International Marriages in Japan and DV: Interview and Questionary Survey Results

Polina A. Lukyantseva

Ph.D. Student, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan

ARTICLE INFO

**Keywords:**
domestic violence, economic abuse, physical abuse, Japan, coercive behavior

**ABSTRACT**

Gender equality has been a highly discussed topic. Yet conversations surrounding domestic violence (DV), gender-based violence (GBV), and abuse face societal and governmental hesitancy, especially in the context of relationships involving international migrants and local citizens. This study focuses on Japan, aiming to highlight the relationship between Japanese citizens and foreign migrants and depict the current situation of abuse and DV in these nonhomogeneous households. Applying in-depth interviews, surveys, inductive coding, case study analysis, and a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, the research illuminated significant challenges encountered by these households. With a specific emphasis on coercive behavior, economic abuse, and physical violence, the study underscores the pervasive nature of abuse in these families. Furthermore, the findings obtained through the interview and questionnaire revealed the unique specifics of these households. Finally, the findings helped to identify areas of concern and highlight the need for further research and collaborative efforts between relevant organizations, government bodies, and society to address and prevent the challenges faced by households in this unique context.

1. Introduction

This research addresses domestic violence (DV), gender-based violence (GBV), and cultural misunderstandings in international households in Japan, focusing on relationships between international migrants and Japanese citizens. Notably, a 2021 study by UNODC and UN Women highlighted the global severity of violence against women and girls, with Asia recording the highest number of gender-related killings in the private sphere (“UN Women,” 2022). Japanese statistics, including those from the *Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office*, reveal that one in four women in Japan experiences violence or abuse from an intimate partner. Despite Japan's efforts to prevent DV and GBV, challenges persist, particularly in international households.

*Corresponding author E-mail address: she.paulina.luk@gmail.com

Cite this article as:

© The Author(s). 2024 *Open Access*. This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and redistribution in any medium, provided that the original author(s) and source are credited.
While Japan has implemented legal measures, support services, and awareness campaigns, research on DV and abuse in such households is limited (Lukyantseva, 2022; “Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office,” 2022). The author’s investigation, focusing on Russo-Japanese couples, aimed to explore the current state of GBV, DV, and abuse in Japanese society, challenges within international households, and case studies of DV experienced by the foreign population in Japan. This research underscores the ongoing challenges and the need for further understanding and intervention to address DV and abuse in the unique context of international marriages in Japan.

The sample size of 83 participants was calculated from a pool of 9378 Russian individuals in Japan. The total Russian population in Japan was taken in accordance with statistics on foreign national residents covered by the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act of the end of 2019. A 90% confidence level was applied to calculate the sample size. Both the quantitative and qualitative questionnaires were applied to measure the responses of the 83 male and female participants. Additionally, 18 male and female participants participated in in-depth interviews. Finally, the qualitative approach included inductive coding and case study methods. Both methods were conducted in order to provide a comparative analysis and illustrate various forms, reasons, and manifestations of DV and abuse. Coding was applied for in-depth interviews and open-ended questionnaires (OEQ), providing meaningful insights into this issue. The interview and OEQ were transcribed using a manual method. All transcribed interviews and OEQ were kept in separate files, all data was anonymous, and only the researcher could link responses and participants. 82 codes and 47 themes were identified, illustrated, and examined during the coding process.

Data collection for this study combined social surveys ("About the Peculiarities of International Marriages") and in-depth interviews (same title). The survey, comprising 81 questions, was developed based on existing research and literature. To ensure diversity in samples and data, participants included university students, company workers, interpreters, part-time workers, and housewives. Key indicators such as age groups, educational background, visa type, purposes of coming to Japan, socioeconomic status, and the prevalence of various forms of violence/abuse in these households were considered. Participants ranged in age from 20 to 60 years old, representing diverse social classes, races (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and others), genders, and residences. The interviews were conducted solely in the Russian language. They were conducted online using Zoom with the camera turned off to ensure participant confidentiality. Data collection involved transcripts from digitally recorded individual interviews and information obtained from the questionnaire. Participants were assured of confidentiality and could withdraw their consent at any time. The dominant approach was applied to protect interview confidentiality.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Migration and Japan

For this research, the most essential and important was, first of all, to obtain significant information regarding the history of migrants in Japan, migration policies, waves of migration, and its causes and obstacles. Secondly, to understand the classifications of migrants. Finally, focus on Russian-speaking migrants in Japan. For these purposes, examining the works of Komai (2001), Li (2019), and Kim & Balgoa (2022) was crucial for understanding the background and complicated history of immigrants/migrants in Japan. Their works were essential to building an image of the international female and male migrants in Japan and gaining the comprehensive data necessary for comparative analysis and a thorough
investigation of this issue. Furthermore, to obtain more specific information through the anthropological analysis of Russian-speaking migrants in Japan, Golovina's (2019), Kim's (2023), and Golovina & Mukhina’s (2017) works were indispensable. These scholars provided a valuable and essential culturological perspective on relationships between Russian migrants and Japanese citizens. They also offered data on the number of these migrants in Japan, analyzed their adaptation and integration into Japanese society, and illustrated the processes affecting their adaptation to society or job hunting. Furthermore, they highlighted the purposes for coming to Japan. Finally, provided an anthropological analysis of Russo-Japanese marriages. This analysis illustrated various cultural factors essential for these marriages and the dynamic development within these households.

2.2. DV in Japan

On the other hand, this research primarily focused on abusive dynamics in international households in Japan, shedding light on the challenges these families encounter and examining perceptions of abuse. It also briefly compared these dynamics with those in homogeneous Japanese families. Therefore, the author aimed to gain more information on the abuse, DV, and its factors in Japanese society and families. Among various research, this study underlined works written by Ando (2020), Ogawa et al. (2020), Takita (2009), and Yamashita (2018), who offered comprehensive analyses of DV in Japan, including classifications based on gender and age and measures taken to address or/and prevent DV and other forms of abuse. Furthermore, reports announced by the Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office in 2023 and 2022 provided essential information on the current situation in Japan, such as the national statistics, the correlation between various age groups and abuse in Japan, the correlation between gender and DV, the list of the most common forms of abuse, main reasons for marital breakdowns in Japan, the list of DV centers and other necessary facilities in Japan. Finally, due to the lack or even absence of previous research on physical, economic, and emotional abuse among Russian-speaking migrants, the author appealed to Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2014), Haslam (2016), and Karakurt & Silver's (2013), who explained abuse-related concepts and formed the framework for understanding emotional abuse in relationships in general.

2.3. Study Design and Analysis

In the end, the research questionnaires and design samples were based on various sources, including questionnaires created by Schrading et al. (2020), Appiah and Abubakari (2013), García-Moreno et al. (2005), Henrica A.F.M. Jansen (2021), Islam et al. (2018), Linder J. & Widh (2014), and Eriksson et al., 2022. They served as the basis for study design, qualitative and quantitative analysis, and sample size formulation. They cover different aspects of intimate partner violence and its effects. On the other hand, online resources, such as the SGD Index, UN Women, and data from Statista Research Department, provided valuable information, data, and statistics on gender bias, inequality, and related issues.

3. Materials and Methods

3.1. Study Design

First of all, it is essential to emphasize that, while the author initially employed a combination of quantitative statistical analysis and a qualitative approach in her dissertation, this manuscript concentrates only on the qualitative approach. Consequently, the discussion and presentation of the statistical analysis have been omitted from this manuscript.
3.2. Participants Selection

A purposive sampling strategy and snowball sampling methods were applied to ensure a diverse range of participants. The questionnaire and an interview were conducted online in the Russian language only among participants of the Russian Facebook communities: “Russians in Japan” (2990 participants), “Japanmama” (3700 participants), and “Japanchat” (2700 participants) in Telegram. The social survey (google form) titled "About the Peculiarities of International Marriages" was distributed in communities. The survey participants were asked to complete two rounds of questionnaires after being invited to participate in the interview. To diversify the gender representation of participants, male members of communities were invited to complete the survey. However, the majority declined. In the end, only 8 male participants took part in the survey, and 2 were invited for interviews.

3.3. Data Collection

Data collection for this study consisted of a combination of social surveys and in-depth interviews (see Appendix A for additional information), providing detailed insights into this topic. The sample of 83 participants was determined with a 90% confidence level from a pool of 9378 foreign individuals living in Japan. The questionnaire was conducted on all 83 participants. A subsequent round of surveys was conducted to delve deeper into the subject matter and clarify essential aspects. The questionnaire was based on samples of other research questionnaires on DV, such as National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Georgia, WHO Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence against Women, Emotional Abuse in Intimate Relationships: The Role of Gender and Age, Survey Module on Violence against Women Interviewer’s Manual developed for UNECE, The Harman Domestic Violence Prevention Project Survey, and Domestic Violence Overview: Screening and Early Response. The questionnaire included a combination of open-ended, closed-ended, and multiple-choice questions. Its design aimed to gain comprehensive perspectives, reasons, and motivations related to domestic violence and abuse within international households. Additionally, the questionnaire sought to uncover participants' attitudes and responses to instances of violence and abuse.

Complementing the survey, in-depth interviews were conducted with a subset of 18 participants purposefully selected from the initial pool of 83. This subset was chosen to illustrate various forms of abuse and domestic violence. Conducted online, the in-depth interviews delved into the specifics of international marriages between Russian-speaking migrants and Japanese citizens in Japan. The focus extended to exploring the dynamics of economic, emotional, and physical abuse within these families.

The personal interview method aimed to gather specific information about abuse and DV. Respondents were invited to participate in interviews to provide insights into the following areas:

- Background characteristics and marriage history of spouses.
- Features of the households.
- Cultural specifics.
- Attitudes of women and men towards gender roles in Japanese society.
- Perspectives of women and men towards gender roles and violence.
- Causes of domestic violence or abuse.
- Explanation and analysis of emotional, economic, and physical abuse experienced by these women and men.
- Coping mechanisms employed by women and men in response to violence.
3.4. Inductive Coding

The inductive coding method helped interpret and analyze the data (see Appendix B for additional information). By assigning codes to different elements of the text (transcript), the researcher could analyze the underlying relations and forms of abuse and DV. The coding process involved multiple stages. First was the open coding. It helped to identify patterns and themes. Second was the axial coding. It was needed to provide connections between categories and subcategories. The recorded and transcribed interviews were coded using a manual method. 82 codes and 47 themes were identified, illustrated, and examined during the coding process.

Case study: The case study design was created to concentrate on the data analysis of the phenomenon selected by the author for examination. Its central aim was to illustrate a comprehensive exploration of issues and concerns illustrated by respondents who experienced diverse instances of abuse and violence.

3.5. Other Methods

Historical context analysis: a comprehensive historical context analysis was noteworthy to understand the dynamics and specifics of gender equality, feminism, and social issues in Japan. The principle of historicism was aimed to shed light on and compare the impact of the feminist movement and analyze how feminism evolved. The data analysis, national statistics analysis, and other research methods were applied to categorize and organize data related to GBV, DV, or gender inequality problems. Furthermore, an analysis of national statistics provided by The Ministry of Justice, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and/or the National Census (Japan and Russia) was noteworthy as well.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

In order to protect personal information and follow interview research ethics, the following measures were applied. All members were assured that the survey data would not be used for any purpose other than the analysis of data for the research. All participants voluntarily and anonymously participated. The dominant approach was used to protect interview confidentiality.

4. Results

In conclusion, first, this study faced a challenge hindering a direct comparative analysis between Russian-speaking migrants and Japanese citizens. This can be explained by the lack of prior research and the focus of researchers solely on Japanese families. Notably, comparative research among Filipinos and others coming from Asian migrants was previously published. However, due to the cultural differences, the author was reluctant to compare these households with Russo-Japanese.

Second, this study investigated various manifestations of DV and abuse, encompassing physical abuse, rude behavior, economic abuse, coercive behavior, and partially emotional abuse. It was found that participants often struggle to differentiate between rude behavior and physical abuse, emphasizing the need for educational programs to help victims accurately identify and report violence.

Third, the researcher assumed that the issue of DV and abuse is likely not confined to specific family groups or cultures, suggesting that DV may transcend cultural boundaries in various international marriages. However, the prevalence of economic abuse (for instance, in comparison to homogeneous Japanese households) among other forms of abuse underlines the
The unique nature of these families and illustrates the dominance of the masculine power and men-centered construct of the family. Future research can further explore these assumptions for a broader understanding.

Fourth, the inductive coding analysis revealed that physical abuse took various forms, including hitting, slapping, pushing, throwing objects, and name-calling, highlighting the diversity of abusive behaviors within these households.

The types of abuse illustrated in the open-ended questionnaire (OEQ) and close-ended questionnaire (CEQ) vary, revealing the prevalence of hitting and pushing in the OEQ and slapping, punching, or punching/hitting in the CEQ. Furthermore, the inductive coding analysis proved that the abusive behavior was a form of physical abuse. It was illustrated in the Table Coding: rude behavior (9 themes).

Fifth, the inductive coding analysis revealed 18 themes related to economic abuse. The most common were financial dependence, financial independence, transition to financial independence, financial control, and family budget. The research illuminated the prevalence of actions to control respondents' finances.

Sixth, the inductive coding analysis revealed that in international households, coercive behavior involved such actions as threats, humiliations, intimidations, or other abusive actions, coexists with physical or economic abuse, showcasing the complex nature of violence in these relationships.

Finally, it is assumed that both Japanese and international migrants experience various forms of physical and economic abuse in Japan. The Gender Equality Bureau (2022) indicated that marital breakdowns among Japanese women were more frequently attributed to physical abuse, with a rate of 12.2%. Moreover, 17% of women and 12.1% of men reported experiencing physical abuse, encompassing acts such as hitting, kicking, throwing objects, and pushing. On the contrary, the author's study data revealed that 14% of participants had encountered instances of physical DV, with hitting, throwing objects, and pushing being the most common forms reported by both groups.

Furthermore, economic abuse emerged as a notable factor contributing to marital breakdowns among Japanese women, accounting for 21.6%. Additionally, 8.6% of Japanese women and 2.8% of men reported experiencing economic abuse, which includes actions such as refusing to pay rent or living expenses, stealing salary or savings, and forbidding victims from working. On the contrary, this study revealed that 17% of participants stated that their finances were controlled.

5. Discussion: A Qualitative Analysis of Forms of Abuse

The author's original research encompasses all forms of abuse and violence. However, due to research constraints, this paper specifically delves into physical and economic abuse. The initial focus on these forms stemmed from their easy-to-identify nature. However, as the research progressed, unexpected culturological phenomena were revealed. For instance, victims of physical abuse often label it as rude behavior. Additionally, the study delved into the various manifestations of economic abuse aiming to understand its specifics and characteristics as well as its correlation with coercive behavior. On top of it, the study investigated the influence of traditional Japanese farming norms on economic violence within international marriages.

The overall data obtained through the surveys showed that the “population” data over 83 participants revealed that 14% of respondents had encountered instances of physical abuse,
while 69% had not experienced such incidents. In response about whether their spouse/partner had shown rude behavior, 72.3% responded in the negative, 19.3% affirmed its occurrence, 2.4% indicated its occasional presence, and 6% selected "other." Furthermore, 17% of the 83 participants felt that their finances were controlled. To delve deeper and investigate these two manifestations of abuse, the author focused on the issue of physical abuse and rude behavior and later investigated the problem of economic abuse in Russo-Japanese families.

5.1. Physical Abuse and Rude Behavior

As previously indicated, among the 83 participants (100%), 14 individuals (16.9%) reported instances of physical domestic violence, while 69 (83.1%) did not. Conversely, in response to inquiries regarding their spouse/partner's behavior, 72.3% responded negatively, indicating that they had not been subjected to rudeness. However, 19.3% acknowledged instances of rudeness, 2.4% mentioned its occasional occurrence, and 6% selected the "other" option.

It is worth noting that the prevalence of rude behavior (encompassing physical violence) was specified by approximately 21.7% of participants, whereas the prevalence of explicit physical violence was 16.9%. The discrepancy in numbers raises questions such as whether participants understand what physical abuse is, how to draw the line between rude behavior and physical abuse, and how they (interview respondents) define rude behavior (Table 1). The responses of participants, as well as the detailed analysis, are illustrated in tables below.

Table 1. Determining whether the Japanese partners/spouses have ever committed physical abuse and rude behavior? (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Rude behavior</th>
<th>Physical violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>83.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Authors field survey 2022.

To comprehend this issue, first, the author emphasizes that it is essential to conduct a distinct analysis of rude behavior apart from physical violence. Second, it is significant to apply the inductive coding method to specify and characterize rude behavior based on the participants' responses.

5.1.1. What Physical Abuse and Rude Behavior Are?

First, according to the article Types and Signs of Abuse submitted by the Washington State Department of Social and Health Services, physical behavior is specified as "intentional bodily injury". Some examples include slapping, pinching, choking, kicking, shoving, or inappropriately using drugs or physical restraints.” Here it is crucial to underline that physical abuse is an “intentional body harm”.

On the other hand, rude behavior was described as “a display of disrespect, a breaking of social norms or expectations or ignoring "accepted" behavior. It can also mean someone behaving inconsiderately, aggressively, or deliberately offensively” (Mind Tool, n.d.). In other words, rude behavior is a display of disrespect, and it can be assumed that it is close to psychological violence rather than physical abuse. Furthermore, what is the most significant is. It does not include bodily harm or other forms of physical abuse that might cause intentional injuries.
5.1.2. How do Participants Specify Rude Behavior and Physical Abuse?

- **Rude or Aggressive Behavior (Open-Ended Q.)**

From the table above (Table 1) it was specified that 19.3% and 16.9% of participants experienced rude behavior and physical abuse. However, to delve deeper, the author decided to, first, focus on the collected answers from the “other” group (seven respondents or 6%). In this group respondents in the open-ended form specified types of behavior they have experienced from their partners. Second, analyze more answers gained during the interview. To do so, the author applied coding and case study methods.

First, in the open-ended questionnaire, participants described the rude behavior of their partners in the following ways (all responses are listed below):

1. Злится после ссоры и позволяет грубости (Eng. Gets angry after an argument and allows rude behavior.)
2. Во время ссор - грубо выражается, когда устал - сразу срывается на мне (Eng. During arguments, he expresses himself rudely, and when he was tired, he immediately took it out on me.)
3. Поднимал руку (Eng. Raised his hand against me [Here the respondent meant to say hitting or biting].)
4. Мог назвать дурой (Eng. Could call me "stupid.")
5. Может оттолкнуть, начать орать без причины, обозвать, начать швырять вещи, бить кулаками в стену (Eng. Can push me away, yell for no reason, call me names, throw things, hit the wall with his fists.)
6. Ударил, обзывал (Eng. Hit me and called me names.)
7. Обзывательства, насилие, крик (Eng. Name-calling, violence, yelling.)

The results gained through the manual inductive coding method highlighted the most common forms of behavior experienced by participants. They were divided into a few categories: "physical abuse" and "verbal abuse/rude behavior." “Physical abuse” was specified five times, and “verbal abuse/rude behavior” three times. “Rude behavior during arguments” was described two times, and “rude behavior” only once.

First, analyzing the codes above, it is essential to underline that rude or aggressive behavior was indicated during the arguments. Furthermore, in some instances, rude behavior was identified as a form of verbal abuse.

Second, some examples of rude behavior in the list (e.g., "calls me a fool," "calls me names," "expresses himself rudely," "rude behavior," and "taking it out on me") offer an understanding of the specific types of rude behavior experienced by participants. However, it is notable that some of these comments lack detailed descriptions. Hence, the meaning of phrases like "expresses himself rudely," "rude behavior," and "taking it out on me" often requires clarification. The author assumed these responses imply rude behavior, verbal aggression, or verbal abuse. However, analyzing these comments can be challenging due to their subjective nature of rudeness. Participants’ interpretations of rudeness may differ significantly, making it necessary to seek clarification on the specific behaviors. Therefore, to provide a more detailed and comprehensive investigation, the author applied a combination of coding and case study methods to analyze and compare interview results as well.

On the other hand, some responders who described rude behavior may pertain to physical abuse. It underscores the importance of separating these two categories. For instance, examples number 3, 5, 6, and 7 encompass behaviors that participants describe as rude behavior, but they are, in fact, indicators of physical abuse. As it was illustrated earlier, physical abuse includes actions that harm one's health. Examples number 3, 5, 6, and 7 illustrate it.
5.2. Physical Abuse (Open-Ended Questionary)

Second, it is also necessary to describe how the survey participants illustrated and characterized physical violence. All study participants (16.9%) who specified physical abuse explained it as below:

8. Полование холодной водой в кровати, кидание предметов в меня, выкидывание мусора мне в комнату (Eng. Pouring cold water on the bed, throwing things at me, and throwing garbage in my room)

9. Била и царапала. Когда конфликт и я просто хотел уйти в другую комнату, но меня брали за одежду, рвали ее, била, царапала. Но на утро извинялась. (Eng. Hitting and scratching me during conflicts and preventing me from leaving the room by taking my clothes, ripping them up, hitting me, and scratching me. However, she would apologize in the morning.)

10. Выгонял из дома, толкался, обзывал (Eng. Kicking me out of the house, pushing me, and calling me names)

11. Все виды насилья. Если отстаивала свою точку зрения то бил , запрещал учиться , читать книги. (Eng. All types of abuse, including physical violence, when I stood up for my point of view. He also forbade me from studying and reading books)

12. На мой вопрос получила пощечину (Eng. In response to my question, I was slapped on the cheek)

13. Толкал, бил полотенцем (Eng. Pushing me and hitting me with a towel)

14. Разбросал/сломал/разбил мои вещи, удерживал меня силой дома, не давал денег на еду/не покупал еду (Eng. He destroyed/broke my things, kept me at home against my will, and refused to give me money for food or buy food for me.)

15. На праздник у родителей, поднял на меня руку, дочь вызвала полицию (Eng. At my parents' party, he lifted his hand against me, prompting my daughter to call the police)

16. Когда мы ссорились, обычно поздно вечером, у меня больше не было сил отвечать на его вопросы и я хотела спать, он не давал мне спать, отнимал одеяло и тряс меня, чтобы я ответила. Утром, когда он собирался на работу, я хотела проводить его и обнять, но он отпихнул меня, говоря, что он опаздывает и в отличие от нас русских японцам опаздывать на работу нельзя. (Eng. When we argued, usually late at night, I no longer had the energy to answer his questions and just wanted to sleep. But he would not let me sleep. He would take away my blanket and shake me to make me answer. In the morning, when he was leaving for work, I wanted to walk him to the door and hug him, but he pushed me away, saying that he was late and, unlike Russians, Japanese are not allowed to be late for work.)

The results gained through the manual inductive coding method highlighted the most common forms of abusive behaviors experienced by participants. They were divided into a few categories: “physical abuse,” “manipulation/coercive behavior,” “coercive behavior/physical abuse,” and “verbal abuse/rude behavior.” “Physical abuse” was specified nine times. Other forms only once each. The majority of cases indicated that physical abuse appeared separately from other forms of abuse, making it easily identifiable. However, in line with findings from previously published psychological studies (García-Moreno et al., 2005, Haslam, 2016; Schrading et al., 2020, Eriksson et al., 2022), physical abuse typically coexists with other forms of mistreatment, such as economic, sexual, psychological, or coercive behaviors, as illustrated by other examples.
Furthermore, participants who experienced physical abuse described it as pouring cold water on the bed, throwing objects, throwing garbage into their rooms, hitting, scratching, and preventing them from leaving rooms by taking their clothes, name-calling, slapping, pushing, and destroying their belongings. The most common forms of abuse were hitting or “lifting hands” and pushing (Table 2).

Finally, it can be concluded that the forms of abuse specified by Russian-speaking migrants in their interviews and questionnaires highlighted various forms of physical abuse that also appear in inhomogeneous households in Japan. For instance, according to “Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women (2022)” “The 63rd issue (Data published on December 23, 2022)” and “Current Situation of Violence against Women and Efforts by the Cabinet Office (2023) [Jap. 女性に対する暴力の 現状と内閣府の取組]” published by the Gender Equality Bureau, first, physical abuse was identified as a more frequent cause of marital breakdown among Japanese women, with a rate of 12.2%. Second, 17% of women and 12.1% of men reported experiencing physical abuse. It encompasses acts such as hitting, kicking, throwing objects, and pushing. Hitting, throwing objects, and pushing are the most common forms reported by both types of families.

Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pouring cold water</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throwing things</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitting or lifting hand against</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somebody</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scratching</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapped on the cheek</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep at home by force</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not provide food</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not let to sleep</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jolting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calling names (ex., stupid)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Authors field survey 2022.

5.3. Forms of Physical Abuse and Rude Behavior (Multiple Choice Q.)

This section will describe the responses collected from multiple-choice questions. All 83 questionnaire participants were instructed to select one or more of the provided answers. The following results were obtained (Table 3).

Out of the 83 participants, 36 individuals stated that they experienced "no abuse." The rest of the respondents selected the following response: "He/she pushed/hit or threw something at you." 11 participants chose it. Six respondents (8%) answered: "He/she punched you with his/her fist." Five individuals (7%) selected "Slapped you." Three respondents (4%) chose both "Sexual abuse" and "Threatening with a knife," and two people (5%) reported being "Attacked with a knife" or selected "other."

Comparing results obtained through the OEQ and CEQ, the comparative and inductive coding analysis revealed the following information. In the OEQ, the most described answers were "hitting" or "lifting a hand," each chosen by three respondents. On the other hand, the CEQ illustrated responses such as pushing, punching, hitting/or throwing objects and slapping. Additionally, two respondents indicated "sexual abuse" as a form of physical abuse and
selected it (Table 3). The comparison of results between the OEQ and CEQ highlighted notable patterns in participants’ descriptions of physical abuse both in OEQ and CEQ. However, the CEQ provided significantly diverse results. This may be influenced by the difficulty of describing the types of violence themselves. The research revealed that choosing from a provided list making it easier for respondents. However, there is also the possibility that types of abuse other than physical may be mistakenly chosen.

Table 3.
Types of abuse described in open-ended questionary, case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type (obtained from open-ended questionary)</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Type (obtained from close-ended questionary)</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pouring cold water</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No abuse</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throwing things</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>He/she pushed/hit or threw something at you</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitting or lifting hand against somebody</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Punching (with the fist)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scratching</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Slapping</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapped on the cheek</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Threatening with a knife</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep at home by force</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Attacked with the knife</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not provide food</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not let to sleep</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jolting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calling names (ex., stupid)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>47</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Authors field survey 2022.

5.4. Economic Abuse

Domestic violence has a legally recognized category known as economic abuse. It is described as controlling a spouse's or former partner's finances and what money can provide. It is a common element of intimate partner abuse.

To provide specific information regarding economic abuse in Russo-Japanese households, the following open-ended questions were applied to measure economic violence (Table 4): 1. Can you say that your spouse/partner consults (consulted) with you on various domestic issues? 2. Does (Did) he/she control your expenses and make you dependent on his/her money? The author emphasizes, first, the importance of conducting a thorough analysis of economic abuse by measuring and dividing it in groups through various questions. Second, applying the inductive coding method to specify and characterize it based on the participants' responses.

Table 4.
Determining whether the Japanese partners/spouses have ever committed economic abuse? (cases)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Can you agree that your spouse/partner consults (consulted) with you on various domestic issues? (case)</th>
<th>Does he/she control your expenses and make (made) you dependent on his/her money? (case)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Authors field survey 2022.
5.4.1. Can You Agree That Your Spouse/Partner Consults (Consulted) with You on Various Domestic Issues?

According to results gained through the questionnaire, 74.7% agreed that their spouse/partner consults with him/her on various topics. On the other hand, 19.3% replied “no,” and 6% chose “other.”

The category of answers labeled "other" includes responses such as:

1. Иногда делает что-то тайно (Eng. Sometimes does things in secret)
2. Не советуется, а вынуждает меня дать согласие на то, что ему хочется (Eng. Does not advise with me, but forces me to agree to what he wants)
3. Не советуется, а говорит, что намерен предпринять (Eng. Does not ask for advice, but tells me he intends to do)
4. Немного (Eng. A little)
5. Может просто продать дом без моего ведома (Eng. Can just sell the house without letting me know)
6. Только если у него что-то не получается (Eng. Only if he cannot handle it alone)

The codes above emphasized the economic or financial aspects of secrecy, control, and economic abuse. Furthermore, the results gained through the coding method highlighted three equally the most common forms if behavior, such as “limited financial autonomy,” “secrecy,” and “financial control and decision-making.”

To be more precise, 25.3% of respondents believe that their partners do not consult with them or do it occasionally. A significant number of participants (cases 1-3 and 5-6) indicated that their relationships lack transparency, which can lead to a sense of mistrust and uncertainty within the relationship.

On top of it, the survey results reveal that some participants feel coerced. For example, cases number 2 and 3 showed examples of coercive relationships. The coercion in these couples can be a result of a financial or any other form of power imbalance.

Moreover, some respondents reported that their partners only inform them of their intentions or decisions. Additionally, it was noted that in some cases (case number 5), partners have the capacity to make significant financial decisions (such as selling property) without the knowledge or consent of the other partner.

Finally, the author assumes that the financial power imbalance and differences in earnings (the survey showed that despite the fact that the majority of participants have a high language proficiency equal to JLPT 1, 2 or 3 (it is 43%), around 55% do not have stable work) may contribute to these circumstances. Therefore, the financial power imbalance and the lack of trust or the absence of a need to discuss the budget with a non-Japanese partner might lead to these circumstances.

Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Can you say that your spouse/partner consults (consulted) with you on various domestic issues? (people)</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of “no” and “other”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Authors field survey 2022.
5.4.2. Does (Did) He/She Control Your Expenses and Make You Dependent on His/her Money?

20.5% of respondents agreed that their spouse/partner controls their expenses and has made them financially dependent. 66.2% replied "no," while 13.3% selected the "other" category. The responses in the "other" category were divided into two categories based on common topics.

- **He/she Controlled Your Finances in the Past:**
  7. Раньше (Eng. Before)
  8. Я работаю и свободна в денежных расходах, но раньше были конфликты из-за денег. (Eng. I work and am free to spend my money. However, before we used to have conflicts over money.)
  9. Было. Сейчас я зарабатываю и независима от его денег. (Eng. There was [control] before. But now I work, and I am financially independent.)
  10. Так как я домохозяйка, то изначально не свободна в средствах. (Eng. Since I am a housewife, I am not initially free with money.)
  11. Он не контролирует мои расходы, но я завишу от него финансово (Eng. He has no control over my spending, but I am financially dependent on him.)
  12. <...> он пытался контролировать то, как я распоряжаюсь СВОИМИ деньгами, Потом он даже хотел, чтобы я оплачивала часть его билета на синкансен (Eng. <...> he tried to control the way I spend MY money, then he even wanted me to pay for part of his shinkansen ticket)
  13. Он контролирует мои деньги, я работаю и могу за всё платить сама. Денег на жизнь на еду никогда не давал. (Eng. He controls my money; I work and can pay for everything myself. He never gave me money for living expenses or for food.)

- **You Control(ed) His/her Money or Other:**
  14. Я это делаю, [он] не умеет распоряжаться (Eng. I do that, [he] does not know how to handle it.)
  15. У меня больше денег (Eng. I have more money.)
  16. Так он не работал, а подачки от богатого папы честно относили в семейный бюджет и оплачивали какие-то счета (Eng. So, he did not work, and the handouts from his rich daddy honestly added to the family budget, covering some bills.)
  17. Мы контролируем наши расходы и ведем бюджет. Зависимости финансовой нет (Eng. We control our spending and maintain a budget. There is no financial dependency.)
  18. У каждого свои деньги (Eng. Everyone has their own money.)

The codes emphasized the following groups such as “financial conflict,” “financial dependence,” “financial independence,” “transition to financial independence,” “financial control,” “family budget,” and “separate budget.” The results gained through the coding method highlighted three two almost the most common forms of behavior, such as “financial independence” and the opposite to it “financial dependence.” It is followed by three equal groups, such as “family budget,” “financial control,” and “transition to financial independence”. The less common groups are “financial conflict” and “separate budget.”

It can be assumed that three common responses stated that their husbands had previously attempted to control them. However, since these three respondents work now and have financial independence, they can no longer control them. On the other hand, the other two respondents (housewives) mentioned that they were (and they still are) partly or completely dependent on their husbands. Additionally, one respondent (a housewife) emphasized that her husband has full control over her expenses and does not provide her with pocket money.
Another respondent stated that her partner tried to control her money and even pressured her to cover his expenses despite their different financial situations.

Three participants highlighted that they have a separate family budget (cases 16-18), and there is no control over expenses. Furthermore, one female participant (case 15) stated that she earns more money. However, due to a lack of details, the author cannot assume whether there is or was financial control from her side over her husband or not.

Second, it is necessary to underline that this survey highlighted one more significant issue. The classical or traditional family structure in Japan has often involved a division of labor where the husband is the primary breadwinner, while the wife manages the household and family finances (Matsui, 1990; White, 1992; Gordon, 1997; Grady et al., 2019). It has been rooted in cultural norms and society. This financial arrangement can be described as a “family allowance,” where the wife manages the household finances (Matsubara n.d., pp. 514-521; Matsui, 1990; White, 1992; Gordon, 1997; Grady et al., 2019, pp.62-63). To be more precise, it is necessary to provide a few examples below.

For example, Grandy et al. (2019) emphasized that in the 80s and 70s, decision-making on household and childrearing matters in Japanese nuclear family households was consistently led by women (pp. 62-63). On the other hand, the authors illustrated the concept through various cases, such as Yukiko Kondo, who highlighted the existence of Japanese women’s ‘emotional independence,’ not financial independence. However, Kondo also noted that “if anyone in Japan is dependent today, it is men,” emphasizing the financial aspect and the role of men as breadwinners and women’s full or partial financial dependency. Gordon as well underlined that “by the end of the 1960s … the role of the full-time housewife was so well established, and so many young girls studied home economics in middle school, high school, and junior college that corporate programs to teach women to cook and shop hardly seemed necessary” (Gordon, 1997, p.273).

On the other hand, in examining recent trends, Sato Oishi noted that the number of dual-earner couples is increasing (Sato Oishi, 2019, p. 18). However, upon analyzing the graphs provided in her report, it is essential to underline that the category “Husband employed & wife not working” remains almost the same from 1985 to 2016. The categories “Husband employed & wife employed for 35 or more hours/week” or “Husband employed & wife employed for under 35 hours/week” are increasing, and the number of the second group is now almost equal to the first (i.e., “Husband employed & wife not working”). Finally, the group “Husband employed & wife not working” is still relatively small.

Of course, it is impossible to analyze all trends here, but what the author wants to emphasize is, firstly, that the number of single households remains constant while dual households have increased. As seen in the example of Russian-speaking migrants (around 55% do not have stable work (Figure 4.). housewives work less than 35 hours a week, indicating part-time employment. Finally, the trends in households where the husband is the breadwinner seem to persist, reflecting the tradition of Japanese women taking care of the household, a practice that emerged or was highlighted in the 50s and can be assumed to exist partially.

Therefore, it can be presumed that the financial roles within Japanese and international households are changing with time, and more couples are adopting shared financial responsibilities. At the same time, it is evident from the cases illustrated above that Japanese spouses are often reluctant to allow their foreign partners to manage their finances. Furthermore, Japanese spouses/wives tend to control the finances of their Russian-speaking partners or place them in a coercive position.
Finally, among the eight responses in the "other" category, only one respondent mentioned that she controlled her husband's expenses following the Japanese tradition. On the contrary, the rest of the respondents indicated that they were controlled by their spouses/partners or continue to be controlled.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, the research revealed that survey respondents reported a range of situations, highlighting the diversity of abusive behaviors, including psychological abuse, criticism, various forms of violence, financial control, and coercive behavior. This emphasizes the complexity of experiences among participants.

Moreover, the study indicated that many domestic violence victims struggle to differentiate between rude behavior and physical abuse, often conflating these into a single category labeled "rude behavior." Furthermore, even forms of abuse/violence that could be labeled as sexual and physical were added to the one group several times. On top of it, the comparison of answers gained in OEQ and CEQ indicated that there is difficulty in describing the types of violence, making it easier for respondents to choose from a provided list.

Secondly, the study revealed that financial secrecy, control, and abuse are the most common issues. It also illustrated instances of control in the past, financial independence, and variations in financial arrangements. Furthermore, the research showed that dual-earner families are outnumbered, and the traditional Japanese family structure (with the breadwinner husband) is common in these households. It could also be a potential cause of the power imbalances in international households.

Finally, this study recognizes key challenges and outlines directions for future research. Firstly, the limited representation of rural areas, such as Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and Okinawa, among respondents is acknowledged. Second, the study focused primarily on women married to Japanese men, resulting in a smaller number of male participants. Third, the study involved only one member from each household, excluding Japanese partners, aiming to explore Russian-speaking migrants' perspectives on marriage, violence, abuse, and gender roles. Fourth, the research employed non-probabilistic sampling, acknowledging potential bias due to purposeful and judgmental candidate selection.

References


Appendix A

1. Questionnaire and Interview Process:
Step 1: Creation of the Questionnaire
The author formulated the questions for the questionnaire based on the research objectives and specifics of the topic.

Step 2: Trial and Polishing
The original version of the questionnaire was tested in order to provide coherence and relevance to the research goals.

Step 3: Final Questionnaire
The revised version of the questionnaire was finalized. The fieldwork was set in Japan among Russian-speaking migrants (primarily Russian migrants). Both urban and rural areas were represented in this research. However, the prevalence of areas such as Kanto (Tokyo, Chiba, and Yokohama), Chubu or Kansai (Osaka, Nagoya, Kobe, and Kyoto) were significantly higher compared to Hokkaido, Tohoku, Kyushu, and Okinawa.

Step 4: Additional Questionnaire and Invitation to the Interview
The follow-up questions have been included based on the initial responses. Furthermore, 18 participants were invited for the in-depth interview.

Step 5: Interview with Further Iterations

2. Case Study Process
Step 1: Organizing data using manual method
Step 2: Coding into themes
This step includes the identification of passages of text and applying labels to them in order to get clarity and structuralize data associated with some particular thematic ideas.

Step 3: Interpreting
This process includes analytical interpretation of the text

Step 4: Description
This step includes analysis of social situations, providing pieces of evidence of DV and abuse, and bringing depth to the study.

Appendix B

1. Process of Inductive Coding (CDA):
Step 1: Interpretation and Analysis
Inductive coding helped with the interpretation and analysis of the data. By assigning codes to different elements of the text (transcript), the researcher could analyze the underlying relations and forms of abuse/DV.

Step 2: Theory Building
Theory building was essential for CDA in this dissertation. First, it helped to support the author’s theories. Furthermore, it contributed to the development of new conceptual frameworks and the analysis of different patterns represented in the transcripts of respondents’
speeches. Finally, the process of coding in CDA involves systematic analysis of qualitative data, such as text, and categorizing it into codes to identify patterns and themes (topics).

Step 3: Familiarization with Data

Familiarizing with the texts and understanding the context, the participants, and the overall content was essential for further analysis and comparison.

Step 4: Identifying Units (Topics) of Analysis

This step required to break down the text into sentences or keywords.

Step 5: Coding

This step required, first, to assign codes to the units. These codes were representing the key ideas, concepts, or themes present in the transcripts. Second, looking for relationships and connections between the codes. Third, selecting the most relevant codes that contribute to the understanding of the discourse. Fourth, taking notes and writing memos to transcript. These memos were valuable for identifying patterns.

Step 6: Theoretical Sampling

This step required a theoretical sampling. Here the author deliberately selected additional data through the interview to refine her emerging codes. This process helped ensure the robustness and depth of the analysis.

Step 7: Interpretation and Analysis

After completing the coding process, the author moved on to the interpretation and analysis. She presented the coded data, discussed the identified themes, and related them to the broader context of this research objectives.

Appendix C

According to the article Types and Signs of Abuse submitted by the Washington State Department of Social and Health Services, physical abuse is specified as “intentional bodily injury”. Some examples include slapping, pinching, choking, kicking, shoving, or inappropriately using drugs or physical restraints (“Washington State Department…,” n.d.).” On the other hand, rude behavior was described as “a display of disrespect, a breaking of social norms or expectations, a breach of etiquette, or ignoring "accepted" behavior. It can also mean someone behaving inconsiderately, aggressively, or deliberately offensively.”

**Signs of Physical Abuse:**
- bruises, black eyes, welts, lacerations, and rope marks
- broken bones
- open wounds, cuts, punctures, untreated injuries in various stages of healing
- broken eyeglasses/frames, or any physical signs of being punished or restrained
- laboratory findings of either an overdose or under dose medications
- individual's report being hit, slapped, kicked, or mistreated
- vulnerable adult's sudden change in behavior
- The caregiver's refusal to allow visitors to see a vulnerable adult alone