

---

Article

---

## Formation of Consciousness to Accept Corporal Punishment

—Based on a Questionnaire Survey on the Lives of High School Students—

Fumiko Kambara<sup>1)</sup>

### Abstract

In this paper, I focus on the consciousness of the acceptance of corporal punishment related to the experience of corporal punishment, and examine the mechanism of the formation of consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

Corporal punishment is defined as “physical violence used by the holders of the right to discipline to control the other under the pretext of discipline or guidance.” Moreover, the consciousness of the acceptance of corporal punishment is regarded as “consciousness to accept corporal punishment while setting various conditions in the exercise of the right to discipline”.

According to previous research, it was hypothesized that the formation of consciousness to accept corporal punishment is related to experiences of suffering violence, perception of blaming the victim of violence, awareness of being loved, perception of division of gender roles and perception of male superiority.

For the analysis, I used data from ‘Questionnaire survey on high school students’ lives’ obtained from 2041 high school students in Osaka, Hyogo and Okinawa prefectures in 2011. I tried covariance structure analysis based on the frequency distribution table of variables, and simple correlation analysis. As a result, we gained the following data on the formation of consciousness to accept corporal punishment. First, it is the path from “experiences of suffering violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment”. Second is the path from “experiences of suffering violence” to “perception of blaming the victim of violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment”. Third is the path from “experience of suffering violence” to “awareness of being loved” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment”. Fourth is the path from “gender” to “perception of division of gender role” to “perception of male superiority” to “perception of blaming the victim of violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment”.

Given the fact that about half of the high school students are conscious of accepting corporal punishment, it is an urgent task to reduce the consciousness to accept corporal punishment by high school graduation.

**Key words: consciousness to accept corporal punishment, perception of blaming the victim of violence, awareness of being loved**

---

<sup>1)</sup> Kobe-Gakuin-University, Japan

## 1. Identification of the Issue

This article examines the mechanism through which consciousness to accept corporal punishment is formed.

Since the first law banning all forms of corporal punishment was adopted in Sweden in 1979, 53 countries have adopted similar laws as of 2016. It is said that countries that have adopted such overall bans on corporal punishment, such as Sweden, Finland, Germany and New Zealand, saw a considerable decrease in the number of cases of children becoming victims of violence (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016).

In Japan, organizations such as the non-profit organization, *Kodomo Sukoyaka (Child sell being)* Support-net, have raised their voices on the need for legislation of a prohibition of all forms of corporal punishment, awareness-raising activities to inform the broad public on the harms of corporal punishment, and education and awareness-raising activities on methods of child care that does not depend on corporal punishment in order to bring down the number of child victims of violence<sup>(1)</sup>. Although corporal punishment in schools is banned under the School Education Act, there are no laws in this country related to prohibition of corporal punishment that can be applied to settings other than schools, such as homes and protection institutions. In 2017, the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare finally launched a campaign titled “*Kodomo o Sukoyaka ni Hagukumu tame ni—Ai no Muchi Zero Sakusen* (to raise a child healthily—operation zero tough love)” as part of an effort to promote child care without corporal punishment, based on research by Akemi Tomoda and others, indicating that corporal punishment and verbal abuse had serious impact on children’s brain development (Tomoda, 2012, Sugiyama and others, 2014, Tomoda, 2017)<sup>(2)</sup>.

Efforts to promote child care without corporal punishment is indeed important. However, in view of the broad general tolerance in Japanese society for corporal punishment among teachers and parents regardless of whether they are in a position to use corporal punishment or not, it is presumably difficult to adopt a law banning corporal punishment, or promote child care without corporal punishment.

According to Hachiro Iwai (2010), in the JGSS (Japanese General Social Surveys)-2008 study, 65.2% responded that they either “approved” or “more or less approved” “corporal punishment by a parent”, which was almost the same as the results in the JGSS-2000/2001 (Iwai, 2008). Kazuo Hayashi (2016), who presented an overview of past survey results on corporal punishment in schools, found that, although based on insufficient data, the rate of acceptance of corporal punishment showed no notable decline from 1980 to 2015, despite the decrease in the rate of experience of such punishment during the same period. Also, according to the on-line opinion survey conducted by Save the Children Japan (2018) in 2017 on “corporal punishment as part of child discipline”, 1.2% responded that corporal punishment “should be actively used” as part of child discipline, 16.3% thought that it “should be done as necessary,” and 39.3% thought that it “should be done when no other measures were available,” indicating that 56.7% of respondents supported corporal punishment in varying degrees. Further, the results showed that of the 1,030 respondents who had children, those who supported corporal punishment were more likely to actually use the form of punishment. If this tolerance of use of corporal punishment by parents or teachers, by either actively or passively, or in varying degrees agreeing to or supporting, or allowing the use is understood as the “consciousness to accept corporal punishment,” the findings above, going beyond the survey periods,

wordings and research methods, can be interpreted that the majority of people in the Japanese society have such consciousness.

Many empirical researches have been conducted in other countries<sup>(3)</sup>. However, few previous researches focus on the consciousness to accept corporal punishment. Furthermore, in my humble view, there seems to be no empirical research focusing on the mechanism in which such consciousness is formed.

As mentioned above, if there is a relation between the consciousness to accept corporal punishment and its use, teachers and parents who have such consciousness are more likely to use such punishment on a child in front of them. Even when someone is not in a position to use corporal punishment, he/she is more likely to acquiesce to the use of such punishment by other adults around him/her. Further, when youths with such consciousness become teachers or parents in the future, they are presumably more likely to use corporal punishment. If that is the case, by decreasing the number of people holding such consciousness, who are, in a sense, “underpinning” the use of corporal punishment by teachers and parents, the number of people using such punishment in the present and future can be expected to fall. Therefore, focusing on the consciousness and clarifying the formation mechanism is an important issue to be studied.

This article, accordingly, examines the mechanism through which the consciousness to accept corporal punishment is formed by using the data from the Questionnaire Survey on the Lives of High School Students. I used the high school students’ data, as these can be considered appropriate in understanding the consciousness, for the reasons given below.

## 2. Corporal Punishment and Consciousness to Accept Corporal Punishment

### 2.1 Corporal Punishment

According to the General Comment No. 8 of The United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, in which the issue of corporal punishment was addressed for the first time by the Committee in 2006, the Committee “defines ‘corporal’ or ‘physical’ punishment as any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light.” “In addition, there are other non-physical forms of punishment... These include, for example, punishment which belittles, humiliates, denigrates, scapegoats, threatens, scares or ridicules the child” (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006). Later, UNICEF states explicitly “violence inflicted on children by parents, teachers, carers and others in the name of ‘discipline’” (Global Initiative End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2015). It can be seen that at the UN at present, corporal punishment is a physical form of punishment intending to give suffering or discomfort to a child, and is considered to be violence, and a violation of the human rights of a child. But there is no definition of “violence.”

Looking at Japan, Article 11 of the School Education Act provides that principals and teachers can exercise discipline against a child, pupil and student, as provided for by the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, when it is recognized as being educationally necessary. However, corporal punishment is not permitted<sup>(4)</sup>. But there is no definition of “corporal punishment.” Nevertheless, after the incident at the Sakuranomiya Senior High School at the end of 2012, the Ministry of Education, Sports, Science and Technology issued a notice on the prohibition of corporal punishment and the full implementation of the guidance based on the understanding of pupils<sup>(5)</sup>. According to the notice, corporal punishment

is “disciplinary action taken by teachers and others against pupils, the nature of which is determined to be physical, namely violation against the body (such as hitting, or kicking), or causing them physical pain (such as forcing them to maintain the position of sitting with legs folded or standing straight for lengthy period).” The requisites under this definition of “corporal punishment” can be understood as being a “disciplinary action” which is a “violation against the body” or causes “physical pain.”

As far back as 25 years ago, Masana Maki has raised the following conditions on the exercise of the right to discipline by the principals and teachers on the basis of the principles of the protection of the rights of children; (1) children are rights holders; (2) the principles under the laws of education, namely the prohibition of discrimination in education, the right to learn the truth and veracity, and the protection of the children’s personal rights are ensured; (3) grounds for discipline are clearly defined; and (4) due consideration on educational matters must be given (Maki and others, 1992, pp.11-12). Also, Kojiro Imazu argues that “‘discipline’ that has impressive, persuasive or educational effect can be recognized within the scope that it does not cause physical pain, but physical force that violates the body and does not have any educational effect would be prohibited as ‘corporal punishment’” (Imazu, 2014, p. 110). It is clear that simply withholding corporal punishment is not sufficient as a disciplinary measure.

Regarding the right to discipline of those who have parental authority, Article 820 of the Civil Code provides that a “person who exercises parental authority holds the right, and bears the duty, to care for and educate the child” and Article 822 states that a “person who exercises parental authority may discipline the child to the extent necessary for child’s care and education”<sup>(6)</sup>. This means that the only limitation placed on the holders of parental authority to their exercise of the right to disciplines is the terms, “the extent necessary for the child’s care and education” and there is no explicit ban on corporal punishment, nor a definition.

Yuri Morita, who has worked on raising awareness on prevention of child abuse, states that “corporal punishment is a method of controlling the speeches and actions of children by giving them a sense of fear.” She indicates that “giving them a sense of fear” is problematic from the perspective of protection of children’s rights (Morita, 2003, p. 37). The requisites under her definition of “corporal punishment” seems to be “giving a sense of fear” and “controlling the speeches and actions of children.” Morita’s definition includes verbal abuse and threats in “corporal punishment.” It would be better to limit the definition to bodily violation and physical pain.

The ethicist Kimie Tamura, in examining how entrenched notions of tolerance of corporal punishment among students who experienced sports club activities in junior and senior high schools, points out that the term “violent act” is used rather than “corporal punishment” in the field of sports, and defines “corporal punishment” as a use of physical force, such as hitting, and “violence perpetrated under the pretext of punishment” (Tamura, 2014). The requisites under her definition is that it is a “punishment” and that it is “violence.” But she does not define “violence.”

According to Fumiko Kambara, “violence is giving stimulus that is harmful to the other person, and that is condemned by others including the other person (Kambara, 2005, p. 217). Violence includes not only physical harmful stimulus such as bodily violations and physical pain but also non-physical harmful stimulus such as verbal abuse, threats, humiliation and disparagement. From this definition, corporal

punishment can be limited to physical harmful stimulus such as bodily violation and infliction of physical pain.

Bearing in mind the above examination of the definition of corporal punishment, this article defines corporal punishment as “physical violence used by the holders of the right to discipline to control the other under the pretext of discipline or guidance.” The requisites of corporal punishment under this definition, is, firstly, that the perpetrator is a “holder of the right to discipline.” This means, that when any other adult exercises violence against a child, it would immediately be a crime of assault. Secondly, it is limited to use “under the pretext of discipline or guidance.” Even when the adult holds the right to discipline, violence that is not committed for discipline or guidance can be considered child abuse or maltreatment. Thirdly, it must be “physical violence.” Verbal abuse and threats are non-physical violence but are not included in corporal punishment. The definition that “corporal punishment is physical violence,” is in line with the above UNICEF definition, and at the same time, may have a suppressive effect, by making explicit that it is violence, even when adults committing such acts try to justify the acts under discipline or guidance.

Below, the term “corporal punishment” will continue to be used from the perspective of adults who use the punishment, however, the term “violence by teachers and parents” or “violence” will be used from the perspective of children, who receive the punishment.

## 2.2 Consciousness to accept corporal punishment

In this article, the consciousness to accept corporal punishment is understood as the “consciousness to tolerate corporal punishment, while setting various conditions, in the exercise of the right to discipline.”

The conditions to tolerating corporal punishment can be provisionally set forth as follows, based on the example cases introduced by Tamura above, from interviews on corporal punishment with 8 university students from 2014 to 2016, as well as from comments written by students after this author’s classes on corporal punishment. The first condition the students set in tolerating corporal punishment is when they accept that they are in the wrong, and therefore, it cannot be helped that violence is used against them, such as when they are “scolded for a legitimate reason,” or when they are “in the wrong.” This could be called the “self-blame” condition. This means, in general, that if a person does something that deserves violence, the person is responsible, and it cannot be helped, when violence is inflicted on him/her. It could also be called the “blaming the victim of violence” condition. The second condition is when it is determined that there is no other alternative than using violence as means of discipline, such as when “words cannot get through” or “when it is necessary to make the person understand through pain that the person has done something bad.” We can call this the “no-alternative to violence (as disciplinary means)” condition. The statement, “it was for discipline,” used by many perpetrators arrested in child abuse cases in their defense, can be interpreted as using this condition for justification. The third condition is when the violence is slight, such as hitting lightly, or small enough that it causes no injuries. This can be called the “light violence” condition. The fourth condition is when the person receiving the violence endorses being controlled by force. This can be called the “support of power relations” condition. Tamura focused on the phrase, “you won’t be taken seriously unless you hit them once, when they don’t listen to you” spoken by the students, and pointed out that the “pupils determine whether to do as they are told, according to the level of fear they have of their teacher, or how angry the teacher is, indicating that there is an entrenched behavioral

principle that is responsive to control by force.” And the fifth condition is that they will tolerate corporal punishment when they can feel love towards them, such as “when they can feel that corporal punishment was given for their benefit,” or “they feel they were able to grow up properly, because of corporal punishment.” This can be called the “recognition of being loved” condition. Related to this condition, the study by Turner and others found that the relation of experience of frequent corporal punishment and psychological depression was higher when the parents were more supportive (Turner & Finkelhor, 1996). This means that “love” had an impact on the meaning children gave to the punishment, and the belief, that “they are hitting me frequently because they love me” was more likely to lead to depression than the belief, “they hit me frequently, because we are not close.”

The link between love and corporal punishment is reminiscent of the “tough love” discourse. Imazu points out that “when people call for ‘tough love,’ it becomes a magic word that is brought out to strictly control children in order to realize the intent of adults” (Imazu, 2014, pp.123-126). Imazu was discussing corporal punishment exclusively by teachers, but his argument can be applied to corporal punishment by parents.

It needs to be noted that in many of these students, who presumably were victims of violence in the name of corporal punishment, the consciousness to accept corporal punishment has already been formed.

It can be surmised that the conditions under which corporal punishment is tolerated may be the factors influencing the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

### 3. Hypothetical construct related to consciousness to accept corporal punishment

#### 3.1 Existing research related to formation of consciousness to accept corporal punishment

There is an accumulation of empirical researches around the world on the situation of corporal punishment by parents or the effects of such punishment on children, including the 2006 study on corporal punishment by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006), and the 2013 study on corporal punishment by UNICEF (2014). Gershoff and others have conducted meta-analyses on these existing researches in 2002 and again in 2016, and concluded that not only was corporal punishment (the analysis was limited to spanking) completely ineffective as means of discipline, but that it also had 13 adverse effects<sup>(7)</sup> (Gershoff, 2002, Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016). Spanking by parents during childhood was related to (1) low moral internalization, (2) aggressiveness, (3) anti-social attitude, (4) multi-faced behavioral disorder, (5) internalized behavioral disorder, (6) mental health problems, (7) negative parent-child relationships, (8) cognitive ability disorder, (9) low self-esteem, (10) risk of physical abuse by parents, (11) anti-social attitude as adults, (12) mental health disorder, (13) and positive attitude towards spanking, later in their development. Among these findings, the “positive attitude towards spanking” can be understood as being similar to the consciousness to accept corporal punishment. There are also findings within this country that people who were subjected to corporal punishment in their childhood are more likely to condone such punishment (Maki and others, 1992, Iwai, 2010, Hayashi, 2016). Yet so far, I have not been able to find any existing research on detailed examination into the factors related to experience of corporal punishment by parents resulting in adults with consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

Following findings have been published on the factors related to the use of corporal punishment. First is on the relation between physical violence as well as corporal punishment and gender inequality. For example, according to Hoter (2009), in a survey in Norway covering 2,805 people between 17 and 79 years of age, corporal punishment by parents was related to gender inequality in decision-making within the family. Also, Contreras (2012) found that people who had experienced violence including corporal punishment during their childhood were more likely to use violence against their intimate partners, and maintained unequal gender attitudes, in a survey covering men in Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico and Rwanda. Since the use of corporal punishment and the consciousness to accept it is related, the above suggests that there is a relationship between the consciousness and perceptions of gender roles as well as gender inequality. Regarding this point, Iwai (2010) also found a relationship between perceptions of division of gender roles and consciousness to accept corporal punishment in his analysis.

### 3.2 Hypothetical model

Because of the constraints on available data, this article will limit its examination into the possible factors related to the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment to “experience of suffering violence,” “perception of blaming the victim of violence,” “awareness of being loved,” “perception of division of gender roles,” and “perception of male superiority.” A hypothetical model is shown in Diagram 1, with the addition of the basic attributes of gender and family structures. The number on the arrows in Diagram 1 indicates the number on the hypotheses below. However, as no existing studies on the mutual relevance of the factors, “experience of suffering violence,” “perception of blaming the victim of violence,” “awareness of being loved,” “perception of gender roles,” and “perception of male superiority” were found, the relation between these variables needs to be confirmed through actual analysis.

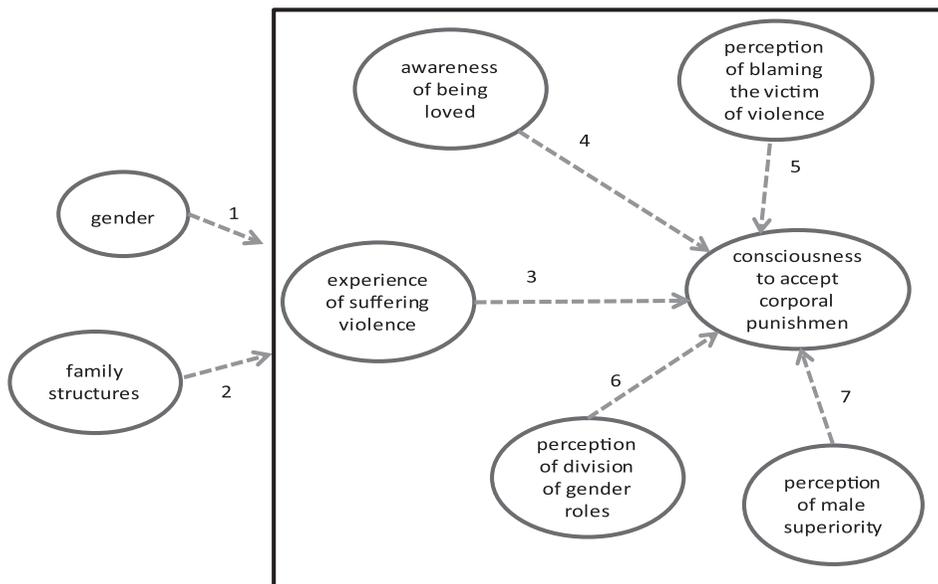


Diagram 1 Hypothetical model on the formation of consciousness to accept corporal punishment

(Hypothesis 1) Gender impacts the formation of consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

(Hypothesis 2) Family structure impacts the formation of consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

(Hypothesis 3) More frequent experience of violence leads to higher consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

(Hypothesis 4) Higher awareness of being loved leads to higher consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

(Hypothesis 5) Higher perceptions of blaming the victim of violence leads to higher consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

(Hypothesis 6) Higher perception of gender roles leads to higher consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

(Hypothesis 7) Higher perception of male superiority leads to higher consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

#### 4. Data analysis on corporal punishment

##### 4.1 Data used

Below, I will be using the microdata gained through questionnaire surveys of senior high school students that examined the various factors having an effect on the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment. The data used for this analysis is the microdata from the Questionnaire Survey on the Lives of High School Students conducted by the author to compare the lives of high school students living in single- and two-parent families in Osaka and Hyogo Prefectures (hereinafter, the Osaka Survey and Hyogo Survey), as well as the Questionnaire Survey on the Lives of High School Students conducted by the Single Mothers' Forum Okinawa and the Okinawa Prefectural High School Teachers Union, with the cooperation of the author (hereinafter, the Okinawa Survey). (The surveys combined will be referred to hereinafter as the High School Students Survey.)<sup>(8)</sup> The total number of respondents is 2,041, providing considerable data, which, although, may not be representative, is still valid, when used to verify the relationship among the variables.

The three positive reasons for reusing this data for this article are as follows. First, many of the empirical studies on corporal punishment in this country were based on university students. But as the enrolment rate of universities is around 50%, while the enrolment rate of senior high schools is around 95%, at first glance, high school students as a group seem to have less data deviation for the same age group. Secondly, most of the empirical studies on corporal punishment address such punishment in schools and extra-curricular activities, but the current data includes responses to questions on experience of violence and corporal punishment by parents and their tolerance towards such violence. Thirdly, as the data showed that the high school students already hold consciousness to accept corporal punishment, it was determined that finding effective measures to decrease the consciousness before the children graduate from high school was an immediate challenge.

## 4.2 Variables used in the analysis

### 4.2.1 Basic attributes

The basic attributes of the 2,041 respondents were as follows. In terms of gender, 46.3% of respondents was male, 51.6% female, while 2.1% did not answer. Although there were considerable regional differences, overall, 29.8% were first graders, 35.8%, second graders, and 34.4% third graders. There seems to be no notable deviation in the data regarding gender or school years. Regarding family structure, 28.4% of the respondents was from single-parent (mother) families, 2.5% from single-parent (father) families, 67.2% from two-parent families, 1.6% from other kinds of families, and 0.3% did not answer. Below, I will use the data on single-parent (mother) families and two-parent families, for which I have the real numbers suitable for analysis.

### 4.2.2 Experience of suffering violence, consciousness to accept corporal punishment and relevant variables

Regarding experience of suffering violence, respondents were asked whether “violence was inflicted on them by a parent (including step-parent).” The response options were “1 never,” “2 once or twice,” “3 sometimes,” and “4 often.” Regarding consciousness to accept corporal violence, they were asked whether they thought “corporal punishment was necessary, when children did bad things.” The options were “1 disagree,” “2 tend to disagree,” “3 tend to agree” and “agree.” On the recognition of being loved, they were asked whether their parents “cared for them with adequate love.” The options were “1 agree,” “2 tend to agree,” “3 tend to disagree” and “4 disagree.” On the perception of blaming the victim of violence, among the questions related to the respondents’ ideas on family and marriage, there was a question on whether they thought that “there are good reasons why violence is used against those people on whom violence is inflicted.” The options were “1 disagree,” “2 tend to disagree,” “3 tend to agree” and “4 agree.” Regarding perceptions on division of gender roles, they were asked whether they agreed with the statement “it is better when men work outside and women stay at and protect the home.” On perceptions of men’s superiority, they were asked whether they agreed with the statement, “men are superior to women in various aspects.” The response options for these questions were “1 disagree,” “2 tend to disagree,” “3 tend to agree” and “4 agree.”

Table 2 shows the frequency distribution.

Table 1 Respondents according to regions, gender, school year, and family structures

	Number	gender			grade				family structure				
		female	male	NA	1grade	2grade	3grade	NA	single parent (mother) family	single parent (father) family	two-parent family	other kinds of family	NA
Number	2041	51.6%	46.3%	2.1%	29.8%	35.8%	34.4%	0.0%	28.4%	2.5%	67.2%	1.6%	0.3%
Hyogo	667	53.4%	43.9%	2.7%	28.8%	52.2%	19.0%	0.0%	6.7%	1.3%	91.0%	0.9%	0.0%
Osaka	438	49.5%	48.4%	2.1%	17.1%	19.4%	63.2%	0.2%	87.2%	0.2%	9.8%	2.7%	0.0%
Okinawa	936	51.4%	47.0%	1.6%	36.4%	31.7%	31.8%	0.0%	16.3%	4.4%	77.0%	1.5%	0.7%

Table 2 The frequency distribution table of the variables used

	N	1.never	2. once or twice	3.sometimes	4.often	NA
experience of suffering violence	2041	70.2%	15.5%	8.8%	3.0%	2.4%
	N	1.disagree	2.tend to disagree	3.tend to agree	4.agree	NA
consciousness to accept corporal punishment	2041	13.0%	28.3%	35.1%	19.7%	3.9%
	N	1.agree	2.tend to agree	3.tend to disagree	4.disagree	NA
awareness of being loved	2041	52.2%	36.6%	7.5%	1.6%	2.1%
	N	1.disagree	2.tend to disagree	3.tend to agree	4.agree	NA
perception of blaming the victim of violence	2041	18.7%	30.5%	33.3%	13.6%	3.9%
	N	1.disagree	2.tend to disagree	3.tend to agree	4.agree	NA
perception of division of gender roles	2041	23.9%	29.6%	30.9%	13.0%	2.6%
	N	1.disagree	2.tend to disagree	3.tend to agree	4.agree	NA
perception of male superiority	2041	29.2%	38.6%	19.7%	8.0%	4.6%

## 5. The various factors regulating the consciousness to accept corporal punishment

### 5.1 Path diagram of the various factors involved in the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment

In order to examine the mechanism of the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment, I must go beyond verifying the hypothetical models in Diagram 1 and clarify the more complex relations between the factors. To examine the relations among the variables used in the analysis, I calculated the simple correlation coefficient. The results are shown in Table 3. Any data with even one missing value was deleted from the available variables to be used for analysis, leaving data of 1,770 students.

Based on the statistically significant relationships shown in Table 3, a path diagram of the various factors affecting the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment was designed. It is shown in Diagram 2.

The correlation results indicate paths from “experience of suffering violence” to “awareness of being loved” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment,” from “experience of suffering violence” to “perception of blaming the victim of violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment,” from “gender” to “perception of blaming the victim of violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punish-

Table 3 Relationships among variables

	gender	family structure	experience of suffering violence	awareness of being loved	perception of blaming the victim of violence	perception of division of gender roles	perception of male superiority	consciousness to accept corporal punishment
gender	1							
family structure	-0.020	1						
experience of suffering violence	0.043	.057*	1					
awareness of being loved	.099**	0.022	.191**	1				
perception of blaming the victim of violence	.224**	-0.024	.129**	0.014	1			
perception of division of gender roles	.181**	-0.012	0.028	0.028	.182**	1		
perception of male superiority	0.043	-.054*	-0.006	-0.010	.259**	.296**	1	
consciousness to accept corporal punishment	.155**	0.022	.140**	-.050*	.433**	.068**	.105**	1

\*\* Correlation coefficient is significant (both sides) at the 1% level.

\* Correlation coefficient is significant (both sides) at the 5% level.

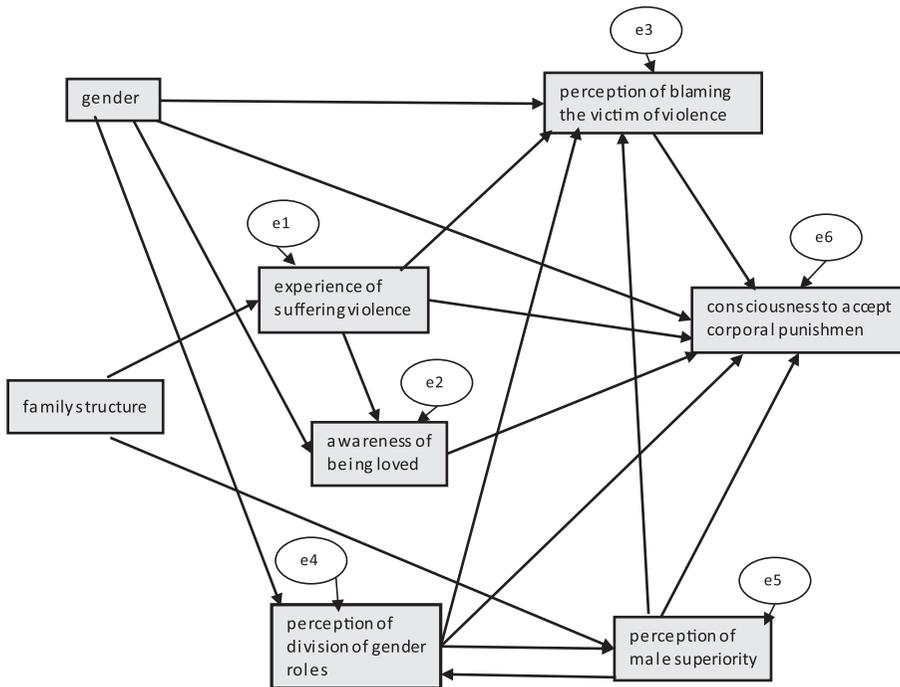


Diagram 2 Path diagram of the various factors involved in the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

ment,” from “gender” to “awareness of being loved” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment,” from “gender” to “perception of division of gender roles” to “perception of blaming the victim of violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment” and from “perception of male superiority” to “perception

of blaming the victim of violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment.” To look more closely into these relationships, a covariance structure analysis using Amos version 25 is conducted.

### 5.2 The outcomes of the covariance structure analysis

Table 4 shows the list of standardizing coefficients, which are estimated values, and their goodness of fit indices achieved from the data analysis of the Hyogo and Okinawa Surveys, separately from the High School Students Survey data. If significant relationships can be found in each sample of the analysis results of the High School Students Survey, Hyogo Survey and Okinawa Survey data, the results of the

Table 4 Estimated value from the covariance structure analysis

			all High School Students	Hyogo Survey	Okinawa Survey
N			1770	587	806
			estimated values	estimated values	estimated values
gender	→	perception of division of gender roles	0.181***	0.147***	0.219***
perception of division of gender roles	→	perception of male superiority	0.296***	0.290***	0.280***
family structure	→	experience of suffering violence	0.057*	0.040	0.019
family structure	→	perception of male superiority	-0.051*	0.025	-0.070*
perception of male superiority	→	perception of blaming the victim of violence	0.229***	0.183***	0.243***
gender	→	perception of blaming the victim of violence	0.196***	0.208***	0.210***
perception of division of gender roles	→	perception of blaming the victim of violence	0.075**	0.058	0.083*
experience of suffering violence	→	perception of blaming the victim of violence	0.120***	0.156***	0.039
gender	→	awareness of being loved	0.091***	0.126**	0.073*
experience of suffering violence	→	awareness of being loved	0.187***	0.164***	0.151***
awareness of being loved	→	consciousness to accept corporal punishment	-0.081***	-0.111**	-0.096**
perception of blaming the victim of violence	→	consciousness to accept corporal punishment	0.409***	0.422***	0.414***
experience of suffering violence	→	consciousness to accept corporal punishment	0.100***	0.125***	0.073*
gender	→	consciousness to accept corporal punishment	0.068**	0.159***	0.037
perception of division of gender roles	→	consciousness to accept corporal punishment	-0.020	-0.031	-0.011
perception of male superiority	→	consciousness to accept corporal punishment	0.002	0.043	0.011
goodness of fit	CMIN/DF		0.860	1.394	1.728
	GFI		0.999	0.993	0.994
	AGFI		0.996	0.979	0.981
	CFI		1.000	0.986	0.979
	RMSEA		0.000	0.026	0.030

analysis may be deemed more credible<sup>(9)</sup>.

According to Table 4, the goodness of fit indices in the High School Students Survey were CMIN/DF=.0794, GFI=.998, AGFI=.996, CFI=1.000, RMSEA=.000. Similarly, in the Hyogo Survey, they were CMIN/DF=1.307, GFI=.992, AGFI=.981, CFI=.988, RMSES=.031, and for the Okinawa Survey, CMIN/DF=1.492, GFI=.994, AGFI=.983, CFI=.984, RMSEA=.026. In all High School Students, Hyogo and Okinawa Surveys, each GFI is .9 or above, indicating that Diagram 2 is valid as a model diagram.

The following findings can be derived from Table 4. First, the perceptions on division of gender roles vary according to gender. Secondly, the higher the perception on division of gender roles, the higher were the perceptions of male superiority. Thirdly, the higher the perceptions of male superiority, the higher were the perceptions of blaming the victim of violence. Fourth, the perceptions of blaming the victim of violence vary according to gender. Fifth, the more experience of suffering violence, the higher were the perceptions of blaming the victim of violence. Sixth, the awareness of being loved varies according to gender. Seventh, the less experience of suffering violence, the higher was the awareness of being loved. Eighth, the relation between high awareness of being loved and low tolerance for violence was reversed; the higher the awareness of being loved, the higher the tolerance for violence. This means that hypothesis 4 is valid. Ninth, the higher the perceptions of blaming the victim of violence, the higher was the tolerance for violence. This means that hypothesis 5 is valid. Tenth, the more experience of suffering violence, the higher was the tolerance for violence. Hypothesis 3 is valid.

Meanwhile, regarding the relations between family structure and perceptions of male superiority, between perceptions of division of gender roles and perceptions of blaming the victim of violence, between gender and tolerance for violence, although the analysis of the High School Students Survey showed statistically significant relationships, no such relationships could be found in the Hyogo or Okinawa Surveys. Further verification on the matter is needed.

Also, the validity of the hypotheses 1, 2, 6 and 7 could not be concluded from Table 4.

### 5.3 Analysis

Diagram 3 shows the final outcome of the re-analysis using the High School Students Survey data, after removing the lines in the path model in Diagram 2 that showed no relevance in Table 4. According to the Diagram, there are more than one pathway in the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment. The first is the path from “experience of suffering violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment.” This means that the more violence inflicted on the students by their parents as they were growing up, the more likely they were to have a consciousness to accept corporal punishment. This reconfirms the past findings.

Second is the path from “experience of suffering violence” to “perception of blaming the victim of violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment.” The reason why the consciousness could be formed through this path, could be that when the violence was inflicted on the students by their parents, the higher their belief that they were at fault for the violence, or the “self-reproach for the violence,” the more likely it was that they tolerated the corporal punishment by their parents. When the “self-reproach for the violence” is more generalized, it becomes the “perception of blaming the victim of

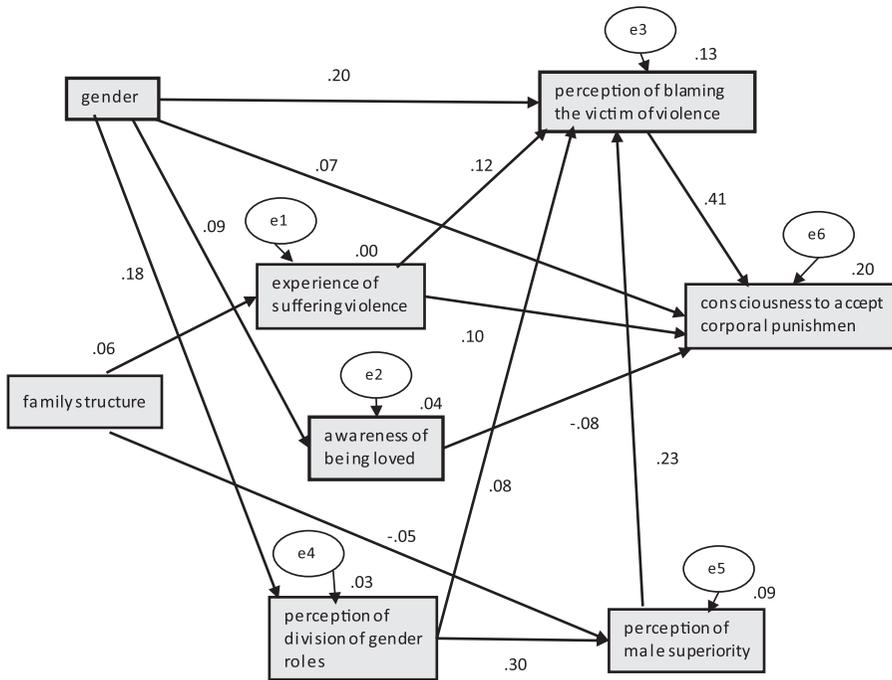


Diagram 3 Model Diagram on the mechanism of the formation of consciousness to accept corporal punishment

Table 5 Cross Table on Experience of Violence and Awareness of being loved

	N	13j their parents "cared for them with adequate love"				
		agree	tend to agree	tendo to disagree	disagree	
N	1770	54.2%	36.9%	7.5%	1.4%	
never	1288	59.6%	33.7%	5.7%	1.0%	
14aviolece was inflicted on them by a parent	once or twice	273	43.2%	43.6%	11.4%	1.8%
	sometimes	160	35.0%	50.6%	12.5%	1.9%
	often	49	36.7%	38.8%	18.4%	6.1%

$\chi^2=76.106$  df=9 p<.001

violence,” and leads to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment.” The findings indicate that this path has the highest impact on the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment.

Third is the path from “experience of suffering violence” to “awareness of being loved” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment.” According to the analysis, the more violence by the parents the students experience, the less they become aware that they are being loved by their parents. The lower the awareness, the less likely it is for them to have the consciousness to accept corporal punishment. At first glance, this seems to contradict the first findings. To look into the factors leading to this “contradiction,” I examined the relationship between the experience of suffering violence and the awareness of being loved, as shown in Table 5.

The Table does show that more frequent experience of suffering violence results in lower awareness of being loved. However, among the high school students who were the subject of this analysis, even of those who experienced high frequency of violence from their parents, 70% felt that they were loved by their parents. Therefore, even when the students experienced more frequent violence from their parents, but still were aware of being loved, they were presumably more likely to be tolerant of violence from their parents. This could indeed be called the “tough love” effect. Nevertheless, note should be taken on the following point. Even when the students tolerate violence from their parents, who they feel love them as “tough love,” it is questionable whether this tolerance of “tough love” from their parents would lead to tolerance of “tough love” in general. In fact, the questions in the questionnaire do not distinguish their tolerance for corporal punishment by their parents with those by parents in general. A more detailed examination would be needed on this point.

Fourth is the path from “gender” to “perception of division of gender roles” to “perception of male superiority” to “perception of blaming the victim of violence” to “consciousness to accept corporal punishment” may be indicated. This means that gender inequality perceptions affect the perceptions of blaming the victim of violence, and contribute to the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment. This path of gender inequality perceptions contributing to the consciousness to accept corporal punishment through the perception of blaming the victim of violence can be a new finding achieved through this study.

## 6. Conclusion

As the representativeness of the data used for analysis in this article is not ensured, care must be taken in generalizing the results of the analysis. It goes without saying that further examination is necessary to refine the model of the formation of the consciousness to accept corporal punishment. But at the same time, the data comes from the survey using almost the same questionnaire at almost the same time in Hyogo, Osaka and Okinawa Prefectures, and it is considerably significant that the analysis of the High School Students Survey data and those of the Hyogo and Okinawa Surveys which were conducted separately resulted in similar findings.

In particular, it should be borne in mind that about half of the students, who are not yet adults, already espoused consciousness to accept corporal punishment. They would eventually grow up, and many of them would become parents.

The findings of this study indicate that there are more than one way to decrease the consciousness to accept corporal punishment. First, violence should not be inflicted on children for any reason, even when they are at fault, and it is necessary to inform them that they can say “no” to violence. Secondly, bearing in mind that children suffering violence by their parents are continuing to tolerate the violence only because they believe that their parents love them, a more straightforward message directed at their parents, such as “parents who love their children do not use violence under the name of corporal punishment,” may be more effective than the “zero tough love campaign.” Thirdly, obviously, decreasing the consciousness to accept corporal punishment by prohibiting all corporal punishment by law, and fourthly, transforming the gender unequal society, which provides the backdrop to the gender inequality perception affecting the perception

of blaming the victim of violence, into a gender equal society, are hoped for.

Finally, I would like to add, that I was able to find the same results as the meta-analysis by Gershoff and others, showing that experience of suffering violence among high school students leads to lower self-esteem and self-acceptance. The analysis outcomes on this matter had to be left out, as they were not relevant to the consciousness to accept corporal punishment. It was a reconfirmation of the findings that discipline relying on corporal punishment caused serious harm on the mental health of children.

## Notes

- (1) For example, existing research studies are shown on the website of the *Kodomo Sukoyaka Support Net* <http://www.kodomosukoyaka.net/> (last accessed, April 30, 2018).
- (2) Announcement from the Equal Employment and Child and Family Policy Bureaus of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, addressed to the Maternal and Child Health Officers of the Prefectural and Municipal Governments dated March 15, 2017 [https://www.jpeds.or.jp/uploads/files/20170518\\_taibatsu.pdf](https://www.jpeds.or.jp/uploads/files/20170518_taibatsu.pdf) (last accessed April 30, 2018).
- (3) For example, the 2016 article by Gershoff, E, and others explains that a meta-analysis was conducted of 1,574 articles on corporal punishment published in English before June 1, 2014. In Japan, meanwhile, there are numerous surveys on corporal punishment in schools, but there are very few on corporal punishment by parents.
- (4) [http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317990.htm](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317990.htm) (last accessed, April 30, 2018).
- (5) [http://www.mext.go.jp/a\\_menu/shotou/seitoshidou/1331907.htm](http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/seitoshidou/1331907.htm) (last accessed, April 30, 2018).
- (6) Civil Code Part IV, Relatives <http://www.houko.com/00/01/M31/009.HTM> (last accessed, April 30, 2018).
- (7) In the meta-analysis, corporal punishment was given the operative definition, “slapping that does not harm a child, with the intent of correcting the child’s behavior.”
- (8) The Osaka Survey was conducted from April to June 2011, with the cooperation of an organization supporting single-parent families. 438 high school students mostly from single-parent families responded in the survey. The Hyogo survey was conducted in June 2011. 667 high school students responded in a collective survey in each class, with the cooperation of a private senior high school in Hyogo Prefecture. The Okinawa Survey was conducted from June to July 2011. 936 students responded in a collective survey in the classes taught by members of the teachers’ union working in prefectural high schools. The number of schools involved is not known.
- (9) The data from the Osaka Survey was not used on its own in this survey, as there were considerable discrepancies in the family structures and school years.

## Bibliography

- Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006, General Comment No.8: The right of the child to protection corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment (arts.19;28, para.2; and 37, inter alia) (CRC/C/GC/8).
- Contreras M. et al, 2012, Bridges to Adulthood: Understanding the Lifelong influence of Men’s Childhood Experiences of Violence, Analyzing Data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey,

Washington DC: International Center for Research on Women & Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo.

Gershoff E. T., 2002, Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviors and experiences: A meta-analytic and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128-4, pp.539-579.

Gershoff E. T., Grogan-Kaylor A., 2016, Spanking and child outcomes: Old controversies and new meta-analyses. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 30-4, pp.453-469.

Global Initiative End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2015, Corporal punishment of children: summary of research on its impact and associations. <http://endcorporalpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/research/Research-effects-summary-2015-05.pdf/> (accessed on August 1, 2017).

Global initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016, Corporal punishment of children: review of research on its impact and associations: Working paper, 1-35. <http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/> (accessed on August 1, 2017).

Hayashi K., 2016, Taibatsu ni Kakawaru Daigakusei no Keiken to Iken—Jugyo Anke-to Kekka ni Motozuku—(The experiences and opinions of students concerning corporal punishment: a study based on a class survey). *Research Bulletin of Meisei University: Education*, 6, pp.111-122.

Hoter, et al, 2009, Gender Equality and Quality of life: A Noewegian Perspective, Nordic Gender Institute.

Imazu K., 2014, *Gakkou to Bouryoku—Ijime/Taibatsu Mondai no Honshitsu (Schools and Violence—The Essence of the Problems of Bullying/Corporal Punishment)*, Heibonsha.

Iwai H., 2008, Girei to shite no Taibatsu (Corporal Punishment as Etiquette), Tanioka I., Nitta M., Iwai N., ed., *Nihon-jin no Ishiki to Koudou Nihon-ban Sougouteki Shakai Chousa JGSS ni yoru Bunseki (Values and Behavioral Patterns in Japan: an Analysis Based on Japanese General Social Surveys)*, Tokyo University Press, pp.313-328.

Iwai H., 2010, Younin sareru “Oya ni yoru Taibatsu”—JGSS-2008 ni yoru “Taibatsu” ni taisuru Ishiki no Bunseki (Social Tolerance for the Use of Physical Punishment by Parents: An Analysis of Attitude toward Physical Punishment using JGSS-2008), *Nihon-ban Sougou Shakai Chousa Kyoudou Kenkyuu Kyoten Kenkyuu Ronbun Shuu (JGSS Research Series) No. 10*, Osaka University of Commerce, JGSS Research Center, pp.49-59.

Kambara F., 2005, Kazoku to Bouryoku—Domesutikku Baiorensu no Seisei Katei to Kontoro-ru (Family and Violence: Formation Process and Control of Domestic Violence), Hougetsu M., Shindo Y., ed., *Shakaiteki Kontoro-ru no Genzai (Present Day Social Control)*, Sekai Shisousha, pp.213-227.

Save the Children Japan, 2018, *Kodomo ni taisuru Shitsuke no tame no Taibatsu nado no Ishiki/Jittai Chousa Kekka Houkoku-sho (Report of the Survey Findings on Corporal Punishment for Disciplining Children)*.

Maki M., Hayashi K., Imabashi M., Terasaki H., ed., *Choukai Taibatsu no Housei to Jittai (Law and Practice on Discipline /Corporal Punishment)*, Gakuyo Shobo.

Morita Y., 2003, *Shitsuke to Taibatsu (Discipline and Corporal Punishment)*, Dowa-kan Shuppan.

Tamura K., 2014, Taibatsu Younin no Rensa o Tachikiru tame niha—“Bukatsu ni okeru Shidou no Arikata ni tsuite Katarou” Kikaku kara Mieta kita Koto (How to Break the Cycle of Tolerance to the Corporal Punishment: Some Suggestions from the Project of Talking together about the Teacher’s Role in the Club Activities). *Ryukoku Daigaku Shakai Gakubu Kiyou (Ryukoku University Faculty of Sociology Bulletin)*, 44, pp.1-12.

- Tomoda A., 2012, *Iyasarenai Kizu: Jidou Gyakutai to Kizutsuite iku Nou (Unhealed Wounds—Child Abuse and Damaged Brains)*, Shindan to Chiryosha.
- Tomoda A., Sugiyama T. et al., *Kodomo no PTSD: Shindan to Chiryou (Child PTSD—Diagnosis and Treatment)*, Shindan to Chiryosha.
- Tomoda A., 2017, *Kodomo no Nou o Kizutsukeru Oya-tachi (Parents who Damage their Children's Brains)*, NHK Shuppan.
- Turner H. A., Finkelhor D., 1996, Corporal Punishment as a Stressor among Youth. *Journal of Marriage and the family*, 58-1, pp.155-166.
- UNICEF, 2014, *Hidden in Plain Sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children*, NY, UNICEF.