

# Going Along to Get Along: Female Sexual Submission in Urban China

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## Abstract

With a new national sample from urban China, this paper examines the conditions under which women submit to the sexual desires of their husband or other primary sexual partner. The paper draws on both on both essentialist (nature) and social constructionist (nurture) accounts of sexual behavior. The analysis concludes that both perspectives provide insights, with the following elements all shaping women's perceived sexual submission: women's levels of consciousness (indexed by education), bargaining (relative income, hitting, native community), relationship quality (men's intimacy and care in both daily life and during sex), and the woman's own values about sex and her level of interest in sex (feelings about whether sex is dirty, and frequent thoughts about sex).

## Paper

Based on a new national sample of sexual behavior, this paper examines the conditions under which women submit to the sexual desires of their husband or other primary sexual partner. As a background to this examination, we consider both essentialist (nature) and social constructionist (nurture) accounts of the forces that shape human sexual behavior.

### **Theoretical Models**

Based on the available literature, we posit that four major groups of conditions shape women's experience of sexual submission (fig. 1). We posit that these conditions shape a woman's level of sexual desire, and that if that desire is higher fewer behaviors are perceived as unwanted or requiring "submission" on her part. Furthermore, these conditions shape both whether she engages in sex at all and the frequency and variety of sexual practice. And, finally, the four background conditions both directly and indirectly shape

The four sets of background conditions resonate at many points with both essentialist and social constructionist schools of thought (table 1). First, the role of *expectations* is consistent with an emphasis, often emphasized in feminist writings, on the role of gender ideology in obscuring women's true interests. In societies such as China, dominated historically by a patriarchal elite, women (and men) were taught that women were to have few sexual desires of their own and that male's interests were to be predominant (e.g., Lerner xxxx, ..... ). Were women's consciousness to be increased, by more education and diffusion

of messages from the West, then, women might both pursue more of their own satisfaction in sex and to resist behaviors designed only to satisfy men's desires. To examine this possibility, we will consider both the role of education and a measure of gender ideology which asks whether women should pursue their own satisfaction in sex.

Second, while poles apart on the issue of origins, both essentialist and social constructionist writers often agree on the strong role of *bargaining* in sexual behavior (see Buss xxxx on the overlap in these themes). Evolutionary psychologists suggest that the tendency both for women to desire high status males and for men to use physical violence against women is built into our genes. Women benefit from a high resource male to help women handle the great burdens of child care, when women have less time to gather resources on their own (e.g., Buss 1994). Also, threatened by the dilution of their sperm by females who consort with other males, males use force to keep females from wandering (e.g., Buss 2000, Townsend and ...). Feminist theories suggest that the use of force to control females and female desire for, and submission to, higher status males is much more the result of patriarchy. With the emergence of settled agriculture, with males worried about the division of land and property among multiple dependents, and with the emergence of a strong state controlled by males, male control of female reproduction became the norm. With males controlling most property, and females allowed few resources of their own, females were forced to offer sexual services to high status males. Male dominance of the state produced an ideology that legitimated male use of force against females. All this was further exacerbated by a system of village exogamy which had females leaving the solidarity community of females which in earlier historical epochs had given women a basis for resisting male dominance (e.g., Lerner 19xx, Angier 19xx, Smuts 1995).

China provides a basis for testing several of these ideas. More than in market societies, Chinese urban women come close to approximating men in education, occupation, and income (e.g., Tang and Parish 2000). The question is whether these greater resources allows women to gain more control over their sexual behavior. Also, to some extent, women now marry closer to home, and might use this proximity to their home community to resist male control. All this is threatened, unfortunately, by growing prostitution, which provides husband's and other sexual partner's access to other sexual outlets. Under these conditions, women can less often use sex as a tool to control men or, fearing exposure to sexually transmitted infections that men bring back from prostitutes, women can less often resist their husband's advances lest he turn to prostitutes (e.g., xxxxxx ).

Third, a large literature suggests that relationship quality matters greatly to females. The evolutionary psychologist literature suggests this is built into our genes. Men seek to spread their sperm as widely as possible, and are less concerned about commitment. Women, in contrast, concerned about having a male to support them during a long period of gestation and child rearing are looking for signals that the man will stick with them. A feminist, social constructionist literature suggests that men have been mis-socialized. Men have not been trained to be concerned about women's needs, to express intimacy or even to know what a woman needs to be sexually satisfied – a “men are from Mars, women are from Venus” syndrome, growing the feminists suggest out a long history of patriarchal ideology and control. These are issues primarily having to do with male attitudes and behavior.

Fourth, female attitudes and behavior also matter. The social constructionist literature suggests that females have been mis-socialized as well – trained to think that sex is dirty and

that women don't deserve or can't expect to achieve sexual satisfaction. An essentialist literature, while concurring that environment can have an influence, suggests considerable individual variation in hormone levels – e.g., testosterone levels for women as well as men (e.g., Udry 2000, Dabbs 2000). We can index some of these indirectly, with reports on how often a woman thinks of sex, how often she masturbates, and whether she often or infrequently has an interest in sex.

Finally, we have a few obvious controls, including her age, the age of her partner, and child care responsibilities.

## **Data**

Collected in 1999-2000 by a Renmin University, under the direction of Professor Suiming Pan, we have survey data for 3,824 adults age 20-64 (fig. 2). A stratified probability sample, with oversamples of coastal cities, we will use the 1,289 urban women with a long term sex partner (95% of whom were the spouse) for the analysis that follows. Response rates for the sample were a quite respectable 78%. Data gathered by computer-administered interviews, with the respondent controlling the computer for the last half of the interview containing the most sensitive questions about sexual behavior.

There are multiple checks on the validity of responses (fig. 3). Pretest data comparing husband and wife responses to behavior that both should know about – e.g., frequency of sex, specific sexual practices – had levels of agreement that were comparable to questions about other, less sensitive aspects of family life – e.g., age of youngest child. Also in pretests, a subset of respondents were asked the same questions three months apart continued to give consistent reports about sexual behavior – e.g., number of sexual partners in his/her lifetime. The full interviews produce changes in behavior – e.g., premarital sex, first masturbation, age at first sex – that are consistent with what we know about societal trends at the time these events would have occurred. Moreover, we collected urine samples from most respondents. The sexually transmitted infections we discovered in these samples correlate quite systematically with risky sexual behavior – e.g., with visiting prostitutes, with having a husband who is often absent in the evening, with having many sexual partners. Thus, we have some reason to trust the data.

## **Sexual Submission**

We have multiple measures of sexual submission. One of these is whether the woman ever submitted to sexual demands any time during the relationship with the spouse or partner. In both cities and villages, about one-fourth of the women reported this experience (table 3). According to the respondent, this submission caused considerable harm in only a minority of instances. However, the submission experiences often extended over most of the years that the couple had been together (fig. 4). Thus, even if these experiences were more like a cold than a heart attack, this was often a persistent cold that would not go away or kept being re-experienced year after year.

Besides unwanted sex sometime in the past, we asked about six other types of submission (table 4). (1) Unwilling acts. After being questioned about a series of sexual practices, including genital touching, oral sex, anal sex, and specific positions, women were asked whether they had ever done any practice that they did not want to do. One-fourth said they had. (2) Sex too often. After being asked how often the couple engaged in sex last year, the woman was asked whether this was too often or too infrequent. Six percent said it was too

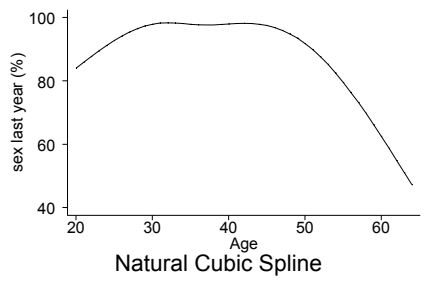
often. (3) Too long. Women were also asked whether, on average, sex with her partner went on for too long a time or too short a time. A small number said it went on too long. (4) Male initiates sex. Women were asked whether sex was usually initiated by him, her, or both together. A full 70 percent said that it was usually by him. Only about one-fourth reported a shared initiation pattern. (5) Sex to please partner. Women reported whether they engaged in sex primarily to please their partner. Two fifths said that they often did. (6) Women were asked whether they sometimes or often faked orgasm to please her partner. Two-fifths reported at least sometimes.

From these separate measures, including unwanted sex sometimes in the past, we constructed a summary sexual compliance measure. This summary measures runs from 0 to 1. Only a small one-tenth have a score of 0, indicating complete freedom from sexual submission to their partner’s wishes. Only five people – less than 0.2% in the full weighted sample – scored 1, indicating that they submitted to their partner on all dimensions. Most people were in the middle levels of submission, given the ways in which we summed up the separate measures of submission.

**Sex Last Year**

Of course, one possible outcome of successful bargaining could be that the woman would have no sex at al during the preceding year. If so, we would have little or no data about sexual submission. Accordingly, we begin with an analysis of whether the couple had sex during the preceding year.

Whether a couple had sex or not is highly related to age. The young -- who may not be married yet and who have a harder time living together even when married, given China’s tight housing market -- are less likely to have had sex last year. More importantly, there is a sharp drop off in sex among people in their 50s and 60s.



Women are also less likely to have sex when their partner is older or when he is often away from home in some distant location (fig. 5). All of these are not terribly surprising.

What is of much greater interest are the effects of expectations and bargaining. Both are important (fig. 5). Elaborated in more detail by data not given here, education of both the male and female helps elevate a woman’s variety of sex, her frequency of sex, and her sexual satisfaction. What we see here is that both the man’s and the woman’s education makes it more likely that they had sex sometime during the year. Compared to the least educated, the most educated man and woman are each about six percentage points more likely to have had sex last year. Thus, education is quite important.

Bargaining also matters (fig. 5). If she has been hit, and has not retaliated, she is three percentage points more likely to have had sex last year. Physical violence matters. Material resources also matter. Compared to the woman who has no income, the woman who

earns 100% of the couple's joint income is seven percentage points less likely to have had sex last year.

### **Sexual Submission**

Finally, we turn to our summary measure of sexual compliance. In this analysis, we use a selection bias model that first controls for whether the couple had sex last year and then asks whether the woman experienced the sex as submissive. Recall that the submission scale runs from 0 to 1. Thus, to some extent, the reported results can be read as proportional change coefficients. For example, the bar for education in education in figure 6 is .13. One intuitive way to read this is that compared with a woman who had little or no education, a woman with the most education would be 13 percentage points more likely to perceive her sexual behavior as highly submissive. In short, educated women are much more likely to perceive their sexual behavior as submissive. This fits our expectations.

However, contrary to our expectations, bargaining is not so important. Overall submission levels are insensitive to her share of the couple's income. Her residence in her native locale helps her avoid submissive sex – though only at a statistically marginal level ( $p < .10$ ). Contrary to our prediction, instead on increasing her submissiveness, more prostitution in the locale reduces her reports of submission. Finally, she is no more likely to submit when she is hit than when she hits him (details not shown). Reports of submission increase by the same amount whenever there is hitting of any sort – whether from him hitting her alone (10%), both hitting the other (10%), or she hitting him alone (5%). We interpret this to mean that hitting is simply part of a larger syndrome of bad relationship quality, and accordingly we have grouped “any hitting” with the other measures of relationship quality.

Relationship quality is quite important. Besides hitting, a man having an extramarital or other additional sexual relationship increases a woman's sex of having to engage in sex that she does not really want. And the largest effect of all is her rating of his intimacy. This is a four part scale – including her reports of daily intimacy (kissing, hugging), care (e.g., helping with chores), foreplay, and knowing her sexual needs. Using the percentage point change analogy once again, compared to a woman whose partner is completely non-intimate, a woman with a maximally intimate partner is 25 percentage points more likely to report that she is not submitting unenthusiastically to her partner's sexual demands.

Her values and sex drive also matter. She is much less likely to report that sex is something that she submits to unenthusiastically when she disagrees with statements that sex is dirty, when she reports a high sex drive (frequent thoughts of sex, masturbation, and no bouts of disinterest in sex), when she has frequent orgasms, is young, and in good mental health.

Finally, though we also produced similar results in equations without controls for frequency and variety of sex (details not shown), frequency and variety do produce more reports of sexual submission.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

So, what are we to make of these results? In many ways, our original predictions have been realized. Only one finding – that for prostitution – clearly contradicts the initial set of predictions that we drew from the existing literature on sexual submission (table 7). Also, much as in our initial set of predictions, both essentialist and social constructionist accounts

are consistent with much of the data. It is not a matter of either one or the other but paying attention to both.

Despite this overall agreement with initial predictions, many of the details require closer attention. First, the consequences of *expectations* are complex. Increasing egalitarian values regarding gender did not have any simple consequences for sexual submission. At least based on how we measured it, the effects of gender ideology were never statistically significant and hence were excluded from the results that we reported. Education did matter, however, leading to responses of two opposite sorts. For many women, education increased the variety of sex, satisfaction with sex, and for about six percent of the women made it more likely that they had any sex at all with their spouse or partner during the previous year. However, for another set of women, increasing education also sensitized them to how their needs were not being fulfilled or to how they were being asked to do things that they should not be asked to do. This sort of bimodal response is consistent with a literature that suggests less traditional women with a higher consciousness of their sexual needs and sexual rights will be both more assertive about what they deserve.

Second, *bargaining* matters – though more for whether a woman has sex at all than for whether she experiences that sex as submissive once she engages in it. When a woman has been hit (and does not hit back) and when she has few economic resources of her own she is more likely to have sex during the year. The hitting effect is straight forward, and one on which essentialist and social constructionist schools can agree. On the effects of relative income, while both essentialist and social constructionist schools agree on the probable direction of the effects, they disagree on the mechanisms involved. One suggests that women are less attracted to men who are of equal or lower status than themselves. The other suggests that women with more income will be more likely to stand up for their rights and resist calls to have sex from men whom they find unattractive. Both could be true, of course. One hint of that is that in a separate analysis of whether a woman has ever experienced unwanted sex with her partner and an analysis of whether he or she asks for sex more often, the effect is curvilinear (table 6). As a woman's income approaches half their joint income – the egalitarian situation that Pepper Schwartz suggests produces the most satisfaction in her book on *Peer Marriage* -- women report both less unwanted sex and that more often sex is initiated by both partners or her alone. This is consistent with a feminist, constructionist emphasis on how more equal resources lets a woman pursue her own needs. However, when her income exceeds half the couple's income, then she reports more unwanted sex and slightly more instances of him being the main person who initiates sex. This is consistent with an evolutionary psychology account of how women are, because of evolution, less unattracted to men of lower status than themselves. Or, in short, both processes may be important, though with different force at different parts of the income share curve.

Consistent with a feminist emphasis on the role of women's solidary groups in protecting women, women in their home community – while no more likely to avoid sex during the year – are marginally more likely to avoid sexual submission.

Our major surprise for bargaining is that women in communities with considerable prostitution (more than one-fifth of the men in the community report visiting prostitutes) are less – not more, but less – likely to report sexual submission. There is one pattern that fits the standard prediction that women in high prostitution areas must submit to their husbands. This is that women in these areas are more likely to fake orgasm (table 6). And, consistent with

this hypothesis, women who suspect that their partner has had sex with others are also more likely to fake orgasm (table 6). Nevertheless in four domains – unwanted sex, the man initiating sex more often, excess frequency, and excess duration – the consequence of more community prostitution is to reduce sense of sexual compliance. This is consistent with an account of how prostitution can act as a relief valve for women who are uninterested in sex. Thus, at best, only in one subdomain does increased prostitution weaken women’s bargaining position with husbands.

Third, *relationship quality* is one of the strongest and most consistent influences on sexual submission. It seems almost pedantic to mention it. But consistent with a whole host of popular marriage manuals about “what women want” one of the major things they want is daily intimacy, care, and, in addition, attention to foreplay and their specific needs. With this group of behaviors, some men reduce their wives sense of sexual submission by a huge amount – reducing her sense of sexual compliance almost a full .25 points on a scale that runs only from 0 to 1. This is a very large effect.

This observation settles no disputes between essentialists and social constructionists. The essentialists will say women’s genes program her to look for commitment from men. The social constructionists say that patriarchy mis-socialized men to think only of their own sexual needs. Again, both may be right. And the data we have here supports both their positions, which as with bargaining be more complementary than oppositional.

Finally, her *values and sexual drive* matter. Young women, who think often of sex, have orgasms often (which could, of course, be influenced by his behavior as well), and don’t regard sex as dirty are much less likely than others to view sex as non-submissive. Parts of this set of findings are consistent, obviously, with both essentialist and social constructionist schools of thought.

How to sum up? One is struck by two things. First, neither essentialist nor social constructionist schools are necessarily in opposition. Both are consistent with much of what we find in the data. In most instances, they seem to complement rather than compete with one another in explaining the behaviors related to sexual submission. Second, a surprising array of things are important for women’s sense of sexual submission. None of these are new. Many are the stuff of garden-variety sex advice manuals – e.g., the man caring for his partner in daily life, taking more time in foreplay and attending to her sexual specific sexual needs. Nevertheless, heretofore, much of this advice has been based on unsystematic, anecdotal evidence. What we have for the first time here is that these old verities are indeed important in a general population – and that the verities cut across cultural boundaries.

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[detailed references to be added to text later]

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Table 1. Predicted Relationships by Schools of Thought

	Nature, Essentialist		Nurture, Social Construction	
	evolutionary psychology	biology, hormones	power / dependence	socialization, values
<b>Expectations:</b> education, values				X
<b>Bargaining</b>				
- relative income	X		X	
- hitting	X		X	
- community traits:				
. Her native place			X	
. Prostitution / pornography			X	
<b>Relationship Quality</b>				
- extramarital sex	X			
- intimacy, knows her needs	X			X
<b>Values / Sex Drive</b>				
- sex drive, youth		X		
- sex is dirty				X
- frequent orgasms		X		X
<b>Stress / Burdens</b>				
- young children, mental well being				
<b>Sexual Practice</b>				
- frequency/variety of sex				

Table 3. Unwanted Sex with Spouse/Partner (Ever)

harm from unwanted sex w/ partner	rural	urban	Total
no unwanted	77.17	73.59	76.16
no harm	14.50	16.15	14.96
not much	7.82	8.66	8.06
very much	0.51	1.60	0.82
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 4. Types of Submissive Sex

	Unwanted Sex (ever)	Unwilling Acts	Sex Too Often	Sex Goes On Too Long	Partner Initiates Sex (mostly)	Sex to Please Partner (often)	Fake Orgasm (ever)
<b>Total</b>							
Male	9	12	5	3	5	25	32
Female	25	24	6	6	70	40	41
<b>Significant influences (for females):</b>							
<u>Education:</u>							
Primary	21	19				34	33
Jr/sr high sch.	29	28				47	50
college	43	27				57	49
<u>Age:</u>							
20-29		30			56		
30-39		27			68		
40-49		17			76		
50-		14			85		
<u>Locale:</u>							
Rural	23				77	39	39

**Table 5. Correlates of Sexual Practice** (urban women only)

	any sex last year (1)	If had sex last year, then:	
		frequency of sex (2)	variety of sex (3)
<b>EXPECTATIONS:</b>			
education of woman (years/6) (2.7)	.021* (2.6)		.08** (2.6)
education of man (years/6) (2.7)	.023** (3.1)		.11** (3.7)
liberal sex values (3)			.07** (4.4)
<b>BARGAINING:</b>			
her income as % of joint income/10 (9)	-.008** (-3.7)		
hitting, ever:			
- male → female (1)	.033* (2.6)	.24** (2.6)	.19** (3.4)
- male ↔ female (1)	.004 (0.2)	-.06 (-0.8)	.08** (3.4)
- male ← female (1)	.013 (0.7)	.26 (1.8)	.16 (1.8)
<b>RELATIONSHIP QUALITY:</b>			
intimacy (her rating of his behavior) (1)		.85** (4.9)	.51* (8.0)
male older than female (years) (16)	-.005* (-2.2)		
male often away from home (4)	-.020** (-3.0)		
<b>VALUES / SEX DRIVE:</b>			
age	.018** (9.0)	-.04** (-13.2)	.01 (1.0)
age (/10 and squared)	-.024** (9.8)		-.03** (-3.8)
pornography seen during year (1)			.13** (5.6)
Observations	1276	1276	1270
Observed proportion or (minimum-maximum)	.91	(1-5)	(1-3)

Notes: Sample of urban women who currently have a long term husband (95%) or other sex partner (5%). The first equation shows proportional change coefficients from a probit equation. The following two equations show metric (unstandardized) coefficients from heckman regression equations. zscores in parentheses under coefficients, with standard errors corrected for sample design. Equations trimmed to items with probability of chance error less than .10 \* p < .05 \*\* p < .10 Range (steps) for each independent variable in parentheses following title on left.

**Table 6. Correlates of Sexual Submission**, by type of submission (urban women only)

	summary submission index (1)	unwanted sex ever (2)	sex to please male (3)	Last 12 months:				
				male asks more (4)	unwanted sex acts (5)	frequency too much (6)	duration too long (7)	she fakes orgasm (8)
<b>EXPECTATIONS:</b>								
education of woman (years/ 6) (2.7)	.051** (3.6)	.16** (3.7)	.07 (2.25)*					
liberal sex values (3)	.021 (1.8)	.08** (3.0)	.06 (1.28)		.17* (2.6)			
<b>BARGAINING:</b>								
her income as % of joint income: (0-55%/10 (5.5) (56-100%/10) (4.5)		-.02 (1.1)		-.08* (2.1)				
		.07** (2.9)		.12 (1.6)				
<i>community traits:</i>								
female lives in native locale (1)	-.059 (1.96)		-.16 (2.91)**					
prostitution common, (%/10) (2.6)	-.028** (3.8)	-.10** (3.1)		-.26** (5.6)		-.30** (2.7)	-.47** (3.0)	.40** (3.0)
pornography common, (%/10) (4.3)		-.04** (3.2)						
<b>RELATIONSHIP QUALITY:</b>								
any hitting, slapping (1)	.046* (2.2)	.07 (1.8)			.38 (1.9)		.32 (of F) (1.9)	
hit male only							-.04 (0.11)	
man had extramarital affair (2)	.026* (2.1)							.22** (4.4)
intimacy (her rating of him) (1)	-.243** (3.8)	-.31** (2.9)	-.85** (3.8)	-.68* (2.4)	-.93** (4.2)	-.77* (2.4)	-.72 (1.8)	-.59 (1.9)
<b>VALUES / SEX DRIVE:</b>								
sex not dirty (2)	-.064** (5.3)	-.11** (3.2)	-.11 (2.17)*	-.20* (2.1)			-.22* (2.1)	-.36** (5.3)
sex drive (thoughts, masturbation,..) (1)	-.173** (2.8)	-.39** (4.5)	-.91 (4.39)**		.75** (2.7)		-.99* (2.1)	
frequent orgasms, woman (4)	-.026** (3.1)		-.07 (2.3)*					
youth ((100-age)/10) (4.5)	-.034** (3.6)		-.07 (2.36)*					
<b>STRESS / BURDENS:</b>								
mental well being (3)	-.040** (5.7)	-.07 (4.09)**	-.10 (3.43)**		-.05* (2.4)			
<b>OTHER CONTROLS:</b>								
frequency of sex (4)	.042** (4.5)	.08** (5.2)	.06 (2.59)**			.36* (2.5)		.03 (1.41)
variety of sexual activities (2) (oral, manual, woman on top, etc.)	.095** (3.2)		.11 (3.3)**		.18 (3.58)**			
duration of relationship (log) (4)		.07* (4.5)						
Observed proportion		.31	.45	.64	.23	.06	.06	.23

Notes: Weighted sample of 1146 urban females. First column from a Heckman regression equation, in which submission is a continuous variable running from 0 to 1. Except for column 3, which is Heckman selection-bias corrected regression, the remaining columns are Heckman selection corrected coefficients from probit analyses. Range (steps) for each independent variable in parentheses following title on left. t / z- scores in parentheses after each coefficient. All standard errors corrected for clustering by primary sampling unit. Equations trimmed to items with probability of chance error less than .10. \* p < .05 \*\* p < .01

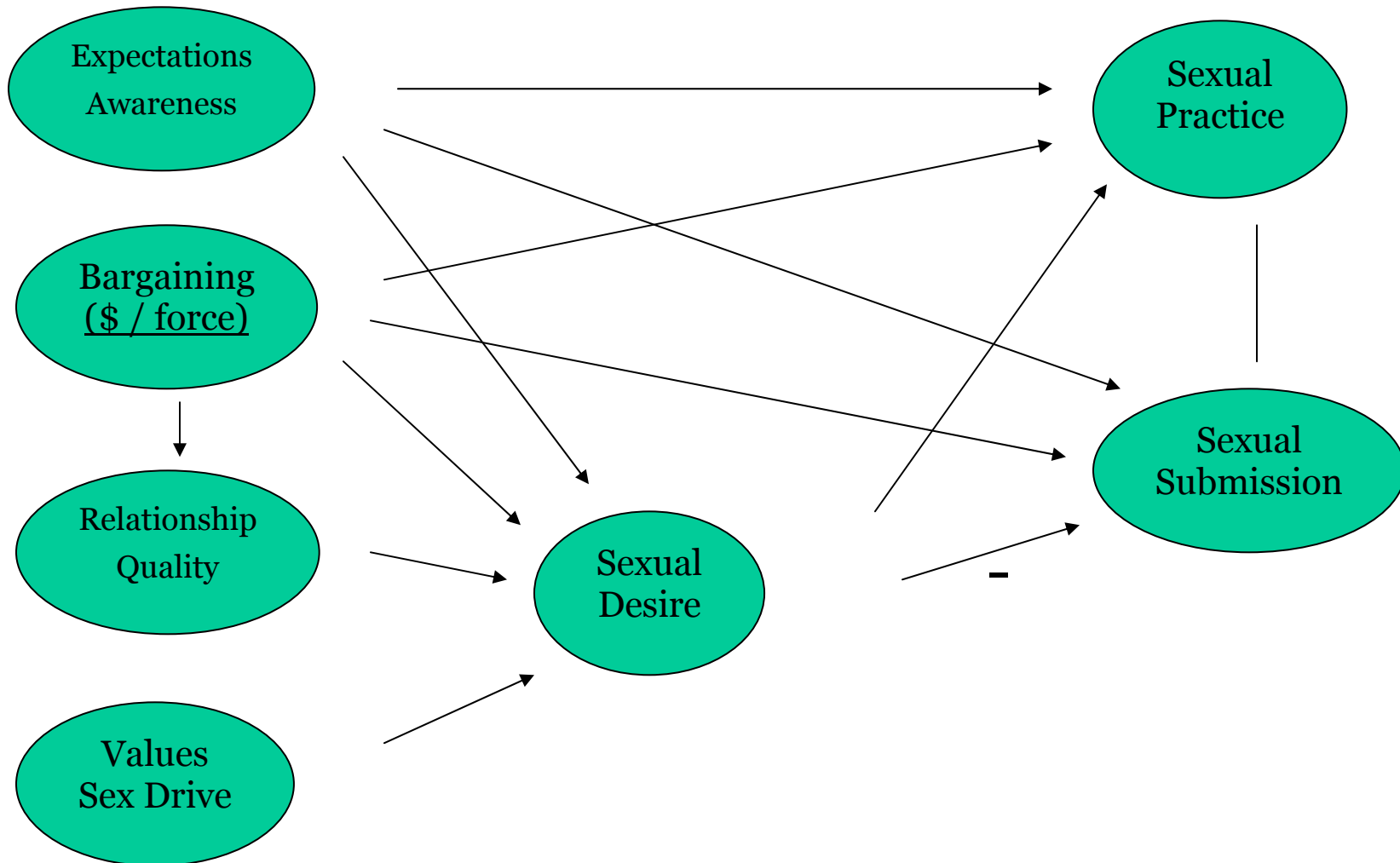
Table 7. Findings related to predictions

	Predictions		Findings		notes:
	Nature, Essentialist	Nurture, Social Construction	last year	compliance	
	evolutionary psychology biology, hormones	power / dependence socialization, values			
<b>Expectations:</b> education			X	+ +	bimodal response
<b>Bargaining</b>					
- relative income, status	X	X	--	0	note unwanted sex ever
- hitting	X	X	+	+	rel.qual for compliance
- community traits:					
. Her native place		X	0	--	
. Prostitution / pornography		X	0	(--)	opposite of prediction
<b>Relationship Quality (him)</b>					
- extramarital sex	x			na +	
- intimacy, knows her needs	x		X	na --	
<b>Values / Sex Drive (her)</b>					
- sex drive, youth		X		0 --	youth related to last yr
- sex not dirty			X	na --	
- frequent orgasms		X	X	na --	
<b>Stress / Burdens</b>					
- young children, mental well being				0 --	
<b>Sexual Practice</b>					
- frequency/variety of sex				na +	

Notes: na = not available / not applicable. ( ) = contrary to predictions.

# Figure 1

## Potential Explanations



# Figure 2

## Sample

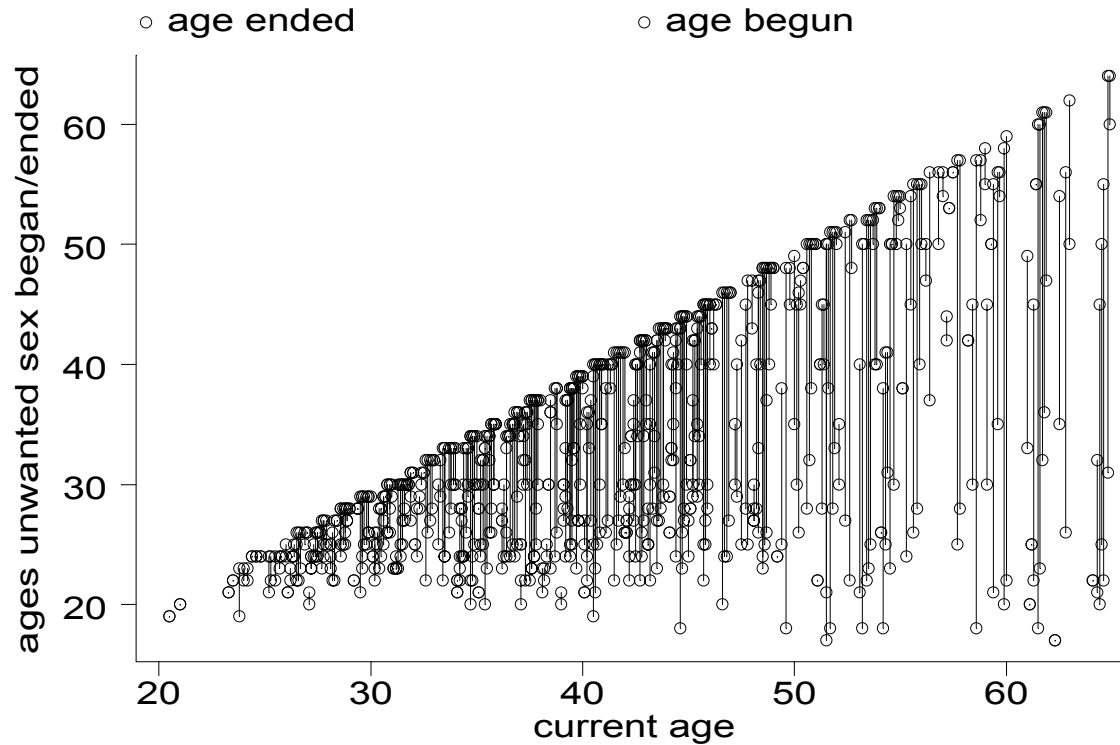
- National probability sample of adults age 20-64 (with oversamples of cities and coastal regions)
- Interviews done: September 1999 – August 2000.
- Response rate: 78%
- Total responses: 3,824
- Women in cities and towns with a long term primary partner (95% = spouse): 1,289

# Figure 3

## Validity Issues

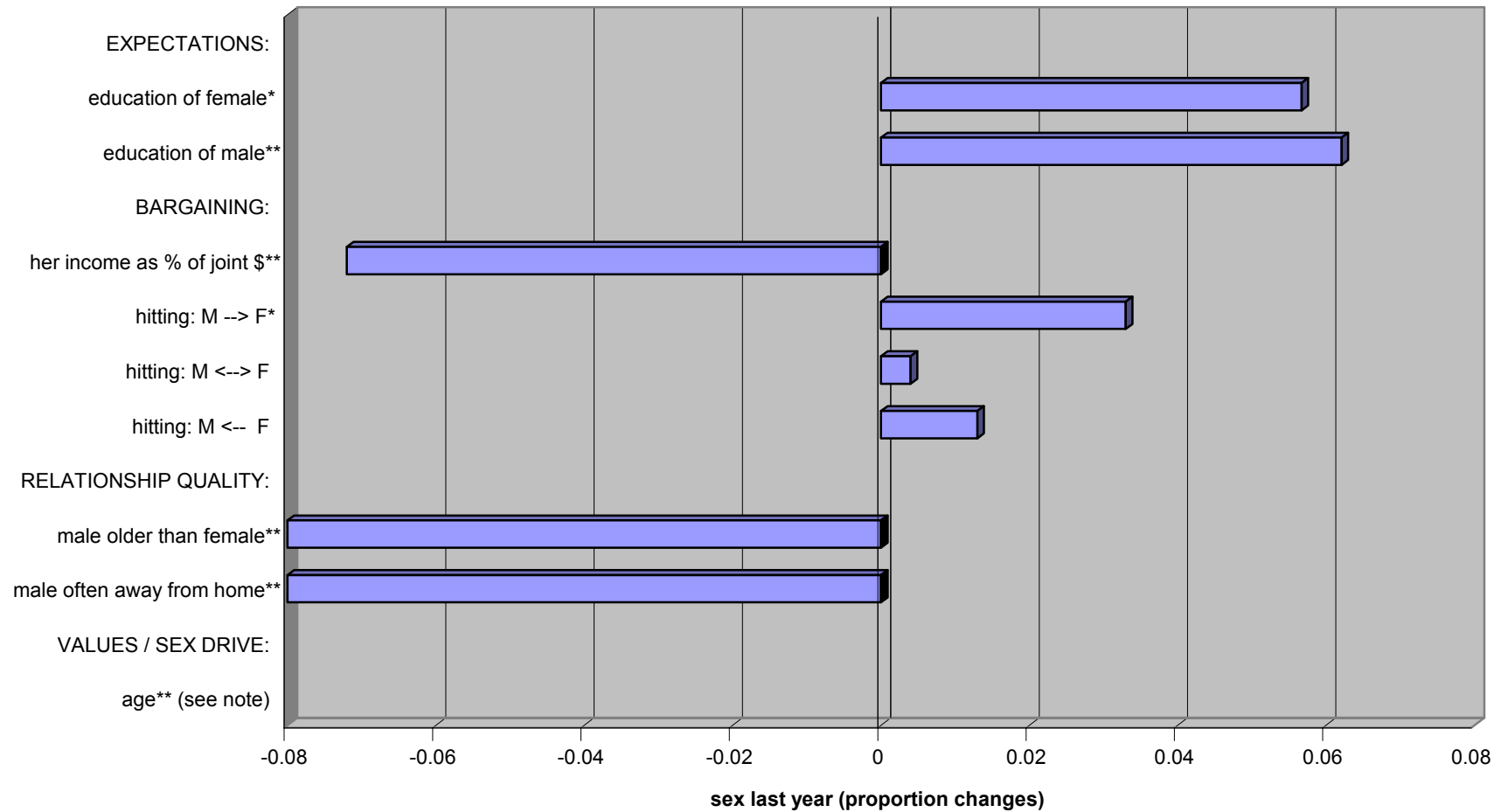
- Husband-wife interviews
- Repeat interviews
- Biomarkers
- “Consistency”

Figure 4. Beginning / Ending Ages of Unwanted Sex with Spouse / Partner



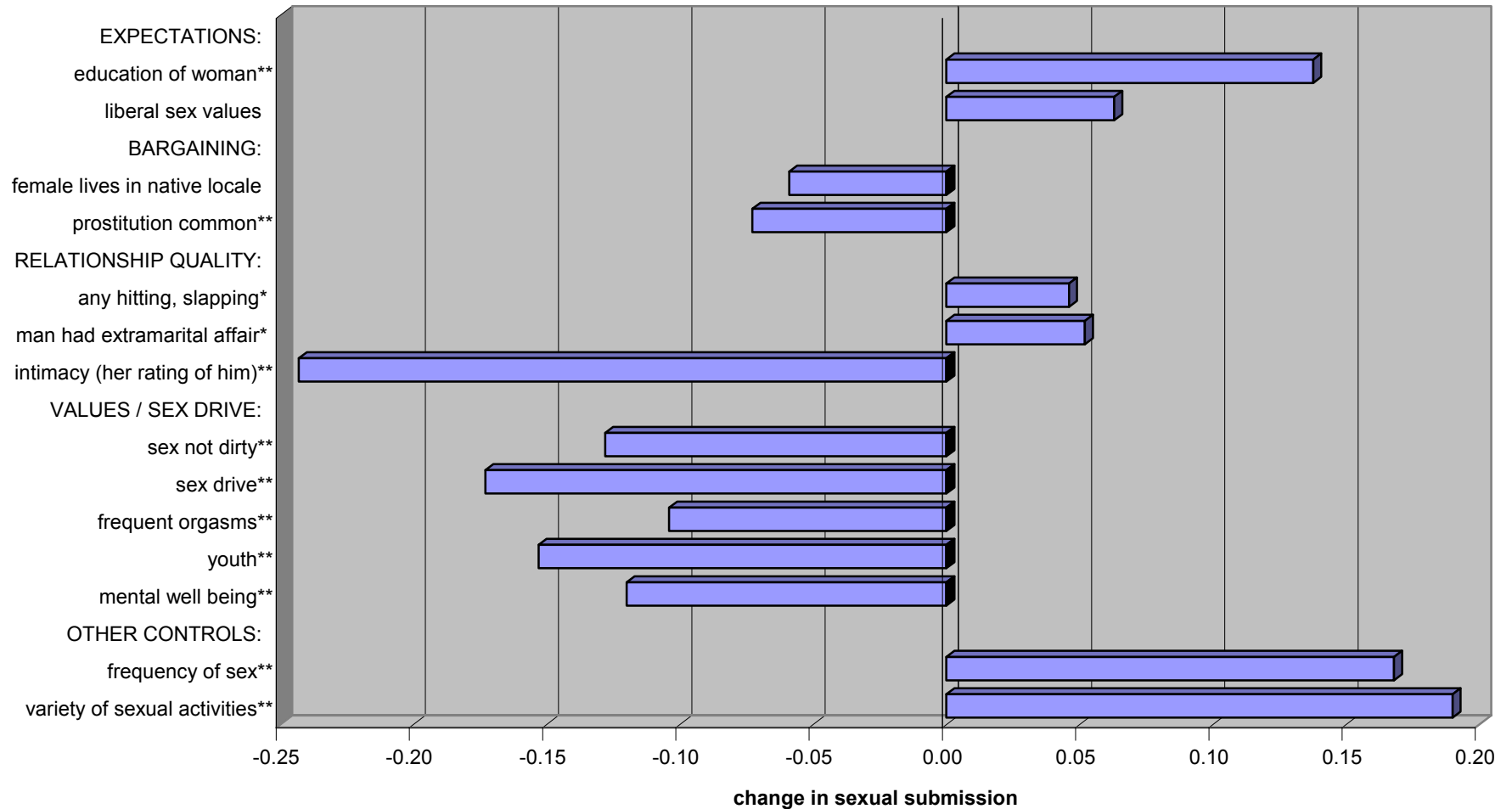
Notes: Single instances indicated by a single dot. Multi-year instances connected by line. The upper bound is the current age of the woman.

Figure 5. Sex Last Year



Notes: Weighted sample of urban women. The effects are those of moving from the lowest to the highest value on each independent variable in a probit analysis that adjusts for sampling design. The age effect is curvilinear – first rising among young people in their 20s (who often don’t live together) and then falling for people in their late 40s and above. For details, see table 5. \*p<.05 \*\*p<.01

Figure 6. Sexual Submission, Determinants of



Notes: Weighted sample of urban women, showing statistically significant (at  $p < .10$ ) effects of moving from the minimum to maximum value on each independent variable in a heckman regression analysis that is corrected for sampling design. The sexual submission measure ranges from 0 to 1. See table 6 for details. \* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$