage, and Ham Salad
March 25 Spaghetti and Ketchup Quail Egg Dish Pickles (*tsukemono*)[437]

[435] One discrepancy stands out in Kimiko's notes: she never wrote down "white rice." Many of Kimiko's meals most likely included rice, especially meals with multiple side dishes and no staple listed, even though she did not note it.

[436] Data displayed in Table 10 is from: Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:11-1, "*1964 nikki kakeibo*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

[437] Based on her vinegar, uri gourd, salt, sake lees, hot mustard, and sugar purchases, Kimiko more than likely made her own pickles, a common practice for her generation. Still, she also bought several varieties of pickles from the store throughout the year.

June 9 Grilled Bonito Potato Salad
November 27 Omelets Fried Cabbage and Shiitake Apple
November 29 Grilled Ginger Pork French Fries Cabbage and Apple Salad Tofu and Green Onion Clear Soup
December 1 *Chahan* (Fried Rice) Soup (*suppu*) Pickles Apple
December 7 Grilled Gyōza Spinach Cooked *Konnyaku*[438]

Based on her entries, Kimiko cooked using the traditional Japanese meal structure. Most of her notes included one *shushoku* and more than one *fukushoku*, for example, on March 21 she prepared curry rice, vegetables pickled in soy sauce, and apple. Her entries also gave many examples of international recipes, such as *chahan* on December 1, spaghetti on March 25, *gyōza* on December 7, and Western-style soup on December 1. Meat and egg-based dishes, like *sukiyaki* and omelets, were also mainstays in her diet. She also cooked fusion *raisu* dishes, like curry rice on March 21 and *hayashi* rice on March 24, as well as one *donburi* (*oyakodon* chicken, eggs, and onion served over rice) on March 14. Kimiko served Western and Chinese main side dishes (*shusai*) alongside Japanese side dishes (for example, spaghetti with pickles, or omelets with fried cabbage

[438] Nakamura Kimiko Documents, Ref #32:11-1, "*1964 nikki kakeibo*," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

and shiitake) and Japanese main side dishes with Western and Chinese vegetable, bean, and tofu side dishes (*fukusai*) (for example, grilled ginger pork and French fries on November 29, or grilled bonito and potato salad on June 9). Kimiko's entries also demonstrated a wide range of cooking methods, such as grilling, simmering, frying, stir frying, pickling, and Japanese and Western soup preparation. She also served raw vegetables as well as fruit.

Kimiko's menu plans shared commonalities with other consumer cooks' contemporary cooking styles. During the 1950s and 1960s, *The Housewife's Companion* printed menus and recipes that included a number of rice and side dish meals, along with a sprinkling of international and fusion recipes, as well as countless dishes that incorporated meat and dairy, that resembled Kimiko's meal plans. While most consumer cooks did not prepare the dishes included in the creative menus in *The Housewife's Companion* during the Taishō period (1912-1926), during the postwar, consumer cooks like Kimiko began to actually purchase foodstuffs that aligned with the ingredients that women's magazines' menus and recipes called for. While not all consumer cooks prepared food exactly like Kimiko, the ingredients found in the meals she planned corresponded with a series of broad consumption patterns that developed over the decades we have examined. The items she purchased, like meat, dairy, international products, bread, rice, and noodles, were being regularly purchased by other consumer cooks as well, the ingredients she cooked with, in other words, were typical. Economically, Kimiko was also a rather average housewife, in fact, as Chapter Two demonstrated, she spent less money on food than most households. This is to say that Kimiko's meal plans were not privileged, nor esoteric. Finally, some of the recipes

Kimiko prepared in the 1960s, are currently, in the popular imagination, thought to be recipes that have strong associations with Japanese home cooking; like curry, for instance.

Conclusion

Kimiko's meal plans provide an example of the vast number of culinary changes that consumer cooks carried out in the home. From the food crisis years of the Occupation to the economic miracle, a lot was expected of women as the primary cooks in the home. Many consumer cooks like Kimiko rose to the challenge, and, as a result, permanently shaped modern Japanese cuisine. The innovative cooking style that formed over the course of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s—cooking techniques that eventually became seemingly instinctual, or commonsensical, for consumer cooks who prepared these meals every day for their families—must not be taken for granted.

On March 21, 1964, Kimiko served curry rice, vegetables pickled in soy sauce, and apples to her family and college-aged boarders. This one meal represented many of the changes that consumer cooks incorporated into home cooking during the postwar. Consumer cooks prepared new staples, cooked new international recipes and fusion dishes, added meat and dairy products to their cooking routines, and combined all of these new culinary practices with Japan's traditional meal structure. Some of the most fascinating aspects of postwar home cooking in Japan, then, are not changes, but also, traditions. While macro explanations of foodways provide a perspective of how empire, industry, economics, marketing, business, and nutrition science affect what we eat on a daily basis—a significant part of the story in the development of cuisine is not just a story

of big historical processes. It is the story of individual women, in their home kitchens, transforming and maintaining the new and the traditional elements of their country's cuisine over the course of decades.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In December 2013, UNESCO's Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage inscribed "*Washoku*," defined as "traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year," on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.[439] While the definition of *washoku* can, generally speaking, be ambiguous and difficult to pin down, the Japanese government's proposal gave *osechi ryōri*, Japan's traditional New Year foods, as the quintessential example of *washoku.* Rather than characterize *washoku*, or *osechi ryōri*, as dishes prepared in Michelin-starred *washoku* restaurants, of which Japan has many, the proposal focused on the significance of preparing "locally sourced ingredients such as rice, fish, vegetables, and edible wild plants" as a family and as a community.[440] The proposal also included an explanation of the transmission of the cultural practice:

> The basic knowledge and skills related to Washoku, such as the proper seasoning of home cooking, are passed down in the home at shared mealtimes. Grassroots groups, schoolteachers and cooking instructors also play a role in transmitting the knowledge and skills by means of formal and non-formal education or through practice.[441]

While this proposal makes no mention of gender, it is a fitting conclusion to a discussion of the significance of women's labor in the development of Japanese home cooking,

[439] "Washoku, traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year," UNESCO Culture Sector, 2013, https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/washoku-traditional-dietary-cultures-of-the-japanese-notably-for-the-celebration-of-new-year-00869

[440] Ibid.

[441] Ibid.

which occupies a meaningful place in the broader category of *washoku*. The proposal strikes a balance between conveying the importance of individual home cooks and groups at the grassroots level in the development and preservation of the traditional cuisine of Japan, known as *washoku*.

On the individual and family level, as consumers and cooks, Kimiko and housewives throughout the country, in the nineteen years examined in this dissertation, shaped modern Japanese home cooking. As consumers they purchased new and familiar ingredients and as cooks they prepared Japanese and international dishes, incorporating all of them into the traditional Japanese meal structure composed of a staple food and side dishes, a structure inherent to *washoku*. Housewives also gained access to newly disseminated nutrition knowledge, which inspired them to incorporate varieties of fish, meat, vegetables, fruits, oils, staple foods, and spices into their cooking routines in order to provide a balanced diet for their families. On top of this, housewives learned how to use and incorporate new kitchen appliances, such as refrigerators and rice cookers, into their daily cooking routines, permanently altering the look and functionality of kitchen space.

At the collective, grassroots level, hundreds of thousands of housewives petitioned the government to protect the rights and safety of consumers. This activism began in 1948 when Oku Mumeo created *Shufuren* (The Housewives' Federation). Forming consumer advocacy groups in the early postwar set the agenda for both consumers and home cooks to demand access to affordable and healthy food. In the late 1960s and 1970s, new grassroots activist groups in the form of local co-ops emerged alongside *Shufuren* within the consumer movement. Many housewives fervently

supported their local co-ops, and housewives like Kimiko moved into positions of leadership. Kimiko's co-op, Yokohama's Seikyō Co-op, sought to improve food safety and to keep commodities and commodity taxes affordable. The success of Seikyō Co-op, and the women and men involved in its operations, inspired communities around the country to open their own local co-ops. Doing so spurred the formation of new women's networks and provided new grocery shopping options to consumers. The goals laid out by local co-ops like Seikyō share a lot in common with the language used by the Intergovernmental Committee in their explanation of why they chose to approve the Japanese government's proposal to inscribe "Washoku" on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity:

> Inscription of Washoku could raise awareness of the significance of the intangible cultural heritage in general, while encouraging dialogue and respect for human creativity and for the environment, and promoting healthy eating.[442]

Co-ops did just this, in that they brought together new segments of the population who believed in the political significance of agricultural, environmental, and food issues.

The development of grassroots co-ops in Japan and elsewhere was, in large part, a response to economic and social changes that transformed aspects of food and cooking around the globe in the postwar. Globalization, industrialization, and technological revolutions effectively increased the distance between producers and consumers of food, and improvements in transportation (airlifting), instant-meal technology (prepared dishes that can be heated up in a microwave), and refrigeration altered the nature of the food

[442] "Decision of the Intergovernmental Committee: 8.COM 8.17," Intergovernmental Committee, 2013, https://ich.unesco.org/en/decisions/8.COM/8.17

chain.[443] Japanese food innovations, like instant ramen noodles, gained popularity in countries on the other side of the world. Likewise, American fast food corporations, like Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), made their way into Japan in the 1970s.[444] In the face of such rapid change, counterculturists advocated for alternatives to the rise of ready-made meals, fast food establishments, and chain stores.[445] The women of Seikyō Co-op were one of many groups who raised their voices about the dangers of unchecked expansion of industrialized food systems. More specifically, they were vehemently opposed to processed foods and the use of harmful food preservatives and additives.

In the case of Seikyō Co-op, collective activism was based on the individual actions of their membership. On both the individual and collective level, consumption, budgeting, and food activism were intimately connected, and nothing demonstrates this relationship more clearly than *kakeibo*. For individual housewives, *kakeibo* served as both budget-keeping books and meal-planning documents. The designs and layouts of *kakeibo* inform us about meal structure and nutrition, the foodstuffs housewives purchased reveal what kinds of ingredients and cuisines were popular with home cooks, and the non-food related expense categories can tell us about dining, cooking utensils, and kitchen appliances. *Kakeibo* tell a narrative of postwar culinary change that other documents cannot, as they provide accounts directly from individual consumers.

But, *kakeibo* keeping became more than an isolated task for a solitary housewife. In 1968, with the help of Seikyō Co-op, Kimiko and other members began what they

---

[443] Peter Scholliers, "Novelty and Tradition: The New Landscape for Gastronomy," in *Food: The History of Taste*, edited by Paul Freedman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007): 340-341.

[444] See *The Colonel Comes to Japan*, directed by John Nathan (USA: WGBH, 1981).

[445] Scholliers, "Novelty and Tradition: The New Landscape for Gastronomy," 348.

called a *kakeibo* movement. Kimiko, her colleagues, and her mentees collected the *kakeibo* of local housewives who joined Seikyō Co-op, compiled data from the *kakeibo*, and interpreted the data in multiple ways. The *kakeibo* movement tracked rises in the prices of commodities, what co-op members spent their money on, how much of the members' budgets went to certain expenses, as well as data on taxes, insurance, and pensions. The Co-op's *kakeibo* movement even published their own *kakeibo,* which was designed by Kimiko herself. The work carried out by Kimiko and the women involved in Seikyō Co-op's *kakeibo* movement demonstrates the efforts of individual housewives and groups of housewives—the majority of Seikyō Co-op's members were women—to keep foods healthy, safe, and affordable.

Kakeibo remain popular in Japan today, and they continue to provide a special kind of insight into how home cooks approach meal planning, food preparation, and budgeting. At the end of each calendar year, bookstores across Japan put out display tables filled with *kakeibo* from various publishers. Although there are different styles, some more simple in structure than others, a number of them resemble the *kakeibo* designed by Kimiko for Seikyō Co-op. The 2018 *kakeibo* published by *The Housewife's Companion*, for example, lists the following food expense categories: "Meat and Fish," "Vegetables," "Milk, Eggs, and Tofu, "Processed Foods and Frozen Foods," "Staple Foods: Rice, Bread, Noodles, Etc," and "Other: Eating Out, Snacks, Etc."[446] The most noticeable difference between this *kakeibo* and the one Kimiko used in 1972, examined thoroughly in Chapter III, is the disappearance of the "Side Dish" category. But side dishes still have a significant presence in this particular 2018 *kakeibo*, as the editors of *The Housewife's Companion* printed recipes for side dishes and soups alongside the

[446] Shufu no Tomosha, *365 nichi no okazu kakeibo* (Tokyo: Shufu no Tomosha, 2017).

expense columns on every single accounting page. The side dish and staple dish meal structure, then, is still reinforced throughout the *kakeibo*. Furthermore, contemporary *kakeibo* are still adapting to dietary changes, as the new category, "Processed Foods and Frozen Foods," demonstrates. Another 2018 *kakeibo*, published by Nagaoka Shoten, does not include any ingredients in its food expense categories, like "Meat and Fish," or "Vegetables;" but rather, includes four simple categories: "Staple Foods," "Side Dishes," "Luxury Items," and "Eating Out." Even though it is a rather simple *kakeibo*, it still references meal structure, a central component to the *washoku* inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.[447]

While this dissertation highlights the political significance and empowerment that housewives found through consumption and food, some aspects of this narrative are controversial in Western scholarship on the subject. While some scholars see consumer citizens like Oku Mumeo and Kimiko as feminists, others interpret their actions as derivative, or not feminist enough. The latter argument tends to emerge when made by scholars who situate housewives within the context of the early postwar. Following Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, the Allied Occupation forces remade Japan into a democratic nation. Japan's new constitution, promulgated by SCAP (The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) and the Occupation forces, granted women new rights, including the right to vote and run for public office, to own and inherit property, to marry and divorce, and to obtain an education equal to that of men.[448] But, not long after the Occupation forces promulgated these progressive policies, Occupation policy called for a

---

[447] Nagaoka Shoten, *Shinpuru jitsuyō kakeibo* (Tokyo: Nagaoka Shoten, 2017).

[448] Julia Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker, "Introduction," *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, ed. Julia Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, December 2017), 5.

conservative “reverse course” that challenged some reforms, and allowed for a gradual reinstitution of a more traditional gendered order. The Japanese government re-imposed conservative visions of masculinity and femininity on the populace, which were reinforced through government-sponsored programs, and gendered education also resumed in the form of home economics programs for girls.[449] For this reason, historians like Vera Mackie discuss the position of women in the postwar as paradoxical, “the forces of political economy and familial ideology increasingly pushed women into an identification with the domestic sphere as housewives, while the legal changes of that time removed official obstacles to their activities as citizens in the public, political sphere.”[450] Similarly, Andrew Gordon argues that the government-funded New Life Movement in the early postwar period naturalized proper roles for women and men, placing women in the role of home management as housewives, and men in the business world as salarymen.[451]

This dissertation has departed from this scholarship by placing housewives at the center of the postwar narrative and arguing for the integral role they played in shaping Japanese home cooking, and more broadly, domesticity. In doing so, it has argued that the conservative “reverse course,” the New Life Movement, and other factors were not solely responsible for constructing a gendered division of labor—demonstrating instead that housewives themselves played a central part in constructing gender roles. Housewives like Kimiko embraced consumption, cooking, and *kakeibo* keeping, and

---

[449] Bullock, Kano, and Welker, “Introduction,” 5-6.

[450] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan,* 122-123.

[451] Gordon, “Managing the Japanese Household,” 425.

clearly attached these roles to womanhood. In doing so, they reinforced a gendered division of labor that placed women in charge of key aspects of domesticity.

But, the story is still more complicated than this. While the prewar "good wife wise mother" was arguably an apolitical symbol of womanhood, and the martial mother was a silent, voiceless, yet political symbol of womanhood, the postwar housewife was different in that she was a citizen—who fully embraced verbal, public, political activism.[452] These citizen housewives did more than march in the streets, however. As consumers and cooks, they brought politics into the household. Kimiko even stated that keeping a *kakeibo* allowed women the opportunity to talk to their husbands about how politics affected their lives.[453] She brought politics with her everywhere she went, connecting consumption patterns, and the stores they patronized, to politics. She associated the kitchen with politics, and saw herself as the manager of that reorganized and reimagined politicized space in the postwar. Many housewives were interested in the political aspects of domesticity, and while this may seem perplexing or paradoxical to scholars at times, it does not change the fact that housewives were not merely acted upon, but that they acted in their own right.

This brings us back to the Japanese government's proposal to UNESCO's Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage to inscribe "*Washoku*," on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Setting skepticism about any ulterior motives behind the proposal aside, the

[452] For more on martial motherhood, see Hillary J. Maxson, "From 'Motherhood in the Interest of the State' to Motherhood in the Interest of Mothers: Rethinking the First Mothers' Congress," in *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, ed. Julia Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017).

[453] "*Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai*, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

contents of the proposal resonate with the arguments in this dissertation. The proposal makes clear that *washoku* does not just belong to the male chefs who most often publicly represent Japanese cuisine on the international stage today, like Morimoto Masaharu, Matsuhisa Nobu, or even Ono Jirō from *Jiro Dreams of Sushi*. Instead, the proposal points to home cooking, grassroots groups, teachers, and cooking instructors, and emphasizes that both professional chefs and home cooks prepare *washoku*. It also highlights the individual and communal aspects of shaping cuisine. This dissertation has argued that individual housewives who made budgets, planned meals, shopped in local grocery stores, chain stores, and co-ops, and then prepared international and Japanese ingredients in their individual (or shared) kitchens, gradually made an impact on modern Japanese home cooking. Furthermore, their decisions as consumers when it came to large purchases, like new kitchen appliances, transformed the appearance of the home kitchen in which food was prepared. Finally, many housewives stepped outside of their homes and joined grassroots groups, laboring tirelessly for healthy food legislation and affordable food commodities.

It is my hope that this dissertation has made the case for the significant role that housewives played in the development and preservation of both the new and traditional aspects of modern Japanese home cooking. To do so, it has pulled from the stories of women like Oku Mumeo and those who joined *Shufuren*. It has also examined expectations of women as explained in the women's magazine, *The Housewife's Companion*. This dissertation also pulled from survey data like *The Comprehensive Time Series Report on the Family Income and Expenditure Survey,* which relied heavily on the financial recording keeping of thousands of women. But most importantly, it aimed to

tell the stories of not-so-typical "typical housewives," like Kimiko. The moral of their *kakeibo monogatari* being that traditional foods and dishes are not timeless relics of the distant past, but are the results of the diligent efforts of actors in the recent present.

APPENDIX I

This is a chart compiled from data listed in Kimiko's *kakeibo* from the years 1954 to 1964. The chart lists every single food item Kimiko purchased during those years. The data concerning her food purchases in the years 1954 and 1957 was limited, and this is noted at the top of the chart. However, generally speaking, Kimiko wrote her food purchases in her account book almost every day.

There are two charts, and they both include the exact same foodstuffs. The first chart spans the years 1954 to 1958, and the second chart spans the years 1959 to 1964. Both charts include the following categorization schema: Staple Foods, Vegetables and Seaweed, Fish and Meat, Seasonings and Condiments, and Luxury Grocery Items. It is arranged this way because most of Kimiko's *kakeibo* during these eleven years used these five categories, or similar categories.

Kimiko sometimes recorded the amounts of food she bought—the weight of her rice purchase, how many pieces of fish, how many potatoes, etc.—but I did not include that information in the chart. The chart displays the number of days out of the year that the items were purchased, but does not include the amount purchased on each individual day. Doing so would have been inconsistent and misleading since this information was not always included.

I could not always read Kimiko's hand writing, so there may be some mistakes in the chart. Nonetheless, I hope it provides readers some insight into the consumption patterns of one family from the period. All mistakes are my own.

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
Staple Foods 主食					
Barley 麦	0	0	0	0	0
Bento 弁当	0	0	0	0	1
Boiled Noodles ゆで麺	13	0	0	0	2
Bread パン	50	28	22	28	45
Bread Lunch パン書	4	0	0	0	0
Cold Noodles 冷麦	0	3	3	11	2
Cold Soba 冷そば	0	0	0	0	0
Curry Bread カレーパン	0	0	1	0	0
Deep-fried Tofu Udon きつねうどん	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Noodles かんめん	8	3	0	0	4
Food Fees 食ヒ	0	0	0	0	6
Food Tickets 食券／パン券	0	0	0	0	0
Glutinous Rice もち米	0	0	0	0	0
Instant Ramen インスタントラーメン	0	0	0	0	0
Lunch 書食	0	0	0	1	0
Macaroni マカロニ	1	0	0	0	0
Marumen Noodles 丸メン	0	0	0	0	0
Meal 食事	0	0	0	0	0
Ramen	2	2	2	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
ラーメン					
Red Bean Bread アンパン	0	0	0	0	0
Red Rice 赤飯	0	0	0	0	0
Rice 米	4	3	10	19	4
Rice Bran ぬか	0	0	1	2	0
Rice Vermicelli Noodles ビーフン	0	0	0	0	0
Rice with Green Tea 茶漬	1	1	0	0	0
Roasted Pork Noodles チャーシュー麺	0	0	0	0	0
Sandwich サンド	1	0	0	0	0
School Lunch Fee 給食ヒ	0	0	0	0	0
Shina Soba 支那そば	5	3	5	1	2
Shina Soba Nabe 支那そば鍋	0	0	0	0	1
Soba Noodles そば	4	11	13	21	2
Sōmen そうめん	0	0	0	0	0
Spaghetti スパゲッティ	0	0	0	0	0
Steamed Noodles 蒸し麺	0	0	0	0	0
Thin Bean Noodles はるさめ	0	0	0	0	0
Udon Flour うどん粉	0	0	0	0	0
Udon Noodles うどん	17	18	24	29	13
Wheat Flour 小麦粉	0	0	0	0	1

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
Wheat Flour メリケン粉	0	0	0	0	0
Yakisoba 焼きそば	0	0	0	0	0
Yama Bread 山パン	0	0	0	0	0
Vegetables and Seaweed 野菜　海草					
Baked Sweet Potato 焼き芋	0	0	0	0	0
Bamboo Shoot 竹の子	0	0	1	0	0
Beans 豆	2	4	3	4	0
Bean Curd Lees うの花	0	0	0	0	1
Bean Sprouts もやし	2	4	2	5	2
Black Beans 黒まめ	0	0	0	0	0
Boiled Bamboo Shoots しなちく	0	0	0	0	0
Boiled Dish 細煮	3	1	1	3	0
Butter Peanuts バターピナッツ	0	0	1	0	0
Cabbage キャベツ	4	12	11	14	5
Canned Green Peas グリンピース缶詰	0	0	0	0	0
Canned Sweet Corn スイートコーン缶詰	0	0	0	0	0
Carrot 人参	9	27	32	21	8
Cauliflower カリフラーワ	0	0	0	0	1
Chestnuts くり	0	0	1	0	0
Chinese Chive	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
にら					
Chrysanthemum 春菊	0	0	0	0	0
Cooked Beans 煮豆	6	10	20	6	1
Cucumber 胡瓜	16	19	18	0	0
Daikon Radish 大根	13	21	24	22	16
Dark Seaweed ひじき	0	0	0	0	1
Deep-fried Bean Curd なまあげ	0	0	0	0	0
Deep-fried Tofu Mixed with Thinly Sliced Vegetables がんもどき	0	10	3	0	1
Dried Daikon 大根干	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Daikon Strips 切り干	0	0	0	5	0
Dried Grass 草干	0	0	1	0	0
Dried Green Onion ねぎ干	0	1	0	0	0
Dried Plum うめぼし	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Potato 芋干	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Shiitake 干椎茸	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Tofu 凍豆腐	2	1	1	0	0
Edamame 枝豆	0	0	0	0	0
Edo Murasaki Bottled Nori in Soy Sauce 江戸むらさき	0	0	1	0	0
Eggplant 茄子	7	19	32	21	0
Five Bean Mix	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
五目豆					
French Fries ポテトフライ	0	0	0	0	0
Garlic にんにく	0	0	0	0	0
Giant Butterbur ふき	0	0	0	0	0
Ginger しょうが	0	0	0	0	0
Ginger-Myōga みょうが	0	0	0	0	0
Gobo Roll 牛蒡巻	1	1	1	0	0
Gobo Root 牛蒡	2	7	13	7	3
Gourd 瓜	14	44	60	82	2
Green Beans いんげん	0	5	2	1	0
Green Bell Pepper ピーマン	1	3	3	4	0
Green Laver 青のり	0	0	0	0	0
Green Onion ねぎ	19	60	67	38	19
Green Onion ワケギ	0	0	0	0	0
Green Peas えんどう／グリンピース	1	3	3	5	0
Grilled Tofu 焼き豆腐	0	0	0	0	1
Japanese Plum 梅	0	1	3	0	0
Konbu Roll 昆布巻	0	1	1	0	0
Konbu Seaweed こんぶ	0	2	1	0	3
Konnyaku コンニャク	1	1	3	3	4
Leek	0	0	1	1	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
ラッキョウ					
Lettuce レタス	0	0	0	0	0
Lotus Root 蓮	2	8	7	5	0
Mashed Potatoes マッシュポテト	0	0	0	0	0
Mashed Sweet Potatoes きんとん	0	1	0	1	0
Matsutake Mushroom まつたけ	0	0	0	0	0
Mitsuba ミツ葉	0	0	0	0	0
Mushroom 茸	0	0	0	0	0
Mustard Spinach こまつな	0	0	0	0	0
Nameko Mushroom なめこ	0	0	0	0	0
Natto 納豆	8	36	19	0	3
New Potato 新ジャガ	0	0	0	0	0
Noodles made from Konnyaku 白滝	1	1	2	0	1
Nori Seaweed 海苔	8	7	10	5	2
Onion たまねぎ	0	0	0	1	0
Parsley パセリ	0	0	1	0	0
Peanut Butter ピーナッツバーター	0	0	0	0	0
Peanut Cream ピーナッツクリーム	0	0	0	0	0
Peanuts ピーナッツ	0	0	0	1	0
Pickled Daikon Radish たくあん	9	11	2	1	0
Pickled Eggplant	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
なす漬					
Pickled Vegetables 漬物	1	1	1	0	6
Pickled Wasabi わさび漬	1	0	0	0	0
Pickles Marinated in Mustard カラシ漬	0	0	0	0	0
Pickles Marinated in Sake Lees 粕漬け	0	0	0	1	0
Pickles Marinated in White Tea 白茶漬	0	0	0	0	0
Pigeon Pea 木豆	0	0	0	0	0
Pinto Beans うずら豆	0	1	0	0	0
Potato いも／馬鈴薯	4	8	11	7	3
Potato Starch 片栗粉	0	1	0	0	0
Potato Tempura 天芋	0	0	0	0	0
Processed Pickles 山海漬	0	0	0	0	0
Pumpkin かぼちゃ	0	0	0	1	0
Radish ラディシュ	0	0	0	0	0
Roasted Soybean Flour きなこ	0	1	1	0	0
Salad サラダ	5	20	8	3	5
Sesame Seeds ごま	0	0	0	0	0
Setsubun Beans 節分豆	0	1	0	0	0
Shiitake Mushroom 椎茸	1	2	1	0	1
Shredded Konbu とろろ昆布	0	0	1	1	0
Side Dish Fee	0	0	0	0	1

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
副食ヒ					
Side Dish/Greens 菜	0	1	0	0	0
Small Turnips 小かぶ	0	0	2	11	0
Sorghum もろこし	0	0	1	0	0
Soybean 大豆	0	0	0	0	1
Spinach ほうれん草	0	17	16	18	6
Strips of Dried Gourd かんぴょう	0	1	6	2	1
Sweet Potato さつまいも／とう芋	0	0	2	0	1
Taro 里芋	1	7	17	1	5
Thin Konbu 糸コンブ	0	3	3	0	0
Threaded Konnyaku 糸こん	0	0	0	0	0
Tofu 豆腐	3	8	18	5	3
Tomato トマト	2	9	24	19	0
Turnip カブ	0	0	0	0	0
Udo Mountain Asapragus うど	0	1	3	5	0
Vegetables 野菜	0	0	0	0	1
Vegetables Pickled in Sake Lees 奈良漬	0	2	1	0	0
Vegetables Pickled in Soy Sauce 福神漬	0	0	0	0	2
Wakame わかめ	4	7	9	2	3
Wasabi わさび	0	0	0	0	0
Yam	0	1	0	0	1

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
山芋					
<u>Fish and Meat</u> 魚　肉					
Age-Fried Food 揚	41	73	78	52	37
Atka Mackerel ホッケ	0	0	0	0	0
Bacon ベーコン	0	0	0	0	0
Barracuda カマス	0	0	0	0	0
Basket Clam シジミ	0	0	0	0	0
Beef 牛肉	2	2	6	2	3
Beef Cutlet 牛カツ	0	0	0	0	0
Blood Clam 赤貝	1	0	0	0	0
Boiled Mackerel さば水煮	0	0	0	0	0
Boiled and Half Dried Bonito なまり節	6	3	4	4	0
Bonito 花かつお	0	1	1	2	0
Butter バター	1	2	0	2	3
Canned Food 缶詰	13	12	5	11	4
Canned Mackerel サバ缶	0	0	1	0	0
Canned Pacific Saury さんま缶詰	0	0	0	0	0
Canned Salmon さけ缶	0	1	0	0	0
Canned Whale 鯨缶詰	0	0	0	0	0
Cheese チーズ	0	0	0	0	0
Cheese and Ham Baked Goods	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
チーズハム					
Chicken 鳥肉	0	1	0	0	0
Chicken Bones 鳥がら	0	0	0	0	0
Chicken Grunt Fish いさき	0	0	0	1	0
Chicken Internal Organs 鳥もつ	0	0	0	0	0
Chicken Skin 鶏皮	0	0	0	0	7
Chikuwa (Surimi) 竹輪	20	17	16	12	6
Condensed Milk 練乳	0	0	0	0	0
Corn Beef コンビーフ	0	0	0	0	0
Cream クリーム	0	0	2	2	2
Croquette コロッケ	5	6	5	5	1
Crucian Carp フナ	0	1	0	0	0
Curry Dango カレー団子	0	0	0	0	0
Curry and Fried Chicken カレー揚げ	0	0	0	0	0
Cut Fish ブツ切	0	0	0	0	0
Cut-Up Tuna まぐろぶつ／細切まぐろ	0	0	0	0	0
Cutlet カツ	3	7	10	2	1
Deep-Fried Food しのだあげ	0	0	0	0	0
Denpu Processed Fish or Meat でんぷ	1	0	2	2	0
Dolphin いるか	0	1	0	0	0
Dried Barracuda	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
かます干物					
Dried Fish ミリン干	2	0	0	0	0
Dried Fish 干物／干魚	1	0	0	0	2
Dried Fish 丸干	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Horse Mackerel 鯵干物	1	1	0	0	1
Dried Mackerel 鯖干物	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Pacific Saury さんま干物	0	1	0	0	1
Dried Righteye Flounder 干カレイ	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Sardines 煮干	1	2	6	5	4
Dried Sardines ちりめん干	0	0	0	1	0
Dried Sardines on a Skewer 目刺	0	1	0	1	0
Dried Shirasu 白す干	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Shrimp 干えび	1	0	0	0	0
Dried Squid するめ	0	0	1	0	0
Dumpling だんご	0	0	0	0	0
Dumplings on a Skewer 串だんご	0	0	0	0	0
Eggs 卵	10	44	47	26	19
Fish 魚	4	1	0	0	9
Fish Cake なると	0	0	0	0	0
Fish-Liver Oil かんゆ	0	0	0	0	0
Fish Wrapped in Seaweed	1	1	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
こぶまき					
Flaked Bonito 削り節	0	1	1	0	1
Flathead Mullet ボラ	0	0	0	0	0
Flounder 平目	0	0	0	0	0
Flying Fish とび魚	0	1	0	0	0
Fried Chicken から揚	0	0	0	0	0
Fried Fish フライ魚	0	0	0	0	1
Fried Oyster カキフライ	0	1	1	1	0
Fried Pacific Saury さんま揚げ	0	0	0	0	0
Fried Vegetable or Meat フライ	3	9	11	12	10
Fried Whale 鯨フライ	0	0	0	0	0
Gadid Fish タラ	1	2	4	6	0
Gnomefish ムツ	0	0	0	0	0
Ground Chicken 鳥挽肉	0	0	0	0	0
Gyoza ギョウザ	0	0	0	0	0
Gyoza Wrappers ギョウザの皮	0	0	0	0	0
Ham ハム	2	4	1	1	0
Ham Cutlet ハムカツ	0	0	0	0	0
Hamburger Steak ハンバーグ	0	0	0	0	0
Horse Mackerel 鯵	4	14	7	7	6
Horse Meat	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
馬肉					
Icefish 白魚	0	3	0	0	0
Internal Organs もつ	0	0	0	0	0
Internal Organs on a Stick もつ串	0	0	0	0	0
Japanese Amberjack ぶり	0	1	1	0	0
Japanese Spanish Mackerel さわら	0	1	0	0	0
Liver レバー	0	0	0	0	0
Mackerel 鯖	5	18	9	10	7
Manila Clams アサリ	0	0	5	14	6
Manila Clams Removed from Shell あさりむきみ	0	0	0	0	0
Margarine マーガリン	0	0	0	0	0
Mayonnaise マヨネーズ	0	0	2	11	4
Meat (Pork) 肉	13	35	40	26	15
Meat Dumpling 肉だんご	0	0	0	0	0
Meat or Fish or Vegetables Preserved in Miso 味噌漬	0	4	1	0	0
Middle-sized Japanese Amberjack ワラサ	0	1	0	0	0
Milk 牛乳／ミルク	6	4	7	5	12
Milk Charge 牛乳代	0	0	0	0	2
Minced Meat Cutlet メンチカツ	0	0	0	0	1
Minced Pork 豚挽肉	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
Minced/Ground Meat 挽肉	1	0	7	3	0
Mixed Vegetable and Seafood Tempura かきあげ	0	0	0	0	0
Mutton マトン	0	0	0	0	0
Octopus たこ	0	0	2	0	1
Opossum Shrimp アミ	0	0	0	0	1
Oyster かき	1	3	2	1	3
Pacific Herring にしん	0	0	2	3	0
Pacific Saury さんま	3	23	16	2	4
Pickled Gadid たらかす漬	0	0	1	0	0
Pickled Mackerel 鯖みそ漬	0	0	0	0	0
Pickled Red Snapper タイかす漬	0	0	5	0	0
Pilchard 鰯	1	7	3	0	1
Pond Smelt わかさぎ	1	0	1	0	0
Pork 豚肉	2	1	5	2	4
Pork Curry 豚カレー	0	0	0	0	0
Pork Cutlet とんかつ	0	0	0	0	0
Pork Cutlet Bowl カツ丼	0	0	0	0	0
Pounded Fish Cake ハンペン	1	1	0	0	0
Probiotic Milk Drink ヤクルト	0	0	0	0	0
Quail	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
うずら					
Quail Egg ウズラの卵	0	0	0	0	0
Rainbow Trout にじます	0	0	0	0	0
Raw Salmon 生さけ	0	1	0	0	0
Red Fish Meat 血合	0	0	0	0	0
Red Snapper タイ	0	0	1	0	0
Righteye Flounder カレイ	0	0	0	0	1
Roast Ham ロースハム	0	0	0	0	0
Roast Pork 焼豚	0	0	0	0	0
Roasted Giblets もつ焼	0	0	0	0	0
Sailfin Sandfish ハタハタ	0	0	0	0	0
Sakura Shrimp さくらえび	1	0	0	1	0
Salmon 鮭	2	8	12	5	2
Salted Fish しおから	0	0	1	2	1
Salted Mackerel 塩鱒	3	0	0	1	0
Salted Salmon 塩鮭	0	0	0	0	0
Sarashi Dried Whale さらし鯨	0	1	0	0	0
Sardines 白す	0	0	0	0	0
Sashimi 刺身	1	8	8	9	0
Satsuma Age Fried Fishcake さつま揚げ	3	4	2	0	1
Sausage	3	5	3	9	4

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
ソーセージ					
Saw-Edged Perch あら	0	0	0	0	0
Scabbard Fish たち魚	0	0	0	0	1
Scallop ほたて	0	1	0	1	0
Sea Trout ます	2	3	3	3	0
Sea Urchin 雲丹	1	0	1	0	0
Shark サメ	0	0	0	0	0
Shaved Dried Bonito けずり粉	1	1	7	5	0
Shellfish 貝	0	0	1	0	0
Shirasu 白す	0	0	0	0	0
Shrimp えび	2	2	2	0	2
Shrimp Tempura えび天	0	1	2	0	0
Sillago キス	0	0	0	0	0
Silver White Croaker いしもち	0	0	0	0	0
Skim Milk スキムミルク	0	0	0	0	0
Skipjack Tuna かつお	0	0	0	0	0
Smoked Fish or Meat くんせい	0	0	0	0	0
Smoked Squid いかくんせい	0	0	0	0	0
Squid いか	3	5	11	4	3
Squid Tentacle Roll げそ巻き	0	0	0	0	0
Steamed Seasoned Fish Paste	0	1	0	0	1

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
かまぼこ					
Sukiyaki すき焼き	0	0	0	1	0
Surf Clam 姥貝	0	2	0	0	0
Surimi かまぼこ	0	0	0	0	0
Sushi すし	1	0	1	1	0
Swordfish かじきまぐろ	0	0	0	0	0
Tarako たらこ	2	2	1	0	0
Tempura 天ぷら	15	20	22	47	4
Tuna まぐろ	0	16	16	13	2
Tuna Marinated in Miso まぐろ味噌漬	0	0	8	1	2
Tuna Pickled in Unrefined Sake or Soy Sauce マグロもろみ漬	0	0	0	0	0
Tuna Marinated in Sake Lees まぐろ粕漬	0	8	4	3	0
Weiner Sausage ウインナソーセージ	0	0	0	0	1
Whale Cutlet 鯨カツ	0	0	0	0	0
Whale Meat 鯨肉	1	2	1	1	3
Yogurt ヨーグルト	0	0	0	0	1
Yogurton Milk ヨーグルトン	0	0	0	0	1
Seasonings and Condiments **調味料**					
Aji no Moto MSG 味の素	1	1	5	3	3
Bell Curry Roux	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
ベルカレール					
Black Pepper コショウ	0	0	0	0	0
Broth つゆ	0	0	0	0	0
Consomme コンソメ	0	0	0	0	0
Consomme Soup コンソメスープ	0	0	0	0	1
Cooking Oil 食油	4	2	7	4	1
Cooking Salt 食塩	4	2	7	4	1
Crunchy Tempura Bits 天かす／揚玉	0	0	0	0	0
Curry Powder カレー粉	1	1	3	4	2
Curry Roux カレールウ	0	2	6	7	2
Dashi いの一番	0	0	0	0	0
Dashi Fish and Kelp Soup Stock ダシ	2	4	3	0	1
Dried Wheat Gluten 麸	0	1	6	3	7
Flavoring フレーブ／ミタス	0	0	0	0	0
Fried Rice Flavoring 焼き飯の素	0	0	0	0	0
Furikake ふりかけ／これはうまい	0	0	0	0	1
Green Curry グリンカレー	0	0	0	0	0
Hayashi Rice Flavoring ハヤシの素	0	0	0	0	0
Hayashi Rice Roux ハヤシライスルウー	0	0	0	0	0
Hot Cake Flavoring ホットケーキの素	0	0	0	0	0
House Curry Brand	0	0	1	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
ハウスカレー					
Jam ジャム	0	0	0	0	0
Juice Flavoring ジュースの素	0	0	0	0	0
Ketchup ケチャップ	1	2	4	1	0
Lard ラード	0	0	0	0	0
Lemon レモン	0	0	0	0	0
Mirin みりん	0	0	0	0	0
Miso 味噌	0	16	9	10	4
Miso なめみそ	0	0	0	0	0
Miso Broth みそつゆ	0	0	0	0	0
Mustard からし	1	0	1	1	0
Olive Oil オリーブ油	0	0	0	0	0
Panko パン粉	1	1	0	0	2
Potage ポタージュ	0	0	0	0	0
Potage Soup Flavoring ポタージュスープの素	0	0	0	0	0
Powdered Drink ソーダラップ	0	0	0	0	0
Powdered Soup ふんまつスープ	0	0	1	0	0
Powdered Wasabi 粉ワサビ	0	0	1	0	0
Rapeseed Oil 白絞油	0	0	0	0	0
Red Miso 赤味噌	0	0	0	0	0
Rice Flavoring	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
五目飯の素					
SB Curry SB カレー	0	0	0	0	0
Sake Lees 酒粕	0	2	2	1	0
Sauce ソース	3	6	6	7	4
Seaweed and Egg Seasoning のりたま	0	0	0	0	0
Sesame Oil ゴマ油	0	0	1	0	0
Seven Spice Blend 七味	0	0	0	0	0
Shina Soba no Moto 支那そばの素	0	0	0	0	0
Soba Broth そばつゆ	0	0	0	0	0
Soup スープ	0	0	0	0	0
Soup Flavoring スープの素	0	0	0	0	0
Soup Roux スープルウ	0	0	1	0	0
Soy Sauce 醤油	6	11	10	7	4
Soybean Oil 大豆油	0	0	0	0	0
Sugar 砂糖	10	12	9	10	4
Sweet Red Bean Soup Flavoring しるこの素	0	0	0	0	0
Sweet Sake Flavoring 甘酒の素	0	0	0	0	0
Tekka Miso 鉄火みそ	0	0	0	0	0
Tsuyu no Moto つゆのもと	0	0	0	0	0
Vinegar 酢	1	1	2	1	2
Yakifu	0	0	1	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
やきふ					
Luxury Grocery Item **嗜好品**					
Afternoon Tea 晝の茶	3	11	6	2	3
Akadama Port Wine 赤玉ポートワイン	0	0	1	0	0
Alcohol お酒	0	0	0	0	0
Anko Red Bean あんこ	0	1	0	0	0
Apple りんご	3	11	32	33	13
Azuki Beans 小豆	0	0	0	0	0
Banana バナナ	0	0	0	0	0
Barley Tea 麦茶	0	0	2	0	0
Bean Jam Muffin いまがわやき	0	0	0	0	0
Beer ビール	0	2	1	2	0
Birthday Cake バースデーケーキ	0	0	0	0	0
Biscuit ビスケット	0	0	1	0	2
Black Tea 紅茶	0	0	0	0	0
Cake ケーキ	0	0	0	0	1
Calpis カルピス	0	0	0	0	0
Candy Drop ドロップ	0	1	0	0	0
Canned Apple りんご缶	0	0	0	0	0
Canned Mandarin Orange ミカン缶詰	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
Canned Peach 桃缶詰	0	0	0	0	0
Canned Pie パイ缶	0	0	1	0	0
Caramel キャラメル	3	6	0	1	3
Castella カステラ	0	0	0	0	0
Chewing Gum チュインガーム／ガム	0	0	0	1	0
Chocolate チョコレート	0	0	1	1	0
Chocolate Balls チョコボール	0	0	0	0	0
Chocolate Candies マーブルチョコ	0	0	0	0	0
Chocolate Cream チョコレートクリーム	0	0	0	0	0
Christmas Cake クリスマスケーキ	1	0	0	0	0
Chocolate Skip スキップチョコ	0	0	0	0	0
Christmas Sweets クリスマスのお菓子	0	0	0	0	0
Cider サイダー	0	2	4	2	0
Cocoa ココア	0	0	0	0	0
Cookie, Karuketto カルケット	0	0	0	1	0
Coffee コーヒー	1	0	3	0	0
Crackers クラッカー	0	0	0	0	0
Crushed Red Bean Paste つぶしあん	0	0	0	0	0
Daikon Tea だいこん茶	0	0	1	0	0
Decorated Cake デコレーションケーキ	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
Donuts ドーナツ	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Red Bean さらしあん	0	1	0	0	0
Egg Roll 卵巻	0	1	0	0	0
Fish-shaped Cake 鯛焼き	0	0	0	0	0
Flake Cereal フレーク	0	0	0	0	0
Fried Dough Cake かりん糖	0	2	0	0	0
Fruit 果物	1	1	0	1	0
Gelatin ゼリー	0	0	0	0	0
Grape Wine ブドー酒	0	1	1	2	0
Grapes ぶどう	0	1	5	2	0
Hard Candy 飴	3	6	4	3	6
Honey みつ	0	1	0	0	0
Ice 氷	0	1	0	5	0
Ice Cream アイス／アイスクリーム	1	3	4	1	1
Jelly Dessert 水菓子／みつまめ	0	0	0	3	0
Juice ジュース	0	0	0	0	0
Kiwi キウイ	0	0	0	2	0
Loquat びわ	0	0	1	2	0
Macaron マカロン	0	0	0	0	0
Mandarin Orange みかん	2	8	19	10	1

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
Manju 万頭	0	0	0	0	0
Marmalade ママレード	0	0	0	0	0
Mochi おもち	0	0	0	0	0
Moon Viewing Dango 十五夜団子	1	1	0	0	0
Mugwort Mochi 草餅	0	0	0	0	0
Navel Orange ネーブル	0	0	0	0	0
Oak Leaf Mochi 柏餅	0	0	0	0	0
Oriental Melon マクワウリ	0	0	0	0	0
Peach 桃	0	0	4	0	0
Peanut and Rice Cracker Snack かきのたね	0	1	0	0	0
Peanuts and Chocolate ピーナッツチョコ	0	0	0	0	0
Pear 梨	2	1	5	0	0
Persimmon かき	0	0	0	0	0
Raisin レーゾン／干ぶどう	0	0	0	0	0
Red Bean Cake 小判焼き	0	0	0	0	0
Red Bean Donut アンドーナッツ	0	0	0	0	0
Red Bean Paste あん	0	0	1	0	0
Red-Bean Pancake ドラ焼き	0	0	0	0	0
Rice Cracker せんべい	0	0	0	0	0
Roasted Mochi Bits 霰餅	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1954 Limited Months	1955	1956	1957 January-October	1958
Rock Candy 氷砂糖	0	0	0	0	0
Rusk ラスク	0	0	0	0	0
Shumai Dumplings シューマイ	0	2	0	0	1
Snack おやつ／おつまみ	0	0	0	0	0
Soft Serve Ice Cream ソフトアイス	0	0	0	0	0
Strawberry 苺	0	1	0	0	0
Sugared Red Beans 甘納豆	1	2	0	0	0
Summer Mandarin Orange 夏みかん	0	0	0	0	0
Sweet Bean Jelly 羊かん	0	1	1	0	1
Sweet Red Bean Soup しるこ	0	0	0	0	0
Sweet Rice and Azuki おはぎ	0	0	0	0	0
Sweets 菓子	28	18	26	21	37
Syrup-Covered Anko あんみつ	0	0	0	0	0
Tea お茶	7	7	12	6	10
Tea and Sweets 茶菓	0	0	0	0	1
Wafer ウェハース	0	0	0	0	0
Watermelon 西瓜	0	0	2	0	0
White Tea 白茶	2	10	7	0	2
Wonton わんたん	0	0	1	0	0

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Staple Foods 主食						
Barley 麦	7	0	1	0	0	0
Bento 弁当	2	0	0	0	0	0
Boiled Noodles ゆで麺	9	8	2	0	0	3
Bread パン	140	123	96	100	116	64
Bread Lunch パン昼	1	0	0	0	0	0
Cold Noodles 冷麦	7	7	9	6	13	5
Cold Soba 冷そば	0	1	0	1	2	0
Curry Bread カレーパン	0	0	0	0	0	0
Deep-fried Tofu Udon きつねうどん	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dried Noodles かんめん	1	0	9	3	1	0
Food Fees 食ヒ	7	5	6	0	0	0
Food Tickets 食券／パン券	7	0	0	0	0	0
Glutinous Rice もち米	1	0	4	0	1	2
Instant Ramen インスタントラーメン	0	0	0	0	2	0
Lunch 昼食	17	114	25	1	2	5
Macaroni マカロニ	0	1	0	2	2	1
Marumen Noodles 丸メン	0	0	2	0	0	0
Meal 食事	0	0	24	0	1	0
Ramen ラーメン	3	7	7	4	7	8

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Red Bean Bread アンパン	0	0	0	0	0	1
Red Rice 赤飯	1	0	0	0	0	0
Rice 米	22	17	24	29	27	37
Rice Bran ぬか	0	2	6	1	2	3
Rice Vermicelli Noodles ビーフン	1	0	1	0	0	0
Rice with Green Tea 茶漬	0	1	0	0	0	0
Roasted Pork Noodles チャーシュー麺	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sandwich サンド	0	0	0	0	0	0
School Lunch Fee 給食ヒ	0	0	0	0	7	11
Shina Soba 支那そば	2	3	0	0	0	2
Shina Soba Nabe 支那そば鍋	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soba Noodles そば	17	40	4	12	4	6
Sōmen そうめん	1	0	1	0	0	1
Spaghetti スパゲッティ	0	0	1	0	2	3
Steamed Noodles 蒸し麺	0	3	3	6	12	2
Thin Bean Noodles はるさめ	0	0	0	1	0	0
Udon Flour うどん粉	0	0	0	0	0	3
Udon Noodles うどん	39	43	16	53	41	17
Wheat Flour 小麦粉	3	0	1	0	1	0
Wheat Flour メリケン粉	1	1	3	1	0	0
Yakisoba	2	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
焼きそば						
Yama Bread 山パン	0	0	0	0	2	1
Vegetables and Seaweed **野菜　海草**						
Baked Sweet Potato 焼き芋	2	1	0	0	0	0
Bamboo Shoot 竹の子	1	3	1	2	2	13
Beans 豆	2	8	6	10	4	5
Bean Curd Lees うの花	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bean Sprouts もやし	15	18	13	8	15	17
Black Beans 黒まめ	0	0	0	0	1	1
Boiled Bamboo Shoots しなちく	1	0	0	0	0	0
Boiled Dish 細煮	9	13	9	1	9	18
Butter Peanuts バターピナッツ	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cabbage キャベツ	17	27	39	37	34	48
Canned Green Peas グリンピース缶詰	0	0	0	1	0	0
Canned Sweet Corn スイートコーン缶詰	0	0	0	0	1	2
Carrot 人参	18	29	41	45	48	59
Cauliflower カリフラーワ	0	0	5	4	7	1
Chestnuts くり	0	1	0	0	0	1
Chinese Chive にら	0	0	0	1	0	8
Chrysanthemum 春菊	0	1	1	6	9	10
Cooked Beans 煮豆	0	1	4	12	10	23

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Cucumber 胡瓜	2	2	1	1	0	1
Daikon Radish 大根	40	19	41	27	43	42
Dark Seaweed ひじき	0	1	1	0	3	9
Deep-fried Bean Curd なまあげ	1	1	3	8	2	25
Deep-fried Tofu Mixed with Thinly Sliced Vegetables がんもどき	2	0	1	1	3	12
Dried Daikon 大根干	4	2	3	1	2	5
Dried Daikon Strips 切り干	0	1	0	0	1	0
Dried Grass 草干	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Green Onion ねぎ干	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Plum うめぼし	0	1	0	0	1	3
Dried Potato 芋干	0	3	5	2	3	2
Dried Shiitake 干椎茸	0	0	0	0	0	2
Dried Tofu 凍豆腐	0	0	0	0	0	0
Edamame 枝豆	0	0	0	0	1	0
Edo Murasaki Bottled Nori in Soy Sauce 江戸むらさき	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eggplant 茄子	12	7	18	20	20	26
Five Bean Mix 五目豆	0	0	0	1	0	0
French Fries ポテトフライ	0	0	0	1	0	1
Garlic にんにく	0	1	0	3	1	3
Giant Butterbur ふき	0	0	3	2	2	1

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Ginger しょうが	0	0	2	10	11	17
Ginger-Myōga みょうが	0	0	0	0	0	1
Gobo Roll 牛蒡巻	1	0	0	1	3	0
Gobo Root 牛蒡	10	6	9	8	18	25
Gourd 瓜	68	58	55	73	67	70
Green Beans いんげん	5	3	4	5	6	12
Green Bell Pepper ピーマン	2	4	11	16	18	22
Green Laver 青のり	0	1	1	0	0	0
Green Onion ねぎ	54	40	47	47	70	80
Green Onion ワケギ	0	0	5	5	6	5
Green Peas えんどう／グリンピース	7	5	7	14	13	20
Grilled Tofu 焼き豆腐	1	1	2	2	2	6
Japanese Plum 梅	0	3	0	3	7	2
Konbu Roll 昆布巻	1	0	4	0	1	1
Konbu Seaweed こんぶ	0	7	12	6	11	12
Konnyaku コンニャク	6	5	2	1	2	9
Leek ラッキョウ	0	1	0	0	0	0
Lettuce レタス	0	0	0	1	1	1
Lotus Root 蓮	3	3	12	5	5	11
Mashed Potatoes マッシュポテト	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mashed Sweet Potatoes	1	2	1	1	1	1

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
きんとん						
Matsutake Mushroom まつたけ	0	0	0	0	1	0
Mitsuba ミツ葉	0	0	1	0	4	12
Mushroom 茸	0	0	0	0	1	0
Mustard Spinach こまつな	2	0	5	4	6	15
Nameko Mushroom なめこ	0	1	0	0	0	0
Natto 納豆	8	18	9	10	17	15
New Potato 新ジャガ	0	0	1	1	0	0
Noodles made from Konnyaku 白滝	1	1	1	1	0	0
Nori Seaweed 海苔	7	7	10	12	18	22
Onion たまねぎ	2	16	8	3	0	1
Parsley パセリ	0	0	1	1	1	3
Peanut Butter ピーナッツバーター	0	1	0	0	0	0
Peanut Cream ピーナッツクリーム	0	0	1	1	2	2
Peanuts ピーナッツ	0	0	2	5	4	2
Pickled Daikon Radish たくあん	10	8	5	1	7	26
Pickled Eggplant なす漬	0	1	0	0	0	0
Pickled Vegetables 漬物	10	20	6	4	5	11
Pickled Wasabi わさび漬	0	0	0	0	1	0
Pickles Marinated in Mustard カラシ漬	0	2	0	0	2	1
Pickles Marinated in Sake Lees 粕漬け	0	2	0	0	2	1

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Pickles Marinated in White Tea 白茶漬	0	2	2	0	0	1
Pigeon Pea 木豆	0	0	1	0	0	0
Pinto Beans うずら豆	1	1	1	0	0	0
Potato いも／馬鈴薯	15	17	29	25	45	37
Potato Starch 片栗粉	0	1	2	1	2	3
Potato Tempura 天芋	0	1	0	0	0	0
Processed Pickles 山海漬	0	0	3	0	1	0
Pumpkin かぼちゃ	1	0	1	1	3	1
Radish ラディシュ	0	0	0	0	0	1
Roasted Soybean Flour きなこ	2	2	2	1	1	3
Salad サラダ	8	7	2	0	1	0
Sesame Seeds ごま	0	1	2	3	3	6
Setsubun Beans 節分豆	0	0	1	0	0	0
Shiitake Mushroom 椎茸	0	2	1	12	16	32
Shredded Konbu とろろ昆布	0	0	0	0	0	9
Side Dish Fee 副食ヒ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Side Dish/Greens 菜	0	0	0	0	0	0
Small Turnips 小かぶ	1	3	4	10	3	7
Sorghum もろこし	0	0	0	1	0	0
Soybean 大豆	0	0	2	0	0	0
Spinach	36	24	20	24	32	39

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
ほうれん草						
Strips of Dried Gourd かんぴょう	0	2	3	2	0	3
Sweet Potato さつまいも／とう芋	3	0	5	5	1	0
Taro 里芋	4	5	3	5	11	12
Thin Konbu 糸コンブ	1	0	2	1	0	0
Threaded Konnyaku 糸こん	0	4	2	3	2	8
Tofu 豆腐	21	19	47	42	33	72
Tomato トマト	13	26	16	24	34	30
Turnip カブ	7	12	11	7	7	2
Udo Mountain Asapragus うど	4	2	4	1	8	3
Vegetables 野菜	0	2	0	3	0	0
Vegetables Pickled in Sake Lees 奈良漬	0	2	2	2	0	8
Vegetables Pickled in Soy Sauce 福神漬	1	1	16	12	10	16
Wakame わかめ	21	21	16	11	13	16
Wasabi わさび	0	1	1	0	0	0
Yam 山芋	0	3	4	1	0	1
Fish and Meat 魚　肉						
Age-Fried Food 揚	104	90	74	73	59	67
Atka Mackerel ホッケ	0	0	0	3	0	0
Bacon ベーコン	0	1	3	4	1	4
Barracuda カマス	1	0	0	0	3	1

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Basket Clam シジミ	0	0	0	1	0	0
Beef 牛肉	13	7	8	3	5	17
Beef Cutlet 牛カツ	0	0	0	0	0	1
Blood Clam 赤貝	0	0	0	0	0	0
Boiled Mackerel さば水煮	0	0	0	0	0	1
Boiled and Half Dried Bonito なまり節	4	0	0	0	3	5
Bonito 花かつお	0	1	2	4	12	11
Butter バター	3	4	9	9	13	8
Canned Food 缶詰	13	5	6	4	7	6
Canned Mackerel サバ缶	1	0	0	0	0	0
Canned Pacific Saury さんま缶詰	0	0	0	0	1	0
Canned Salmon さけ缶	0	0	0	0	0	0
Canned Whale 鯨缶詰	0	0	1	0	0	0
Cheese チーズ	0	0	0	1	18	12
Cheese and Ham Baked Goods チーズハム	0	0	0	0	0	1
Chicken 鳥肉	0	6	7	2	6	14
Chicken Bones 鳥がら	0	0	1	1	0	0
Chicken Grunt Fish いさき	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chicken Internal Organs 鳥もつ	0	2	2	2	3	3
Chicken Skin 鶏皮	0	0	0	1	0	2
Chikuwa (Surimi)	20	11	10	8	11	12

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
竹輪						
Condensed Milk 練乳	0	0	1	0	0	0
Corn Beef コンビーフ	0	4	1	1	2	10
Cream クリーム	0	1	0	2	2	4
Croquette コロッケ	9	7	25	37	31	12
Crucian Carp フナ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Curry Dango カレー団子	3	0	0	1	1	2
Curry and Fried Chicken カレー揚げ	1	0	0	0	0	0
Cut Fish ブツ切	0	0	0	1	2	5
Cut-Up Tuna まぐろぶつ／細切まぐろ	0	0	1	0	0	1
Cutlet カツ	4	5	7	10	4	2
Deep-Fried Food しのだあげ	0	0	0	0	2	3
Denpu Processed Fish or Meat でんぷ	2	0	2	4	3	1
Dolphin いるか	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Barracuda かます干物	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dried Fish ミリン干	0	0	2	0	0	7
Dried Fish 干物／干魚	0	0	0	4	2	4
Dried Fish 丸干	0	0	0	0	0	2
Dried Horse Mackerel 鯵干物	2	2	0	0	0	6
Dried Mackerel 鯖干物	0	0	0	1	1	0
Dried Pacific Saury さんま干物	1	3	5	2	1	6

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Dried Righteye Flounder 干カレイ	0	0	0	1	0	0
Dried Sardines 煮干	7	4	17	9	21	0
Dried Sardines ちりめん干	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dried Sardines on a Skewer 目刺	2	1	0	0	0	2
Dried Shirasu 白す干	3	5	0	2	3	6
Dried Shrimp 干えび	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dried Squid するめ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dumpling だんご	0	0	0	1	0	0
Dumplings on a Skewer 串だんご	0	1	0	0	0	0
Eggs 卵	64	70	70	76	113	169
Fish 魚	10	8	10	6	2	3
Fish Cake なると	0	0	1	2	2	5
Fish-Liver Oil かんゆ	0	0	0	0	0	3
Fish Wrapped in Seaweed こぶまき	0	0	0	0	0	0
Flaked Bonito 削り節	2	0	0	0	0	1
Flathead Mullet ボラ	0	0	0	1	0	0
Flounder 平目	0	0	0	3	11	13
Flying Fish とび魚	0	0	0	0	0	2
Fried Chicken から揚	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fried Fish フライ魚	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fried Oyster	10	1	1	0	0	0

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
カキフライ						
Fried Pacific Saury さんま揚げ	1	0	0	0	0	0
Fried Vegetable or Meat フライ	13	7	3	1	3	6
Fried Whale 鯨フライ	0	0	3	0	0	0
Gadid Fish タラ	2	0	1	2	0	2
Gnomefish ムツ	0	0	3	0	0	0
Ground Chicken 鳥挽肉	0	0	1	0	0	1
Gyoza ギョウザ	0	2	2	6	1	0
Gyoza Wrappers ギョウザの皮	0	0	0	0	1	1
Ham ハム	1	9	10	13	25	15
Ham Cutlet ハムカツ	0	0	0	1	0	0
Hamburger Steak ハンバーグ	0	0	0	4	3	1
Horse Mackerel 鯵	19	11	13	19	14	25
Horse Meat 馬肉	0	1	0	0	0	0
Icefish 白魚	1	5	3	6	2	3
Internal Organs もつ	0	0	1	0	0	0
Internal Organs on a Stick もつ串	0	0	1	0	0	0
Japanese Amberjack ぶり	2	3	3	0	0	0
Japanese Spanish Mackerel さわら	0	0	0	0	0	0
Liver レバー	0	0	0	2	0	0
Mackerel 鯖	20	15	13	23	17	19

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Manila Clams アサリ	3	5	10	7	15	18
Manila Clams Removed from Shell あさりむきみ	0	0	1	1	0	3
Margarine マーガリン	0	0	1	0	0	1
Mayonnaise マヨネーズ	7	9	10	10	13	13
Meat (Pork) 肉	24	24	23	40	40	13
Meat Dumpling 肉だんご	0	2	0	1	0	0
Meat or Fish or Vegetables Preserved in Miso 味噌漬	1	0	1	12	5	4
Middle-sized Japanese Amberjack ワラサ	1	0	0	2	2	2
Milk 牛乳／ミルク	18	14	20	14	5	2
Milk Charge 牛乳代	2	1	0	7	10	11
Minced Meat Cutlet メンチカツ	0	0	0	1	0	0
Minced Pork 豚挽肉	0	0	0	3	0	1
Minced/Ground Meat 挽肉	12	8	20	16	18	27
Mixed Vegetable and Seafood Tempura かきあげ	0	0	1	0	0	0
Mutton マトン	0	0	0	0	0	4
Octopus たこ	2	1	0	0	0	0
Opossum Shrimp アミ	1	2	0	0	0	0
Oyster かき	7	6	2	0	12	11
Pacific Herring にしん	0	0	6	4	2	10
Pacific Saury さんま	14	8	8	16	27	25
Pickled Gadid	0	0	0	0	0	0

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
たらかす漬						
Pickled Mackerel 鯖みそ漬	1	0	0	0	0	0
Pickled Red Snapper タイかす漬	3	2	5	2	1	5
Pilchard 鰯	3	3	4	3	2	0
Pond Smelt わかさぎ	0	0	1	1	3	3
Pork 豚肉	15	7	9	15	4	32
Pork Curry 豚カレー	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pork Cutlet とんかつ	0	1	0	0	0	4
Pork Cutlet Bowl カツ丼	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pounded Fish Cake ハンペン	5	3	3	2	10	19
Probiotic Milk Drink ヤクルト	3	0	0	0	0	0
Quail うずら	1	0	0	0	0	1
Quail Egg ウズラの卵	0	1	2	0	2	2
Rainbow Trout にじます	0	0	0	0	0	1
Raw Salmon 生さけ	0	0	0	0	1	2
Red Fish Meat 血合	0	0	0	2	0	0
Red Snapper タイ	3	5	1	8	6	2
Righteye Flounder カレイ	5	0	0	3	1	6
Roast Ham ロースハム	0	1	0	1	0	0
Roast Pork 焼豚	1	0	0	0	0	0
Roasted Giblets もつ焼	0	0	0	0	0	1

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Sailfin Sandfish ハタハタ	0	0	1	0	0	0
Sakura Shrimp さくらえび	2	3	7	4	1	9
Salmon 鮭	7	6	4	7	10	8
Salted Fish しおから	4	2	0	2	2	1
Salted Mackerel 塩鱒	0	0	0	0	0	0
Salted Salmon 塩鮭	0	0	0	0	0	3
Sarashi Dried Whale さらし鯨	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sardines 白す	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sashimi 刺身	4	5	3	5	5	8
Satsuma Age Fried Fishcake さつま揚げ	12	16	14	10	10	20
Sausage ソーセージ	27	44	27	29	33	23
Saw-Edged Perch あら	0	0	1	0	0	2
Scabbard Fish たち魚	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scallop ほたて	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sea Trout ます	0	0	0	0	4	2
Sea Urchin 雲丹	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shark サメ	2	0	0	0	0	0
Shaved Dried Bonito けずり粉	2	10	5	2	0	0
Shellfish 貝	1	0	0	2	0	0
Shirasu 白す	0	0	0	0	1	2
Shrimp	2	1	2	0	2	0

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
えび						
Shrimp Tempura えび天	0	1	0	1	0	0
Sillago キス	0	0	0	1	0	0
Silver White Croaker いしもち	0	0	0	0	1	0
Skim Milk スキムミルク	0	4	0	0	0	1
Skipjack Tuna かつお	1	4	1	0	2	0
Smoked Fish or Meat くんせい	0	0	0	0	1	0
Smoked Squid いかくんせい	0	0	1	0	0	0
Squid いか	8	4	10	13	24	29
Squid Tentacle Roll げそ巻き	0	1	0	0	0	0
Steamed Seasoned Fish Paste かまぼこ	2	1	0	2	1	2
Sukiyaki すき焼き	0	0	0	0	0	0
Surf Clam 姥貝	0	0	0	0	0	0
Surimi かまぼこ	0	0	0	0	0	6
Sushi すし	0	1	1	0	0	0
Swordfish かじきまぐろ	0	0	1	0	0	0
Tarako たらこ	0	2	3	4	5	5
Tempura 天ぷら	2	4	4	1	1	0
Tuna まぐろ	8	5	8	8	11	10
Tuna Marinated in Miso まぐろ味噌漬	3	1	0	1	1	0
Tuna Pickled in Unrefined Sake or Soy Sauce マグロもろみ漬	0	0	1	0	0	0

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Tuna Marinated in Sake Lees まぐろ粕漬	0	1	0	0	0	0
Wiener Sausage ウインナソーセージ	0	2	2	12	25	23
Whale Cutlet 鯨カツ	4	0	4	1	0	1
Whale Meat 鯨肉	25	15	21	16	14	20
Yogurt ヨーグルト	0	1	2	0	0	0
Yogurton Milk ヨーグルトン	0	0	0	0	0	0
Seasonings and Condiments **調味料**						
Aji no Moto MSG 味の素	6	7	5	4	5	2
Bell Curry Roux ベルカレール	0	0	0	1	0	0
Black Pepper コショウ	1	1	1	0	1	1
Broth つゆ	0	0	1	0	0	0
Consomme コンソメ	0	0	0	0	0	1
Consomme Soup コンソメスープ	0	0	1	1	0	0
Cooking Oil 食油	9	6	6	2	6	8
Cooking Salt 食塩	6	4	7	3	9	9
Crunchy Tempura Bits 天かす／揚玉	0	0	2	0	3	2
Curry Powder カレー粉	2	2	1	3	3	8
Curry Roux カレールウ	8	5	7	4	6	7
Dashi いの一番	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dashi Fish and Kelp Soup Stock ダシ	0	0	1	1	0	0
Dried Wheat Gluten	4	1	4	3	2	7

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
麩						
Flavoring フレーブ／ミタス	0	0	0	0	0	7
Fried Rice Flavoring 焼き飯の素	1	7	2	5	6	6
Furikake ふりかけ／これはうまい	5	11	14	15	26	19
Green Curry グリンカレー	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hayashi Rice Flavoring ハヤシの素	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hayashi Rice Roux ハヤシライスルウー	1	0	1	0	1	0
Hot Cake Flavoring ホットケーキの素	0	0	2	0	0	0
House Curry Brand ハウスカレー	0	0	0	0	1	0
Jam ジャム	0	0	8	2	4	2
Juice Flavoring ジュースの素	0	0	1	2	2	2
Ketchup ケチャップ	5	2	4	5	4	5
Lard ラード	1	2	0	1	0	0
Lemon レモン	0	0	1	0	1	3
Mirin みりん	0	0	0	1	0	0
Miso 味噌	18	17	20	8	20	27
Miso なめみそ	0	0	0	0	1	1
Miso Broth みそつゆ	0	2	2	0	0	0
Mustard からし	2	0	2	3	2	5
Olive Oil オリーブ油	3	0	0	0	0	0
Panko パン粉	0	2	4	4	11	14

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Potage ポタージュ	0	0	0	1	2	0
Potage Soup Flavoring ポタージュスープの素	0	0	1	0	1	0
Powdered Drink ソーダラップ	0	0	0	0	0	2
Powdered Soup ふんまつスープ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Powdered Wasabi 粉ワサビ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rapeseed Oil 白絞油	0	0	1	0	0	0
Red Miso 赤味噌	0	0	0	0	0	1
Rice Flavoring 五目飯の素	0	0	1	0	0	0
SB Curry SB カレー	0	0	0	1	0	0
Sake Lees 酒粕	1	0	3	1	2	0
Sauce ソース	8	7	5	3	5	10
Seaweed and Egg Seasoning のりたま	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sesame Oil ゴマ油	0	1	1	1	0	2
Seven Spice Blend 七味	0	0	0	1	0	1
Shina Soba no Moto 支那そばの素	0	1	0	0	0	0
Soba Broth そばつゆ	0	2	2	1	1	0
Soup スープ	1	0	0	0	0	0
Soup Flavoring スープの素	0	0	1	0	7	2
Soup Roux スープルウ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soy Sauce 醤油	7	7	6	7	11	13
Soybean Oil	0	0	0	1	0	0

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
大豆油						
Sugar 砂糖	10	9	12	7	13	9
Sweet Red Bean Soup Flavoring しるこの素	0	0	2	0	0	0
Sweet Sake Flavoring 甘酒の素	0	0	0	1	0	0
Tekka Miso 鉄火みそ	0	0	0	0	3	1
Tsuyu no Moto つゆのもと	0	1	0	1	0	0
Vinegar 酢	4	4	3	2	5	5
Yakifu やきふ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Luxury Grocery Item **嗜好品**						
Afternoon Tea 晝の茶	9	0	4	0	0	7
Akadama Port Wine 赤玉ポートワイン	1	0	0	0	0	0
Alcohol/Sake お酒／酒	0	0	0	1	0	11
Anko Red Bean あんこ	1	0	0	1	1	0
Apple りんご	18	27	38	40	30	40
Azuki Beans 小豆	0	0	0	1	1	5
Banana バナナ	0	0	1	1	1	6
Barley Tea 麦茶	1	1	1	2	0	0
Bean Jam Muffin いまがわやき	1	0	0	0	0	0
Beer ビール	1	4	3	1	4	4
Birthday Cake バースデーケーキ	0	0	0	0	0	1
Biscuit ビスケット	0	0	0	5	0	0

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Black Tea 紅茶	0	2	3	3	4	0
Cake ケーキ	0	0	0	1	0	0
Calpis カルピス	0	1	1	0	0	0
Candy Drop ドロップ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Canned Apple りんご缶	0	0	0	1	0	0
Canned Mandarin Orange ミカン缶詰	0	0	2	0	0	0
Canned Peach 桃缶詰	0	0	0	2	0	0
Canned Pie パイ缶	0	0	0	1	0	0
Caramel キャラメル	3	4	0	2	0	0
Castella カステラ	0	0	0	1	1	2
Chewing Gum チュインガーム／ガム	10	24	11	11	5	10
Chocolate チョコレート	3	6	0	7	6	18
Chocolate Balls チョコボール	0	0	0	0	0	1
Chocolate Candies マーブルチョコ	0	0	0	0	3	3
Chocolate Cream チョコレートクリーム	0	0	0	1	0	0
Christmas Cake クリスマスケーキ	0	1	1	0	0	0
Chocolate Skip スキップチョコ	0	0	0	0	0	1
Christmas Sweets クリスマスのお菓子	0	0	0	1	0	0
Cider サイダー	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cocoa ココア	0	0	1	1	3	1

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Coffee コーヒー	0	0	1	0	0	0
Crackers クラッカー／カルケット	2	1	1	0	0	0
Crushed Red Bean Paste つぶしあん	1	0	0	0	0	0
Daikon Tea だいこん茶	0	0	0	0	0	0
Decorated Cake デコレーションケーキ	0	0	0	0	0	1
Donuts ドーナツ	0	0	2	0	5	1
Dried Red Bean さらしあん	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egg Roll 卵巻	2	0	0	0	0	1
Fish-shaped Cake 鯛焼き	0	0	0	0	1	1
Flake Cereal フレーク	0	2	0	0	0	0
Fried Dough Cake かりん糖	0	0	0	1	0	0
Fruit 果物	0	0	1	0	0	0
Gelatin ゼリー	0	0	0	0	0	1
Grape Wine ブドー酒	0	0	0	0	0	1
Grapes ぶどう	0	3	3	4	4	4
Hard Candy 飴	48	28	31	28	36	34
Honey みつ	0	0	1	0	0	0
Ice 氷	4	18	15	1	0	0
Ice Cream アイス／アイスクリーム	3	3	1	6	9	7
Jelly Dessert 水菓子／みつまめ	0	0	0	0	1	0
Juice	0	0	7	10	3	6

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
ジュース						
Kiwi キウイ	0	0	0	0	0	0
Loquat びわ	0	0	0	0	0	1
Macaron マカロン	0	0	0	2	0	0
Mandarin Orange みかん	5	6	6	7	12	18
Manju 万頭	3	3	5	0	2	5
Marmalade ママレード	0	1	1	1	2	0
Mochi おもち	1	0	0	2	2	5
Moon Viewing Dango 十五夜団子	0	0	0	0	1	0
Mugwort Mochi 草餅	0	0	0	1	0	0
Navel Orange ネーブル	0	0	1	0	0	0
Oak Leaf Mochi 柏餅	0	0	0	1	1	1
Oriental Melon マクワウリ	1	1	2	0	0	0
Peach 桃	0	0	1	3	1	2
Peanut and Rice Cracker Snack かきのたね	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peanuts and Chocolate ピーナッツチョコ	0	0	1	1	0	0
Pear 梨	1	2	7	6	4	8
Persimmon かき	0	0	0	1	1	0
Raisin レーゾン／干ぶどう	0	0	0	1	0	1
Red Bean Cake 小判焼き	0	0	0	0	0	1
Red Bean Donut アンドーナッツ	0	0	0	0	2	0

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Red Bean Paste あん	1	0	0	0	0	0
Red-Bean Pancake ドラ焼き	0	0	0	0	0	1
Rice Cracker せんべい	0	1	0	0	1	0
Roasted Mochi Bits 霰餅	0	0	0	2	0	1
Rock Candy 氷砂糖	0	0	0	0	0	1
Rusk ラスク	1	0	1	0	0	0
Shumai Dumplings シューマイ	1	8	3	6	11	3
Snack おやつ／おつまみ	3	6	9	0	5	1
Soft Serve Ice Cream ソフトアイス	0	0	0	1	0	0
Strawberry 苺	0	4	7	1	4	7
Sugared Red Beans 甘納豆	1	0	0	2	0	1
Summer Mandarin Orange 夏みかん	0	0	3	3	3	10
Sweet Bean Jelly 羊かん	0	0	0	1	5	1
Sweet Red Bean Soup しるこ	0	3	3	2	0	0
Sweet Rice and Azuki おはぎ	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sweets 菓子	87	51	78	117	140	124
Syrup-Covered Anko あんみつ	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tea お茶	13	18	17	23	24	21
Tea and Sweets 茶菓	0	1	6	1	0	1
Wafer ウェハース	0	0	0	1	0	0
Watermelon	0	0	1	1	0	1

Food	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
西瓜						
White Tea 白茶	7	3	3	7	10	10
Wonton わんたん	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX II

"One Week of Seasonal Side Dishes"[454]

1951

	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner
Monday	Bread Cooked Vegetable Soup with Egg -Cabbage -French Beans -Carrot -Egg Tomato Juice	Sandwich -Sausage Vegetable Salad -Cucumber -Cabbage Mayonnaise Sauce and Tomato	Rice Fatty Tuna Konbu Soup Grilled Eggplant -Eggplant Chilled Tofu -Tofu -Green Onion -Ginger
Tuesday	Rice Taro Stem and Aburaage Miso Soup -Taro Stem -Aburaage Dried Young Sardines Oroshi -Dried Young Sardines -Daikon -Nori	Rice Bentō Grilled Tarako -Tarako Sweet Potato Cooked in Umani (Soy Sauce, Sugar, and Mirin)	Zhaziangmian -Niku Miso[455] -Ham -Egg -Green Onion -French Beans -Greens Cabbage Soup -Cabbage
Wednesday	Bread Roll Clam Chowder -Shellfish Removed from the Shell -Carrot -Onion -Shiitake -French Beans	Bread Peanut Butter Jam Cooked Onion and Potatoes -Potatoes -Onion	Rice Yakifu and Greens Soup Squid and Vegetables Stew -Squid -Grilled Tofu -French Beans
Thursday	Salted and Cooked Kabocha and Sweet Potato -Butter -Kinako Cooked Clams -Clams -Ginger	Rice Bentō Squid Broiled with Soy Sauce -Squid Kinpira -Gobō -Carrot	Meat Curry Rice -Pork -Onion -Carrot -Potato Pickles

[454] Okamatsu Kiyoko, "*Kisetsu no osōzai isshūkan*," *Shufu no tomo*, September 1951, 266-271.

[455] Miso paste made with ground meat.

Friday	Buttered Toast Potato Miso Soup Cucumber and Tomato Salad -Cucumber -Tomato -French Sauce -Boiled Egg	Bread Roll Sandwich Potato Salad -Potato -Carrot -Onion Mayonnaise and Tomato	Rice Kakitama Soup -Egg -Myōga or Green Onion Skewered Fish -Sea Bass -Green Onion
Saturday	Rice Wakame Miso Soup -Wakame -Greens Cooked Eggplant -Eggplant -Flaked Bonito	Rice Bentō Budō Ame -Soybeans -Sugar Cucumbers and Dressing -French Sauce	Rice Fish Cake Soup -Fish Cake -Greens Tempura with Garnish -Pilchard -Sweet Potato -Carrot -Eggplant -Myōga
Sunday	Hotcakes Fried Eggs Cucumber and Cabbage with Peanut Dressing -Cucumber -Cabbage -Tomato	Udon -Daikon -Green Onion -Nori -Shichimi Kabocha with Meat and Ankake Sauce -Kabocha -Minced Meat -Onion	Fried Rice -Grilled Pork -Egg -Shiitake -Green Bell Pepper Eggplant Pickles

"Meals for the Week"[456]

1956

	Breakfast	Lunch (Bento)	Dinner
Sunday	Rice (130g) Miso Soup -Miso (20-40g) -Freshwater Clams (1/2-1cup) Aburaage Hasami	Potato Mushiyaki -Potato (300-400g) -Butter (10-30g) Tomato or Fruit (150g) Milk (1/2 gō[457])	Rice (130g) Yanagawa Nabe -Split Loach (80g) -Gobō (50g) -Egg (1 egg) -Blend of Seven

[456] "Isshūkan no kondatehyō," *Shufu no tomo*, August 1956, 308-309.

[457] Approximately ¾ of a U.S. cup.

	Yaki -Aburaage (1 sheet) -Green onion (20g) Grated Daikon -Daikon (50g) -Flaked Bonito (small amount) Pickles (50g)	Ice Cream (1 container)	Spices Chilled Tofu -Tofu (1 block) -Shiso Leaf (small amount) -Shaved Bonito (small amount) -Grated Ginger (small amount) Cut Up Pickles -Cucumber -Cabbage -Eggplant -Ginger -Shiso (100g)
Monday	Toast -Bread (1/4-1/3 Kin[458]) -Butter (10g) -Jam Egg (1) Milk (1-2 gō)	Sandwich -Bread (1/4-1/3 Kin) -Butter (10-20g) -Bacon (30g) -Lettuce (50g) -Cucumber (50g) -Mayonnaise (1Tbsp)	Rice (130g) Chinese-style Soup -Tomato (50g) -Onion (50g) -Egg (1/2) -Dried Shrimp (10g) -Oil (1/2 Tbsp) Sarashi Whale with Vinegar Miso Mixed with Mustard -Sarashi Whale (80g) -Lettuce (50g) -Miso (30g) Green Bell Pepper with Simmered and Pan-fried Beef -Green Bell Pepper (80g) -Beef (30g) -Oil (1 Tbsp) Minced Pickles (50-100g)
Tuesday	Toast -Bread (1/4-1/3 Kin) -Butter (10g) Potato Soup -Milk (1 gō) -Potato (100g)	Sandwich -Bread (1/4-1/3 Kin) -Butter (10-15g) -Egg (1/2) -Ham (25g) -Tomato (50-100g)	Chilled Sōmen Noodles -Sōmen (100g) -Condiments (Shiso Leaf, Finely Chopped Green

[458] One kin is a loaf of bread.

	-Onion (30g) -Beef (20g) -Oil (1 tsp)	-Mayonnaise (1/2 a Tbsp)	Onion, Shaved Mustard) Dipping Sauce -Dashi, Soy Sauce) Grilled Fish (Grilled with Butter) -Fish (1 cut=70g) Sweet Boiled Kabocha (Cooked in Butter -Kabocha (150-200g) -Sugar (15g) Pickles (30-50g)
Wednesday	Toast -Bread (1/4-1/3 Kin) -Butter (10g) Green Bell Pepper and Potatoes Cooked in Oil -Green Bell Pepper (50g) -Potatoes (100g) -Oil (1 Tbsp) Milk (1 gō)	Rice -Rice (130g) Green Bell Pepper and Potatoes Cooked in Oil -Green Bell Pepper and Potatoes (100g) Tetsuka Miso (30g) Dried Young Sardines (20g) Pickled Kabocha (50g)	Rice -Rice (130g) Whale Cutlet -Whale Meat (70g) Panko, Wheat Flour, Powdered Milk, Oil Eggplant Stir-Fried and Boiled in Sauce -Eggplants (2-3) -Oil (1.5Tbsp) -Cayenne Pepper, Garlic, Dried Shrimp, Ginger, Onion Greens Boiled in Bonito-Flavored Soy Sauce -Greens (100g)
Thursday	Toast -Bread (1/4-1/3 Kin) -Butter (10g) Egg (1) Milk (1 gō) Tomato (100g)	Bread (White and Black, ¼-1/3 kin) Black Bread -Peanut Butter (15g) -Honey (20g) White Bread -Whale Cutlet (50g) -Raw White Onion (30g) -Cucumbers (50g) -Oil (5g) -Butter (5g)	Rice -Rice (130g) Grilled Soy Sauce Beef Liver -Beef Liver (70g) -Ginger, Soy Sauce Green Beans -Green Beans (80g) -Oil (1 1/12 tsp) Simmered Potato Cream -Potatoes (150g) -Butter (15g) -Milk (2/3 Cup)

			Pickles or Raw Vegetables (50-100g)
Friday	Chinese-styled Fried Rice -Rice (130g) -Eggs (25g) -Green Onion (30g) -Oil (One Tbsp) Cooked Beans (90g) Milk (1-2 gō)	Bread (White and Black, ¼-1/3kin) Black Bread -Onion and Cucumbers (50g) -Mayonnaise (1Tbsp) White Bread -Grilled Pork (30g) -Lettuce (30g) -Butter (10g)	Udon -Boiled Noodles (350g) -Pork or Bacon (30g) -Shiitake Mushrooms (1) -Carrot (20g) -Green Bell Pepper (20g) -Onion (50g) -Bean Sprouts (50g) -Oil (1Tbsp) Pickled Dish -Cucumbers (50g) -Canned Salmon (50g) -Ginger (Small amount)
Saturday	Bread -Bread (White or Black; ¼-1/3 kin) -Butter (10g) Salmon and Vegetable Soup -Canned Salmon (50g) -Potatoes (100g) -Tomato (50g) -Onion (30g) -Milk (1/2 gō) -Oil (1.5tsp)	Onigiri Lettuce Wraps -Rice (130g) -Tetsuka Miso (30g) -Lettuce (50-100g) Umeboshi Tamago Yaki -Egg (1)	Rice -Rice (130g) Simmered Mackerel -Mackerel (60g) -Onion (10g) -Tomato (15g) -Parsley -Oil (1Tbsp) -Vinegar (1/2 Tbsp) Salad -Potato (200g) -Mayonnaise (11/2 Tbsp) Grilled Eggplant -Eggplant (2) -Grated Ginger Pickles (60g)

REFERENCES CITED

Archival Collections

The National Women's Education Center's Women's Digital Archive (*Kokuritsu josei kyōiku kaikan dejitaru akkaibu*). (https://www.nwec.jp). The National Women's Education Center, Saitama.

Kimiko's Kakeibo

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref #32:1-1. "*Kakeibo: Shōwa 29 nen.*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref #32:2-1. "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 30 nenpan*." (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:3-1. "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 31 nenpan.*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:4-1. "*Nikki o kaneta kakeibo: Shōwa 32 nenpan*." (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:5-1. "*Mohan kakeibo: Shōwa 33 nen: nikki kenyō.*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:6-1. "*Nikki kenyō kakeibo.*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:7-1. "*1960 nikki kakeibo*." (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:8-1. "*1961 nikki kakeibo*." (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:9-1. "*62 nikki kakeibo*." (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:10-1. "*1963 nikki kakeibo*." (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref #32:11-1. "*1964 nikki kakeibo*." (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref #32:12-1. "*65 nikki kakeibo.*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:19-1. "*Seikyō no kakeibo: Shōwa 47 nen.*" (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Nakamura Kimiko Documents. Ref#32:49-1. "*Seikyō no kakeibo: 2002: nenpan."* (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

Other Documents from Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan

"*Kimiko-san chi no kakeibo*." Advertisement. (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan).

"Nakamura Kimiko-san no ohanashi o kiku kai, August 1, 2016," (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan Archive Center). Sent from Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan Archive Center to me via E-mail.

"*Josei akaibu shiryō chōsa*, February 22, 2010." (Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan). Sent from Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan Archive Center to me via E-mail.

Published Primary Sources

Japanese:

Surveys:

Abe Kizō. "Toshi setai no kakei shishutsu to taikyū shōhisai fukyū dōkō." *Chūō Chōsahō* 57 (1960).

Ginkō Rōdō Kenkyūkai Chōsabu. "Shōhinaiyō ha dou kawatteiruka." *Ginkō Rōdō Chōsa Jihō* 83 (November 1957).

Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku. *Kokumin seikatsu henbō no jittai*. Tokyo: Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, 1956.

Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku. *Kokumin seikatsu no genjō*. Tokyo: Keizai Kikakuchō Chōseikyoku, 1957.

Keizai Kikakuchō Tōkeika Kanshū. *Nihon no Keizai Tōkei*: *Shita*. Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1964.

Kōseishō Kōshū Eisei Kyoku. *Kokumin eiyō hakusho Shōwa 32 nendo kokumin eiyō chōsa seiseki*. Tokyo, Daiichi Shuppa, 1959.

Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai. *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1955, 1956*. Tokyo: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, 1956.

Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai. *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1958*. Tokyo: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, 1958.

Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai. *Nihon tōkei nenkan 1963*. Tokyo: Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, 1963.

Rōdōshō Fujinkyoku. *Fujin rōdō no jitsujō: Shōwa 59 nenpan*. Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1984.

Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku. *Fujin no katei seikatsu ni kansuru shiryō*. Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1950.

Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku. *Kōjō rōdōsha kazoku no seikatsu: seikatsu jōkyō no jittai to seikatsu jikan*. *Fujin kankei shiryō shirizu* No. 8. Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1952.

Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku. *Shufu no seikatsu to iken*. Tokyo: Rōdōshō Fujin Shōnen Kyoku, 1958.

Sankei Shinbunsha. *Shōhi seikatsu jittai chōsa: shufu to kaimono*. Tokyo: Sankei Shinbunsha, 1969.

Shuppan Nyūsusha. *Shuppan deta bukku: 1945-1984*. Tokyo: Shuppan Nyūsusha, 1985.

Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku. *Kakei chōsa sōgō hōkokusho Shōwa 22nen~61nen: Comprehensive Time Series Report on the Family Income and Expenditure Survey 1947-1986*. Tokyo: Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku, 1988.

The Central Research Services Company (*Chūō Chōsasha*). "*Daidokoro, chūbō kiki no hoyūritsu no suii*." http://www.crs.or.jp/backno/old/No607/6071.htm

The Central Research Services Company (*Chūō Chōsasha*). *"Taikyūzai no Henyō*." http://www.crs.or.jp/backno/old/No614/6141.htm

Shufu no tomo (The Housewife's Companion) Articles

Aoki Shigeru. "*Bonasu wo ikasu tsukaikatatamekata*." *Shufu no tomo*, December 1964.

"*Bonasu o ikasu tsukaikata tamekata*." *Shufu no tomo*, December 1964.

"*Denkigama*." *Shufu no tomo*, March 1958.

"*Denkigama*." *Shufu no tomo*, December 1963.

"*Denkigama de seikatsu kaizen*." *Shufu no tomo*, October 1964.

"*Denki reizōko no subete*." *Shufu no tomo*, May 1961.

"*Denki reizōko o kaimashita: Suihara-san no kakeibo kara*." *Shufu no tomo,* April 1962.

"*Eiyō shicchōshō to seishokuhō*." *Shufu no tomo*, December 1945.

"*Erabikata, kaikata, denki reizōko*." *Shufu no tomo,* May 1962.

"*Hakkyū no shinkatei*." *Shufu no tomo*, October 1958.

"*Hitsuyōna eiyō wo gōriteki ni torutame ni*." *Shufu no tomo*, April 1958.

"*Kateiyōhin no erabikata to kaikata*." *Shufu no tomo*, June 1951.

Hatayama Yoshihiro. "*Deppato to senmonten dewa dochira ga okaidoku ka*?" *Shufu no tomo*, December 1953.

"*Hotto doggu*." *Shufu no tomo,* August 1959.

"*Isshūkan no kondatehyō*." *Shufu no tomo*, August 1956.

"*Kai umai*." *Shufu no tomo*, May 1961.

"*Kaimono hōten katei yōhin no erabikata to kaikata*." *Shufu no tomo*, June 1951.

"*Kakeibo wa tsubuyaku: sengo jū go nen no katei no seichō*." *Shufu no tomo,* December 1959.

"*Kanape*." *Shufu no tomo*, February 1949.

"*Katei reizō no subete ja kara reizōko made*." *Shufu no tomo,* June 1958.

"*Keizaitekina niku o chūshin ni shita: okusama no ryōri kenkyūkai*." *Shufu no tomo*, April 1956.

"*Kodomo honi no kurisumasu*." *Shufu no tomo*, December 1949.

"*Kurakka sandoicchi*." *Shufu no tomo,* August 1959.

Maeda Umematsu. "*Suppamaketto senpū no shōtai*." *Shufu no tomo*, September 1959.

"Mama no tame no denki keizaigaku." *Shufu no tomo,*. December 1964.

Matsuura Tatsuzo. "*Karē ryōri to sono hoka*." *Shufu no tomo*, July 1951.

Okamatsu Kiyoko. "*Okusama ga kufūshita kondate to tsukurikata kisetsu no osōzai ishūkan*." *Shufu no tomo*, September 1951.

"*Oshōgatsu ryōri wa reizōko kara." Shufu no tomo,* January 1963.

"*Osushi to sandoicchi no tsukurikata*." *Shufu no tomo,* April 1947.

Ōtsuka Toshirō. "*Kurisumasu Keki to kappukeki no tsukurikata*." *Shufu no tomo*, December 1956.

"*Purasuchikku no subete*." *Shufu no tomo*, September 1962.

"*Reizōko no kaikata, tsukaikata*." *Shufu no tomo*, June 1956.

"*Rinji shūnyū to rinji hi o chūshin ni shita: shufu to hataraku fujin no kakei kenkyūkai*." *Shufu no tomo*, June 1956.

"*Sandoicchi*." *Shufu no tomo*, May 1952.

"*Sandoicchi kanape*." *Shufu no tomo*, September 1949.

Seki Misako. "*Pan muki osōzai to pan ryōri no tsukurikata*." *Shufu no tomo*, September 1952.

"*Serufu sandoicchi*." *Shufu no tomo*, August 1959.

"*Serusuman to okusan no kōbōsen*." *Shufu no tomo*, September 1960.

"*Shimo tori kara no kaihō*." *Shufu no tomo*, April 1963.

Shinkatei no kakeibo shindankai." *Shufu no tomo*, June 1955.

"*Shinkon jū ichi setai no kakei shindan.*" *Shufu no tomo*, December 1963.

"*Shokuhi o chūshin ni shita: wakaokusama no kakeikenkyūkai*." *Shufu no tomo*, February 1956.

Shufu no tomo, December 1951.

"*Shushoku genpai o dō kaiketsu suru ka: shokuyōko, tōmorokoshi, daizu, jagaimo, kabocha no ōzuna tabekata*." *Shufu no tomo*, August 1945.

Tanaka Tokusaburō. "*Katei no seiyō rikōza*." *Shufu no tomo*, April 1952.

"*Tanoshii shoppingu gaido*." *Shufu no tomo*, November 1963.

"*Toshi no maki*." *Shufu no tomo*, July 1956.

"*Toshi to nōson." Shufu no tomo*, July 1956, 174.

"*Tsukatte mite: denkigama*." *Shufu no tomo*, March 1958.

Tsunoda Noriko, Sugiyama Kazuo, and Hashiguchi Kurako. "*Karē raisu*." *Shufu no tomo*, August 1957.

“Watashi no uchi demo tsukatteru: daidokoro no denki kigu.” *Shufu no tomo*, December 1962.

“*Yahari katte yokata.*” *Shufu no tomo*, April 1962.

Yoshizawa Hisako. “*Hyaku pa-sento katsuyōhō denki reizōko*.” *Shufu no tomo*, August 1962.

“Yoyū no nai kakei kara chokin o umidasu: okusama no yarikuri kufū shū.” *Shufu no tomo,* December 1951.

Other:

Nagaoka Shoten. *Shinpuru jitsuyō kakeibo*. Tokyo: Nagaoka Shoten, 2017.

Shufu no Tomosha. *365 nichi no okazu kakeibo*. Tokyo: Shufu no Tomosha, 2017.

Shufu to Seikatsusha. *Daidokoro to Monoire*. Tokyo: Shufu to Seikatsusha, 1963.

English Primary Sources:

Ministry of Labor. “Status of Japanese Women Workers, 1955.” Tokyo: Ministry of Labor, 1955.

Secondary Sources

Japanese:

Museums:

Edo-Tokyo Museum. Sumida, Tokyo, 2014.

Shōwa Era Lifestyle Museum, Kita-Nagoya, 2016.

Films:

Ikiru. Directed by Kurosawa Akira. Tokyo: Toho, 1952.

Ohayō. Directed by Ozu Yasujirō. Tokyo: Shōchiku, 1959.

Otoko wa tsurai yo. Directed by Yamada Yoji. Tokyo: Shochiku, 1969-1995.

Books and Articles:

Aoki Taiko. “*Shufu pawaa no rekishiteki tōjō: ‘midori’ to gendaa gyappu*.” In *Gendai no riron* 210. Tokyo: Gendainorironsha, 1985: 69-77.

"*Kakeibo Katsudō no rekishi*." Last modified December 7, 2006. http://www.ucoop.or.jp/hiroba/report/files/140919kakeibokatudounorekishi.pdf

Kamura Naoko. "*Katei ryōri no tayōka to sono haikei*." In *Nihon no shoku 100-nen "tsukuru,"* edited by Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi. Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1997.

Kazuya Makoto. *Monodukuri nihonkeieishi: Edo jidai kara gendai made*. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppansha, 2012.

Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi, editors. *Nihon no shoku 100-nen "nomu."* Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1996.

Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi, editors. *Nihon no shoku 100-nen "tsukuru."* Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1997.

Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi. *Nihon no shoku 100-nen "taberu."* Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1998.

Koizumi Kazuko. *Chabudai no Shōwa*. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2002.

Koizumi Kazuko. *Shōwa daidokoro natsukashi zukan*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1998.

Koizumi Kazuko. *Pan to Shōwa*. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2017.

Koizumi Kazuko. *Shōwa no kurashi hakubutsukan.* Tokyo: Kawadeshobōshinsha, 2011.

Kosuge Keiko. *Nippon daidokoro bunkashi*. Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1998.

Kunihiro Yōko. "*Toshi no seikatsu sekai to josei no shufu ishiki*." In *Toshi to josei no shakaigaku*, edited by Yazawa Sumiko. Tokyo: Saiensusha, 1993.

Matsudaira Makoto. *Yamiichi maboroshi no gaidobukku*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbō, 1995.

Matsumura Naoko. "*Seikatsu no gendaiteki tokuchō to shufu yakuwari*." In *Josei seikatsu shi dai go kan: gendai*, edited by Itō Yasuko. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shupankai, 1990: 235-268.

Morieda Takashi. *Karē raisu to nihonjin*. Tokyo: Kōdansha,1989.

Murakami Nobuhiko. "*Katei no seikatsu.*" In *Meiji joseishi—joken to ie*. Tokyo: Rironsha, 1981.

Nishikawa Yūko. *Nikki o tsuduru to iu koto: kokumin kyōiku sōchi to sono itsudatsu*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009.

Ōhasi Shizuko. "'*Kurashi no techō' 50 nen kara mita kateiseiaktsu no henka: menyū ga kataru 'tsukurite.*'" In *Nihon no shoku 100nen <Tsukuru>*, edited by Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi. Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1997.

Shimizu Michiko. "*Jochū imeeji no henyō*." In *Onna no bunka: kindai Nihon bunkaron*, vol. 8., edited by Aoki Kawamoto. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000, 159-175.

"*Shufuren no ayumi*." Last modified 2006. http://shufuren.net/modules/tinyd4/

Tanaka Yasumasa. "*Tokai no shufu to chihō no shufu*." In *Gakushūin daigaku hōgakubu kenkyū nenpō* 25. Tokyo: Gakushūin Daigaku Hōgakkai, 1990: 1-90.

Tani Naoki. "*Uchi to sumikokorochi*." In *Shōwa no sesōshi,* edited by Ishige Naomichi. Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1993.

Tokyo Shibaura Denki Kabukishiki. *Tōshiba Hyakunenshi*. Kawasaki: Tokyo Shibaura Denki Kabukishiki, 1977.

Ueno Chizuko. *Shufu ronsō o yomu: zenkiroku*. Tokyo: Keisoō Shobō, 1982.

Yamada Shōgo. *Kaden Konjaku Monogatari*. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1983.

Yamaguchi Masatomo. "'*Tsukuru' bassho no 100nen: daidokoro kara kicchin e, soshite…daidokoro no henka to chōri no henka*." In *Nihon no Shoku 100nen* <*Tsukuru*>, edited by Kōichi Sugita and Ishige Naomichi. Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1997.

Zenkoku Gyūnyū Ryūtsū Kaizen Kyōkai. "*Takuhai gyūnyū rekishi shiryōkan*." http://zenkaikyou.or.jp

English:

Television:

I Love Lucy. "The Freezer." Directed by Marc Daniels. CBS, April 28, 1952.

The Colonel Comes to Japan. Directed by John Nathan. USA: WGBH, 1981.

Books and Articles:

Aldous, Chris. "Contesting Famine: Hunger and Nutrition in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952." *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations,* 17:3. (2010): 230-256.

Allinson, Gary. *Japan's Postwar History: Second Edition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Anderson, Marnie. *A Place in Public: Women's Rights in Meiji Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Bardsley, Jan. *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan*. London: SOAS Studies in Modern and Contemporary Japan, 2014.

Bay Alexander. *Beriberi in Modern Japan: The Making of a National Disease*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2012.

Bernstein Gail Lee. *Haruko's World: A Japanese Farm Woman and Her Community*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983.

Bernstein, Gail Lee editor., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Bestor, Theodore. *Tsukiji: The Fish Market at the Center of the World* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Brinton, Mary. *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Bullock, Julia, Ayako Kano, and James Welker. "Introduction." *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, edited by Julia Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, December 2017.

Chun, Jayson. *A Nation of a Hundred Million Idiots?: A Social History of Japanese Television, 1953-1974*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Knopf, 2003.

"Co-op: About Us." August 24, 2017. http://jccu.coop/eng/aboutus/history.php

Counihan, Carole. "Introduction." In *Food and Gender: Identity and Power*, Edited by Carole Counihan and Steven Kaplan. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998.

Cummings, William. *Education and Equality in Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Cwiertka, Katarzyna. "Beyond Black Market: Neighborhood Associations and Food Rationing in Postwar Japan." In *Japan Since 1945: From Postwar to Post-Bubble*, edited by Christopher Gerteis and Timothy George. London: Continuum, 2013: 89-106.

Cwiertka, Katarzyna, editor. *Critical Readings on Food in East Asia*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Cwiertka, Katarzyna. *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity* London: Reaktion, 2006.

Cwiertka, Katarzyna. "Washoku, Heritage, and National Identity." In *Routledge Handbook of Modern Japanese History*, edited by Sven Saaler and Christopher Szpilman. London: Routledge, 2017.

"Decision of the Intergovernmental Committee: 8.COM 8.17." Intergovernmental Committee, 2013, https://ich.unesco.org/en/decisions/8.COM/8.17

Deutsch, Tracey. *Building a Housewife's Paradise: Gender, Politics, and America Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Dore, Ronald. *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958.

Dower, John. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999.

Drake, Mary. *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie? American Women and the Kitchen in the Twentieth Century*. Amhurst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.

DuSablon, Mary. *America's Collectible Cookbooks: The History, the Politics, the Recipes*. Ahtnes: Ohio University Press, 1994.

Flath, David. *The Japanese* Economy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Forsberg, Aaron. *America and the Japanese Miracle: The Cold War Context of Japan's Postwar Economic Revival 1950-1960*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Frederick, Sarah. *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Freedman, Alisa and Laura Miller, Christine Yano, editors. *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility, and Labor in Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

Freedman, Paul, editor. *Food: The History of Taste*. Berkeley: University of California Pass, 2007.

Gao, Bai. *Japan's Economic Dilemma: The Institutional Origins of Prosperity and Stagnation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Garon, Sheldon. *Beyond Our Means: Why America Spends While the World Saves*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Garon, Sheldon. *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Goble, Andrew. *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.

Goldstein-Gidoni, Ofra. *Housewives of Japan: An Ethnography of Real Lives and Consumerized Domesticity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Gordon, Andrew. *Fabricating Consumers: The Sewing Machine in Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Gordon, Andrew. "Managing the Japanese Household: The New Life Movement in Postwar Japan." *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, edited by Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005.

Gordon, Andrew, editor. *Postwar Japan as History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Hamilton, Shane and Sarah Phillips. *The Kitchen Debate and Cold War Consumer Politics.* Boston: St. Martin's, 2014.

Hane, Mikiso. *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows: Rebel Women in Prewar Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Hanes, Jeffrey E. "From Megalopolis to Megaroporisu." In *Journal of Urban History* Vol. 19, Issue 2 (1993): 56-94.

Hein, Laura. *Reasonable Men, Powerful Words: Political Culture and Expertise in Twentieth-Century Japan*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2004.

Hendry, Joy. "The Role of the Professional Housewife." In *Japanese Women Working,* edited by Janet Hunter. New York: Routledge, 1993: 224-241.

Hunter, Janet. *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising: The Textile Industry Before the Pacific War*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Imai Yasuko. "The Emergence of the Japanese Shufu: Why a Shufu is More Than a Housewife." In *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal English Supplement* 6. March 1994: 44-65.

Imamura, Anne, editor. *Re-Imaging Japanese Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Imamura, Anne. *Urban Japanese Housewives: At Home and in the Community*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987.

Inness, Sherrie. *Dinner Roles. American Women and Culinary Culture*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001.

Inness, Sherrie. *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Johnson, Chalmers. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982.

Kakuyu Obara, John Dyck, and Jim Stout. "United States Department of Agriculture: Pork Policies in Japan." In *Electronic Outlook Report from the Economic Research Service*. March 2003.

Kazumi Ishii and Nerida Jarkey. "The Housewife is Born: The Establishment of the Notion and Identity of the *Shufu* in Modern Japan." In *Japanese Studies* 22, No. 1 (2002): 35-47.

Krauss, Ellis, editor. *Conflict in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984.

Koikari, Mire. *Cold War Encounters in US-Occupied Okinawa: Women, Militarized Domesticity and Transnationalism in East Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Kushner, Barak. *Slurp!: A Social and Culinary History of Ramen, Japan's Favorite Noodle Soup*. Boston: Global Oriental, 2012.

LeBlanc, Robin. *Bicycle Citizens: The Political World of the Japanese Housewife.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Liddle, Joanna and Sachiko Nakajima. *Rising Suns, Rising Daughters: Gender, Class, and Power in Japan*. London: Zed Books, 2000.

Lo, Jeannie. *Office Ladies, Factory Women: Life and Work at a Japanese Company*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1990.

Loftus, Ronald. *Telling Lives: Women's Self-Writing in Modern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.

Longworth, John. *Beef in Japan: Politics, Production, Marketing, and Trade*. New York: University of Queensland Press, 1983.

Lowy, Dina. *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007.

Mackie, Vera. *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour, and Activism, 1900-1937*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Mackie, Vera. *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment, and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Maxson, Hillary J. "From 'Motherhood in the Interest of the State' to Motherhood in the Interest of Mothers: Rethinking the First Mothers' Congress." In *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, ed. by Julia Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.

Muehlenbeck, Philip, editor. *Gender, Sexuality, and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2017.

Murase, Miriam. *Cooperation Over Conflict: The Women's Movement and the State in Postwar Japan*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Nakano, Makiko and Kazuko Smith. *Makiko's Diary: A Merchant Wife in 1910 Kyoto*. Stanford: Stanford, University Press, 1995.

Ochiai, Emiko. "Decent Housewives and Sensual White Women—Representations of Women in Postwar Japanese Magazines." In *Japan Review* No. 9 (1997): 151-169.

Ogasawara, Yuko. *Office Ladies and Salaried Men: Power, Gender, and Work in Japanese Companies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Partner, Simon. *Assembled in Japan: Electrical Goods and the Making of the Japanese Consumer*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Pharr, Susan. "The Politics of Women's Rights." In *Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation*, edited by Robert Ward and Sakamoto Yoshikazu. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987.

Plath, David. "The Japanese Popular Christmas: Coping with Modernity." In *The Journal of American Folklore*, 76:302. 1963: 309-310.

Rees, Jonathan. *Refrigeration Nation: A History of Ice, Appliances, and Enterprise in America*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013.

Renshaw, Jean. *Kimono in the Boardroom: The Invisible of Evolution of Japanese Women Managers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Robins-Mowry, Dorothy. *The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan*. Boulder: Westview Press,1983.

Sand, Jordan. *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Sasaki-Uemura, Wesley Makoto. *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.

Saso, Mary. *Women in the Japanese Workplace*. London: H. Shhipman, 1990.

Sato, Barbara. *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Scholliers, Peter. "Novelty and Tradition: The New Landscape for Gastronomy." In *Food: The History of Taste*, edited by Paul Freedman. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007): 333-357.

Sherif, Ann. *Japan's Cold War: Media, Literature, and the Law*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Strasser, Sussan. *Never Done: A History of American Housework*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Sievers, Sharon. *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983.

Silverberg, Miriam. *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Silverberg, Miriam. "The Modern Girl as Militant." In *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600*-1945, Edited by Gail Lee Bernstein. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Sodei, Rinjiro. *Dear General MacArthur: Letters from the Japanese during the Allied Occupation*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001.

Takemae Eiji, Sebastian Swann, and John Dower, editors. *Inside GHQ*: *The Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy*. New York: Continuum, 2002.

Tanaka, Toshiyuki. *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Teuteberg, Hans. "The Birth of the Modern Consumer Age: Food Innovations from 1800." In *Food: The History of Taste*, edited by Paul Freedman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Thayer, Nathaniel. *How the Conservatives Rule Japan.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.

Tokuza, Akiko. *The Rise of the Feminist Movement in Japan*. Tokyo: Keio University Press, 1999.

Tomida Hiroko. *Hiratsuka Raichō and Early Japanese Feminism*. Boston: Brill, 2004.

Trager, James. *Letters from Sachiko*: *A Japanese Woman's View of Life in the Land of the Economic Miracle*. New York: Atheneum, 1982.

Tsurimi, Patricia. *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Ueno Chizuko. *Nationalism and Gender*. Portland: International Specialized Book, 2004.

Ueno Chizuko. *The Modern Family in Japan: Its Rise and Fall*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2009.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on her Diary, 1785-1812*. New York: Vintage, 1991.

United States Department of State. "Japan: Agricultural Commodities: School Lunch Program." In *United States Treaties and Other International Agreements 7*. 1956.

Uno, Kathleen. "The Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'?" In *Postwar Japan as History,* edited by Andrew Gordon. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Vogel, Ezra. *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

"Washoku, traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year." UNESCO Culture Sector, 2013, https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/washoku-traditional-dietary-cultures-of-the-japanese-notably-for-the-celebration-of-new-year-00869

Waswo, Ann. *Housing in Postwar Japan: A Social History*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013.

Weinbaum, Alys Eve et al, editors. *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Yamaguchi, Kiyoko. "Housewives-Lib and Co-op in Japan (1970s-1990s)." In *Women's Activism: Global Perspectives from the 1890s to the Present*. Edited by Francisca de Haan, Margaret Allen, June Purvis, and Krassimira Daskalova. London: Routledge, 2013.

Yamazaki Tomoko and Karen Colligan-Taylor. *Sandakan Brothel No. 8: An Episode in the History of Lower-Class Japanese Women*. Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1999.

Yoshimi Shunya. "'America' as Desire and Violence: Americanization in Postwar Japan and Asia during the Cold War." In *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 4:3. December 2003: 433-450.

Yoshimi Yoshiaki. *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.