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Masculinity and sexual violence: Comparison between Japan and the United States

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MASCULINITY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE:

COMPARISON BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

MASCULINITY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE:

COMPARISON BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

by

Kei Saito

University of New Hampshire, September, 2013

Japan has received considerable attention in the field of criminology in its unique features, such as its low crime rate. Available research seems to suggest that the Japanese rate of sexual violence, like other crimes, is equally lower compared to the United States. The present study examines the potential influence of gender construction on sexual violence, building upon previous research on the Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression by Malamuth and his colleagues. Data from the General Social Survey in the United States and Japan were used to compare elements that relate to gender roles, gender identity, and sexual behavior to test this hypothesis. The results seem to suggest complex interaction between gender construction and sexual violence across cultures.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The uniqueness of Japan when it comes to crime has not gone unnoticed. As a nation with low rates of violent crime compared to other industrialized nations, many criminologists have put forth their speculations as to the cause of this phenomenon (e.g., Braithwaite, 1989; Leonardsen, 2004). The famed Australian criminologist, Braithwaite (1989), for example, hailed Japan as a model society of reintegrative shaming; a key component in his theory of what is now commonly recognized as restorative justice. In sharp contrast to Braithwaite (1989)'s praise, Japan's uniqueness is also noted by the world in scorn as the only participating nation of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) which has not criminalized the possession of child pornography (Diamond & Uchiyama, 1999; Janowski & Kasai, 2012).

Whether or not Japan is a model for restorative justice or a safe haven for child pornography, these unique features of Japan in respects to crime and criminal law makes it an interesting point of comparison to the United States. Specifically, the available research seems to suggest that the Japanese rate of sexual violence is also lower than the rate in the United States, similar to other crimes (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2012;

Fujiwara & Kawakami, 2011; Green et al., 2010; Ministry of Justice, 2012). In the

following section, the existing comparable indicators for both nations will be discussed.

In the second section, the Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression will be discussed

briefly along with some of its underlying assumptions and theoretical framework

(Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991; Malamuth, Heavey, & Linz, 1993). In the

third and final section, some of the elements derived from the Confluence Model of

Sexual Aggression will be tested using national data sets to evaluate whether or not it is

the two nations' conceptualization of masculine identity that plays a role in the stark

difference in the amount of sexual violence between Japan and the United States.

Indicators of the Prevalence of Sexual Violence

National crime statistics. In order to compare two nations with drastically

different sex crime laws, the following available statistics were used. For the United

States, the Uniform Crime Reports measured forcible rape as: 1) female victims, 2)

completed rape with use of force against the female victim's will, 3) attempted rape and

assaults by the use of force or threats, and 4) excluding other sex offenses such as

statutory rape (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2012). For Japan, the measures used in

the White Paper on Crime released by the Ministry of Justice used a very similar

definition for rape, only including sex crimes involving 1) female victims, 2) rape, which

required the use of force and/or threats, and 3) exclusion of other sex offenses categorized

as *kyosei waisetsu*, which includes all other sex crimes (Ministry of Justice, 2012). Due to

the complications involving definitional issues surrounding *kyousei waisetsu* and its

heterogeneous nature, these sex crimes were not compared with other sex crimes in the

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United States.

These national crime statistics do seem to suggest that the Japanese rate of sexual violence is much lower compared to the rate in the United States. In 2011, the UCR estimated that the rate of forcible rape in the United States was 52.7 per 100,000 women (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2012). In contrast, the White Paper on Crime estimated that the rate of forcible rape in Japan was 1 per 100,000 women in the same year (Ministry of Justice, 2012).

However, in order to ascertain if one nation has the lower crime rate, even if said crime is defined similarly, the fundamental assumption that the crime in question is reported àt an equal or comparable rate must first be examined. Many scholars have argued that the crime rate is not an accurate measurement for sexual violence because rape itself is known to be an underreported crime (Chen & Ullman, 2010; Dussich, 2001). Other scholars have added that the cultural processes of Japan to endure suffering and settle interpersonal disputes informally further contribute to a much lower report rate compared to more individualistic nations such as the United States (Dussich, 2001; Yamawaki, 2008). Therefore, it is possible that the difference in the rates of rape observed in national crime statistics is accounted for by the drastically lower reporting rate in Japan, rather than the lower rate of the actual crime itself.

The current research, however, does not support the notion that the drastic difference in the reported rates of rape observed between Japan and the United States can be accounted for by the difference in the reporting rates. For example, a study conducted in the United States regarding victims' and third party's reporting of sexual and physical

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assaults, the reporting rate for rape and sexual assault was estimated at 82.3% (Chen & Ullman, 2010). Similarly, a study conducted in Japan regarding victims' reporting of rape, sexual assault, and unwanted sexual contacted through the use of force was estimated at the rate at 78% (Dussich, 2001). Therefore, while the available research does seem to indicate that the Japanese rate of reporting rape and sexual assault is different compared to the United States, it is unlikely that this can account for the dramatic difference in the rates of forcible rape seen in the national crime statistics.

Epidemiological data. One set of statistical data available to compare the epidemiological rates of sexual violence between Japan and the United States is provided by the World Health Organization (WHO). The National Comorbidity Survey was the first national and representative mental health survey of the United States conducted in the early parts of the 1990s. It was replicated ten years later to examine recent trends in mental health, as well as to investigate research topics that were not covered in the previous survey (Green et al., 2010). During the same time period, the World Health Organization replicated the measures used in National Comorbidity Survey Replication (NCS-R) in its World Mental Health Survey Initiative. The World Mental Health Initiative's aim was to survey the prevalence, predictors, and life course outcomes related to mental health in nations outside of the United States, which included Eastern countries such as Japan (WMHSI-J) (Kawakami et al., 2005).

One of the factors measured in these studies is the retrospective reporting by adults on their childhood adversities, including childhood sexual abuse (Fujiwara & Kawakami, 2011; Green et al., 2010). In the United States, the percentage of the sample

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that reported incidents of childhood sexual abuse was 6% (Green et al., 2010). In contrast, the percentage of the sample that reported incidents of childhood sexual abuse in Japan was 0.5% (Fujiwara & Kawakami, 2011). While it is worth noting that childhood sexual abuse is not limited strictly to rape like the national crime statistics (Finkelhor, 2007; Finkelhor, 2009), these data seem to once again support the notion that general sexual violence in Japan is much lower than the United States as seen in the national crime statistics.

The Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression

The Confluence of Model of Sexual Aggression is based on Malamuth et al. (1991), in which two major constellations of factors were found to be significant for sexual violence in a national sample of male college students in the United States. The first constellation, hostile masculinity, includes 1) negative masculinity such as bossiness, insecurity, narcissism, 2) hostile and distrustful orientation, particularly towards women and characteristics perceived to be feminine, and 3) gratification from controlling and domineering women (Malamuth et al., 1991; Malamuth et al., 1993; Malamuth, Heavey, Linz, Barnes, & Acker, 1995). The second constellation, impersonal sex, includes factors related to how likely an individual is to engage in sexual relations without commitment or developing emotional closeness with their sexual partner, originally labeled the promiscuity path (Malamuth et al., 1991; Malamuth et al., 1995). Predictive factors for impersonal sex constellation include 1) early onset of first sexual encounter, 2) high numbers of different sexual partners, 3) simultaneous sexual relationships with multiple partners, and 4) having sex early on in their social relationships (Malamuth et al., 1991;

Malamuth et al., 1995). These two constellations were later formed into the Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression (Malamuth et al., 1993).

Adaptation of the Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression. Scholars such as Connell (1987) have long argued for the transmutable nature of gender construction in any given society over a deterministic approach to gender governed by primary sex characteristics. Furthermore, Connell (1987) argues that gender role is defined and reinforced by society to artificially construct gender differences, while minimizing similarities between men and women. Connell (1987) is largely credited for the theoretical conception of hegemonic masculinity, which argues that society has constructed gender in a way which guarantees the dominance of men through incorporating higher status and power into the very definition of masculinity itself. Adding the possibility that gender roles may vary across different societies into the Confluence Model, this study hypothesizes that the difference in ways which masculinity is defined and constructed within a particular society may affect the likelihood of sexual violence to occur.

In support of this hypothesis, the current available research suggests a difference in gender construction between Japan and the United States. In the United States, studies using the Bem (1974)'s Bem Sex Role Inventory consistently replicated the pattern that the male participants score higher on the Masculinity measures than the Femininity measures, while the female participants score higher on the Femininity measures than the Masculinity measures (Oswald, 2004). However, this does not seem to be the case in Japan. In Sugihara and Katsurada (1999)'s study of the applicability of the Bem (1974)'s

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Sex Role Inventory in Japanese collegiate sample, there was no overall statistically significant difference between Japanese male and female collegiate students on either the Masculinity or the Femininity Measure. In a follow-up study, Sugihara and Katsurada (2002) found similar results where only a third of the sample fit into a gender type derived from Bem Sex Role Inventory.

Similarly, socially desirable masculine characteristics also seem to differ between Japan and the United States. In the United States, forceful personality, self-reliance, and assertiveness were all characteristics associated positively with ideal masculinity (Pompper, 2010). In Japan, however, characteristics such as independence, assertiveness, strong personality, and self-reliance were not seen as desirable masculine nor feminine traits (Sugihara & Katsurada, 2002). However, participants found items considered to be feminine in Bem (1974)'s Sex Role Inventory, such as affection as a positive desirable trait in both men and women (Sugihara & Katsurada, 1999; Sugihara & Katsurada, 2002).

The Current Study

This study is designed to achieve two different tasks. The first task is to test whether or not there exists support for some of the differences between Japan and the United States regarding gender construction by using nationally representative data sets, General Social Survey (GSS) and Japanese General Social Survey (JGSS). Previous studies on gender roles and its construction are typically comprised of small collegiate sample, typically confined to the region of that particular university (Oswald, 2004; Pompper, 2010; Sugihara & Katsurada, 1999; Sugihara & Katsurada, 2002). By using nationally representative data sets, we are better able to better infer and test macrolevel

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forces, such as how a certain culture may construct gender norms.

The second task is to test whether or not there exists support for the hypothesis that the Japanese rate of sexual violence may be lower due to the existence of a difference in gender construction across nations. The presence of a difference in gender role and its construction alone cannot substantiate a relation between gender identity and sexual violence. In addition to previously discussed differences in both the national crime statistics and the comparable epidemiological data, there should also be noticeable differences in factors relating to the hostile masculinity path and the impersonal sex path discussed in Malamuth et al. (1993).

Prior to the cross-cultural comparisons on gender construction and other factors relevant to the Confluence Model, the following four hypotheses predict gender differences within each nation. Based on previous research, H1 predicts that Japanese men and women would not score significantly differently on gender role items (Sugihara & Katsurada, 1999; Sugihara & Katsurada, 2002). H2 is meant to test whether or not the Confluence Model are applicable to Japan. Given that many of the risk factors in the Confluence Model is explicitly tied to masculinity, H2 predicts that men will score higher than women on items that relate to either hostile masculinity or impersonal sex (Malamuth et al., 1993).

H3 is similar to H1 as it hypothesizes expected outcome on gender role items in the US sample. In accordance to Oswald (2004), which seemed to support a clear difference in gender role orientation measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory, H3 predicts that American men and women will score significantly differently on the gender

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role items. Likewise, H4 relates to H2 in that it hypothesizes that American men will score higher on items related to the hostile masculinity path and impersonal sex path compared to American women, in accordance with the Confluence Model (Malamuth et al., 1991). As such, both H2 and H4 expect men to be much more approving of extramarital affair, show greater disapproval of homosexual sexual relations, show lax attitudes regarding the regulation of pornography, and engage in sexual intercourse much more frequently compared to women.

In accordance to Connell (1987)'s theory, it is expected that a nation with the higher rate of sexual violence will also embrace hegemonic masculinity, where male identity is associated with power and dominance, whereas female identity is associated with empathy, nurturance, and deference. H5 therefore hypothesizes that there will be significant difference in gender role items between Japan and the United States, with the United States showing greater acceptance of traditional gender roles that Connell (1987) argued are hegemonic. While $H5_a$ tests this hypothesis by country in total, $H5_b$ and $H5_c$ test whether or not the same pattern would exist for both men and women respectively.

H6 predicts Japan will score lower on items related to the Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression given previously discussed indicators of the amount of sexual violence in both nations (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2012; Fujiwara & Kawakami, 2011; Green et al., 2010; Ministry of Justice, 201). Similar to the construction of H5, $H6_a$ predicts this pattern to exist in general. H6b, on the other hand, predicts this same pattern that Japanese men will have lower score on potential risk items, while $H6_c$ predicts this same pattern for female respondents.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

This study involved 1) the evaluation of gender construction within and across

two countries and 2) the evaluation of elements that relate to Malamuth et al. (1993)'s

Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression on both the hostile masculinity path and

impersonal sex path by using nationally representative data sets, the General Social

Survey (GSS) and the Japanese General Social Survey (JGSS). Figure 1 represents the

causal model for this study's analysis.

Participants

For the United States, data from the 2000 and 2002 General Social Survey (GSS)

were used. The GSS is conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the

University of Chicago, using full probability sampling technique for non-institutionalized

adult persons, with the combined total of 5,560 participants ranging from 18 to 89 years

old (M = 46.15). Some participants were excluded due to missing data.

For Japan, the cumulative data set of the Japanese General Social Survey (JGSS)

was used, comprising the years 2000, 2001, 2002, and 2003, made available to

participating members of the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social

Research (ICPSR 4472). For the purpose of comparison, only the data from 2000 or 2002

were used to match the available GSS data. The Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) were designed and carried out by the Osaka University, in collaboration with the University of Tokyo. The actual survey is conducted in Japanese and this analysis has referenced both the Japanese Codebook and the English Codebook to obtain further insights into any translation issues. The JGSS uses two-stage stratified random sampling technique by region and population size of the particular city and district. There were 5,846 participants in total, ranging from age 20 to 89 years old (M = 51.35). As with the GSS, some participants were excluded due to missing data.

Measures

The questions used for this analysis are available in the following appendixes. Appendix A lists the items from the JGSS as it appears in the English codebook provided by the ICPSR. Appendix B, on the other hand, lists the items from the GSS as it appears in the codebook. Some items were recoded for statistical analyses and are detailed in the following sections.

Gender Role Items. Six items from the GSS and the JGSS were used to compare and contrast the construction of gender. According to Connell (1987)'s theory, there should be variation both within and across societies in both establishing gender norms and accepting of established gender norms. Furthermore, Connell (1987) has argued that gender construction is fluid and can change in accordance with historical events. With these thoughts in mind, the gender role item comparisons are confined to the same year, only using responses from the 2002 JGSS and the 2002 GSS, to minimize the risk of finding differences or similarities that are function of a shift in time.

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The JGSS is a 4-point Likert Scale, with 1 indicating the strongest level of agreement and 4 indicating the strongest level of disagreement with no option for the respondents to choose a neutral option (Appendix A). The GSS, however, uses a 5-point Likert Scale on how much a respondent agreed or disagreed with the following statement, with 1 indicating the strongest level of agreement and 5 indicating the strongest level of disagreement (Appendix B). In order to compare 5-point scale items with 4-point scale items, the following conversion was performed. For the GSS, the neutral option of "Neither Agree nor Disagree" as 3 of the 5-point system was changed to a 0. On both JGSS and GSS items, all response were adjusted so that agreement to the statement was converted into negative scores, with -2 being the strongest level of agreement, while disagreement is indicated by positive numbers, with 2 being the strongest level of disagreement. Both "No Response" and "Not Applicable" were excluded for the purpose of analysis.

However, it should be noted that only two of the six gender role items analyzed in this study are exactly identical between the JGSS and the GSS. The first identical item asks participants' attitudes on whether or not they agree with the statement that a husband's job is to earn money and a wife's job is to look after the home and family. The second identical item asks the participants whether or not they agree with the statement that a preschool child will likely suffer if his or her mother works.

The following four items, divorce as an option, male involvement in housework, both spouses contributing to income, and desirability of children, are worded differently between the JGSS and the GSS. However, these items were selected due to their potential

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to be similar enough for the purpose of comparison. While the English codebook is provided for the JGSS, the author has used the Japanese codebook to better understand the nuance of the questions that the respondents were being asked in its original language.

On the attitude regarding divorce, Japanese respondents were asked how much they agreed with the statement, "Even if you get married, if you can't be satisfied with your spouse, you should just divorce at any time". The American respondents, in contrast, were asked whether or not divorce is the best solution when a couple cannot work out their marital problems.

On the attitude regarding men involved in housework, Japanese respondents were asked how much they agreed with the following statement, "Men should also do housework and be able to cook for themselves". In contrast, American respondents were asked whether or not "men ought to do a larger share of household work than they do now".

The fifth item asks the respondents' attitude regarding both spouses contributing to household income. The Japanese respondents were asked whether or not it was better for the wife to not have a job if the husband's job earns sufficient income. The American respondents were asked whether or not both the husband and the wife should contribute to the household income. The Japanese scores were reversed for the purpose of the analysis, so that higher level of agreement to this question indicates the belief that both spouses should work and contribute to income, irrespective of if one spouse earns sufficient to support the household.

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The sixth and final gender role item of comparison infers the desirability of offspring. The Japanese respondents are asked how much they agree with the statement, "Even if you get married, you don't necessarily need to have children". On the other hand, the American respondents were asked whether or not they agreed with the statement, "People who have never had children lead empty lives". The Japanese scores were reversed for the purpose of analysis so that higher level of agreement with this question would indicate some level of desire to have children, irrespective of it relates to an empty life or its relation to marital obligations.

Items that Relate to the Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression. Four different items were analyzed as relevant indicators to elements discussed in either the hostile masculinity pathway or the impersonal sex pathway in the Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression (Malamuth et al., 1991; Malamuth et al., 1993). As with the gender role items, missing values and values that are associated with participant refusal were excluded from the analysis. These items were only analyzed using the data from the year 2000 from both the GSS and the JGSS since the JGSS did not ask these questions in 2002 to compare with the 2000 GSS.

Attitude items. There are three items measuring respondents' attitudes toward a particular topic. While social psychology has long argued for the disconnect between one's attitude and one's behavior (e.g., Bagozzi, 1992), the Confluence Model's original measures are related to one's beliefs and attitudes (see Malamuth et al., 1991 for details). Therefore, these items may serve as potential indicators of attitudes and beliefs that would fall under hostile masculinity path or the impersonal sex path. In addition, all three

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of these attitude items are worded the same in both the GSS and the JGSS.

The first attitude item asks the participants whether or not they believe an extramarital affair is wrong. According to Malamuth et al. (1993), engaging in multiple sexual relationships concurrently is a risk factor under the impersonal sex pathway. Since extramarital affairs are defined as a relationship that occur outside of one's established relationship, how one feels about such act may be a useful indicator.

The second item asks the participants whether or not they believe homosexual relationships are wrong. While Malamuth et al. (1991) does not specifically discuss homosexuality, there is a brief discussion of being sensitive and hostile to qualities that are seen as feminine. Other scholars have argued for the link between homophobia and hostility towards women (Brown & Groscup, 2009; Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007; Murphy, 2006). Previous research has found that gay men who lack what is perceived as stereotypically effeminate characteristics are often faced with lesser amounts of discrimination compared to effeminate men (Glick et al., 2007).

The third item asks the respondents their attitudes regarding the regulation on the distribution of pornography. Previous research has shown support for the potential impact on pornographic consumption to sexual aggression (Malamuth, Addison, & Koss; 2000; Marshall, 1988; Marshall, 2000). Particularly, the risk of sexual violence seems to be a concern if and when an individual is already at risk of sexual violence and consuming high amounts of pornography at the same time (Malamuth et al., 2000; Marshall, 2000).

On these attitudinal items, the lower number indicates disapproval of the topic. For the attitudes regarding extramarital affairs and homosexual relationships, for

example, the lower number indicates the degree to which the respondents feel these acts are immoral, with 1 being "Always wrong" and 4 indicating, "Not wrong at all". On the question regarding one's attitude on the distribution of pornographic materials, 1 promoting regulation of distribution regardless of age, 2 promoting regulations of distribution for person under 18, and 3 indicating their belief that there needs to be no regulation on the distribution of pornographic materials.

Frequency of sexual intercourse. Both the GSS and JGSS provide frequency of sexual intercourse within the last year. While the GSS and the JGSS offered identical choices, the responses were coded differently and have been adjusted for this analysis. In Malamuth et al. (1991)'s original work, the impersonal sex path was defined as sexual promiscuity. Thus, frequency of sexual intercourse may be an indicator of predictive risks for sexual violence. In particular, Malamuth et al. (1993) stressed sexual encounters in a game-like spirit to be the most problematic in the reconceptualization of the sexual promiscuity constellation as the impersonal sex pathway.

In order to take account of diverse sexual behavior of the sample, the frequency of sexual encounters took two additional variables into consideration. The first of such variables is marital status of the participant. The second additional variable used for analysis is respondents' age. Seven age categories were composed for the purpose of analysis, with 18-25 being the youngest group, with each additional category grouped by every 10 year period all the way up to 76 and above. In some analyses, two categories, 66-75 and 76 and above, had to be collapsed due to a concern for subgroup size.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Two sample t Tests were employed on all analyses, comparing the mean score of

the items discussed in the following sections. In the case of variables with significantly

unequal variance, Welch (1947)'s t Test was used in place of the regular t Test to

minimize the chance of error. Due to the significant variance in both the GSS and JGSS

data sets for the frequency of sexual intercourse, all analyses on the frequency of sexual

intercourse used Welch (1947)'s t Test. While some variables are not necessarily

continuous, all items are ordinal in some manner.

The preliminary results of the JGSS scores are presented in Table 1. In terms of

Japanese construction of gender roles, H1 was not supported in the analysis. The results

show highly statistically significant differences between Japanese men and women on the

acceptance or rejection of gender-typed questions. The most significant difference

between Japanese men and Japanese women is the statement regarding men should also

participate in housework, such as cleaning and cooking. While both the Japanese men and

Japanese women generally agreed to this statement, Japanese women in particular agreed

very strongly to the idea, $t(2625.29) = 13.26, p < .001$. The only gender role item that did

not have a significant difference is the attitudinal item regarding divorce. Both the

Japanese men and women generally disagreed to the statement that one should simply divorce their spouse due to lack of marital satisfaction, $t(2921) = 2.21, p > .05$.

There was a clear gender difference on all four items that were chosen as it may pertaining to potential risk factors for sexual violence. H2 specifically predicted that men would score higher than women on items that may relate to Malamuth et al. (1993)'s hostile masculinity path or the impersonal sex path. In both the attitude towards extramarital affair, $t(2685.69) = 5.48, p < .001$, and the attitude towards regulation of pornography, $t(2638.37) = 9.91, p < .001$, the results seem to indicate that Japanese men showed less disapproval compared to women. As predicted by H2, Japanese women were much more accepting of homosexual sexual relationships, $t(2775) = -4.21, p < .001$. On the frequency of sexual intercourse, the results seem to suggest that Japanese men have more frequent sexual intercourse compared to Japanese women, $t(1765) = 7.54, p < .001$.

The preliminary results of the GSS scores are presented in Table 2. Both H3 and H4 received partial support. On most of the gender role items, there was a significant main effect between men and women from the United States as predicted by H3. However, there were two exceptions. The question on divorce, $t(1147) = -1.35, p > .05$, and the question on both spouses contributing to household income, $t(1144) = -0.98$, $p > .05$, did not show a gender difference. There was a significant difference for items that may relate to hostile masculinity or impersonal sex constellation described in Malamuth et al. (1993), with the exception of attitudes toward homosexual sexual relationships, $t(1695) = -0.97, p > .05$, with the men for the United States only showing slightly more disapproval towards homosexual sexual relationships compared to women.

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In addition, the approval rate of infidelity only had a smaller effect in gender differences, $t(1614.09) = 2.94$, $p < .01$, with women showing slightly more disapproval compared to men. Of all items compared between the men and the women from the United States, the attitude regarding the regulation of pornographic materials had the strongest effect, $t(1853.64) = 8.97$, $p < .001$, with women showing much greater approval for the regulation of pornographic materials compared to men.

The overall comparisons between Japan and the United States are shown in Table 3. All items compared between Japan and the United States had statistically significant difference. However, H5$_a$ was not supported. The results indicated a difference in the opposite direction as predicted by the hypothesis. The respondents from the United States, in general, did not seem to have higher acceptance of traditional gender role items compared to the respondents from Japan, with the Japanese respondents consistently showing statistically significantly higher rates of approval on all gender role items. H6$_a$ only had partial support, with frequency of sexual intercourse being the strongest item that had a significant difference in the expected direction, $t(4029.19) = -23.95$, $p < .001$, with respondents from the United States indicating a higher frequency of sexual intercourse compared to the Japanese respondents. There was also a significant difference in the expected direction on the disapproval of homosexual sexual relations, $t(2737.63) = 2.20$, $p < .05$, with the respondents from the United States expressing slightly stronger disapproval of homosexual sexual relations compared to the Japanese respondents.

The comparison between Japan and the United States by gender is indicated in Table 4. A similar pattern was found in the overall comparison regardless of gender.

While there were statistically significant differences in the mean score between the male respondents from Japan and the United States on all gender role items, $H5_b$ was not supported. Once again, the differences that were found ran in the opposite direction of the hypothesis, with Japanese men consistently showing higher approval on all gender role items compared to the men from the United States. The greatest differences between the male respondents of the JGSS and the GSS were found on the desirability of offspring, $t(983.15) = -13.67$, $p < .001$, and on both spouses contributing to income, $t(1024.19) = 15.49$, $p < .001$. $H6_b$ only had partial support. Unlike $H6_a$, there was no observable difference between the male respondents in Japan and the United States in regards to their disapproval of homosexual sexual relations, $t(1216.92) = 0.64$, $p > .05$. In addition, while there was a significant difference between the male respondents of the JGSS and the GSS in regards to their attitudes on the regulation on the distribution of pornographic materials, the effect seemed weaker compared to other significant differences, $t(1995.79) = 2.85$, $p < .01$. The largest effect size was found in the impersonal sex/promiscuous constellation, $t(1851.86) = -16.98$, $p < .001$, with the male respondents from the United States engaging in much higher amount of sexual intercourse compared to Japanese men.

$H5_c$ was not supported, despite the fact that all gender role items in the analysis had statistically significant differences. Similar to $H5_b$, Japanese women indicated higher approval of traditional gender role items compared to the female respondents from the United States. The strongest effect was found on women's attitudes regarding the desirability of offspring, $t(983.15) = -13.67$, $p < .001$, with Japanese women (M = -0.46) and American women (M = 0.41) nearly mirroring each other, with Japanese women

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indicating a greater desirability for having children, while the women in the United States did not feel that having children was a necessary part of life. $H6_c$ was only partially supported. Similar to $H6_a$, the most significant difference with the strongest effect was found in the promiscuity/impersonal sex item, frequency of sexual intercourse, $t(2143.38) = -17.97, p < .001$, with female respondents from the United States indicating higher frequency of sexual encounters compared to female respondents from Japan. Also in support of $H6_c$, Japanese women were significantly less disapproving of homosexual sexual relations compared to female respondents from the United States, $t(1514.73) = 2.45, p < .05$.

The frequency of sexual intercourse was further analyzed by marital status (Table 5). The significant difference between the two nations' rates of sexual intercourse remained the same even after controlling for marital status. Even when gender was taken into account, the significance did not decrease, with the respondents from the United States consistently reporting a much higher frequency of sexual intercourse than the Japanese respondents. Significant differences are observed in both married men, $t(1009.88) = -19.13, p < .001$, and women, $t(1130.22) = -19.21, p < .001$. For women, particularly large differences were observed for those who reported to be either divorced, widowed, or separated, $t(559.56) = -13.14, p < .001$.

Age of the respondents was also taken into account in the analysis of the reported frequency of sexual intercourse and is summarized in Table 6. All age groups, even up until the maximum age, have statistically significant differences between the JGSS and the GSS respondents. The largest difference over all was observed in men and women

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age 26 to 35 years old, $t(439.40) = -11.02$, $p < .001$. This age group seems to have the largest gap even after taking gender into account for both men, $t(260.28) = -8.87$, $p < .001$, and women, $t(178.94) = -6.54$, $p < .001$. The only age group that did not have a significant difference is male respondents who were age 76 and above, $t(83.21) = 1.09$, $p > .05$.

Finally, marital status and the age of the participants were analyzed by gender, with Table 7 indicating the results for the male participants of the JGSS and the GSS, and Table 8 indicating the results for the female participants of the JGSS and the GSS. Due to a concern for statistical power, divorced, separated, widowed, and never married individuals were truncated into a single category. Similarly, older participants were also combined, with the oldest category being age 66 and above for the same reason. Results for men and women were fairly similar. For individuals who were married, neither the men, $t(7.83) = -0.75$, $p > .05$, nor the women, $t(8.05) = -0.94$, $p > .05$, had statistically significant difference from the age 18 to 25. For respondents who are not married, the only age group that showed no significant difference between the JGSS and the GSS respondents was individuals who were 56 to 65 years old, with unmarried men, $t(37.32) = -1.97$, $p > .05$, and unmarried women, $t(97.27) = -1.75$, $p > .05$, showing similar difference in the mean score. All other age groups were consistently significant regardless of one's marital status or gender.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Analyses using a nationally representative data made available by the courtesy of

the GSS and the JGSS seems to support the following conclusion. First, while this study

seems to present support for previous research (e.g., Sugihara & Katsurada, 1999) that

Japanese construction of gender role may be different compared to the United States, how

it is different seems to contradict the initial hypotheses. The hypotheses on gender

construction of Japan were formed based on previous theories, such as Connell (1987).

Connell (1987) has argued that traditional gender roles, where men are designated as the

primary wage earner while women tend to attend household duties and child rearing, are

hegemonic and artificially conflate the difference between men and women, who are

more similar than they are different. Hegemonic masculinity has therefore been largely

understood in feminist literature as the establishment of male dominant society to

subjugate women under patriarchal society. Scholars in other fields have also suggested

that Japan must have less hegemonic masculinity compared to the United States (Gagné,

2010; Iida, 2005). Therefore, this study hypothesized that the nation with indicators

suggesting a higher rate of sexual violence would also have a higher acceptance rate of

traditional gender roles. Concurrently, this study hypothesized that the nation with

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available indicators suggesting a lower rate of sexual violence would have less gendered division in society. However, our findings do not fit this explanation modeled after Connell (1987)'s theory regarding gender and gender construction.

Our findings, in fact, suggest not only clear gender differences in attitudes regarding traditional gender roles in Japan as well as the United States, but it is Japan that had greater difference in attitudes regarding gender role between men and women. Two of the six items analyzed in the United States had no statistically significant difference between men and women and those that had statistically significant difference had relatively small t statistics. One of the two items was attitude regarding divorce, in which both the male and female respondents from the United States generally agreed that divorce is usually the best solution when a couple cannot seem to work out their marital problems. Similarly, respondents from the United States, regardless of gender, felt that both spouses should contribute to household income.

In contrast, there were no items that had no statistically significant difference in the Japanese sample. In addition, the item with the least gender difference was on attitude regarding divorce in which both the Japanese men and women on average were against the termination of marital commitment due to the lack of marital satisfaction. Most of the gender differences in Japan seem to lend support that gender stereotypes exist rather strongly, especially in men. For example, male respondents were more likely to support the notion of women as homemakers and that young children should not be separated from their mothers. Female respondents, in contrast, seem to support ideas that defy traditional stereotypes compared to Japanese men, such as wanting to engage in the work

force even if there is no financial need, believing that a working mom does not negatively impact the child, favoring divorce if her marital satisfaction is low, and even believing that there is no necessity to have children just because she is a woman. In fact, it is the Japanese men who strongly favored having children and disagreed with the notion of divorce. In contrast, the male respondents from the United States were much less accepting of traditional gender roles, disagreeing with the notion that women ought to be homemakers. In fact, the largest statistical difference between the male respondents on the gender role items is that the men from the United States strongly supported the notion that women should also contribute to household income.

These results seem to support the differences found in previous studies between individualistic societies, such as the United States, and collectivist societies, such as Japan. As Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, and Lucca (1988) have observed, the GSS respondents from the United States typically favored individual choice and equality by expressing favorable attitudes for divorce and to the notion that both spouses should contribute equally to household income. Japanese respondents, in contrast, typically favored group-oriented goals, such as wanting their mothers not to work in order to ensure the well-being of their children and continuing to remain in a marriage even if individual marital satisfaction is fairly low. Scholars such as Hill (2007) have also argued that marriage in the United States has evolved from an institutional bond, such as one based on religious ideals, economic dependence, and need for copulation, to that of love, freedom of choice, equality, and companionship. Given the significant differences on all but one gender role item in the complete opposite direction, it may be that the Japanese

people marry more out of institutional reasons, such as economic dependence and copulation, over romantic reasons, such as love and companionship.

However, what this analysis does not support is the notion that traditional gender roles are necessarily hegemonic as Connell (1987) has argued. That is, simply because men believe that there ought to be gendered division of labor does not necessarily imply a society in which these values result in subjugation of women and homosexual individuals. Further analysis seems to only highlight the complexity of gender construction.

First of all, male respondents from Japan seem to score higher on items that reinforced strong family ties and marital responsibilities. Compared to both Japanese women and American men, our findings seem to suggest that Japanese men strongly believe in being the primary breadwinner of the house, to have children of their own, to have a wives to look after their homes and children, and to remain committed to their wives even through marital hardships. Ironically, however, compared to both American men and Japanese women, Japanese men also have the highest level of acceptance of marital infidelity and the more lax attitude towards regulation of the distribution of pornographic materials. These results seem to suggest a fairly complex picture of familial obligation on one hand, while the personal use of pornography and extramarital affairs may be seen as unrelated issues by Japanese men.

Secondly, the fact that there were statistically significant differences in the frequency of sexual intercourse between Japan and the United States, even after taking gender, marital status, and age group into consideration, is noteworthy. Of all of the items

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that were chosen to test the relevance of Malamuth et al. (1993)'s Confluence Model in Japan, the only item in which the Japanese response for both gender showed the expected direction was the frequency of sexual intercourse. While there was an overall effect for the disapproval of homosexual sexual relations, Japanese men and American men did not have statistically significant difference in their disapproval of homosexual sexual relations. The overall difference seems to be accounted for by the difference seen in women, where Japanese women were much more accepting of homosexual sexual relations compared to the American women. The other two items, that relate to attitudes toward extramarital affair and the regulation of pornography, indicated that Japanese respondents typically expressed views that could potentially be at risk for sexual aggression in accordance with the theory. Our findings suggest that Japanese people, in general, are engaging in less sexual intercourse compared to the United States.

Finally, this study seems to indicate a unique aspect about disapproval of homosexual sexual relations. Despite traditional arguments that have based disapproval towards homosexual individuals on gender role construction and its relationship to overall hostility towards women, the results seem to suggest disapproval of homosexual sexual relations may be much more complicated than what previous scholars on gender and sexuality have argued (Brown & Groscup, 2009; Glick et al., 2007; Murphy, 2006). While it remains prudent to remain cautious because there is only a single item that this study gauging hostility towards homosexual individuals, there was no observable difference between Japanese men and American men on their attitude regarding homosexual sexual relationships despite fundamentally different attitudes expressed on

all other gender role items analyzed in this study. Furthermore, Japanese women, who also typically embraced traditional gender roles compared to American women, showed statistically significantly greater approval of homosexual sexual relations. If and when hostility towards homosexual sexual relations are related to sexism and establishment of heterosexual relationships as the norm as Connell (1987) has theorized, we should expect a much greater difference between Japan and the United States who have scored significantly differently on all other gender role items. The fact that our findings are inconsistent seems to suggest that hostility toward homosexual sexual relations may not be necessarily tied to gender construction and gender norms.

Limitations

Weight. While the data sets are nationally representative, no weights were applied in the analysis due to the specific statistical tool employed. Therefore, analyses involving age of the participants may particularly be susceptible to error as it does not reflect the population census. However, Welch (1947)'s t test were used to improve the accuracy of the results for variables with significantly unequal variance.

Gender role items. Over half of the items used to compare gender roles have a legitimate concern for their comparability. First, only two of the six items were identical questions. The other four items, classified as indicators of certain attitudes, used different language. It is unclear without further study that the attitudes inferred in this study corresponds to the actual attitudes expressed by the respondents. Secondly, there is a statistical concern, in which the JGSS data and the GSS data did not use the same Likert scale. In the JGSS data, it uses a 4-point scale with no option of neutrality. In contrast, the

GSS respondents had the option to choose a neutral option, expanding the scale to 5. The present study attempted to address this discrepancy by converting the 4-point scale into positive and negative numbers by level of agreement, with 0 indicating neutral option for the 5-point scale. However, this would result in a greater unit of difference between "Somewhat Agree" and "Somewhat Disagree" by increasing the difference from 1 to 2 units, possibly skewing the JGSS data into polar extremes compared to the GSS data.

Finally, even on the two items that are deemed to be identical, a close look at the Japanese codebook of the GSS seems to imply that assumption may not be prudent. For example, one of the gender role items used for this study asks participants whether or not they agree with the statement, "A preschool child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works". In the JGSS, however, this question is probably better translated as "A mother entering the work force would likely have a negative influence on her child who have yet to enter elementary school" than how it is described in the codebook. "Preschool" and "children who have yet to enter elementary school" is rather different, as it would exclude kindergarten in Japan. Similarly, on the gender role item regarding male involvement in cooking and other housework, the Japanese phrase indicates that "Men should also", rather than the English Codebook's specification that "Men should". The presence of inclusion of other entities aside from male individuals (the unspecified other most likely being a female person) makes it a much different statement than a statement that simply states that men and only men should take some form of an imperative.

Confluence Model items. It is unclear whether or not any of the items selected in this study is a valid measure of risk factors detailed in Malamuth et al. (1993)'s

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Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression. Gender role items, for example, were selected on the basis of Connell (1987)'s notion of hegemonic masculinity, where traditional gender role items were theorized as an artificial social construct for the purpose of establishing dominance of men and subjugation of women. However, the results of this study did not support Connell (1987)'s theory that the acceptance of gendered labor is necessarily hegemonic. This leaves only disapproval of homosexual sexual relations as a possible indicator of hostile masculinity in this study, where hostility against men is not even part of Malamuth et al. (1993)'s original construct.

The impersonal sex items share the same concern as well. While the results of this study indicate a highly significant difference in the frequency of sexual intercourse between Japan and the United States, sexual acts alone are not necessarily considered to be a risk factor for sexual violence in the Confluence Model (Malamuth et al., 1993). Similarly, frequent use of pornography nor condoning attitudes toward pornography were not found to be a significant risk factor for sexual violence without first possessing risk factors in the hostile masculinity path or the impersonal sex path (Malamuth et al., 2000). In addition, as Bagozzi (1992) noted, attitude alone is not an accurate measure of action. Therefore, it is entirely possible that even though Japanese people expressed less disapproval of marital infidelity, the actual rate of marital infidelity is not higher than the rate in the United States.

In order to better test the usefulness of the Confluence Model in Japan, it would be most ideal to use the same measures used in the original study by Malamuth et al. (1991) for both pathways. Even if the entire instrument cannot be replicated in Japanese,

perhaps it would be possible to include one or two items that from each constellation that

had the highest predictability in the United States to test its predictability in Japan. Of the

two paths, the hostile masculinity items would require the most care if the results from

this study is any indication. It may even be that what would be hostile in the United

States may not be hostile for Japan.

Possibility of a higher prevalence of sexual violence in Japan. It is also

important to be open to the possibilities that the prevalence rate of sexual violence in

Japan may be different from the indicators used as a base for this research. For example,

comparing the rates of forcible rape may not be the most accurate indicator for overall

prevalence of sexual violence despite definitional similarities. As Shibata (2008)

succinctly noted, focusing on the rates of rape and sexual assault, as Diamond and

Uchiyama (1999) have, misses an entire other category of sex crimes known as *kyousei*

waisetsu. Kyousei waisetsu, which roughly translates to forced obscenity, is a

heterogeneous category of sex crime that includes all sex crimes that do not fall under the

definition of rape and sexual assault. While some crimes that fall under *kyousei waisetsu*

are fairly minor, such as indecent exposure, other crimes that fall under this category can

be quite serious, such as anal penetration of a male individual against their will (Shibata,

2008). Shibata (2008) also notes the sharp increase in the number of reported incidents of

kyousei waisetsu between 1993 and 2003, which may be an indication that the Japanese

rate of sexual violence is not as low as it appears.

While it may not be as low as it appears, it is most likely not as high as Shibata

(2008) has argued either. The rates of sexual violence in Japan have been decreasing

following the period of Shibata (2008)'s analysis. From 2003 to 2011, the reported

incidents of *kyousei waisetsu* of female victims decreased by 24%, while the reported

incidents of *kyousei waisetsu* of male victims decreased by 43% (Ministry of Justice,

2012). The rate of forcible rape has also decreased dramatically to 1,289 reported

incidents in 2011, which was a 42% decrease from 2003 (Ministry of Justice, 2012). This

figure is even lower than the lowest number of reported incidents of rape during the two

decades investigated by Diamond and Uchiyama (1999) study (Ministry of Justice,

2012). Therefore, while it is important to note the noticeable increase in various sex

crimes that fall under *kyousei waisetsu* in Japan during the immediate years following

Diamond and Uchiyama (1999) study, such increase can probably be better ascribed to

Japan's financial difficulties and recovery during the 1990s, rather than an indication of

an increase in overall sex crimes in Japan (Leonardsen, 2006)

Scholarly work, however, also seems to suggest the prevalence rate of sexual

violence and child sexual abuse may also be higher than what was found in WMHSI-J.

For example, the first national study of child sexual abuse conducted in 1999 indicates a

much higher rate of child sexual abuse in Japan. For the female participants, retrospective

reporting of sexual abuse up until the age of eighteen was estimated at 39.4%, while male

participants' retrospective reporting of sexual abuse up until the age of eighteen was

estimated at 10% (Nihon Seikagaku Jouhou Center, 1999). In one smaller study, 20% of

the sample reported experience of childhood sexual abuse (Allard, 2009). It was unclear,

however, how abuse was defined other than this study included non-contact abuse. In

another study, around 20% of the sample reported experience of rape or attempted rape

(Dussich, 2001).

It was unclear, however, how useful these studies were to be used as a basis for the rate of sexual violence in Japan. The only study that used a nationally representative sample is the study by Nihon Seikagaku Jouhou Center (1999). Neither Allard (2009) nor Dussich (2001) are representative, which makes it difficult to use such findings to argue for epidemiological evidence. Childhood sexual abuse is particularly difficult to define, even confined to a single nation (see Finkelhor, 2007 for details). Despite the fact that Nihon Seikagaku Jouhou Center (1999) study is Japan's first national research on childhood sexual abuse, without first understanding how sexual abuse was defined, it would be difficult to find comparable study in the United States.

Future Research and Implications

The present study seems to confirm the complexity of both sexual violence and gender construction. Further testing of both gender construction and the predictability of Malamuth et al. (1993)'s Confluence Model in non-Western cultures is needed to confirm or disconfirm the findings from the present study. Keeping in mind that the items chosen may not have been the most accurate indicators of gender construction nor indicators for hostile masculinity and impersonal sex risk factors, the present findings seem to suggest that the amount of sexual intercourse itself may be one of the most important factors.

Based on our findings, it is possible that a society that has more sexual intercourse as a whole may place more emphasis on obtaining sexual intercourse in general, unrelated to hostile masculinity or impersonal sex path described in the Confluence Model (Malamueth et al., 1993). If and when obtaining sexual encounters is the primarily

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goal, for example, the likelihood of obtaining sexual intercourse by force may increase as opposed to a society in which the number of sexual intercourse itself is not particularly important to one's self worth or identity. Even when sexual release is valued equally, the variation of sexual violence could be accounted for by the difference between a society that stresses the importance of the act of sexual intercourse itself, as opposed to a society in which any act that can bring sexual relief, including self-relief, is valued similarly.

Furthermore, the present study seems to lend support to Malamuth et al. (2000) and Marshall (2000)'s point that pornography, on its own, may not be a good predictor of sexual violence. The present study suggests that Japanese people in general are more accepting of pornography, yet seems to have a lower level of both sexually aggressive behaviors and sexual intercourse. While a biological argument that Japanese people may have lower sex drives may be a factor, it is also possible that Japanese people have comparable sex drives but engage in and find satisfaction in masturbation or other sublimation of sexual interests. In order to infer on the full effects of sexually explicit materials, sex drive, and sexual behavior, there naturally needs to be an account for the rate of sexual behavior beyond intercourse.

The present study also may be useful as a basis for legal implications of sexual violence. While Japan may be criticized as a safe haven for child pornography (Janowski & Kasai, 2012), it is not to say the United States is not without its own criticisms. The United States is the leading nation in incarceration rate in the developed world, incarcerating its citizens greater than ten times the rate of Japan, increasing exponentially since the 1970's (Haney, 2009). As Yung (2010) has argued, the increasingly punitive

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nature of criminal law towards sex offender mirrors that of the War on Drugs. However, many of these laws were implemented prior to empirical validation, primarily focused on the notion of stranger danger (Finkelhor, 2009). The present study seems to suggest that it is not necessarily the nation with the most lax nor the most strict laws against sex crimes that have lower rates of sexual violence. Future research should investigate the effects of law on sex crimes in various countries so that law makers can make informed decision that would best serve to reduce sexual violence.

There is a clear need for more nationally representative research in Japan regarding sexual violence. Even in the JGSS, there are items that include experience of physical assault, but no items for sexual assault were included. As Morita (2008) noted, Japan as a nation must first work on a better system that addresses sexual violence altogether. Despite available evidence presented in this study that the Japanese rate of sexual violence is lower than the rate in the United States, the mere fact that it exists mandates further research.

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Table 1

Comparison of JGSS Scores by Gender

	Gender		*t*	*df*
	Male	Female		
Men at work, women at home	-0.26	0.08	-6.78***	2914
Preschoolers suffer if mom works	-0.20	0.01	-3.95***	2903
Divorce as an option	0.28	0.18	2.21*	2921
Men should do housework†	-0.73	-1.23	13.26***	2625.29
Both spouses should work	0.25	-0.11	6.96***	2912
Desirability of offspring	-0.46	-0.25	-4.12***	2902
Extramarital affair is wrong†	1.73	1.59	5.48***	2685.69
Homosexuality is wrong	2.07	2.22	-4.21***	2775
Regulation of pornography†	1.86	1.65	9.91***	2638.37
Frequency of sexual intercourse	1.77	1.22	7.54***	1765

Notes. *p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001 † Indicates the use of Welch's t test

Table 2

Comparison of United States GSS Scores by Gender

	Gender			
	Male	Female	*t*	*df*
Men at work, women at home	0.48	0.90	-4.96***	1155
Preschoolers suffer if mom works	0.03	0.38	-3.92***	1148
Divorce as an option	-0.15	-0.05	-1.35	1147
Men should do housework	-0.52	-0.78	3.95***	1146
Both spouses should work	-0.73	-0.66	-0.98	1144
Desirability of offspring	0.41	0.69	-4.08***	1136
Extramarital affair is wrong†	1.39	1.28	2.94**	1614.09
Homosexuality is wrong	2.03	2.10	-0.97	1695
Regulation of pornography†	1.79	1.58	8.97***	1853.64
Frequency of sexual intercourse	3.11	2.60	6.03***	2262

Notes. *p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001 † Indicates the use of Welch's t test

Table 3

Comparison of JGSS and GSS Scores by Country

| | Country | | | |
	Japan	United States	*t*	*df*
Men at work, women at home	-0.08	0.73	-16.71***	4071
Preschoolers suffer if mom works	-0.09	0.23	-6.47***	4053
Divorce as an option	0.22	-0.09	7.22***	4070
Men should do housework	-1.00	-0.67	-8.83***	4070
Both spouses should work†	0.05	-0.69	17.16***	2492.59
Desirability of offspring†	-0.35	0.57	-21.53***	2528.19
Extramarital affair is wrong	1.66	1.33	15.40***	4660
Homosexuality is wrong†	2.15	2.07	2.20*	2737.63
Regulation of pornography†	1.74	1.67	4.31***	4182.56
Frequency of sexual intercourse	1.49	2.83	-23.95***	4029.19

Notes. *p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001 † Indicates the use of Welch's t test

Table 4

Comparison of JGSS and GSS Scores by Country and Gender

| | Country | | | |
	Japan	United States	*t*	*df*
Men				
Men at work, women at home	-0.26	0.48	-10.39***	1840
Preschoolers suffer if mom works	-0.20	0.03	-3.15**	1837
Divorce as an option	0.28	-0.15	6.41***	1836
Men should do housework	-0.73	-0.52	-3.48***	1839
Both spouses should work†	0.25	-0.73	15.49***	1024.19
Desirability of offspring†	-0.46	0.41	-13.67***	983.15
Extramarital affair is wrong	1.73	1.39	10.50***	2104
Homosexuality is wrong†	2.07	2.03	0.64	1216.92
Regulation of pornography†	1.86	1.79	2.85**	1995.78
Frequency of sexual intercourse	1.77	3.11	-16.98***	1851.86
Women				
Men at work, women at home	0.08	0.90	-12.81***	2229
Preschoolers suffer if mom works	0.01	0.38	-5.56***	2214
Divorce as an option	0.18	-0.05	3.91***	2232
Men should do housework†	-1.23	-0.78	-9.35***	1076.25
Both spouses should work†	-0.11	-0.66	9.25***	1456.71
Desirability of offspring†	-0.25	0.69	-16.38***	1562.98
Extramarital affair is wrong	1.59	1.28	11.22***	2554
Homosexuality is wrong†	2.22	2.10	2.45*	1514.73
Regulation of pornography	1.65	1.58	3.09**	2532
Frequency of sexual intercourse	1.22	2.60	-17.97***	2143.38

Notes. *p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001 † Indicates the use of Welch's t test

Table 5

The Frequency of Sexual Intercourse by Country, Gender, and Marital Status

Marital Status	Country		*t*	*df*
	Japan	United States		
Overall				
Married	1.76	3.48	-26.83***	2167.13
Divorced/Widowed/Separated	0.26	1.81	-16.18***	927.56
Never Married	1.55	2.79	-8.67***	505.58
Men				
Married	1.89	3.59	-19.13***	1009.88
Divorced/Widowed/Separated	0.67	2.36	-8.03***	178.33
Never Married	1.67	2.88	-6.49***	357.97
Women				
Married	1.60	3.39	-19.21***	1130.22
Divorced/Widowed/Separated	0.14	1.52	-13.14***	559.56
Never Married	1.35	2.69	-5.87***	153.15

Notes. *$p \leq .05$ **$p \leq .01$ ***$p \leq .001$

Table 6

The Frequency of Sexual Intercourse by Country, Age Group, and Gender

Age Group	Country		*t*	*df*
	Japan	United States		
18-25	2.03	3.43	-6.32***	215.28
26-35	2.35	3.77	-11.02***	439.40
36-45	2.36	3.27	-7.94***	631.37
46-55	1.96	2.76	-6.66***	725.45
56-65	1.18	2.23	-7.50***	367.19
66-75	0.61	1.11	-3.88***	276.35
76+	0.12	0.27	-2.16*	237.08
Men				
18-25	2.12	3.25	-3.56***	129.28
26-35	2.21	3.77	-8.87***	260.28
36-45	2.57	3.57	-6.40***	338.64
46-55	2.11	2.99	-5.23***	325.40
56-65	1.62	2.85	-6.51***	197.54
66-75	0.91	1.72	-3.57***	100.27
76+	0.31	0.5	-1.09	83.21
Women				
18-25	1.92	3.59	-5.32***	87.86
26-35	2.52	3.76	-6.54***	178.94
36-45	2.15	3.02	-5.29***	288.52
46-55	1.79	2.56	-4.52***	367.46
56-65	0.75	1.65	-4.88***	170.28
66-75	0.32	0.72	-2.90**	171.33
76+	0.02	0.17	-2.23*	123.88

Notes. *p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 7

The Frequency of Sexual Intercourse of Men by Country, Age Group, and Marital Status

Age Group	Country		*t*	*df*
	Japan	United States		
Married				
18-25	3.71	4.35	-0.75	7.83
26-35	2.74	4.16	-7.02***	122.72
36-45	2.74	4.02	-8.47***	246.32
46-55	2.28	3.78	-9.01***	216.44
56-65	1.67	3.18	-7.64***	135.31
66+	0.89	1.88	-4.46***	88.89
Not Married				
18-25	1.91	3.09	-3.57***	124.69
26-35	1.60	3.52	-7.48***	129.49
36-45	1.63	3.00	-3.40**	31.69
46-55	1.21	1.91	-2.08*	72.03
56-65	1.12	2.15	-1.97	37.32
66+	0.12	0.53	-2.23*	75.29

Notes. *p ≤ .05 **p ≤ .01 ***p ≤ .001

Table 8

The Frequency of Sexual Intercourse of Women by Country, Age Group, and Marital Status

Age Group	Country		t	df
	Japan	United States		
Married				
18-25	3.71	4.39	-0.94	8.05
26-35	2.92	4.15	-6.31***	128.63
36-45	2.37	3.72	-8.27***	237.8
46-55	2.05	3.27	-6.84***	249.25
56-65	0.85	2.47	-6.78***	78.99
66+	0.45	1.47	-4.56***	78.37
Not Married				
18-25	1.64	3.37	-5.17***	86.48
26-35	1.52	3.41	-5.33***	43.45
36-45	0.23	2.20	-8.45***	47.70
46-55	0.14	1.74	-7.02***	102.02
56-65	0.38	0.81	-1.75	97.27
66+	0.02	0.14	-2.20*	207.50

Notes. *p $\leq$ .05 **p $\leq$ .01 ***p $\leq$ .001

Figure 1

The Adapted Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression
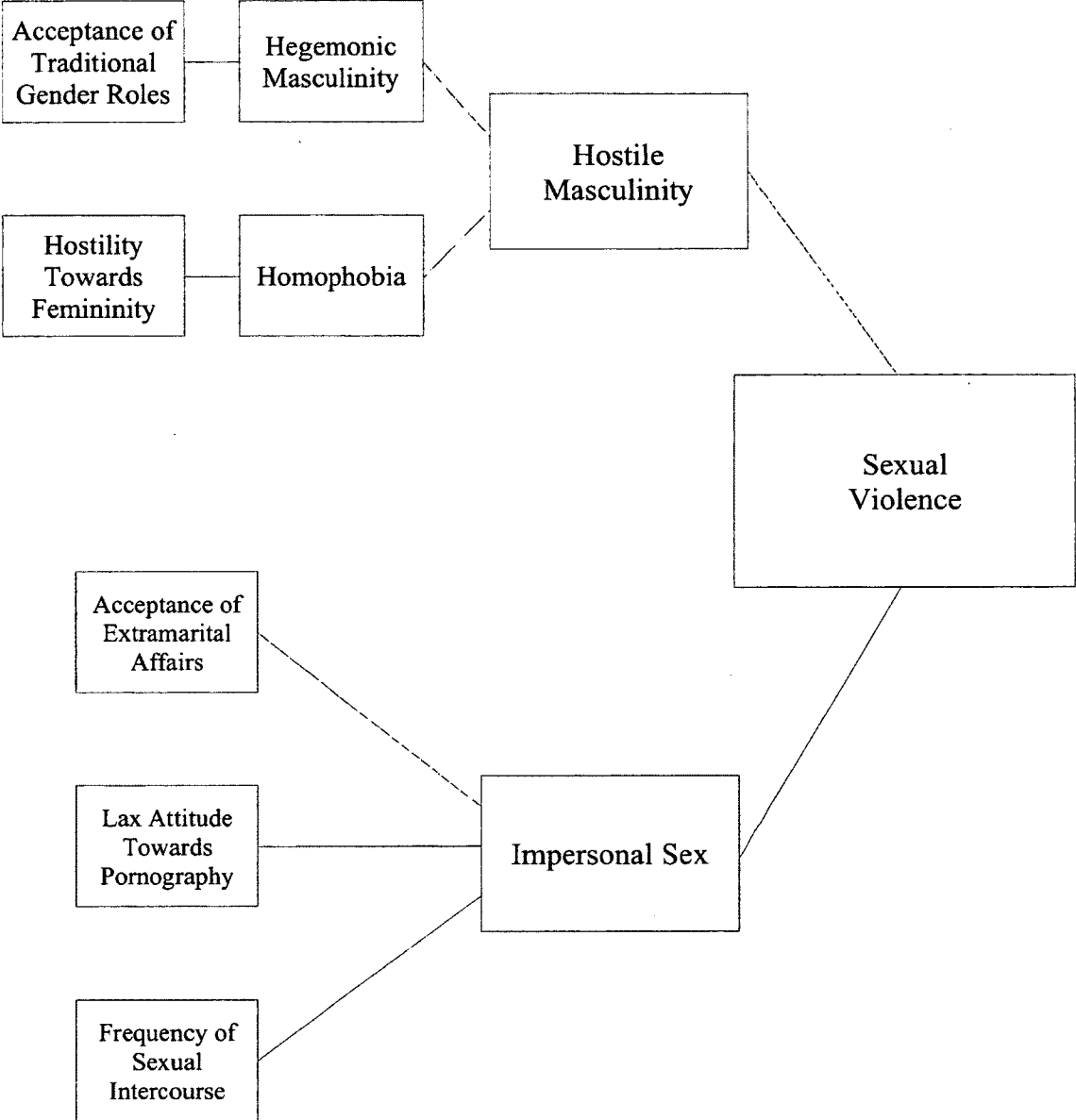
APPENDICES

Appendix A

JGSS Items

19A	A person, who is not satisfied with his/her spouse, should be able to divorce at any time.						
19B	If a husband has sufficient income, it is better for his wife not to have a job.						
19D	Men should cook and look after themselves.						
19E	A husband's job is to earn money; a wife's job is to look after the home and family.						
19G	A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works.						
19H	It is not necessary to have children in a marriage.						
	1	Agree	2	Somewhat agree	3	Somewhat disagree	4	Disagree

48	What is your opinion about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than the marriage partner?						
50	What is your opinion about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex?						
	1	Always wrong	2	Almost always wrong	3	Wrong only sometimes	4	Not wrong at all

52	Which one of the following three opinions best describes the way you feel about the regulation of pornography?
	1 There should be laws against the distribution of pornography whatever the age.
	2 There should be laws against the distribution of pornography to persons under 18.
	3 There should be no laws forbidding the distribution of pornography.
53	How often did you have sex during the last 12 months?
	1 Not at all
	2 Once or twice
	3 About once a month
	4 2-3 times a month
	5 About once a week
	6 2-3 times a week
	7 More than 3 times a week

Appendix B

GSS Items

226	What is your opinion about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than the marriage partner--is it always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?
227	What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex--do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?

1	Always Wrong	2	Almost Always Wrong	3	Wrong Only Sometimes	4	Not wrong at all

230	Which of these statements comes closest to your feelings about pornography laws?

1	There should be laws against the distribution of pornography whatever the age.
2	There should be laws against the distribution of pornography to persons under 18.
3	There should be no laws forbidding the distribution of pornography.

1461A	A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works.
1461H	Both the husband and the wife should contribute to the household income.
1461I	A husband's job is to earn money; a wife's job is to look after the home and family.
1469F	People who have never had children lead empty lives.
1485	Divorce is usually the best solution when a couple can't seem to work out their marriage problems.
1494A	Men ought to do a larger share of household work than they do now.

1	Strongly agree	2	Agree	3	Neither agree nor disagree	4	Disagree	5	Strongly disagree

1768	About how often did you have sex during the last 12 months?

0	Not at all
1	Once or twice
2	About once a month
3	2 or 3 times a month
4	About once a week
5	2 or 3 times a week
6	More than 3 times a week