

Domestic Violence Victimization Among High-Income Women

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Doctor of Philosophy

**Domestic Violence Victimization
Among High-Income Women
(高所得女性の家庭内暴力被害)**

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Abstract

Focusing on Japanese and Chinese women with high/above-average income, this study explored their experiences of domestic violence (hereafter referred to as “DV” or “domestic violence” interchangeably) victimization at the hands of their spouse/former spouse and the underlying influencing factors. Domestic violence is the most prevalent form of violence against women and poses a threat to the human rights of victims and their physical and mental well-being. While previous studies and support tended to focus on domestic violence faced by women with low economic power, some studies suggested a possible risk of domestic violence faced by women with a high income. Nevertheless, the background factors and reality of the domestic violence faced by high-income women have not been sufficiently elucidated. Particularly, little research has been conducted on the domestic violence experienced by East Asian high-income women. As economic empowerment and gender equality activities continue to increase in East Asia, including Japan and China, it is necessary to understand the reality and identify risk factors of domestic violence victimization among women who have considerable economic power.

Therefore, considering the literature review and pre-survey through interviews, this study aimed to answer the following research questions: (1) What percentage of high-income women have experienced domestic violence? and (2) What factors influence the experience of domestic violence among high-income women?

To investigate the prevalence of and factors influencing domestic violence victimization among high-income women, this study collected data from high-income women in Japan and China through an online questionnaire survey. Binary logistic regression analysis was used to identify the influencing factors. Subsequently, as a social implementation of the results of the author's previous academic research, this study developed a proposal for initiatives to reduce DV victimization among high-income women and surveyed experts' evaluations of the necessity and feasibility of such initiatives.

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to the research background of the thesis and definitions of relevant terms, and Chapter 2 presents a detailed description of the features of domestic violence against high-income Japanese women. Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of the nature of domestic violence in Chinese society. Chapter 4 proposes initiatives to reduce domestic violence victimization among high-income women and surveys experts' evaluations of the necessity and feasibility of such initiatives. Chapter 5 concludes the study based on the findings of the previous chapters.

Chapter 2 investigates the reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income women in Japan and the influencing factors. The survey results showed that about one in five respondents had experienced physical, economic, and sexual violence at the hands of their spouse/ex-spouse, and about two in five had experienced

psychological violence. Women's adverse childhood experiences, attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies, and quarrels with their spouses/ex-spouses because of these ideologies were the main factors.

Chapter 3 investigates domestic violence victimization and its factors among women of different income levels in China. According to the results, about one-fifth of the respondents had suffered physical, economic, and sexual violence at the hands of their spouses/ex-spouses, and about three-fifths had suffered from psychological violence. Additionally, although the percentage of victimization tended to decrease with an increase in income, there was a slight tendency for it to increase in the highest-income group. Women whose income is higher than that of their husbands are at a higher risk than those whose income is always lower than that of their husbands. Similar to the findings in Japan, respondents' own childhood experiences, attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies, and the fighting they brought about with their spouses were found to be common influencing factors.

In Chapter 4, initiatives to reduce domestic violence victimization among high-income women with expert evaluations are recommended to those involved in domestic violence victim support as the final stage of this study. In terms of the results, the necessity of all initiatives presented in this chapter received a high degree of agreement from experts. The proposal rated both necessity and feasibility as high for the development of child-related support programs. By contrast, the ratings for the feasibility of the other initiatives showed varying degrees of decline. A lack of cooperation with the government was identified as the main influencing factor.

This study has several important findings. First, it revealed the reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income women in Japan and China, which has not been explored in related studies in East Asian countries. Previous studies have reported contradictory results on the relationship between women's economic capacity and their domestic violence victimization, and studies focusing on East Asian high-income women are extremely scarce. In this regard, as summarized above, the results of both Japanese and Chinese studies showed that approximately one-fifth of high-income women had experienced physical, economic, or sexual domestic violence, and many more women had experienced psychological domestic violence. These findings suggest that even women with a high economic capacity may not be free from the risk of domestic violence. Furthermore, this study indicated that the most reported type of domestic violence victimization among high-income female respondents was psychological violence.

Second, this study revealed the domestic violence victimization rates among Chinese women from multiple socioeconomic strata. Little academic research has been conducted on domestic violence against Chinese women and its relevance to their economic powers. The results showed that approximately 27.91 and 62.38% of the Chinese women who participated in this study experienced physical and emotional domestic violence, respectively, which is much higher than the results obtained by the Chinese government.

Third, it is also an important novelty of this research that it statistically clarified the factors causing high-income women to suffer from domestic violence. Previously, there was little empirical research to investigate the influential factors focusing on high-income women. Furthermore, very few studies have analyzed these issues in East Asian countries, including Japan and China. This thesis found that high-income/above-average-income respondents' experiences of physical/sexual/witnessing violence at the hands of elderly family members during childhood, their own approval level of traditional gender ideologies, and quarrels due to different perspectives on traditional gender ideologies between couples were the main factors in surveys conducted in Japan and China.

This thesis makes a significant contribution to academia and practice by revealing the reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income and above-average-income women in Japan and China. The findings of this thesis not only bridge the gap in empirical research on the reality of domestic violence victimization and the factors influencing it among high-income women in East Asian countries, but it also raises some important theoretical and empirical questions that remain for future research. Empirically, for instance, what is the “threshold” for defining that abuse has occurred relative to an interaction that may have produced a negative emotion but does not reasonably constitute domestic violence? Theoretically, do women with different income levels experience different forms of domestic violence?

Moreover, this thesis provides valuable recommendations for better initiatives to support DV victims of domestic violence. The reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income women and the factors influencing it are highlighted in this dissertation, where the results of the influencing factors based on Asian sociocultural contexts provide important perspectives for the field of domestic violence research. The initiatives based on the research presented in this dissertation have important implications for more inclusive support practices for domestic violence victims.

Nevertheless, this study has some limitations that must be considered. For example, a better questionnaire design and larger sample size are needed to improve the accuracy and reliability of the results. The questionnaire design used in this study was limited by the research funding. Additionally, web-based surveys have inherent disadvantages. Future research should be undertaken to eliminate the aforementioned constraints and answer the questions raised in this study.

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List of First Appearance

The following published manuscripts, with additions and revisions, form parts of this paper:

1 . List of published manuscripts

- (1) [Published] Wang, Zixuan, and Takashi Sekiyama. 2023. "Domestic violence victimization among Chinese women and its relevance to their economic power". *Frontiers in Sociology* 8: 1178673. Available online: <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fsoc.2023.1178673>
- (2) [Published] Wang, Zixuan, and Takashi Sekiyama. 2024. "The Background Factors and Reality of Domestic Abuse Faced by High-Income Women: An Online Survey in Japan" *Social Sciences* 13, no. 1: 55. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci13010055>
- (3) [Forthcoming] Wang, Zixuan, and Takashi Sekiyama. 2025. "Necessity and Feasibility Evaluation of Proposals for Reducing Domestic Violence Victimization Among High-Income Women." *Human Survivability Studies*, 5.

2 . Relation to this thesis

The content of Chapter 2 consists of manuscript (2)

The content of Chapter 3 consists of manuscript (1)

The content of Chapter 4 consists of manuscript (3)

Chapter I Introduction

Domestic violence from intimate partners, as a category of violence against women, causes serious physical and psychological damage to the victims. In the academic field, numerous studies have provided different interpretations of the factors influencing domestic violence victimization from different lenses. Among them, the level of economic power of the victims is often regarded as one of the major factors related to their domestic violence victimization. Many studies show that women with low economic power are more vulnerable to domestic violence. The results of some economic support programs also show that increased economic capacity, such as personal income, can reduce the likelihood of women experiencing violence from their intimate partners. On the other hand, there are also a few studies such as Tayna et al. (2019) implying that women with high income may face higher domestic violence risk. The results of a Japanese governmental survey also support this possibility. Nevertheless, the reality and background factors of domestic violence facing high-income women have not been sufficiently unveiled. In particular, there has been little research on domestic violence of high-income women in East Asia, such as Japan and China, although domestic violence is greatly influenced by cultural differences. Overall, the relationship between economic power and domestic violence victimization has not been uniformly concluded, and there remains a scarcity of research focusing on women with high income.

What percentage of high-income women have experienced domestic violence? What are the factors that influence the experience of domestic violence among high-income women? The purpose of this study is to investigate the reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income women and the influencing factors behind it. In particular the study focuses Japan and China where there has been little research on domestic violence focus on high-income women.

This study is supposed to be important for enriching research on domestic violence and providing recommendations for well-rounded policies to support domestic violence victims. If the conventional perspective that abused women tend to come from vulnerable groups, such as the poor, does not fit with the reality completely, it is important to make certain the current situation of women's domestic violence victimization (both poor and wealthy women). With the progress and development of society and gender equality, women's economic status and power are also increasing. It is worrying that high-income women may face with the risk of domestic violence victimization as women with lower economic capacity. Therefore, it is important to identify the reality and factors influencing domestic violence victimization of high-income women in order to develop prevention and support policies. In academic terms, clarifying the factors influencing domestic violence victimization among high-income women has research implications for enriching domestic violence-related research.

1. Literature review

The problem of domestic violence has been studied in various disciplines. A summary of the literature review on the definition, classification, prevalence, and factors associated with domestic violence is presented in this section. Violence against women is a global problem, and in many cases the perpetrators of such violence are women's intimate partners (WHO, 2018). The definition of domestic violence has been defined by international authorities, such as the World Health Organization, the United Nations or the UN Women, which are widely used in academic research. However, the classification of domestic violence and the criteria for classification have not yet been standardized. Besides, there are many studies aimed at exploring the factors influencing women's domestic violence victimization. Some of these factors are transmitted across generations (such as adverse childhood experience), some have economic causes, and others discussed cultural roots (such as customs that treating women as subordinate). Studies show that, in the face of domestic violence victimization, high financial capacity is often seen as a "protective factor": on the one hand, enough financial power can help a woman escape a violent relationship, on the other hand, economic empowerment can reduce domestic violence victimization. Poor women may be more vulnerable to intimate partner violence. However, there are few studies that describe domestic violence victimization among high-income women and the factors that influence it. Furthermore, empirical research is even scarcer in East Asian countries or regions compared to Western societies.

1.1. Definition of violence against women and its prevalence

(1) Definition

According to the definition given by the UN, violence against women is "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (United Nations 1993). It encompasses all physical, sexual, economic and psychological actions or threats of actions that influence another person. Specifically speaking, "physical violence involves hurting or trying to hurt a partner by hitting, kicking, burning, grabbing, pinching, shoving, slapping, hair-pulling, biting, denying medical care or forcing alcohol and/or drug use, or using other physical force. Sexual violence involves forcing a partner to take part in a sex act when the partner does not consent. Emotional violence includes undermining a person's sense of self-worth through constant criticism; belittling one's abilities; name-calling or other verbal abuse; damaging a partner's relationship with the children; or not letting a partner see friends and family. Economic violence involves making or attempting to make a person financially dependent by maintaining total control over financial resources, withholding access to money, and/or forbidding attendance at school or employment (UN Women 2023.). In some cases, domestic violence is also called as "spousal violence" or "intimate partner violence". The term "domestic violence" was used in this study and the classification was derived from the Japanese Cabinet Office's survey

(Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2021). It was divided into physical (e.g., hitting with hands, kicking, or hitting with objects that may cause harm to the body), psychological (e.g., threatening, ignoring, controlling behaviors, and verbal humiliation), economic (e.g., refusing to pay for necessary household expenses and preventing victims from engaging in occupational activities), and sexual violence (e.g., forcing sexual behavior and refusal to cooperate in the use of contraception). Moreover, this thesis focuses on domestic violence that happens within marriage.

(2) The prevalence and outcomes

Although domestic violence can be committed by individuals of any gender, women are the most frequent targets of such abuse (World Health Organization and Pan American Health Organization 2012). According to a multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence conducted by WHO, the proportion of ever-partnered women who had ever experienced physical or sexual violence, or both, by an intimate partner in their lifetime, ranged from 15% to 71%, with most sites falling between 29% and 62%. In Japan, about 15% of ever-partnered women reported experiencing physical or sexual violence, or both, at some time in their lives (World Health Organization, 2005). It is worthy to mention that this research results established many years ago, the current rates may have been increasing these years. In another report, it can be found that the global prevalence of physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence among all ever-partnered women was 30.0% (World Health Organization, 2013). Moreover, the prevalence of exposure to violence is already high among young women aged 15–19 years, suggesting that violence commonly starts early in women's relationships. Then the prevalence progressively rises to reach its peak in the age group of 40–44 years. In one word, domestic violence against women is a global scale issue, no matter with the country or regions, and it has been putting negative impact on a wide range of age group of women. Studies suggest that domestic violence is not only a problem of violence that hurting victims (such as homicide or suicide, injuries, depression, post-traumatic stress and other anxiety disorders and so on) (Lucena et al 2017), but also a problem impeding economy (Goodmark, L., 2018).

1.2 Influencing Factors of Domestic Violence Victimization

In order to comprehensively explain the complex factors behind the occurrence of interpersonal violence, the World Health Organization has proposed "The ecological framework" (World Health Organization 2023). According to this ecological model, domestic violence can be viewed as an outcome of the interactions of individual, interpersonal, social, cultural, and environmental elements. In terms of this point of view, the individual level is the smallest in scope, while the societal level is the largest. The individual level mainly refers to elements that come from personal histories. Elements of the relationship level mainly refer to relationships with peers, intimate partners, and family members, while social relationships are embedded at the community level, which encompasses a wider scope, such as schools and workplaces. Adverse personal histories or demographic factors, abusive relationships, undesirable

communities, and societal environments that accept violence or maintain inequality are all considered risk factors for domestic violence (Dahlberg and Krug 2002). The following conclusions were drawn from previous studies. At the individual level, adverse experiences, such as physical, sexual, or psychological abuse or witnessing violence perpetrated by older family members during childhood, increase the likelihood of victimization (Franklin and Kercher 2012; Vung and Krantz 2009; Whitfield et al. 2003; Sesar et al. 2015; Black et al. 2010; Khalidry et al 2021) or perpetration (Murshid and Murshid 2018; Eriksson and Mazerolle 2015) of intimate partner violence in adulthood. Sociodemographic factors, including fewer educational qualifications (Boyle et al. 2009; Dalal et al. 2009; Bhattacharjee and Banda 2016; Wilson 2015; Kabir, Russell et al 2017), young age (Romans et al. 2007; Harwell and Spence 2000; Vameghi et al 2018; Ahmad et al 2021), unhealthy use of alcohol (Pan American Health Organization 2008; Xu et al. 2005), and acceptance of violence (Uthman et al. 2009; Okenwa-Emegwa et al. 2016), were identified as risk factors. At the relationship level, unsatisfactory marital status, disagreements about traditional gender roles and control in partnerships with income imbalances (WHO 2010), and a higher level of education (Ackerson et al. 2008) are common risk factors for women experiencing spousal violence. At the community and societal levels, adverse community circumstances, such as high levels of poverty or unemployment (Anderberg et al. 2013; Bhalotra et al. 2020; Rahman and Rahman 2021; Benson et al. 2003; Bandara et al 2022; Bhattacharjee and Banda 2016; Jesmin 2017), fewer women with higher education (Mariam 2014; Wang et al 2022), inadequate laws regarding intimate partner violence or marriage (Rahman and Rahman 2021; Kovacs 2018), and traditional gender ideologies that accept/justify violence (Atkinson et al. 2005; Koenig et al. 2003; Rahman and Rahman 2021; Amir-ud-Din and Aziz 2021; Chowdhury et al 2015; Donta et al 2016; Begum et al 2015; Mondal and Pintu 2021), are influencing factors.

(1) Economic Power and Domestic Violence Victimization

In this thesis, the term of “economic power” refers to personal economic capacity represented by personal incomes. Abundant previous studies have shown a sign that poor women may disproportionately experience domestic violence compared with wealthier women. Poverty, working status, and husband's controlling behavior may limit women's resources, lead domestic violence to them or even force them make risky choices. Moreover, it is harder for poor women to against with and leave abusive relationships since there are few methods or access available for them, comparing with wealthier women.

Women with low economic power (Sabri et al. 2014; Laksono et al 2023; Reichel 2017; LaBore et al 2021; Yuan et al 2021; Das et al 2016) and those residing in economically disadvantaged regions (WHO 2021) are disproportionately affected. There are some researches have demonstrated that economic constrains may intensify the problem of violence against women. In other words, women with few social resources are at elevated risk of partner abuse (Pengpid and Peltzer 2016). Research has identified women's weak economic

capacity and their husbands' controlling behaviors as factors of domestic violence (Sabri et al. 2014; Dalal and Lindqvist 2012). An intervention conducted in South Africa also revealed a drop in domestic violence victimization among women who received financial support (Pronyk et al., 2006, p.1981). Higher economic power is said to be helpful to reduce the rate of domestic violence (Roy et al 2024; Haobijam and Singh 2022). A study confirming the claim found that the risk of partner violence among low-income Hispanic subgroups: women with few social resources are at elevated risk of partner abuse (DeKeseredy, W. S. 1995). A national study in India found out that: women's poor economic background, working status, and husband's controlling behavior emerged as strong predictors for domestic violence in India. In detail, results like poor economic status were a risk factor for domestic violence (Dalal and Lindqvist 2012). In a similar way, some research argued that economic vulnerability is highly relevant to understanding both women's exposure to violence and their ability to resist violence in their daily lives. That is to say, on the one hand, the economic vulnerability may result in violence against women, on the other hand, women's exposure to violence making it harder for women to engage in continued economic activities. Whereas, wealthier women may have greater capability to access some formal institutions that might change their situation, such as health services, counseling services, and legal advisers (George, N 2016). Besides, on the interpersonal relationship level, some researchers found that couples who viewed their financial situation pessimistically were 3.5 times more likely to be violent. This provides a clue that poverty may put a negative impact on both men and women, as a result, their behaviors may become violent and then cause violence between intimate partners (Bonnet, F 2015).

Increase of economic autonomy/ability may protect women from spousal violence (Jewkes et al 2017; Ismayilova et al 2017; Campo et al 2020; Shiraz 2016; Ayvaz et al 2018;). Additionally, increased economic power has been linked to decreased experiences of domestic violence (Kaukinen and Powers 2015). A number of studies have highlighted the importance of economic strength/status for women to leave violent relationships or prevent violence victimization. Among these, there are views that point to the increased economic capacity of women as a means of reducing their vulnerability to violence, as well as the negative impact of economic factors on the lack of adequate economic resources leading to violence. For instance, one study showed that financial support outside their marriages can help women leave abusive relationships (Kim et al. 2007). According to an economic analysis of domestic violence, women's incomes and other financial support received from outside the marriage will decrease the level of violence in families (Schrötle, M. and Khelaifat, N. 2011). Improved economic opportunities for women will decrease the level of violence in abusive relationships. Women's improved economic status, represented by higher earnings (Aizer 2010; Kaukinen and Powers 2015; Gibson-Davis et al. 2005) or improved employment status (Chin 2012), leads to a reduction in marital violence. In particular, for women with an education level higher than primary school, economic support programs considerably decrease the risk of experiencing psychological violence from their partners (Hidrobo and Fernald 2013; Hidrobo et al. 2016). An economic theory called bargaining theory argued about how a woman's economic strength influencing her domestic violence experience. The main result is that increasing

a woman's relative wage increases her bargaining power and lowers the level of violence by affecting her outside option. That is, as their income increases, women are more likely to end the partnership if transfers decline and abuse continues (Farmer and Tiefenthaler 1997).

High financial capacity has been seen as a "protective factor" in some studies, but some research suggests that "higher income" may increase a woman's risk of experiencing domestic violence from an intimate partner. A higher income/occupational status may bring about violence from partner (Paul 2016; Kebede 2022; John 2020). The narrowing of the wage disparity between couples occurring due to a rise in the wife's economic power may lead to backlash from the husband, ultimately increasing the risk of domestic violence (Rocca et al. 2009; Krishnan et al. 2010). Some women may be at risk of domestic violence if they earn more than their partners (Abramsky et al. 2019; Melzer 2002; Weitzman 2014; Atkinson et al. 2005; Kayaoglu 2022; Angelucci et al 2020). However, Atkinson et al. (2005) argued that this scenario occurs only when the husband holds a traditional view of the wife's employment. In contrast with the theories considering the higher economic autonomy is crucial and helpful for women to escaping from violent partnership or reducing their violence experience, some studies told different stories. When poor women try to achieve empowerment, it conflicts with their husband's beliefs of superiority, which in turn induces domestic violence against women were conducted (Dalal, K., and Lindqvist, K. 2012). Analogously, the resource theory suggests that violence is an ultimate resource used to derive power within relationships (Pengpid, S. and Peltzer, K. 2016). That is to say, individuals lacking other means of power, such as income or educational status, will be more likely to rely on violence to achieve greater power within the relationship. To support this view, studies analyzed the link between spousal assault and occupational and educational incompatibilities between spouses. They found higher rates of violence among couples in which a woman's occupational status was higher than her husband's status, and a protective effect against violence when a man's resources were much higher than those of his wife (Horning, C. A., McCullough, B. C. and Sugimoto, T. 1981). Similarly, drawing on college student's reports of parental spousal violence, Allen and Straus found that the more a wife's resources exceeded those of her husband, the more likely his perpetration of domestic violence (Allen, C. M. and Straus, M. A. 1980). However, Kalmuss and Straus found the opposite pattern in a national sample of families: men were more likely to engage in severe domestic assaults under the condition of wives' objective dependency (Kalmuss, D. S. and Straus, M. A. 1990). When they feel their masculinity is challenged, violence is a culturally appropriate means for men to exert dominance and control (Campbell, 1993). Thus violence may reaffirm a masculine identity for men who lack other means of demonstrating control and authority (Toby, 1975). Studies have shown that wives who have jobs when their husbands do not or women who have higher incomes compared to that of their spouses are more likely to experience domestic violence. (Macmillan and Gartner, 1999, p.957; Anderson, 1997, p.667; McCloskey, 1996, p.458). Moreover, some studies conducted in Turkey show that women who were employed or had a personal income are more likely to experience intimate partner violence than women without employment or individual income. (Alkan, Ömer, and Hasan Hüseyin Tekmanlı, 2021, p.12; Alkan, Ömer, and Şeyda Ünver, 2021, p.63). Feminist scholars argue that domestic

violence is rooted in gender and power and represents men's active attempts to maintain dominance and control over women (). Debra Umberson, et al did a research on perpetrators of domestic violence, which suggests that acts of violence may result from feelings of low personal control. They find that individuals who have initiated violence against a partner do not differ from individuals who have nonviolent relationships in feelings of personal control (Umberson, D., Anderson, K., Glick, J. and Shapiro, A. 1998). When it comes to the role of violence, some researchers argued that: 'Violence is frequently used to resolve a crisis of male identity'.

As previously noted, while community-level improvements in the economic environment surrounding women (e.g., rising employment status) are considered a protective factor, at the relationship level, women's economic power often interacts with other factors (e.g., their partner's traditional gender ideology regarding unsatisfactory marital status), ultimately having a more complex, and even negative, impact on their domestic violence victimization. In other words, the influence of women's economic power on their experiences of domestic violence is complex and lacks a fixed conclusion.

(2) Traditional Gender Ideologies and their Relationship with Domestic violence

Traditional gender ideologies, which is named as "traditional gender norms" in some literature, in this study are ideas related to "what men should do and what women should do". The attitude toward traditional gender ideologies/ideologies, fights/quarrels between the couples due to different opinions on traditional gender ideologies, and norms that tolerate intimate partner violence are said to be related to domestic violence victimization. First, women who hold challenging attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies are considered risky for experiencing domestic violence. One survey conducted in Japan found that women who have innovative ideas about traditional gender ideologies and take actions contrary to the patterns of the patriarchal male-centric society were the most vulnerable (Ishikawa 2004). Women who have comparatively more resources, such as employment and educational attainment, which challenge traditional gender ideologies, may face a higher risk of intimate partner violence (Hynes 2012; Weitzman 2014). Furthermore, men's conventional attitudes are found to be influential factors (Logoz et al. 2023). Compared with men who accept egalitarian gender thoughts, men with traditional gender thoughts that reinforce men's dominant role within the family are more likely to perpetrate violence (Atkinson et al. 2005). Second, disagreements about traditional gender roles between couples are regarded as a possible trigger (WHO 2010). Abramsky et al. (2019) pointed out that some women contribute more than their partner to the household and argue more over their partner's inability to provide, which challenges the norms that limit women's economic participation and may put those women in danger. The mechanism could be also explained as something that is not allowed by traditional gender ideologies (Rahman and Rahman 2021). Third, traditional gender ideologies deeply embedded in society that accept violence are considered an influential factor for both men's perpetration and women's victimization (Rahman and

Rahman 2021). For example, among the factors fueling violence in South Sudan are a belief that domestic violence is a normal means to discipline a wife. Women, however, are often silent about and rarely report incidents of violence, especially sexual violence, because of the stigma that survivors of sexual violence face. Just like one study established in South Sudan, when a wife invariably quarrels with her husband's other wives or mistresses, she is likely to be beaten by her husband and her father for not being stoical and accepting of her co-wives, and for disobeying her husband's demands (Ali, N. 2011). In another culture relating study, the author argues that from birth, women and men have learned these cultural constructions of gender and sexuality, gender role expectations, values and behavioral norms as part of their world view. Children, male and female, grow up surrounded by aggression and violence and become aggressive adults and, in the case of women, 'learn' how to be the recipient of the violence of others, particularly from their husbands. The author suggested that violence in general and masculine violence against women in particular is culturally embedded in concepts of gender relations and therefore, violence is a learned trait. Gender relations are thus relations grounded in masculine 'power over' the feminine (McPherson, N. 2012).

1.3 Domestic Violence in Japan and China

(1) Domestic violence in Japan

In Japan, approximately 25% of women have experienced domestic violence from their spouse/former spouse as of 2020 (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2021). Although the sample size of high-income women (annual personal income that more than JPY 10 millions) was small, the rate of domestic violence victimization among high-income women was higher than that among women who earned less than JPY one million a year (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2018, 2021). Previous studies have reported on the various features of domestic violence studies and highlighted that Japanese victims are different from those in Western societies. First, it has been about 20 years since Japanese society began to attach importance to the problem of domestic violence and began to take a series of actions, such as raising awareness of domestic violence and introducing more comprehensive laws on domestic violence (Hall 2012). Compared with other advanced societies, the research and statistics on domestic violence in Japanese society are still relatively scarce (Hall 2012). Second, in Japanese society, domestic violence is recognized as an act perpetrated by the abuser for the purpose of controlling the victim (Liem and Roberts 2009). Moreover, domestic violence behaviors are promoted by Japanese cultural traditions, which discourage acts that might lead to shame (Yoshihama 2002). Third, Japanese society is reluctant to report domestic violence (Lukyantseva 2022). Fourth, Japanese female victims of domestic violence bear unique cultural imprints. For example, self-blaming is the usual response when victims encounter domestic violence (Yoshihama 2000). A Japanese woman who lacks the capacity to tolerate pain is considered inferior (Yamawaki et al. 2009). Finally, one study, which aimed to investigate the perceptions of rape among Japanese and American students, found that Japanese students are more likely to promote rape minimization and blame the victim than Americans (Yamawaki

and Tschanz 2005). It is important to consider the cultural background, such as traditional gender ideologies, when conducting studies on domestic violence.

(2) Domestic violence in China

Approximately 18% of the global population of women lives in China (The World Bank, 2021). Nevertheless, the issues of domestic violence against Chinese women as well as their own economic status have not been sufficiently unveiled in research. According to a national survey of women's social status that is conducted every decade in China, ~8.6% of women have experienced physical and emotional violence from their spouse (China Women's News, 2021). However, research investigating the victimization of Chinese women across different economic strata (e.g., based on personal income) has been scarce.

1.4 Research Gap

As stated above, the background factors and reality of domestic violence faced by high-income women have not been sufficiently addressed, although some academic studies contend that economically disadvantaged women are more susceptible to domestic violence. Additionally, empirical research about domestic violence in Japan and China is still scarce, especially studies that utilize statistical methods to investigate and analyze the current situation and factors targeted at high-income women. Despite previous studies emphasizing the importance of taking traditional cultural attitudes/norms into account in research on domestic violence, a lack of empirical research on the specific norms that may affect domestic violence victimization is observed. In addition, there are considerable gaps in studies that comprehensively analyze the factors affecting domestic violence victimization among high-income women in East Asian countries.

2. Research Objectives and Questions

Domestic violence, as stated above, is the most prevalent form of violence against women, and poses a threat to the human rights of victims and their physical and mental well-being. While previous studies and support policies tend to focus on domestic violence facing women with low economic power, some studies suggest the possible risk of domestic violence facing women with a high income. Nevertheless, the background factors and reality of domestic violence facing high-income women have not been sufficiently elucidated. In particular, little research has been conducted on the domestic violence experienced by East Asian high-income women. As economic empowerment and gender equality activities continue to increase in East Asia including Japan and China, it is necessary to understand the reality and identify the risk factors of domestic violence victimization among women who have considerable economic power.

Therefore, the aim of this thesis was to investigate domestic violence victimization among high-income Japanese and Chinese women and the influencing factors. This study enriches the research on domestic violence and provides valuable recommendations for better initiatives to support victims of domestic violence. Taking into consideration the literature review and the pre-survey through the interviews, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

- (1) What percentage of high-income women have experienced domestic violence?
- (2) What are the factors that influence the experience of domestic violence among high-income women?

3. Methodology

In order to investigate the prevalence and influencing factors of domestic violence victimization among high-income women, this study collected data of high-income women in Japan and China through an online questionnaire survey. Binary logistic regression analysis was used to identify the influencing factors. Afterwards, as a social implementation of the results of the author's previous academic research, this study developed a proposal for initiatives to reduce DV victimization among high-income women, and surveyed experts' evaluations of the necessity and feasibility of such initiatives.

3.1 Online questionnaire surveys

The online questionnaires implemented in Japan and in China utilized different language versions of the same questionnaire content, as described in Appendix 1, with language translations completed by the author and reviewed by the supervising professor. The result of the survey in Japan is included in the chapter 2 and that in China is in the chapter 3.

The online questionnaires implemented in Japan and in China utilized different language versions of the same questionnaire content, as described in Appendix 1, with language translations completed by the author and reviewed by the supervising professor. The questionnaire included questions about the respondent's social characteristics (age, education level, education level of spouse/ex-spouse, occupation, number of children, etc.), experience of domestic violence from spouse/ex-spouse, and questions about influencing factors (childhood experience, income gap between the couple, respondent's own favorability of traditional gender concepts, and quarrels with spouse/ex-spouse due to their different perspectives on traditional gender ideologies). The content related to domestic violence behavior was referred to the Cabinet Office questionnaire, and the content related to influencing factors was referred to the prior studies. The questionnaire went through the test of reliability. In addition, taking into account the differences in economic societal development level between Japan and China, as well as the difficulty and cost of conducting the survey, the Japanese survey collected data from one income group nationwide, while the Chinese one collected data from four income groups in Beijing and Shanghai.

Both surveys were distributed and collected under the direction of the authors through large local questionnaire companies. The survey company used in the Japanese survey is called Freeasy, a subsidiary of iBRIDGE, whose online survey monitor can reach 13 million users from registered members of the point sites, survey sites, and applications under the company's management. After completing the questionnaire, users will be given corresponding points, which can be exchanged for gift or discount coupons through the websites or applications. The company will utilize its own unique technology to screen the users in the monitor on a regular basis to ensure that they are always active. Researchers conducting research through the company cannot obtain data containing personal information¹. The questionnaire survey company used for the China survey is called Wenjuanxing. The company's samples come from users of the "Wenjuanxing" product, including free/paid/previously-used active users, with a monthly reach of about 300 million users. To register with the company, members are required to provide real-name authentication and face recognition authentication to determine the authenticity of the source of their samples².

The process of the questionnaire survey included two phases: a pre-survey and a formal survey. The purpose of the pre-survey was to find and screen eligible respondents. In the Japanese survey, the eligible respondents were defined as women with an annual personal income of 10 million yen or more and a history of marriage. A pre-survey questionnaire was sent to 5,000 women with an annual household income of 10 million yen or more using the database of a questionnaire survey company, and 384 respondents with an annual personal income of 10 million yen or more and a history of marriage were selected. In the China survey, based on the average monthly income levels in Beijing and Shanghai released by the local government (see references), the questions in the pre-survey were set as "Which of the following groups does your personal monthly income fall into? A. lower than 3000 CHY, B. 3001~10000 CHY, C. 10001~20000 CHY, D. more than 20000 CHY" and "Do you have any marital history?", and were distributed to women with IP addresses in Beijing and Shanghai. The questionnaire system then distributed the questionnaires for the formal survey to the eligible women who were screened out in the pre-survey.

3.2 Binary logistic regression analysis

Binary logistic regression analysis was used to analyze the results of the online questionnaire surveys and identify the factors that had a statistically significant impact on the respondents' experience of victimization. In the analysis, the dependent variable was set as "whether or not they experienced the domestic violence from their spouse/ex-spouse", and the independent variables were (1) number of children, (2) education level, (3) education level of spouse/former spouse, (4) income gap with spouse/former spouse, (5) history of ACEs, (6) degree of

¹ Referenced to the official website of the Freeasy: <https://freeasy24.research-plus.net/academic/ethical-review>

² Referenced to the official website of the Wenjuanxing: <https://www.wjx.cn/sample/service.aspx>

agreement with gender ideologies, (7) income level (China survey only), and (8) frequency of arguments related to differences in gender ideologies.

In the binary logistic regression model, a statistically significant influencing factor was defined as one that has an odds ratio (OR) value whose p-value is <0.05 . An OR value >1 indicates a positive variation between independent and dependent variables, while an OR value smaller than one, indicates that the effect varies negatively. Furthermore, the OR value represents the level of influence of this independent variable. If the effect of an independent variable is significant, then a variable coded as 1 (e.g., “have children” and “yes, experienced”) is “OR” times more likely to eventually lead to the occurrence of the dependent variable than a variable coded as 0 (e.g., “no children” and “did not experience”). For example, an OR of 2 means that there is a 100% increase in the odds of an outcome with a given exposure. Alternatively, it could be illustrated that there is a doubling of the odds of the outcome. An OR of 0.2 means there is an 80% decrease in the odds of an outcome with a given exposure (Clay, 2018). To determine the model's goodness of fit, this study used the Hosmer–Lemeshow test (H_0 = Observed data and regression model fit well). A p-value exceeding the test level ($p > 0.05$) indicated that the information in the current data was sufficiently extracted, and the model fit was good (Zhou 2020, p. 141–143).

3.3 Interview survey based on structured expert judgement

In order to apply the results of the research to the field of domestic violence victimization support in the practice, this study developed a proposal for initiatives to reduce DV victimization among high-income women, and surveyed experts' evaluations of the necessity and feasibility of such initiatives using the structured expert judgment (SEE) method (John S.E. 2013). In implementing SEE, the author conducted interviews (approximately 1 hour) with domestic violence victim support organizations to obtain their quantitative evaluation for the necessity and feasibility of the proposals as well as qualitative comments and advice. The result of SEE is shown in the chapter 4.

4. Research presentation

Chapter 2 presents a detailed description of the features of domestic violence against Japanese high-income women. Chapter 3 provides a detailed presentation of the nature of domestic violence in Chinese society. These chapters introduce the contents and results of an online questionnaire surveys that were conducted to understand the victimization rate and the factors influencing it among high-income women, and briefly discusses the results on this basis. Chapter 4 introduces a proposal for initiatives to reduce DV victimization among high-income women, and surveyed experts' evaluations of the necessity and feasibility of such initiatives. The initiatives with the expert's evaluation were recommended to those involved in DV victim support as the final stage of this study. Chapter 5 concluded the study based on the findings of the previous chapters.

Chapter II Domestic Violence Victimization among High-Income Women in Japan

In present-day Japanese society, the economic and social status of women is gradually improving. What about domestic violence victimization of women in this context? The results of a Japanese government survey support the possible risk of domestic violence faced by women with a high income (with a JPY 10 million annual personal income or more) (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2018, 2021). However, the sample size of high-income women examined in the government survey was rather small (less than 10 women), and its findings cannot be blindly trusted. In addition, the background factors and reality of domestic violence faced by high-income women have not been sufficiently elucidated. In particular, scarce research has been conducted on the domestic violence experienced by East-Asian high-income women. As economic empowerment and gender equality activities continue to increase in Japan, it is necessary to understand the reality and identify the risk factors of domestic violence victimization among women who have considerable economic power.

Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to investigate physical, psychological, economic, and sexual domestic violence victimization among high-income Japanese women and the influencing background factors. In this chapter, the term “high-income women” is specifically used to refer to those women who have an annual income of more than JPY 10 million, which is approximately 1.1% of Japanese society as a whole (National Tax Agency JAPAN 2021). The first section of this chapter describes the basic situation of domestic violence victimization of women in Japanese society. The second section describes in more detail the specific process of questionnaire survey and data analysis implemented in Japan. The third section lists the results of the distribution of the basic characteristics of the sample data and the statistical analysis. The fourth section provides reflections and discussions on the results of the survey.

1. Background

1.1 Critical review of governmental open data

In the survey conducted by Japanese government (this article shows data for women only), the personal annual income including asset income are divided into 9 layers: less than 1 million yen, 1 to 2 million yen, 2 to 4 million yen, 4 to 6 million yen, 6 to 8 million yen, 8 to 10 million yen, 10 to 15 million yen, over 15 million yen, and no income. However, the number of women with an annual income of 10 million yen or more is only about 10 compared to other income brackets, thus, in this study, the two income brackets than “10 million yen to 15 million yen” and “15 million yen or more” were combined into one, namely “over 10 million yen”

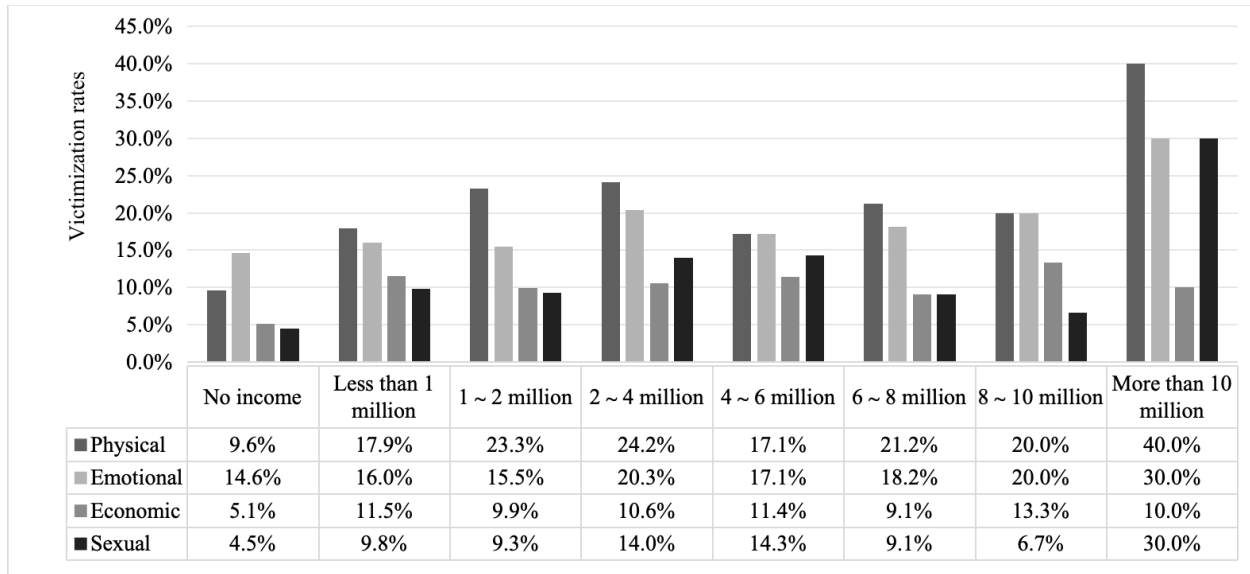


Figure II-1 Cabinet Office "Survey on violence between men and women" (2018)

As shown in Figure II-1, according to the questionnaire survey conducted by the Cabinet Office in 2018, the percentages of high-income women who experienced physical, emotional, economic, and sexual violence from their spouses were 40%, 30%, 10%, and 30%, respectively. It can be seen that, except for economic violence, the proportion of high-income women experiencing domestic violence is higher than that of other lower-income groups.

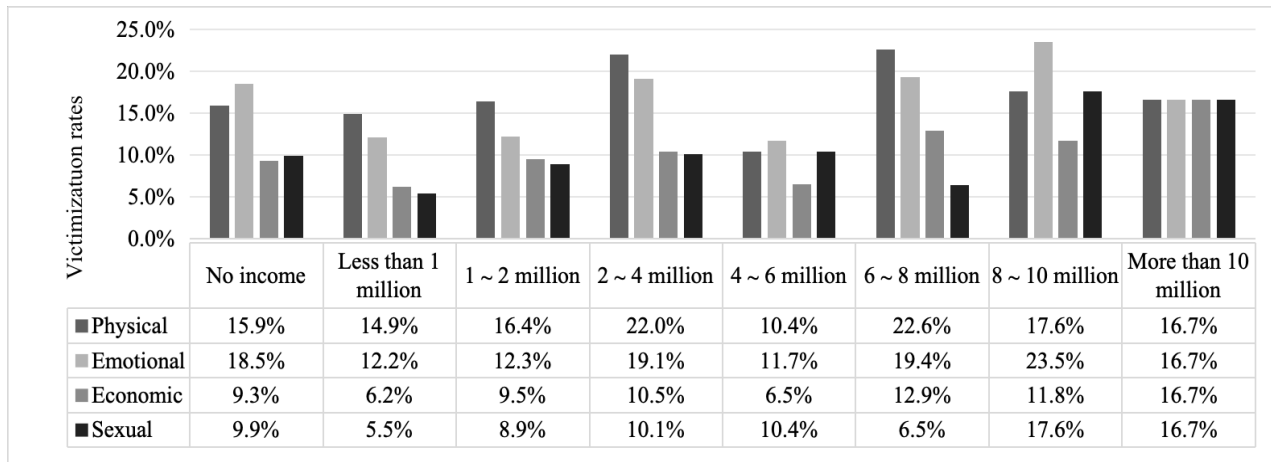


Figure II-2 Cabinet Office "Survey on violence between men and women" (2020)

As shown in Figure II-2, the percentage of high-income women who experienced physical violence, emotional violence, economic violence, and sexual violence in the 2020 survey was all 16.67%. Taken together, the Japanese government's survey data shows that the proportion of high-income women who have experienced domestic

violence is not lower than that of women in other income brackets. However, there are some limitations to this data. The number of high-income women who participated in the questionnaire is extremely small, which may result in large biases.

1.2 Interview with domestic violence counseling and support institutions located in Kyoto city

To pre-investigate the current situation of domestic violence victimization among high-income women in Japan, the author interviewed professionals working in domestic violence counseling and support institutions in Kyoto City (Table II-1). All participants in this interview signed an "informed consent" form. The interview data will be strictly kept and used for research purposes only. There is no violation of privacy protection and humanitarian principles in all interview and data analysis processing. As shown in Table II-2, six questions were used to find out the reality of high-income female victims and factors that influence domestic violence victimization among these high-income women.

Table II-1 Information of domestic violence support institutions interviewed

Name	Agency Type	Interview Date
Wings-Kyoto	Governmental	March 4, 2021
Kyoto Prefectural Gender Equality Center(Ra Ra Kyoto)	Governmental	March 12, 2021
Kyoto City Domestic Violence Support Center	Governmental	March 22, 2021
Kyoto Prefecture Synthesis Family Support Center	Governmental	May 17, 2021

Table II-2 Questions used for interviews on domestic violence victims support institutions located in Kyoto

Questions list of the interview
1. Do you keep track of the income of victims who come to you for help? If so, can this data be used for research purposes? 2. What is the correlation between female domestic violence victimization and income? 3. Some of the governmental open data suggests that higher-income women may be more likely to experience violence from their spouses, are there any high-income women(the annual income is higher than 10 million yen) among the previous visitors? 4. What are the possible influencing factors if high-income women experience domestic violence? 5. What are the opinions about the factors mentioned in the literature? 6. Are there any common characteristics of the victim women?

All the organizations interviewed mentioned that they do not keep records of the income of the victims, so they do not know the victimization of high-income women. In addition, one personal opinion that "since high-income women are a minority in society, it is nearly impossible for normal people to know the real situation" was also raised.

Regarding the question on what factors influence the experience of domestic violence among high-income women, the following responses are seemed to be very informative: First, all interviewees answered that "it is possible" for reasons such as "backlash from men" mentioned in the literature. Second, "the traditional gender ideologies of Japanese society, for instance, 'men are the backbone of a family', may have had an impact on the domestic violence victimization among high-income women. Besides, "the victim's childhood experience may also have some influence". "There are many visitors who have had adverse childhood experiences that have led to possible problems in their perception and handling of intimate relationships." "Many victims hold a very strong sense of 'have to take care of the other person' and are prone to fall into self-blame even if their intimate partner has hurt them." In addition, some common characteristics of the victims may also give an explanation: "I feel that a lot of the victims were nurses and other health care related workers," said one of the interviewees.

From the results of the interviews, it appears that domestic violence counseling and support institutions may not be tracking domestic violence victimization of high-income women. In other words, the answer to the question of what percentage of high-income women have experienced domestic violence is difficult to obtain from these institutions. The results of the interview also imply that some characteristics of high-income women may have an impact on their experiences of domestic violence. Such characteristics, according to the interviews, may include a minority in society, medical-related occupations, traditional gender ideologies that exist in society, adverse childhood experiences, and a strong sense of care giving. Overall, the opinions of people working in the domestic violence counseling and support institutions suggest that further investigations of victims as well as perpetrators are important to gain a deeper understanding the reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income women and the influencing factors behind it.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1. Online Questionnaire Survey

In order to investigate physical, psychological, economic, and sexual domestic violence victimization among high-income Japanese women and the influencing background factors, the author distributed and collected online questionnaires from September to October 2021 via the data platform of a Japanese online questionnaire company that has approximately 13 million reachable users and cooperates with universities in academic research. Survey participants were asked to read a text describing the research outline, voluntary nature of research cooperation, benefits and disadvantages of research cooperation, protection of personal information and handling of data after research cooperation, co-tabulation of research results, and contact information for inquiries. Only those who agreed to cooperate with the survey completed the questionnaire. They could withdraw their cooperation in this study even after they had begun to respond to the questionnaire. This was communicated in writing at the beginning of the survey. The results of the survey were provided anonymously by the questionnaire company to the authors without revealing participants' personal information.

The Japanese Cabinet Office's questionnaire (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2021) was used as a reference for classifying and describing domestic violence behaviors. Items related to the four types of domestic violence, along with the factors that influenced them, were included in the questionnaire. Regarding possible factors influencing exposure to domestic violence, this study considered the results of previous research and built regression models.

The following aspects were included: having had any adverse childhood experiences, a degree of approval of traditional gender ideologies, frequent arguments on differences in opinions regarding traditional gender ideologies (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2012), and wage disparity and its alterations between the participants and their current or previous spouse. For the questions related to frequency, including adverse

childhood experiences and arguments due to different opinions on traditional gender ideologies, answers that contained “often”, “frequently”, or “very frequently” were considered “ever-experienced” by referencing previous studies (Whitfield et al. 2003). Regarding traditional gender ideologies, nine items were included, which were used in previous studies to investigate people’s perceptions of gender ideologies in Japan (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2012; Suzuki 1991, 1994; Yamaguchi 2000). These gender ideologies reinforce men/husbands’ priorities while women/wives are treated as secondary roles. Only one norm, “women should also focus on their professional lives”, was controversial and was used to investigate respondents’ attitudes in an opposite direction. The agreement level of each norm was divided into five levels from “totally disagree” to “totally agree”, and the higher the number of options, the higher the level of agreement. The code of the eighth item, “women should also focus on their professional lives”, was reversed during the analysis process, since its measuring direction was in opposition to other items. The detailed contents of the nine traditional gender ideologies are provided in Appendix 1.

The sociodemographic characteristics of the participants, such as the number of children, education level, and spouse/ex-spouse’s education level, were also included.

The survey was completed in two stages: a preliminary survey and a formal survey. Specifically, the preliminary survey, which included two questions, that is, (a) “Is your annual personal income over JPY 10 million?” and (b) “Have you ever been married?”, was distributed to women with an annual household earning of at least JPY 10 million using the company’s original survey system. The criterion of JPY 10 million per year is the same as that used in the Japanese Cabinet Office’s questionnaire. According to Japan’s National Tax Agency, the percentage of salaried workers in Japan earning more than JPY 10 million per year was 4.9% as of 2021. If a woman earned more than JPY 10 million annually (including asset income) and had a history of marriage (including common law marriage), she was defined as a high-income woman in this study and classified as a participant in the survey. A formal questionnaire was then distributed to these women using the same system in an equal manner. The contents of the questionnaire are presented in Appendix 1.

To ensure the reliability of the survey data, the online survey company uses licensed AI technology to detect and delete users who do not answer the questionnaire seriously. In terms of the reliability of the questionnaire, the Cronbach’s alpha value was 0.845, which met the universal criterion (Lance et al. 2006).

2.2. Binary Logistic Regression Analysis for Influencing Factors of High-Income Women’s Victimization

Binary logistic regression is widely used as a tool for the analysis of relationships between a categorical outcome variable and one or more categorical or continuous predictor variables (Tukur and Usman 2016). In this study, the outcome variable on whether the women had experienced violence was dichotomous; therefore, binary logistic regression analysis was adopted.

The following input variables were included in the regression analysis: the respondents' own education level, the spouse/ex-spouse's education level, the number of children, the wage disparity and consequent changes in the relationship with the spouse/ex-spouse, whether respondents had any adverse childhood experiences, the extent to which respondents agreed with traditional gender ideologies, and whether they had any arguments with their spouse/ex-spouse owing to opposing views on those gender ideologies. The Hosmer–Lemeshow test was employed to evaluate the fitness of each regression model. If the p-value was greater than 0.05, it indicated that the model fit well (Zhou 2020). The significance level for the statistical analysis was set at 0.05.

We hypothesized that the higher the education level of both the respondent and their spouse/ex-spouse, the lower the likelihood of the respondent's exposure to domestic violence. In contrast, adverse childhood experiences, arguments owing to opposing views on traditional gender ideologies, and a higher income than the spouse/ex-spouse would be risky. In terms of the degree of approval of traditional gender ideologies, respondents who held an unconventional attitude, which would challenge the husband's traditional views, may be at a greater risk of victimization.

3. Results

The preliminary survey collected data from 5000 women with an annual household income of JPY 10 million or more, of whom 384 met the criteria for the formal survey. The survey collected data from 360 women, with a recovery rate of 93.75%. One questionnaire was excluded as a respondent indicated that they were male. Therefore, valid data were obtained from 359 respondents. Table II-3 presents the basic information of the sample.

Table II-3 Participants' demographic details

Characteristics	<i>n</i>	%
Education Level of Respondents		
Junior high school	9	2.55
High school	49	13.88
Vocational school/various types of schools	31	8.78
Junior college/technical college	44	12.46
University (other than junior college)	175	49.58
Graduate school	45	12.75
Other	6	1.67
Education Level of Spouse/Ex-Spouse		
Junior high school	8	2.28
High school	50	14.25
Vocational school/various types of schools	17	4.84
Junior college/technical college	17	4.84
University (other than junior college)	191	54.42
Graduate school	68	19.37
Other	2	0.56

Characteristics	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Not sure	6	1.67
Wage Disparity and Alterations		
Always lower or approximately the same ¹	166	46.24
Once lower or approximately the same, now higher	46	12.81
Once higher, now lower or approximately the same ³	50	13.93
Always higher	66	18.38
Not sure	31	8.64
Number of Children		
Zero	103	28.69
One or more than one	256	71.31

3.1. Experiences of the Four Types of Domestic Violence

Among the respondents, 19.22%, 42.90%, 18.11%, and 20.06% had experienced physical, psychological, economic, and sexual violence, respectively (with a tolerance margin of 4–5.1%). Figure II-3 shows the results of the four types of domestic violence victimization.

³ “The same” means that the difference was within 10%.

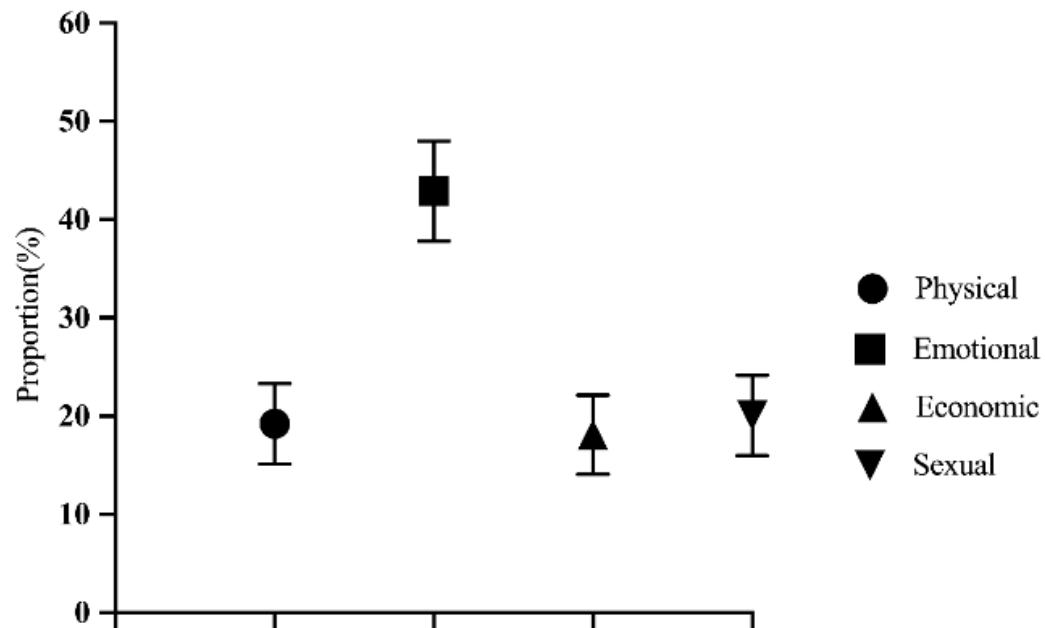
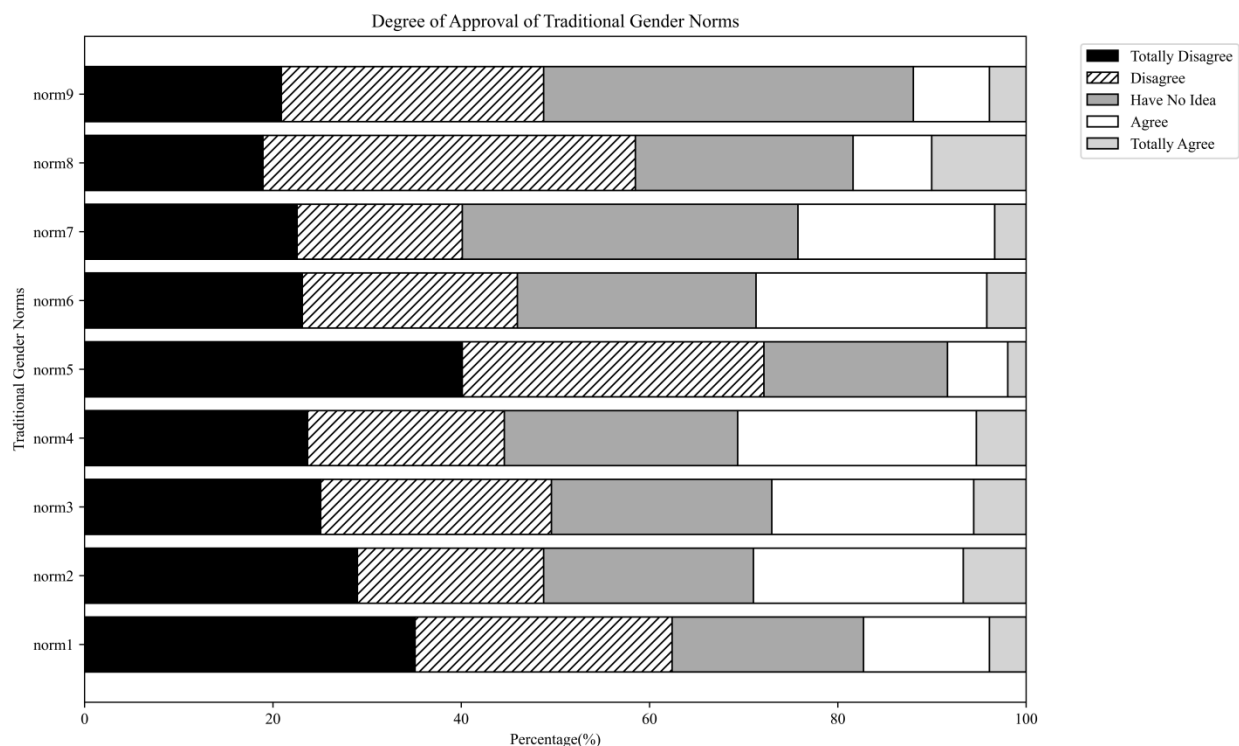


Figure II-3 Error bar chart of domestic violence victimization

3.2. Traditional Gender Norms: Approval Level and Quarrels

Figure II-4 shows the results of the respondents' degrees of approval of traditional gender ideologies. The eighth item was reversely coded. Overall, the proportion of respondents who responded "totally disagree" and "disagree" to the nine norms was approximately 52.37% on average, while the proportion of respondents who chose the options "totally agree" and "agree" was approximately 21.73% on average.



Note.

norm1 = "A husband should take a job outside the home, and a wife should take care of the home"

norm2 = "The man is responsible for providing and protecting his family"

norm3 = "Women do not have to work if they are not economically disadvantaged"

norm4 = "In public, the wife should take the husband's viewpoint as a priority and act accordingly"

norm5 = "Husbands should decide important matters in marriage"

norm6 = "Women are better suited for housework and childcare than men"

norm7 = "Being a housewife is a socially meaningful job"

norm8 = "Women should also focus on their professional lives"

norm9 = "Housewives are better off in many ways than women who work outside the home".

Figure II-4 Degrees of approval of traditional gender ideologies

Regarding quarrels, Figure II-4 shows that 38.72% of the respondents "often" experienced arguments with their spouses/ex-spouses owing to differences in opinions on traditional gender ideologies.

Table II-4 Results of frequency-related questions: adverse childhood experiences and arguments owing to traditional gender ideologies

Questions	Frequency: <i>n</i> (%)				
	Never	Almost None	Often	Frequently	Very Frequently
ACE ⁴ 1	191 (53.20)	50 (13.93)	71 (19.78)	23 (6.40)	24 (6.69)

⁴"ACE" refers to adverse childhood experiences: 1 = physical adverse childhood experiences; 2 = sexual adverse childhood experiences; and 3 = witnessing the mother's experience of physical violence. ² "Quarrels" means arguments between respondents and their spouses/ex-spouses owing to opposing views on traditional gender ideologies.

ACE 2	250 (69.64)	38 (10.58)	43 (11.98)	12 (3.34)	16 (4.46)
ACE 3	236 (65.74)	46 (12.81)	40 (11.14)	22 (6.13)	15 (4.18)
Quarrels ²	117 (32.59)	103 (28.69)	87 (24.23)	28 (7.80)	24 (6.69)

3.3. Respondents' Adverse Childhood Experiences

This study measured three types of adverse childhood experiences: physical abuse by a family member, sexual abuse by a family member, and witnessing their mother/stepmother experiencing physical violence. Table II-4 shows the results of the adverse childhood experiences.

As Table II-4 shows, 32.87%, 19.78%, and 21.45% of participants had experienced physical violence, faced sexual violence from an older family member, and witnessed physical violence against their mothers/stepmothers, respectively.

3.4. Influencing Factors for Victimization

The results of the binary logistic regression analysis for all categories of domestic violence victimization are shown in Table II-5.

Table II-5 Results of the binary logistic regression analysis

Variable	Odds Ratio (95% CI)	<i>p</i> -Value
Physical		
ACE 2	2.187 (1.109, 4.311)	0.024
Quarrels	3.996 (2.152, 7.422)	0.000
A-belief ⁵ 3	1.370 (1.007, 1.866)	0.045
Psychological		
ACE1	2.001 (1.096, 3.652)	0.024
Quarrels	4.721 (2.907, 7.668)	0.000
Economic		
Quarrels	5.225 (2.746, 9.943)	0.000
A-belief 5	1.539 (1.091, 2.170)	0.014

⁵“A-belief” refers to the degree of approval of traditional gender ideologies: 3 = “women are not obligated to work if they do not face economic disadvantages”; 5 = “important decisions in a marriage should be made by husbands”; and 4 = “in public settings, it is expected that the wife prioritizes her husband’s viewpoint and behaves accordingly”.

Variable	Odds Ratio (95% CI)	p-Value
Edu-spouse ⁶ 1	14.168 (2.185, 91.853)	0.005
Edu-spouse 2	2.719 (1.131, 6.535)	0.025
Sexual		
ACE 1	2.519 (1.212, 5.235)	0.013
ACE 2	2.226 (1.112, 4.456)	0.024
Quarrels	7.150 (3.735, 13.687)	0.000
A-belief 4	0.671 (0.482, 0.933)	0.018

3.4.1. Quarrels Owing to Opposing Views on Traditional Gender Norms

As Table II-5 shows, among all four types of domestic violence victimization, “quarrels between respondents and their spouses/ex-spouses owing to different opinions on traditional gender ideologies” was a significant influencing factor. Domestic violence was more likely to affect respondents who frequently argued with their spouses or ex-spouses. Physical violence was four times more likely to occur in the former group. The probabilities of psychological, economic, and sexual violence to occur were 4.7, 5.2, and 7.2 times more, respectively.

3.4.2. Degree of Approval of Traditional Gender Norms

The significance of respondents’ degree of approval of traditional gender ideologies was reflected in physical, economic, and sexual violence. For physical violence, the higher the level of respondents’ degree of approval of the traditional gender norm that “women are not obligated to work if they do not face economic disadvantages”, the higher their risk of experiencing physical violence. Those who were 1 unit higher in favor of this norm were 1.4 times more likely to experience physical violence than those who were 1 unit lower. Regarding economic violence, when respondents’ degree of approval of the idea that “important decisions in a marriage should be made by husbands” rose by 1 unit, the possibility of victimization was 1.5 times that before. Regarding sexual violence, when the degree of approval of the ideology that “in public settings, it is expected that the wife prioritizes her husband’s viewpoint and behaves accordingly” decreased by 1 unit, the possibility of respondents experiencing sexual violence was 1.5 times higher than before.

3.4.3. Adverse Childhood Experiences

Except for economic violence, adverse childhood experiences significantly influenced physical, psychological, and sexual violence victimization. Respondents who had these experiences were more likely to become victims than other respondents. In terms of physical violence, respondents who had experienced sexual

⁶ “Edu-spouse” refers to the education level of the respondents’ spouse/ex-spouse: 1 = junior high school; 2 = high school.

violence during childhood were 2.2 times more likely to encounter physical violence during adulthood. Regarding psychological violence, respondents who had experienced adverse physical childhood experiences were 2.0 times more likely to experience psychological domestic violence. Both adverse physical and sexual childhood experiences significantly influenced sexual violence. Respondents who had adverse physical and sexual childhood experiences were 2.5 and 2.2 times more likely to encounter domestic sexual violence, respectively.

3.4.4. Education Level of Spouse/Ex-Spouse

Compared with university-level respondents, those whose spouse/ex-spouse graduated from junior high school or high school faced a higher risk of experiencing economic violence. For respondents whose spouse/ex-spouse's education level was junior high school, the likelihood of experiencing economic violence was 14.2 times higher compared with respondents whose spouse/ex-spouse graduated from university. For respondents whose spouse/ex-spouse's educational level was high school, the experience of economic violence was 2.7 times more likely to occur.

4. Discussion

4.1. The Prevalence of Domestic violence among High-Income Women in Japan

According to the Japanese government, the prevalence of domestic violence against Japanese women is approximately 25% (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2021). Although women belonging to different personal income brackets, from no income to JPY 10 million annually or more, were included in the survey, the sample size of high-income women was extremely small. Moreover, empirical studies of domestic violence in Japan are needed (Hall 2012). To obtain a deeper understanding of the issue of domestic violence against women in Japanese society, this study examined the reality of domestic violence experiences among high-income Japanese women with a history of marriage. The findings revealed that approximately one-fifth of the participants had experienced physical, economic, or sexual domestic violence, and two-fifths of them had experienced psychological domestic violence. This implies that even women with a high economic capacity may not be free from the risk of domestic violence, whereas women with low economic power may receive much more attention from both academia and domestic violence support agencies in Japan. Furthermore, the most commonly reported type of domestic violence was psychological abuse. This raises important theoretical (e.g., what is the “threshold” for defining that abuse has occurred relative to an interaction that may have produced a negative emotion but does not reasonably constitute domestic violence, as it has generally been conceptualized in the literature?) and empirical questions (e.g., do different income-level women experience different forms of domestic violence?).

4.2. Impact Factors That Contributed to Victimization

4.2.1. Similarities to Previous Studies

Although the studies referenced in this research were mostly conducted in non-East-Asian societies, the results of the binary logistic regression analysis yielded several factors consistent with those of previous studies. According to prior research, women who had experienced physical and sexual violence and witnessed adverse childhood experiences were twice as likely to experience intimate partner violence than those who did not (Whitfield et al. 2003). In addition, quarrels with spouses/ex-spouses owing to different views on traditional gender ideologies (Abramsky et al. 2019) or unsatisfactory married life (WHO 2010) were found to be significantly related to domestic violence. In this study, adverse childhood experiences and quarrels were both common factors, while quarrels influenced all four types of domestic violence victimization. This suggests that there are similarities in the impact factors between Japanese and other non-East-Asian female victims.

4.2.2. Education Levels of Respondents' Spouse/Former Spouse and Themselves

Regarding the influence of education level, previous studies have pointed out that at the community level, a low proportion of women with high education levels are accompanied by higher domestic violence cases (Marium 2014). At the individual level, a low education level poses a risk (Boyle et al. 2009; Dalal et al. 2009). At the relationship level, women having higher education levels compared with their husbands is considered to be a threat (Ackerson et al. 2008). Besides, husbands' education level has an inverse association with women's likelihood of experiencing domestic violence (Ghimire et al 2015; Basar and Demirci 2018; Ahmad et al 2022; Dhungel et al 2017; Atteraya et al 2015; Murshid et al 2016; Kaur et al 2020). In this study, compared with the university level, the lower education level of a spouse/ex-spouse was riskier for respondents. However, respondents' education levels did not have a significant impact on any type of domestic violence. This implies that a higher education level may fail to reduce the risk of domestic violence among high-income women.

4.2.3. Attitude toward and Quarrels Regarding Traditional Gender Norms

Traditional gender ideologies closely connected to gender inequality may worsen the prevalence of domestic violence (Atkinson et al. 2005; Koenig et al. 2003; Rahman and Rahman 2021). Traditional gender perceptions are thought to have an impact on domestic violence victimization among women who have greater resources than their husbands (Hynes 2012; Weitzman 2014). Research shows that Japanese women who have novel attitudes toward and act in conflict with traditional patriarchal male-centric norms are the most vulnerable (Ishikawa 2004). However, exactly what type of traditional gender ideologies influence women's experiences of domestic violence victimization remains to be explored. This study examined high-income women's attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies rooted in Japanese society. The findings indicate that respondents with

conventional attitudes are at a higher risk of victimization. Particularly, higher agreement levels with norms, such as “women do not have to work if they are not economically disadvantaged” and “husbands should decide important matters in marriage”, are risky. This implies that women with supportive attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies that emphasize men’s priorities, even those who are economically independent, are at risk. However, respondents with a lower agreement level with the norm that “in public, the wife should consider the husband’s viewpoint as a priority and act accordingly” are more likely to experience sexual domestic violence. Being economically capable does not mean that women are necessarily opposed to traditional attitudes nor does being supportive of traditional attitudes imply that women are safe from domestic violence. These results show that a complex relationship exists between high-income women’s attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies and their victimization. Further research that encompasses a more comprehensive range of traditional gender ideologies is needed to further explore this relationship.

Women arguing with their husbands is treated as unacceptable in some cultures; therefore, women may face physical abuse as a punishment or may tend to remain silent when they encounter domestic violence (WHO 2010; Abramsky et al. 2019; Rahman and Rahman 2021; Ishikawa 2004). In this study, respondents who “often”, “frequently”, or “very frequently” quarreled with their intimate partners, which resulted from the different perspectives on the traditional gender ideologies mentioned in the questionnaires, faced a higher risk of experiencing domestic violence. It is worth mentioning that specific differences in perspectives, such as respondents having completely opposite attitudes to those of their spouse/former spouse, both the respondents and their spouse/former spouse holding supportive/unsupportive attitudes but at different levels, or defining the gender ideologies in different ways, were not tested in this study. This study hints at a complex mechanism between high-income women’s domestic violence victimization, their approval attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies, and their experience of arguments with their spouse/former spouse over traditional gender ideologies. It may be possible that both high-income women who are traditional regarding gender ideologies and those who argue with their spouse/former spouse because of unconventional attitudes toward gender ideologies are at a risk of facing domestic violence. Moreover, it may not be necessarily true that only women who have unconventional gender ideologies argue with their spouse/former spouse. Further research is required to determine the specific mechanisms.

Despite the fact that an intricate connection exists between women’s economic status and their exposure to domestic violence, high-income women in this study reported a comparatively high proportion of victimization, with some impact factors mentioned in previous studies that did not yield statistical significance. On the one hand, women with limited economic capacity are at great risk of domestic violence from their spouses (Anderberg et al. 2013; Rahman and Rahman 2021; Dalal and Lindqvist 2012). On the other hand, women with higher economic capacity are also at risk. This may be because a woman’s relatively high economic power or status triggers resentment in her spouse, leading him to use violence to “control” her (Atkinson et al. 2005). In addition, backlash from men over women’s increased economic power and accusations or pressure from wives with higher incomes

are considered possible influencing factors (Chin 2012). In other words, the income gap between couples and its variation appears to be an important influencing factor (Atkinson et al. 2005; Abramsky et al. 2019; WHO 2010). Nevertheless, respondents' relative economic status within their intimate relationships did not yield significant results in this study. Is this difference due to the uniqueness of Japanese culture? Is it caused by the high-income women's situation (e.g., fixed ideas or attitudes on income disparity) that is distinct from that of "normal" women? Or is it only a one-time analysis result? Further studies are required to address these questions.

4.3 Limitations

This study has certain limitations. First, owing to the features of the online questionnaire survey, false answers could not be sufficiently determined. Additionally, this study used a pool of participants from a Japanese online survey company; therefore, individuals who lacked Internet access or were beyond the reach of the company's platform were excluded from the survey. Second, the design of the questionnaire and data analysis methods require further refinement. For example, although the Hosmer–Lemeshow test was used to test the fitness of the binary logistic analysis model, it could be possible that there was collinearity between reports of quarrels and reports of psychological violence, which was not considered further. Also, a larger size of sample is required to obtain more reliable results. Finally, the main theoretical underpinning of this study was derived from previous studies conducted in non-East-Asian countries/regions, which may not comprehensively explain the findings of this research.

Chapter III Domestic Violence Victimization among High-Income Women in China

Approximately 18% of the global population of women lives in China (The World Bank, 2021). Nevertheless, the issues of domestic violence against Chinese women as well as their own economic status have not been sufficiently unveiled in research. According to a national survey of women's social status that is conducted every decade in China, approximately 8.6% of women have experienced physical and emotional violence from their spouse (China Women's News, 2021). However, research investigating the victimization of Chinese women across different economic strata (e.g., based on personal income) has been scarce. This presents a critical void with regard to clarifying the reality of worldwide domestic violence victimization. In particular, the relationship between women's economic capacity and their domestic violence victimization has not been clearly answered in previous studies.

This chapter, therefore, aimed to investigate domestic violence victimization among Chinese women having different levels of personal income and its influencing factors. These specific research questions were formulated. How many percentages of Chinese women have experienced domestic violence? What is the distribution of domestic violence victimization rates among them with different incomes? Does the rate of domestic violence vary based on women's income? What factors contribute to experience of domestic violence among these women? To answer these questions, this study conducted an online questionnaire survey in China and analyzed the influencing factors with a binary logistic regression model.

1. Materials and Methods

1.1 Online questionnaire survey

The study data were obtained from questionnaires that were distributed and returned through a Chinese online questionnaire company; the study period stretched from August 25 to September 8, 2022. According to this company, approximately 10 million people answer questionnaires via its own platform. In order to ensure the sample source's reliability, only members who have passed the real name verification and keep active could be identified as valid (Wen Juan Xing, 2023). The major contents of the questionnaires used in this study referred to the Japanese Cabinet Office's questionnaire on domestic violence between spouses, and because of the simplicity of identifying the presence or absence of marital history, the subjects of this study were defined as women with a history of marriage. The procedure mainly included two steps: a screening survey and an official survey. In the screening survey, one questionnaire asked questions about gender (male or female) and intimate relationships (single/dating/married with no children/married with children/divorced/widowed) were used to build a sample frame for the official survey. With the limitation of funding, only two cities were included in the sample frame. Accordingly, women who lived in Beijing and Shanghai, which are two prosperous cities of China, and had current

or previous marital status were selected as targets through the screening survey. Then simple random sampling was used to collect data from four income brackets. Every woman in the sample frame received the official survey questionnaire sent by the platform automatically in an equal manner. When the samples reached the required quantity, specialists of the company were responsible to exclude invalid answers. For example, to check if the user is answering the questions carefully, pop-up questions will appear on the screen while the questionnaire is being filled out. Moreover, a reasonable response time was also used to filter the answers.

One Chinese governmental data source (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2021) showed that the average monthly income in Beijing and Shanghai were 11199 CNY and 10500.5 CNY, respectively. Therefore, this study's observed income brackets were divided into four groups: almost no income (3000 CNY per month), under average income (3001–10000 CNY per month), average income (10001–20000 CNY per month), and above average income (more than 20000 CNY per month). The questionnaire contained items regarding experience of domestic violence and its influencing factors (see Appendix 1).

This study collected 412 valid samples from different income brackets in Beijing and Shanghai, China. Regarding the sample size determination, the data were collected from the four income groups as much as possible with the limited financial funding. Consequently, about 100 valid samples from each income group were collected.

1.2 Binary logistic regression analysis

This study adopted binary logistic regression analysis to reveal the factors influencing domestic violence victimization among Chinese women. The experiences of physical, emotional, economic, and sexual violence were set as the dependent variables. This study developed regression models for each of these four types of violence and ran the selected analysis for each income group. Referring to a similar survey conducted by the Japanese Cabinet Office (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2021) and literature related to the above-mentioned influencing factors, this study's independent variables included respondents' (1) number of children, (2) education level, (3) education level of spouse/former spouse, (4) income gap with spouse/former spouse, (5) history of ACEs, (6) degree of agreement with gender ideologies, (7) income level, and (8) frequency of arguments related to differences in gender ideologies. The assignment of variables is shown in Appendix 2.

In the binary logistic regression model, a statistically significant influencing factor was defined as one that has an odds ratio (OR) value whose p-value is less than 0.05. An OR value greater than 1 indicates a positive variation between independent and dependent variables, while an OR value smaller than one, indicates that the effect varies negatively. Furthermore, the OR value represents the level of influence of this independent variable. If the effect of an independent variable is significant, then a variable coded as 1 (e.g., “have children” and “yes, experienced”) is “OR” times more likely to eventually lead to the occurrence of the dependent variable than a variable coded as 0 (e.g., “no children” and “did not experience”). For example, an OR of 2 means that there is a

100% increase in the odds of an outcome with a given exposure. Alternatively, it could be illustrated that there is a doubling of the odds of the outcome. An OR of 0.2 means there is an 80% decrease in the odds of an outcome with a given exposure (Clay Smith, 2018).

To determine the model's goodness of fit, this study used the Hosmer–Lemeshow test (H_0 = Observed data and regression model fit well). A p-value exceeding the test level ($p > 0.05$) indicated that the information in the current data was sufficiently extracted, and the model fit was good (Zhou, 2020, pp.141-143).

2. Results

The basic information of the participants, including their education levels, education level of spouses/former spouses, income gap and its changes between couples, and number of children are presented in Table III-1.

Table III-1 Basic information of the participants: China

Characteristics	n	%
Income Group		
Almost no income	103	25.00
Below average	102	24.76
Average	103	25.00
Above average	104	25.24
Education ^a		
Junior high school	4	0.97
Vocational high school	4	0.97
High school	15	3.64
Junior college	59	14.32
University	264	64.08
Master' s	64	15.53
Doctoral	1	0.24
Other	1	0.24
Education ^b		
Junior high school	12	2.91
Vocational high school	6	1.46
High school	11	2.67
Junior college	71	17.23
University	231	56.07

Characteristics	n	%
Master' s	72	17.48
Doctoral	9	2.18
Other	0	0
Have no idea	0	0
Income Gap and Changes ^c		
Always lower/about the same ^d	239	58.01
Once lower/about the same but now higher	63	15.29
Once higher but now lower/about the same	89	21.60
Always higher	18	4.37
Have no idea	3	0.73
Number of Children		
None	50	12.14
One or more	362	87.86

Note. ^aEducation level of respondents. ^bEducation level of respondents' spouse/former spouse. ^cThe comparison between respondents themselves and their spouse/former spouse. ^dThe difference was within 10%.

2.1 Domestic violence experiences across different income levels

Figure III-1 presents analysis results regarding ever domestic violence victimization across the income groups. As the figure shows, victimization involving all types of violence was found to be highest in Income Group 1, which is the lowest income bracket. Furthermore, a slightly upward trend with regard to physical and emotional violence was observed in the highest income bracket (Income Group 4).

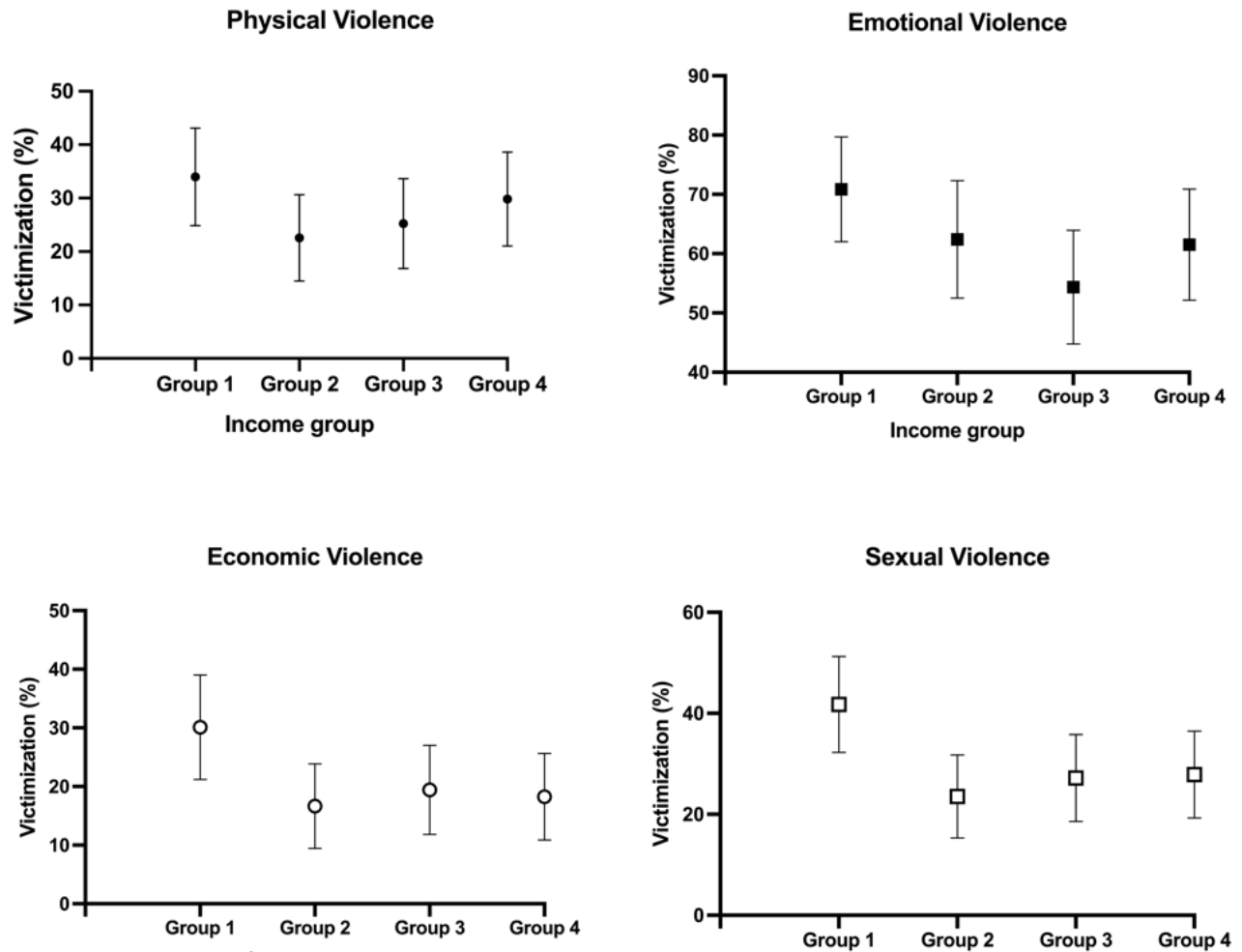
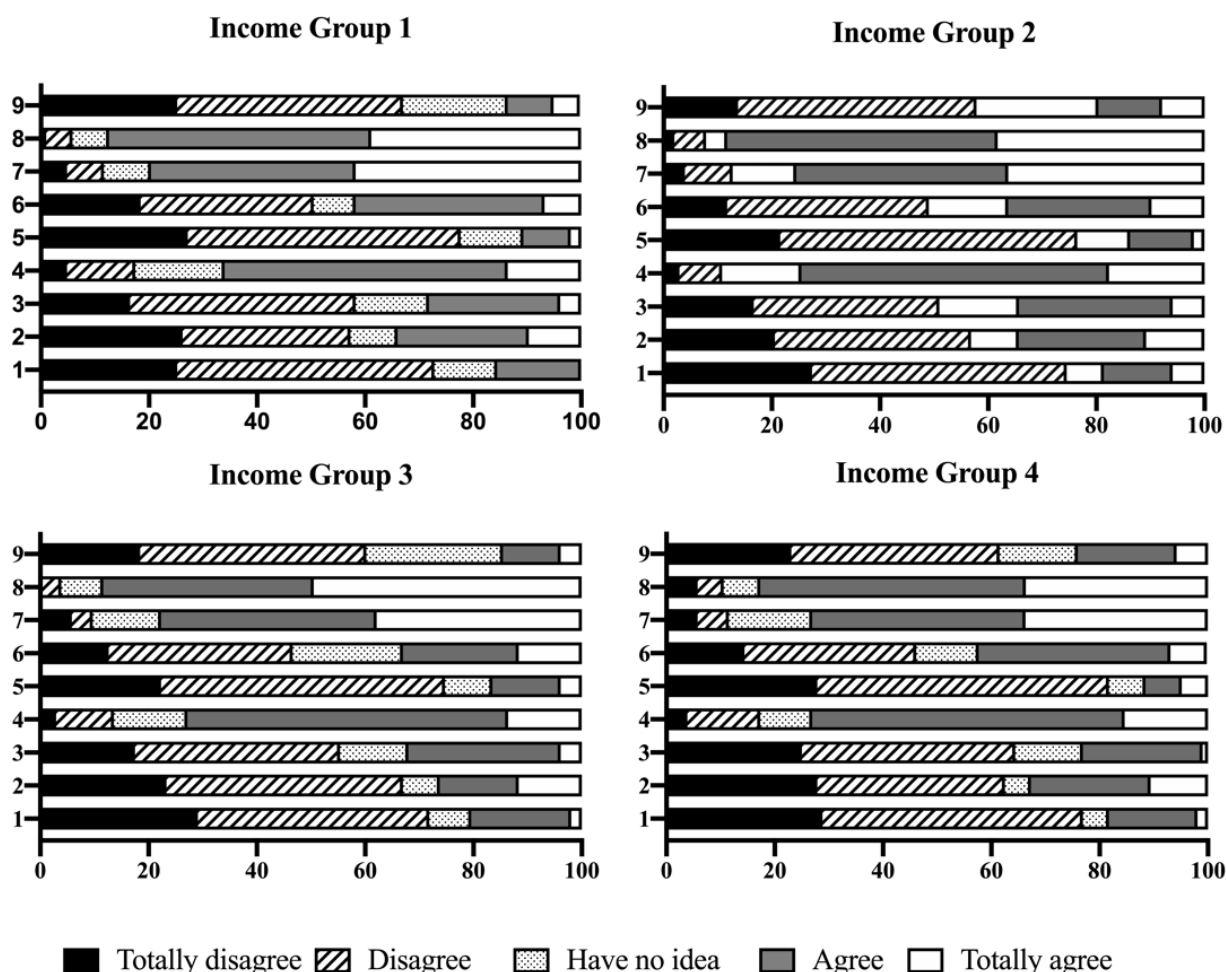


Figure III-1 Results of domestic violence victimization: China

2.2 Gender ideologies

The analysis results for agreement levels regarding gender ideologies across the income groups are shown in Figure III-2. Among the nine gender ideologies listed in the questionnaire, the following ideologies gained approval among respondents in all the income groups: “In public, the wife should take the husband’s viewpoint as a priority and act accordingly,” “Being a housewife is a socially meaningful job,” and “Women should also focus on their working lives.” Although the levels were diverse, all the income groups showed a disapproving attitude toward the other ideologies in the questionnaire.



X-axis: Agreement level(%)

Y-axis: Gender ideologies. The numbers 1 to 9 refer to the following:

- 1= A husband should take a job outside the home, and a wife should take care of the home
- 2= The man is responsible for providing and protecting his family
- 3= Women do not have to work if they are not economically disadvantaged
- 4= In public, the wife should take the husband's viewpoint as a priority and act accordingly
- 5= Husbands should decide important matters in marriage
- 6= Women are better suited for housework and childcare than men
- 7= Being a housewife is a socially meaningful job
- 8= Women should also focus on their professional lives
- 9= Housewives are better off in many ways than women who work

Figure III-2 Agreement level of gender ideologies: China

Figure III-3 presents the results of the frequency of arguments in relation to different perspectives regarding gender ideologies. As the figure shows, the frequency of arguments was highest in Income Group 1 and

decreased sequentially in Income Groups 2 and 3. As the lowest frequency of arguments was observed in Income Group 3, the frequency of arguments increased in Income Group 4, which was lower than that in Income Group 1.

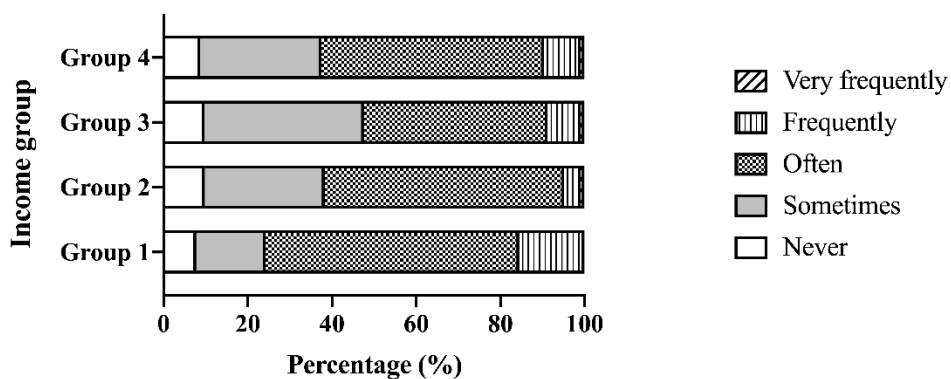
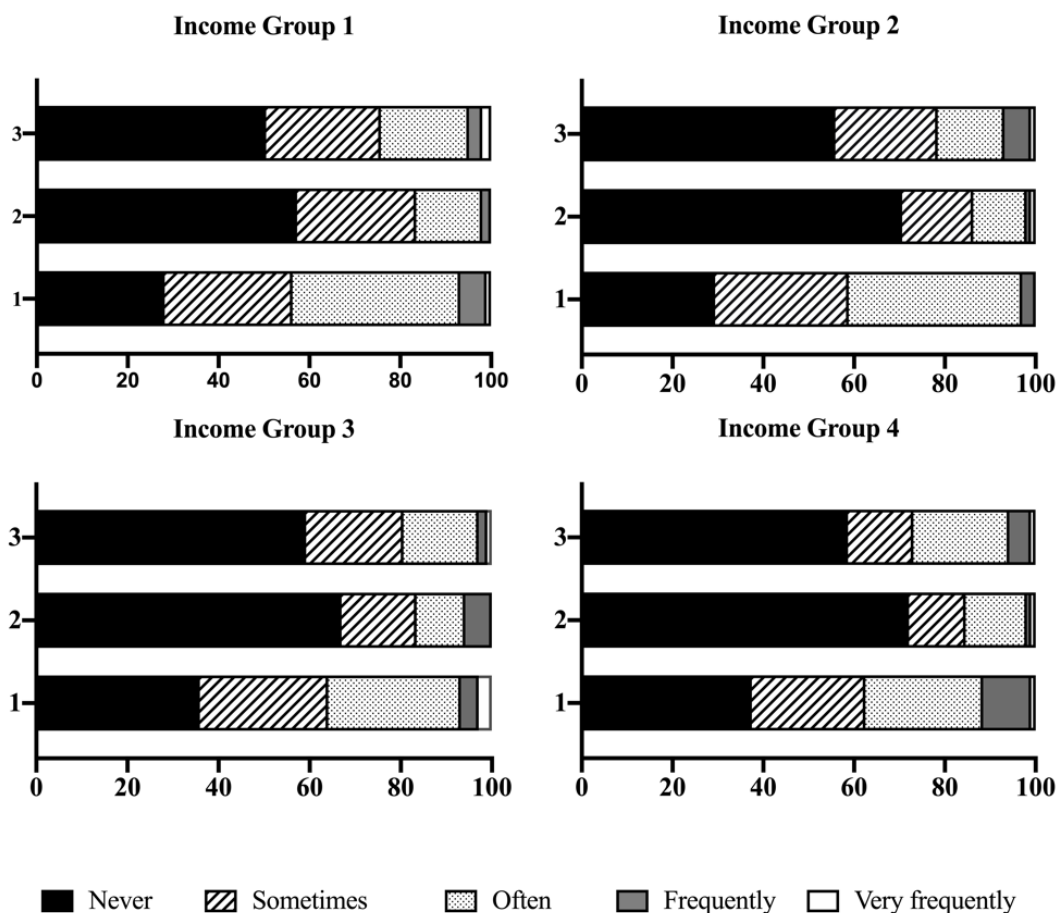


Figure III-3 Frequency of arguments due to gender ideologies by income group

2.3 Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs)

Figure III-4 shows the history of ACEs in each income group. Income Group 1 had the highest rate of physical ACEs. The highest rates of experiencing sexual ACEs and witnessing ACEs were found in Income Groups 3 and 4, respectively.



X-axis: Frequency of adverse childhood experiences (%)

Y-axis: Adverse childhood experiences(ACEs). The numbers 1 to 3 refer to the following:

1= Experience of physical violence from older family members during childhood

2= Experience of sexual violence from older family members during childhood

3 = Experience of witnessing violence against mother/stepmother from family members during childhood

Figure III-4 History of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs)

2.4 Influencing factors

2.4.1 Differences in income levels

In the income group with “almost no income,” there were two major risk factors for physical violence, three for emotional violence, four for economic violence, and two for sexual violence victimization (Table III-2).

Table III-2 Binary regression analysis results of Group 1

Category	Significance	OR	95% C.I. for OR	
			LL	UL
Physical				
ideoF	0.028	4.385	1.172	16.409
ideo ^a 2	0.008	1.715	1.154	2.549
Emotional				
ideoF	0.033	3.344	1.102	10.144
ideo2	0.024	1.634	1.067	2.503
ideo6	0.048	1.510	1.003	2.272
Economic				
ACEs	0.002	6.566	1.958	22.015
ideo1	0.042	1.861	1.023	3.384
ideo3	0.007	1.921	1.195	3.087
ideo8	0.020	2.539	1.156	5.576
Sexual				
ACEp	0.017	2.975	1.217	7.271
ideo8	0.019	2.200	1.138	4.254

Note. OR = Odds Ratio. CI = confidence interval. LL = lower limit. UL = upper limit. ideoF = quarrels owing to differences in perceptions of gender ideologies.^a Approval level of gender ideologies: 1 = Husbands should work outside the home, and wives should protect the home; 2 = It is the man's responsibility to provide for and protect his family; 3 = Women do not have to work if they are not economically disadvantaged; 6 = Women are better suited for housework and childcare than men; 8 = Women should also focus on their professional lives. ACEs = Experience of sexual violence from older family members during childhood. ACEp = Experience of physical violence from older family members during childhood.

Among these, approving attitudes toward certain gender ideologies were found to be risk factors for every type of domestic violence. Regarding the group that had “below the average” incomes, one risk factor for economic violence and two factors each for the other types of domestic violence were observed (Table III-3).

Table III-3 Binary regression analysis result of Group 2

Category	Significance	OR	95% C.I. for OR	
			LL	UL
Physical				
ideoF	0.008	7.919	1.696	36.981
ideo ^a 9	0.028	0.469	0.239	0.921
Emotional				
ideoF	<.001	5.670	2.243	14.334
ideo2	0.025	1.690	1.068	2.676
Economic				
ideoF	0.037	5.278	1.109	25.127
Sexual				
ideoF	0.028	3.787	1.151	12.459
ideo7	0.038	0.611	0.383	0.972

Note. OR = Odds Ratio. CI = confidence interval. LL = lower limit. UL = upper limit. ideoF = quarrels owing to differences in perceptions of gender ideologies. ^aApproval level of gender ideologies: 2 = It is the man's responsibility to provide for and protect his family; 7 = Being a housewife is a socially meaningful job; 9 = Housewives are better off in many ways than women who work outside the home.

Furthermore, this is the only income group where ACEs did not wield any significant influence. For the group with “average level” incomes, three risk factors for physical violence, four for emotional violence, one for economic violence, and three for sexual violence were considered significant (Table III-4).

Table III-4 Binary regression analysis result of Group 3

Category	Significance	OR	95% C.I. for OR	
			LL	UL
Physical				
ACEs	0.013	5.011	1.399	17.947
ACEm	0.019	5.272	1.320	21.058
ideo ^a 1	0.015	1.959	1.137	3.377

Category	Significance	OR	95% C.I. for OR	
			LL	UL
Emotional				
ACEm	0.035	6.667	1.144	38.862
ideoF	0.003	4.137	1.646	10.398
ideo5	0.040	0.570	0.334	0.975
ideo7	0.010	1.786	1.147	2.783
Economic				
ACEs	0.042	3.579	1.045	12.260
Sexual				
ACEm	0.040	3.877	1.061	14.164
ideoF	0.017	3.699	1.263	10.833
ideo5	0.027	0.478	0.248	0.921

Note. OR = Odds Ratio. CI = confidence interval. LL = lower limit. UL = upper limit. ideoF = quarrels owing to differences in perceptions of gender ideologies. ^aApproval level of gender ideologies: 1 = Husbands should work outside the home, and wives should protect the home; 5 = Husbands should decide important matters in marriage; 7 = Being a housewife is a socially meaningful job. ACEm: Experience of witnessing violence against mother/stepmother from family members during childhood. ACEs: Experience of sexual violence from older family members during childhood.

ACEs formed the most frequently observed risk factor. For the group with “above average” incomes, the number of influencing factors for physical, emotional, economic, and sexual violence were three, three, two, and three, respectively (Table III-5).

Table III-5 Binary regression analysis result of Group 4

Category	Significance	OR	95% C.I. for OR	
			LL	UL
Physical				
ACEs	0.029	3.798	1.145	12.593
ideo ^a 4	0.037	0.558	0.322	0.967
ideo5	0.003	2.621	1.38	4.977

Category	Significance	OR	95% C.I. for OR	
			LL	UL
Psychological				
ideoF	0.047	2.436	1.013	5.857
ideo7	0.014	1.775	1.124	2.805
ideo9	0.041	0.584	0.349	0.977
Economic				
ACEs	0.023	4.485	1.226	16.407
ideoF	0.024	6.223	1.276	30.363
Sexual				
ACEs	0.008	5.269	1.556	17.847
ideo6	0.028	1.720	1.059	2.794
ideo7	0.012	2.061	1.169	3.635

Note. OR= Odds Ratio. CI = confidence interval. LL = lower limit. UL = upper limit. ideoF = quarrels owing to differences in perceptions of gender ideologies. ^aApproval level of gender ideologies: 4= In public, the wife should take the husband's viewpoint as a priority and act accordingly; 5= Husbands should decide important matters in marriage; 6 = Women are better suited for housework and childcare than men; 7 = Being a housewife is a socially meaningful job; 9 = Housewives are better off in many ways than women who work outside the home. ACEs: Experience of sexual violence from older family members during childhood.

2.4.2 Arguments regarding gender ideologies

Arguments that stemmed from different perspectives regarding gender ideologies were the most common risk factor across all the income groups. As shown in Tables III-2 to III-5, women who frequently argued with their spouses/former spouses were more likely to experience domestic violence than those who did not argue or rarely argued with their spouses/former spouses. Specifically, the former were 143.6% to 691.9% more likely to experience intimate partner violence.

2.4.3 Approval levels for specific gender ideologies

In this survey, the favorable/unfavorable tendencies for each of the nine gender ideologies did not differ significantly across the four income groups. Overall, approving attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies (e.g.,

“The man is responsible for providing and protecting his family,” “A husband should take a job outside of the home, and a wife should take care of the home,” “Women do not have to work if they are not economically disadvantaged,” etc.) was risky for subjects participating in this survey, especially for Income Group 1, where the number of traditional gender ideologies that wielded a significant influence was more than those in the other income groups. Nevertheless, different scenarios were observed. First, support for certain gender ideologies was found to be a protective factor against domestic violence among the study participants. As Table III-4 shows, when agreement levels regarding the gender ideology that “husbands should decide important matters in marriage” increased by one unit, women in Income Group 3 were found to be 43.0% and 52.2% less likely to experience emotional and sexual violence from their spouses, respectively. With every unit increase in the degree of agreement with the gender ideology that “housewives are better off in many ways than women who work outside the home,” women in Income Group 2 (Table III-3) were found to be 53.1% less likely to experience physical violence, and women belonging to Income Group 4 (Table III-5) were found to be 41.6% less likely to suffer emotional violence from their spouses. Furthermore, support levels for the same idea brought about opposite effects on victimization in different groups of women. On the one hand, in Income Group 2, as the preference for the gender ideology that “being a housewife is a socially meaningful job” increased by each unit, women in that group were found to experience a 38.9% decrease in the likelihood of experiencing sexual violence. On the other hand, in income groups 3 and 4, for every unit increase in approving attitude toward this idea, the possibility of women experiencing emotional violence was found to increase by 78.6% and 77.5%, respectively. Furthermore, women belonging to Income Group 4 were 106.1% more likely to experience sexual violence.

2.4.4 Women’s income

As Table III-6 shows, when all the income brackets data were inputted into the model, income level was found to be a significant factor with regard to sexual violence. Compared to women belonging to the group with “almost no income,” women with “below-average” income were 57.1% less likely to experience sexual violence. The groups with “average level” incomes and “above-average” incomes were 47.9% and 46.0%, respectively, less likely to experience sexual violence.

Table III-6 Binary regression analysis result: all income groups considered

Category	Significance	OR	95% C.I. for OR	
			LL	UL
Physical				
ideoF	0.028	4.385	1.172	16.409

ideo ^a 2	0.034	1.238	1.016	1.508
Incomegap ^b (2)	0.010	2.020	1.182	3.453
Incomegap(3)	0.008	3.780	1.426	10.022
Emotional				
ideoF	0.033	3.344	1.102	10.144
ideo2	0.004	1.335	1.098	1.622
ideo3	0.025	1.265	1.029	1.556
ideo7	0.011	1.293	1.062	1.576
Economic				
ACEs	0.002	6.566	1.958	22.015
Sexual				
ACEp	0.017	2.975	1.217	7.271
ideo2	0.017	1.260	1.042	1.522
income ^c (1)	0.006	0.429	0.235	0.784
income(2)	0.029	0.521	0.290	0.935
income(3)	0.037	0.540	0.302	0.964

Note. OR= Odds Ratio. CI = confidence interval. LL = lower limit. UL = upper limit. ideoF = quarrels owing to differences in perceptions of gender ideologies. ^aApproval level of gender ideologies: 2 = It is the man's responsibility to provide for and protect his family; 3 = Women do not have to work if they are not economically disadvantaged; 7 = Being a housewife is a socially meaningful job. ^bIncome gap and its changes between respondents and their spouses/former spouses (all compared with "always lower/about the same"): (2) = once higher than husband but now lower/almost the same; (3) = always higher than husband. ^cIncome group (all compared with income Group 1 ["almost no income"]): (1) = below average; (2) = average; (3) = above average. ACEp: Experience of physical violence from older family members during childhood. ACEs: Experience of sexual violence from older family members during childhood.

2.4.5. Income gaps within couples

When all of the income bracket data were combined, the income gaps within couples presented a significant influence on physical violence victimization (see Table III-6). Women whose incomes were "once higher than that of the husband but now lower/almost the same" and "always higher than that of the husband" were found to face a higher risk of physical violence than women whose incomes were "always lower than/almost the same as that of the husband." Specifically, women with incomes that were "once higher than that of the husband but now lower/almost the same" were 102.0% more likely to experience physical violence from their spouses. For women with incomes that were "always higher than that of the husband," this possibility was 278.0%.

3. Discussion

3.1 Prevalence of domestic violence against Chinese women

This survey found that about 27.91%, 62.38%, 21.12%, and 30.15% of women experienced physical, emotional, economic, and sexual violence, respectively, from their spouses/former spouses; these figures are much higher than the data reported thus far (China Women's News, 2021). This suggests that such cases may be under-reported in Chinese society.

3.2 Domestic violence experiences across different income levels

Domestic violence victimization rates among the four income groups were close (see Figure III-1), even between the lowest and highest income groups. Furthermore, a slight upward tendency regarding physical and emotional violence victimization was observed in the highest-income group. Overall, it is hard to say that women with higher incomes are safer from domestic violence than lower-income women.

3.3 Influencing factors

Although the vast majority of references about influencing factors were drawn from the literature of Western societies, the findings suggest a commonality between experiences of domestic violence among women from both Eastern and Western sociocultural backgrounds and contexts. Binary logistic regression analysis showed that ACEs, arguments between couples because of their different opinions regarding gender ideologies, and approval levels toward specific gender ideologies were common significant factors for domestic violence across all income brackets. When each income group was examined separately, most of the risk factors identified in past research on domestic violence in Western societies were found to have a significant impact.

When all income brackets were considered, the income levels of women and income gaps within couples were found to be significant factors. This study found that a higher personal income level functioned as a protective safeguard against sexual domestic violence for respondents though it had no significant influence on the other types of violence. Contrary to this finding, some studies mentioned that women who were employed were prone to be exposed to sexual violence compared with women who have no job (Alkan, Ömer, and Hasan Hüseyin Tekmanlı, 2021, p.12). Furthermore, respondents whose income was higher than that of their husbands were more likely to experience physical domestic violence than respondents whose income was lower than/nearly the same as that of spouses/former spouses. This result is partly consistent with some implications from previous studies. One study found that narrowing the wage gap between men and women led to a reduction in domestic violence rates (Aizer, 2010, p.1847). On the other hand, another study found that women who earned more than their partners could face greater risks of physical and sexual intimate partner violence (Abramsky et al., 2019, p.11). Thus, this current study's result implies a worrying sign that, as an increasing number of women begin to participate in the workplace

in Chinese society and the economic status of women continues to rise, the risk of domestic violence may also follow an upward trend within the family.

In addition to financial ability, ACEs were linked to future experiences of domestic violence in adulthood. Similar results were found in some previous studies (Franklin and Kercher, 2012, p.195; Vung and Krantz, 2009, p.710; Whitfield et al., 2003, pp.176-178). This revealed the importance of providing healthy growing-up environments for girls; this will allow them to build healthier marriages in adulthood.

Furthermore, arguments within couples with regard to different perspectives on traditional gender ideologies as well as women's attitudes toward these concepts were both confirmed to be influencing factors. Previous studies have indicated that men's opinions regarding gender ideologies (Atkinson et al., 2005, p.1145) and tensions within couples (Abramsky et al., 2019, p.11) were factors influencing women's domestic violence victimization. This study investigated women's attitudes toward gender ideologies as well as their arguments with spouses/former spouses. It found that arguments regarding gender ideologies formed a domestic violence risk factor for the respondents, regardless of their income level. On the other hand, a higher level of agreement with traditional gender ideologies could place women in unsafe situations; this was especially the case for those who belonged to the lowest income group ("almost no income"). Among them, a higher agreement level toward gender ideologies that valued the voice of men or the role of housewives in the family led to increased domestic violence risk factors. Furthermore, approving attitudes toward specific ideologies may create different influences on risk of domestic violence among different income groups.

3.4 Limitations

This study has several limitations that must be considered. First, the design of the questionnaire and data analysis methods require further refinement. The questionnaire was directly translated from the Japanese survey (see Chapter 2), which may not fully capture the situation in China due to cultural differences between the two countries. Second, the nature of online questionnaire surveys presents inherent limitations, such as the potential for undetected false responses, restricted access to individuals outside the network and the participant pool of the online survey company, and other related constraints. Furthermore, the sample size needs to be expanded to ensure more reliable results and conclusions.

Chapter IV Necessity and Feasibility Evaluation of Proposals for Reducing Domestic Violence Victimization Among High-Income Women

1. Introduction

As discussed in previous chapters, the victimization experiences of high-income female victims of domestic violence have not received sufficient attention, either in academia or on the front lines of support. Therefore, as a social implementation of the author's previous academic research, a project-based study was conducted to formulate proposals for the government and support organizations aimed at reducing domestic violence victimization among high-income women. Additionally, interviews with domestic violence support organizations were conducted to examine the necessity and feasibility of these proposals (see Table IV-2). The timeline of the project is shown in Table IV-1.

Table IV-1 Timeline of implementation

Dates	Contents of implementation
January~March	Proposal finalized, evaluation sheet designed
April~May	Ethical reviews
June~July	Interviews
July~August	Working paper

Table IV-2 Proposals for Reducing Domestic Violence Among High-Income Women

1. Proposals for the Government		Not necessary at all → Very necessary Difficult to implement → Easy to implement										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1-1	Raise public awareness that domestic violence can affect anyone, regardless of economic status, education, occupation, or nationality. Encourage victims to seek help without the preconceived notion that "high-income women = strong women = capable of solving problems independently."											
1-2	Develop educational, outreach, and psychological counseling programs for children to foster a nurturing family environment and build healthy parent-child relationships.											
1-3	Support empirical research and strengthen evidence-based policymaking by further clarifying the background factors of domestic violence victimization and formulating policies that address victims' needs.											

1-4	Develop a standardized assessment sheet to gauge victims' perceptions and level of agreement with gender ideologies. Collaborate with support organizations to enhance consultation and support services.											
2. Proposals for Spousal Violence Counseling and Support Agencies		Not necessary at all → Very necessary										
		Difficult to implement → Easy to implement										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2-1	Create an accessible support environment for victims of all backgrounds, without the assumption that "high-income women = strong women = able to solve problems independently."											
2-2	Develop evidence-based support measures using both qualitative (e.g., anonymized consultation records) and quantitative (e.g., income groups, frequency and duration of victimization) data. Establish a database to address the needs of victims with diverse characteristics.											
2-3	Strengthen collaboration between public institutions, private organizations, and academic research institutions to enhance understanding of domestic violence victimization among high-income women and share information while ensuring personal data protection.											
2-4	Organize regular workshops and seminars for couples on gender ideology and related topics.											
2-5	Provide psychological counseling for children who have experienced domestic violence.											

2. Methodology

2.1 Proposals for reducing domestic violence victimization among high-income women

An online questionnaire survey conducted in Japan (presented in Chapter 2) found that approximately one-fifth of high-income Japanese women (earning more than 10 million JPY annually) had experienced physical, economic, or sexual violence, while two-fifths had experienced emotional violence from their spouse or former spouse (Wang and Sekiyama 2024). Similarly, regular surveys on spousal and dating violence conducted by the Cabinet Office (Gender Equality Bureau, 2018; 2021) reported that domestic violence victimization among high-income Japanese women ranged from 20% to 40%, a higher rate than that observed in lower-income groups.

However, a preliminary investigation conducted by the author revealed that even professionals working in domestic violence counseling and support institutions were largely unaware of this issue. Many professionals stated, "High-income women are a very small demographic; we rarely encounter them in our daily work, so we are unsure about their domestic violence victimization rates." This lack of awareness raises concerns that domestic violence victimization among high-income women remains hidden from public attention.

Therefore, proposals 1-1 and 2-1 (Table IV-2) aim to raise awareness of domestic violence victimization among high-income women and create a more accessible support environment for all victims. Furthermore, to enable further research and evidence-based policymaking, proposals 1-3, 2-2, and 2-3 were formulated (Table IV-2)

Research findings indicate that adverse childhood experiences (e.g., physical or sexual abuse, or witnessing family violence), adherence to traditional gender ideologies, and conflicts between couples over differing views on traditional gender roles are key factors contributing to domestic violence victimization among high-income women. To apply these findings to policymaking and victim support services, proposals 1-2, 1-4, 2-4, and 2-5 were developed (Table IV-2)

2.2 Interview survey based on semi-structured expert judgement

To evaluate the necessity and feasibility of the draft recommendations, the author visited spousal violence counseling and support organizations, obtained the consent of the person in charge to cooperate in the survey, and conducted interviews and analysis using the semi-structured expert judgment method (John S.E. 2013). Specifically, the author conducted interviews (approximately 1 hour) with domestic violence victim counseling and support organizations to obtain a quantitative rating on a scale of 0 to 10 for the necessity and feasibility of the proposed recommendations, as well as qualitative comments and advice (see Table IV-2).

When it comes to the subjects, this study planned to approach to governmental institutions located in Tokyo, where high-income women might possibly live in.

2.3 Interview survey: evaluation of necessity and feasibility for proposals

In Japan, domestic violence victims can seek help in the following main ways: (1) by seeking legal protection through the local courts; (2) by seeking counseling or support through the police, governmental support centers, or nongovernmental support organizations; and (3) by obtaining advice or help from the public, such as that of doctors (Japanese Law Translation Database System 2001). An overview of the domestic violence support system in Japan is shown in Figure IV-1.

Despite this support system, research has pointed out several challenges, including fragmented services, a lack of specialized expertise, and difficulties in providing victims with one-stop assistance. Additionally, studies highlight that non-governmental support organizations play a crucial role in supporting domestic violence victims but face challenges such as inadequate financial and policy support (Kitanaka 2017).

The target respondents of the interview survey are counseling and support agencies, not other entities that provide assistance to victims, such as courts or hospitals. For the convenience of description and to avoid unnecessary difficulties in understanding, the term “center” will be used to refer to governmental support agencies, and the term “organization” will be used to refer to non-governmental support agencies.

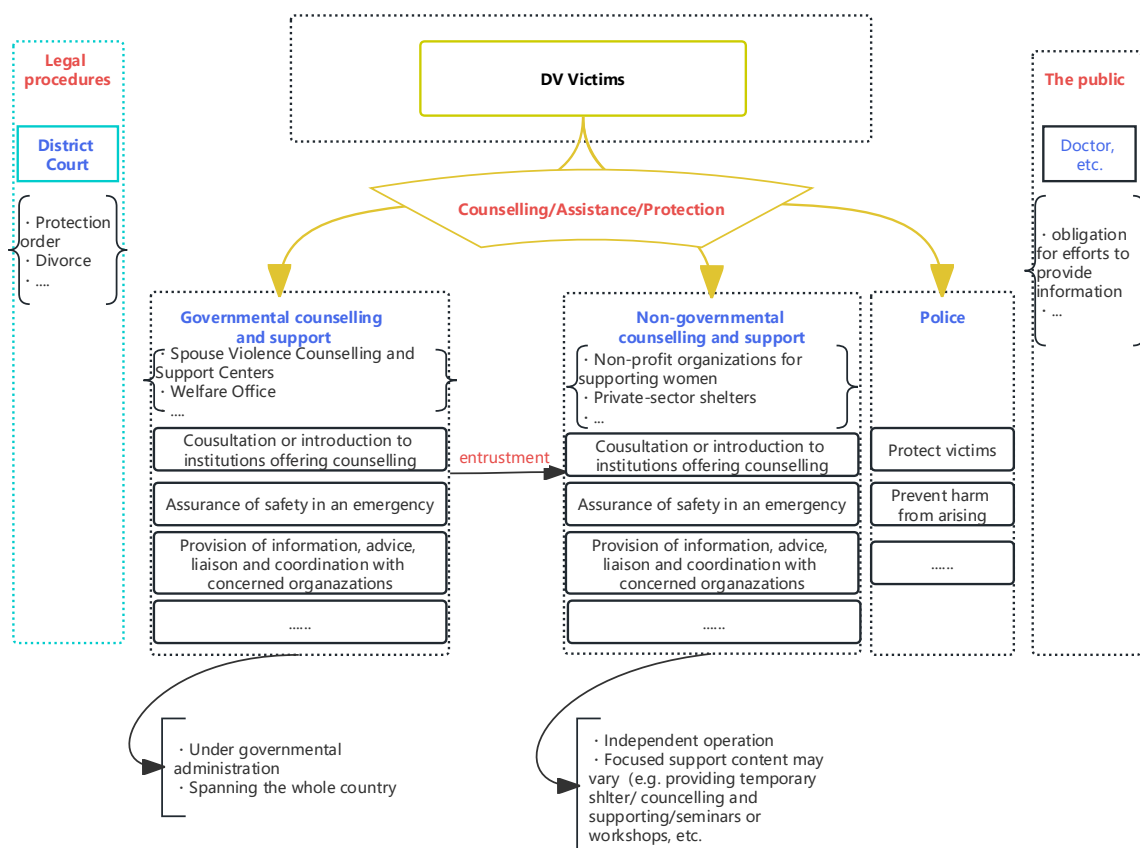


Figure IV-1 A brief overview of the domestic violence victims support system in Japan⁷

To understand the necessity and feasibility for the proposals stated above, interview with domestic violence victims counseling and support centers/organizations was conducted in this research. As shown in Table

⁷ This chart is mainly intended to show the characteristics of government and non-government domestic violence victim support organizations, please refer to the following links for more details: https://www.gender.go.jp/english_contents/mge/violence/act.html

IV-3, this study approached 24 centers/organizations in total. Ethical review was accomplished before reaching out to these organizations. All of the targeted organizations were asked to sign the written consent document if they accept the interview, and informed that they can quit the survey at any point without any impairment of interests. The total length of the interview was approximately one hour. In total, 6 non-profitable organizations accepted the interview.

During the interview, the author explained the survey design and evaluation table firstly, then interviewees started to evaluate the necessity and feasibility for proposals on a scale of 0 to 10. During this process, interviewees can express their comments or opinions about each of the proposals freely. Finally, the author recorded interviewees' comments or suggestions.

Table IV-3 Basic information of targeted institutions

Domestic violence counseling and support centers/organizations	Type	Location	Response
a	governmental	Tokyo	refuse
b	governmental	Tokyo	refuse
c	governmental	Tokyo	refuse
d	governmental	Tokyo	refuse
e	governmental	Tokyo	refuse
f	governmental	Tokyo	no response
g	governmental	Tokyo	no response
h	governmental	Tokyo	no response
i	governmental	Tokyo	no response
j	governmental	Tokyo	no response
k	governmental	Tokyo	no response
l	governmental	Tokyo	no response
m	governmental	Tokyo	no response
n	governmental	Tokyo	no response
o	governmental	Tokyo	no response
p	non-governmental	Tokyo	refuse
A	non-governmental	Kobe	accept
B	non-governmental	Kobe	accept
C	non-governmental	Tokyo	accept
D	non-governmental	Yamaguchi	accept
E	non-governmental	Sendai	accept
F	non-governmental	Kyoto	accept
G	governmental	Kyoto	no response

2.4 Online workshop with domestic violence counseling and support practitioners

To convey the proposals and the results of the interview survey to domestic violence victims' support practitioners, the author invited practitioners and held an online workshop. These practitioners include managers of private women's shelters, as well as managers or staff from other women's support organizations involved in domestic violence support. On July 26, the author held an online workshop to present the contents and results of the PBR, and practitioners who specialize in support for victims of domestic violence came together to exchange ideas. The workshop lasted one hour and consisted of two parts: a presentation by the author and a free discussion among the participants. The presentation consisted of the authors' research findings to date and the analysis of the interview survey. Practitioners expressed their opinions and suggestions in the free discussion session.

3. Results

3.1 Approaches to governmental support centers were all failed

As the city with the highest per capita income in Japan, the governmental domestic violence victim support centers in Tokyo were selected as the main targets of this PBR. The main contact information of these governmental centers can be found on their official websites: mailing address, telephone number, and an internal inquiry form. The author first sent a request for survey cooperation through the website's internal inquiry form, but due to functional limitations, it was impossible to add a document to support the description of the survey content, and only a limited number of text descriptions could be used. Afterward, in order to increase the success rate of interviews, the author mailed paper copies of the necessary explanatory documents and survey request letters to centers in the top 10 administrative districts in terms of their levels of per capita income. In the end, interview requests were sent to a total of 15 governmental domestic violence support centers located in Tokyo (see Table IV-3, organizations “a” to “o”).

In terms of results, none of the centers accepted the survey (see Table IV-3, organizations “a” to “o”). Except for the centers that did not respond, those that explicitly refused to be interviewed listed the following main reasons: (1) worrying that the victims' personal information would be disclosed during the interview; (2) worrying that the content of the academic survey would be too difficult to answer; (3) only accepting requests for surveys through the university; and (4) a full schedule, etc.

3.2. Necessity and feasibility of the proposals

The PBR conducted six interviews (see Table IV-3, organizations “A” to “F”) and collected 5 evaluation sheets back in total. The six organizations interviewed were all non-governmental counseling and support organizations. These include women's shelters that provide temporary housing, organizations that mainly provide counseling and peer assistance as well as hold seminars or workshops, and women's support organizations that also offer counseling and support for victims of domestic violence. The results of necessity and feasibility of the proposals for government can be found in Figure IV-2

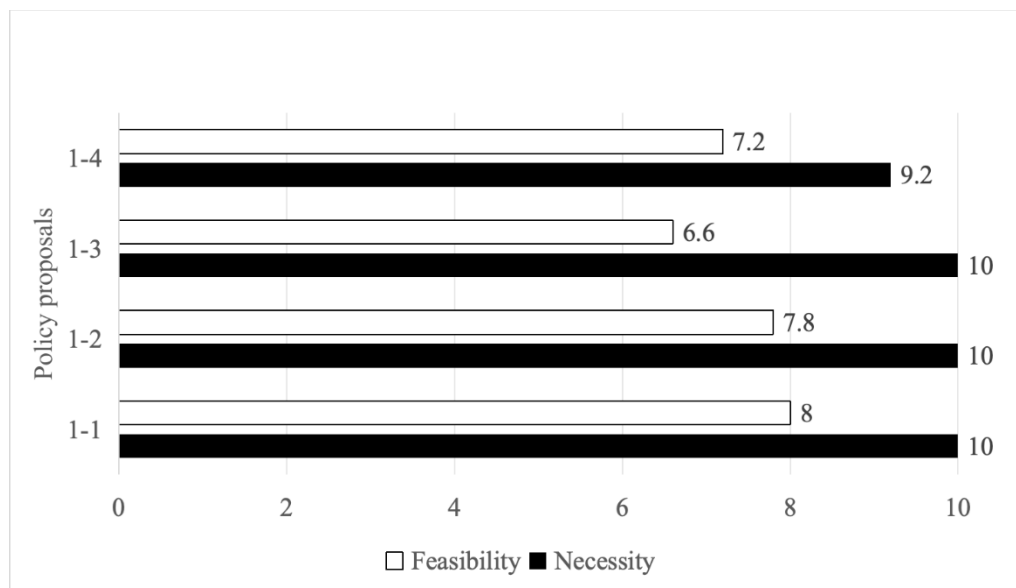


Figure IV-2 Results of interview: evaluation of proposals for government⁸

Among these four proposals for government, three of them got a score of ten for necessity. Proposal 1-4 that “Development of a common sheet to grasp the victim's perception and level of agreement with gender ideology.

⁸ 1-1: To enlighten the public that DV can happen to anyone regardless of the victim's economic ability, educational background, occupation, nationality, etc., and that anyone can seek help from public institutions, without preconceived notions that "high-income women = strong women = can solve problems by themselves".

1-2: Developing educational, outreach, and psychological counseling programs for children, focusing on the nurturing family environment in which children grow up to build healthy parent-child relationships.

1-3: Support for empirical research and strengthen evidence-based policy making

1-4: Development of a common sheet to grasp the victim's perception and level of agreement with gender ideology.

Collaborate with support organizations and utilize for consultation and support.

Collaborate with support organizations and utilize for consultation and support” got the lowest average score 9.2. All of the organizations interviewed agreed that these proposals are “very necessary”.

As for the feasibility of implementation of the proposals, the average scores of the four proposals have declined to varying degrees. Proposal 1-3 that “Support for empirical research and strengthen evidence-based policy making” received the lowest scores of 6.6, 3.4 points lower than the score for necessity. Proposal 1-1 that “To enlighten the public that domestic violence can happen to anyone regardless of the victim's economic ability, educational background, occupation, nationality, etc., and that anyone can seek help from public institutions, without preconceived notions that ‘high-income women = strong women = can solve problems by themselves’” received the highest score of as points.

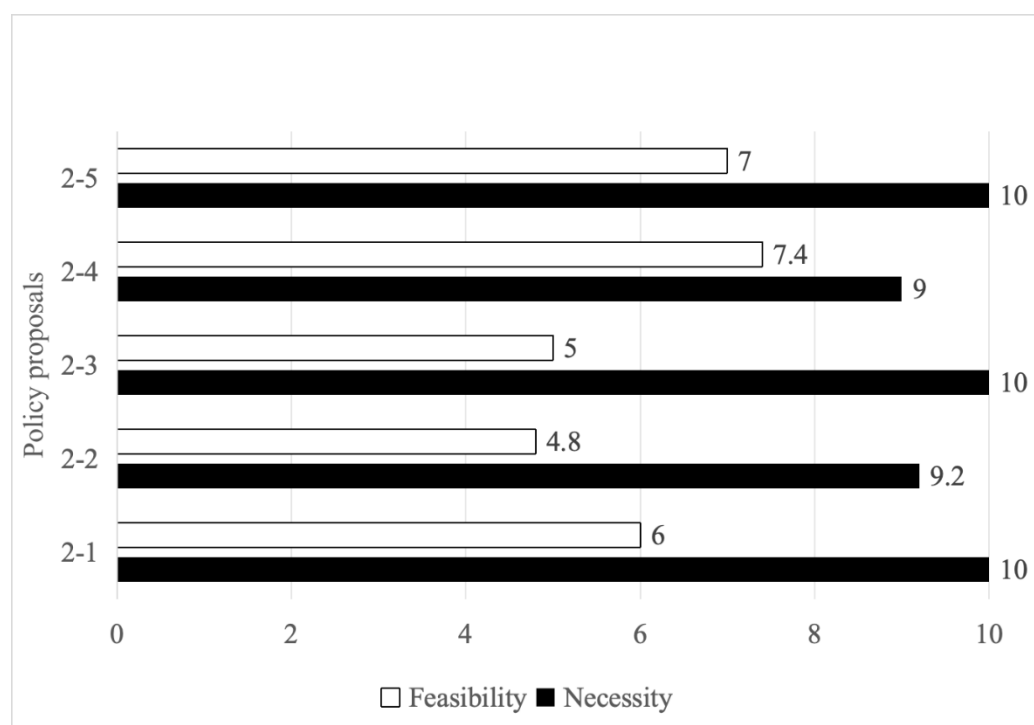


Figure IV-3 Results of interview: evaluation of proposals for domestic violence victims support institutions⁹

Figure IV-3 shows the average score of the assessment of the necessity and of the proposals for domestic violence support agencies Overall, the average score for the necessity of the five proposals was all higher than 9,

⁹ 2-1: Creating an easy-access environment for victims of any background, regardless of their economic ability, educational background, occupation, nationality, or other characteristics, without the preconceived notion that "high-income women = strong women = able to solve problems on their own."

with the lowest score fell in proposal 2-4 that “Holding regular programs such as workshops and seminars for joint participation of couples on gender ideology and other topics” as 9 points. Proposals related to creating an easy-access environment for victims, strengthening cooperation among other relevant institutions, and providing counselling/education programs for children received the highest score as 10 points.

For the feasibility, the average scores for each of the five proposals declined. Proposal 2-2 that “Formulation of evidence-based support measures, emphasizing both qualitative and quantitative data and building a database that addresses the needs of victims with different demographics and characteristics” received the lowest score as 4.8 points, 4.4 points lower than the necessity score. It is worth noting that proposal 2-3 that “To strengthen cooperation among public institutions, cooperation between public institutions and private organizations, and cooperation with universities and other research institutions in order to understand the reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income women, without preconceived notions that ‘high-income women = strong women = can solve problems by themselves’ and share information with consideration given to personal information.” received the largest difference between the scores for necessity and feasibility, at 5 points. Proposals 2-4 that “Holding regular programs such as workshops and seminars for joint participation of couples on gender ideology and other topics” received the highest score as 7.4 points.

3.3 Comments and suggestions from the interviewees

As each proposal was evaluated along Table IV-2, interviewees also gave their individual opinions or comments.

- Characteristics of domestic violence victimization among high-income or economically independent women: Interviewees from Organization E indicated that, based on their work experience, women with high incomes or financial independence are often economically exploited by their spouses. For example,

2-2: Formulation of evidence-based support measures, emphasizing both qualitative (removal of personal information, consultation records, etc.) and quantitative (income groups, number and length of victimization, etc.) data. Building a database that addresses the needs of victims with different demographics and characteristics.

2-3: To strengthen cooperation among public institutions, cooperation between public institutions and private organizations, and cooperation with universities and other research institutions in order to understand the reality of DV victimization among high-income women, without preconceived notions that "high-income women = strong women = can solve problems by themselves," and share information with consideration given to personal information.

2-4: Holding regular programs such as workshops and seminars for joint participation of couples on gender ideology and other topics

2-5: Provided psychological counseling for children who have been through domestic violence family backgrounds.

they may be forced to pay off their husbands' gambling debts. This exploitation is often accompanied by verbal or psychological abuse. Additionally, a significant proportion of economically independent female victims work in the medical field (e.g., as nurses or doctors), and their professional mindset of "caring for others" may contribute to their victimization in domestic violence situations. Even when they have the financial means to leave an abusive relationship, they may choose to stay for the sake of their children.

Interviewees from Organization B also stated that even high-income and well-educated women may remain in violent relationships simply because they do not recognize their experiences as domestic violence.

Regarding help-seeking behavior, Organization E highlighted several reasons why high-income or economically independent female victims rarely seek assistance from government support organizations:

(1) Their spouses often hold high social status, and government organizations tend to have a more open environment than private support organizations. This makes them fear exposure, which could negatively impact their own or their spouse's careers;

(2) In some cases, their spouses may already work within government organizations, making it even riskier to seek help from these institutions.

- Comments on the proposals: All interviewed organizations agreed on the importance of support activities for children. Organization B emphasized that children in domestic violence situations are often the "hidden victims," and their physical and mental well-being deserves attention. Similarly, Organization E stressed that educational and psychological counseling programs for children play a crucial role in domestic violence support efforts.

However, regarding the proposal's suggestion of couples jointly participating in activities that focus on traditional gender ideologies, Organization E expressed a different viewpoint: Joint participation is inherently difficult to implement in violent relationships. Instead, it is more important to educate children early on about gender equality and self-expression. Additionally, Organization F highlighted practical challenges faced by domestic violence support organizations. Implementing programs for children requires navigating complex governmental approval procedures, making them difficult to execute.

Organization D noted that some existing counseling programs already involve both the victimized mother and her children. Beyond programs for children and couples, it was also suggested that gender ideology education be extended to young people who are about to enter intimate relationships or marriage.

- Approaches to the governmental and non-governmental domestic violence counseling and support centers: Organization A suggested that support organizations might be more responsive if proposals were aligned with the existing legal framework for domestic violence assistance.

Organization E pointed out that domestic violence support organizations vary in their actual support activities and projects. Therefore, proposals should account for this diversity to be more effective.

- Current Challenges: Organization B reported that most non-governmental domestic violence support organizations are facing severe financial strain. On one hand, they struggle to maintain shelters; on the other, they cannot offer competitive salaries to staff, making it difficult to recruit young professionals.

Organization F acknowledged that while the current proposal covers necessary points, actual implementation remains a major challenge. The requirement to collaborate with government agencies and obtain approval significantly lowers the chances of successful execution.

Organization E highlighted another issue in victim protection efforts: shelters play a key role in isolating victims from their abusers, but their admission criteria are often strict. High-income women or those with financial resources are typically denied entry and are instead expected to find their own housing solutions. This concern was also raised in interviews with Organization D.

- Comments from the workshop: Participants reaffirmed the importance of the proposals. However, regarding the reported difficulties in collaborating with government support organizations, some practitioners noted that this reflects the reality of the domestic violence support sector, and that achieving effective cooperation remains a long-term challenge.

One major obstacle is the frequent staff turnover within government agencies. This often results in decision-makers who are unfamiliar with domestic violence support work, further complicating collaboration efforts.

Lastly, while programs targeting perpetrators are recognized as necessary, they are particularly difficult to implement. One possible approach could be to address child abuse first—such as reaching out to domestic violence perpetrators through educational programs focused on preventing child abuse..

4. Discussion

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the author compiled the findings of academic research into a proposal for initiatives and presented it to organizations involved in supporting domestic violence victims. Through interviews, feedback and insights were gathered from professionals in the field. The following is a summary of the key implications derived from this project-based research.

4.1 Cooperation with governmental domestic violence support organizations is still difficult

During the research, all the governmental support centers that approached either declined or did not respond. The non-governmental organizations interviewed all agreed that “cooperation between governmental and private institutions, research institutes, etc.” is necessary. This reveals the importance of cooperation, however, such

cooperation has not yet been successfully realized. The reason for this may be related to the “rotation system” within the governmental support institutions, where the person who can make decisions may not have knowledge about domestic violence support activities and may not be able to understand the needs or know-how of it. In addition, some interviewees mentioned that many policies that seem necessary actually require the cooperation and permission of government agencies. When cooperation is difficult, the possibility of implementing these policies decreases dramatically.

In order to better solve the problem of domestic violence and provide better support for victims of domestic violence, including high-income women, the problem of “difficult cooperation” with governmental support organizations needs to be solved.

4.2 Information sharing is necessary, but there are still existing problems to be overcome

The establishment of a database to better understand the characteristics of victimization among high-income women is considered necessary. However, as mentioned by the interviewed organizations, since different non-profit support organizations may have their own programs and the victims who come to them for help often have similar social characteristics, it is difficult to design a database or data collection form that can be applied to all support organizations. In addition, if a nationwide database is to be established, the power of governmental agencies cannot be ignored. The protection of victims' privacy and cooperation with governmental organizations are issues that need to be overcome.

4.3 Emphasizing children's education and support is the consensus, and its feasibility is the highest

Adverse childhood experiences are a major risk factor for domestic violence among high-income women. The proposals for educational/psychological counseling for children (whether or not they have grown up in a domestic violence environment) was also agreed upon by all the organizations interviewed. The fact that such a program is actually being implemented shows that it is highly possible to be conducted. Activities focusing on the recovery of childhood trauma may be an important strategy for reducing domestic violence victimization among high-income women in the future. Alternatively, in order to prevent children growing up in violent families from becoming victims/perpetrators of domestic violence, educating children at an early age about gender equality and domestic violence may be the key to breaking the cycle of violence.

4.4 Programs and activities related to traditional gender ideologies need to be carefully designed and implemented from different angles

The need to understand the attitudes and perceptions of gender ideologies among high-income women victims, and to conduct educational activities to disseminate knowledge about domestic violence were recognized by the interviewees. However, some of the organizations interviewed indicated that programs involving couples may be difficult to implement and may not yield the desired results. In this regard, it was suggested that education

on gender equality ideologies from different angles, such as “child-oriented” or “youth-oriented”, could be conducted to increase the feasibility.

4.5 Challenges and reflections

The following challenges were encountered in this study: (1) The planned interviews with government agencies did not succeed due to the refusal or lack of response from government agencies. (2) One evaluation form was not successfully retrieved due to uneven time allocation during the interview process.

In response to the challenges encountered during implementation, the authors implemented the following adjustments: (1) Recognize that the difficulty of accessing government agencies is itself the current state related to domestic violence issues. For future research, protocols can be adjusted based on the current government agency's reasons for refusal (e.g., fear of leakage of victims' personal information, etc.). (2) The authors adjusted the time allocation during the interviews to avoid the recurrence of the same problem.

Chapter V Conclusion

Globally, approximately one in three women experience domestic violence. In Japan, approximately 15% of ever-partnered women experienced domestic violence at some point in their lives (WHO, 2005). In China, this percentage is approximately 8% (China Women's News, 2021). Furthermore, evidence has shown that poor women are more vulnerable, and increasing economic capacity (e.g., personal income or employment status) would be protective for women. At the site of domestic violence victims support, take the support agencies located in Japan as an example, "Anyone could be affected by domestic violence. Any victim of domestic violence can come for help" is the slogan that appears in the vast majority of publicity materials.

However, a pre-investigation conducted in these agencies showed that the reality of female victims with high incomes remains unclear. While previous studies have tended to focus on domestic violence against women with low economic power, the background factors and reality of domestic violence against high-income women have not been sufficiently elucidated. Particularly, little research has been conducted on the domestic violence experienced by East Asian women.

This study focuses on Japan and China, the two largest economies in East Asia, and aims to answer the following research questions: (1) What percentage of high-income women have experienced domestic violence? and (2) What factors influence the experience of domestic violence among high-income women? To investigate the prevalence of and factors influencing domestic violence victimization among high-income women, this study collected data from high-income women in Japan and China through an online questionnaire survey. Binary logistic regression analysis was used to analyze the data and identify influencing factors. Subsequently, as a social implementation of the results of the author's academic research, this study developed a proposal for initiatives to reduce DV victimization among high-income women and surveyed experts' evaluations of the necessity and feasibility of such initiatives.

Finally, based on the results of the analysis in the previous chapters, this chapter concludes. The first section summarizes what this study revealed. Section 2 discusses the novelty, significance, and limitations of the findings (see Figure V-1 and Figure V-2).

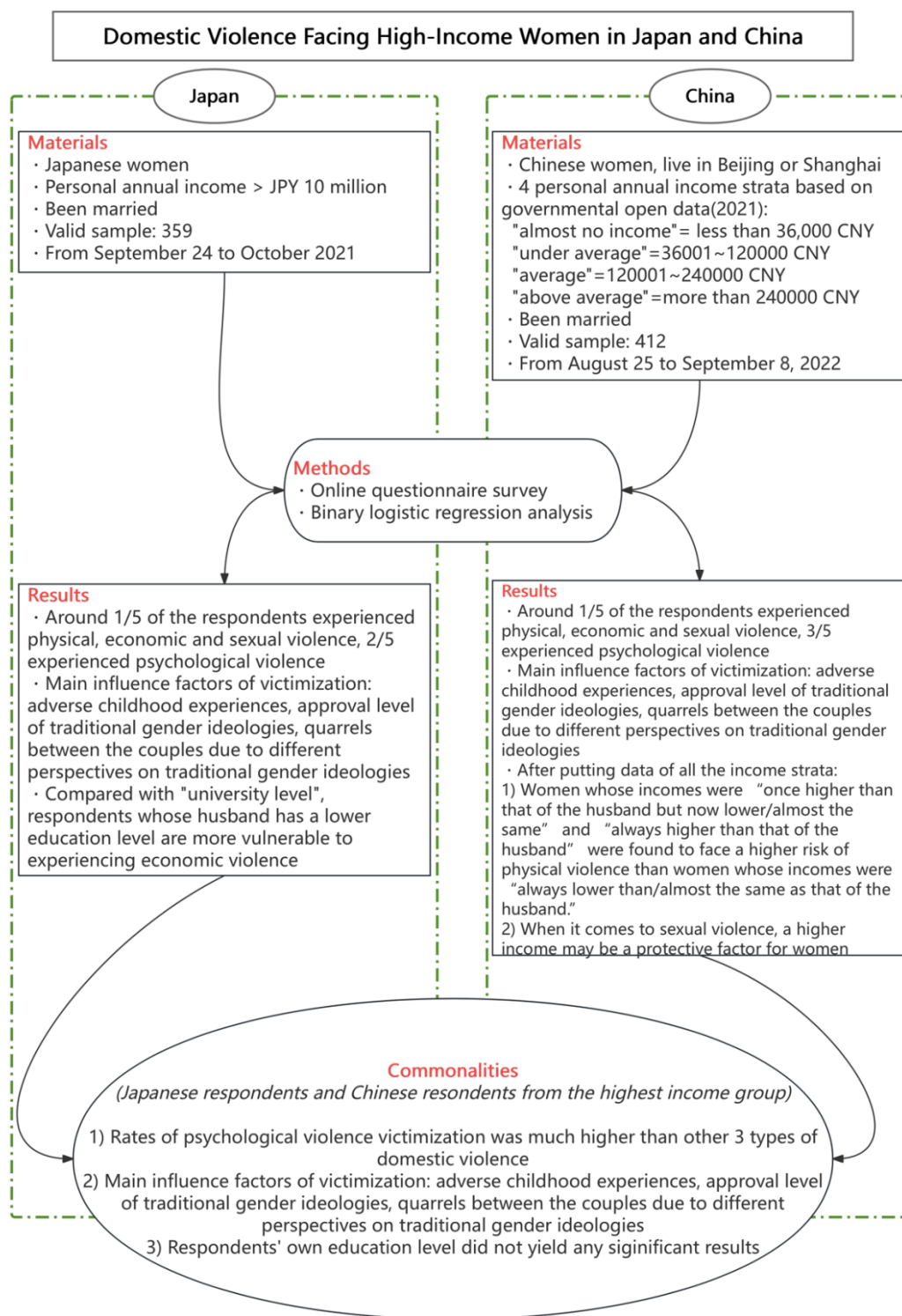


Figure V-1 Summary of surveys in Japan and China

Conclusion

Summary of Findings and Implications	<u>Domestic violence victimization among high-income women</u> -women with higher income could face a similar risk of domestic violence, although the victimization of low-income women has received much more attention -psychological violence is the most prominent among the four types of domestic violence
	<u>Prevalence of domestic violence against Chinese women</u> -except for economic violence, domestic violence victimization rates of the other three types show a "U" shape as the income increases, which was not seen in the surveys conducted in Japan by the Cabinet Office -respondents from the highest income strata experienced almost the same rates of victimization compared to those who belong to the lowest income strata
	<u>Influence factors for domestic violence victimization(1): Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs)</u> -ACEs are related to domestic violence victimization, while empirical studies for high-income women are scarce -ACEs show a significant influence on victimization in surveys of both Japan and China -initiatives targeted on children are seen as both highly necessary and feasible for victims supporting
	<u>Influence factors for domestic violence victimization(2): Traditional gender ideologies</u> -respondents' own approval level of traditional gender ideologies and quarrels between the couples due to different perspectives on traditional gender ideologies show significance in the surveys conducted in Japan and China, and in previous studies -in most cases, high-income female respondents, both in Japan and China, who hold conventional attitudes are riskier than those challenging attitudes, which does not match with parts of previous studies -initiatives to improve mutual understanding of traditional gender ideologies between couples for mediating its negative influence on domestic violence perpetration and victimization are crucial, while a thoughtful design is needed
	<u>Influence factors for domestic violence victimization (3): Income gap between couples and education level</u> -from the Chinese survey, respondents who "used to earn more than their husbands, but now less/almost the same" or "always earn more than their husbands" face a higher risk of victimization than respondents who always earn less than their husbands -from the Japanese survey, husbands with lower education levels are shown to be at a higher risk for high-income respondents' economic violence victimization -in both surveys, respondents' education levels did not yield a significant influence on their victimization -when it comes to domestic violence, a higher education level may not necessarily be protective. Knowledge attainment about domestic violence may be missing/insufficient in current Japanese and Chinese school education systems
	<u>Obstacles to reduce domestic violence among high-income women</u> -domestic violence victimization has not received enough attention and may even remain hidden from academia, the public, and the front line of support -while cooperation between the government and non-governmental organizations is considered to be very important in the process of domestic violence victim support, there is still much space for improvement -the social background of high-income women, such as the social status of their spouse/ex-spouses, may be overlooked on the front lines of supporting domestic violence victims
Novelty	(1)This thesis contributed to the literature , particularly in East Asian area, because it revealed that domestic violence victimization rates among high-income women in Japan and China (2)This thesis contributed to the literature because it revealed that domestic violence victimization rates among Chinese women who were from multiple economic strata of society and who had numerous earning capacities, while little academic research has been conducted on this subject (3)This thesis statistically clarified the factors causing high-income women to suffer from domestic violence, while little empirical research investigated this topic, especially in East Asian contexts (4)This thesis applied research results so far to the front line of domestic violence victims support in Japan with evidence-based initiative proposals and collected evaluations of its necessity and feasibility through interview survey, which provided new insights for future research as well as the first line of supporting
Significance	(1)Academic significance: as economic empowerment and gender equality activities continue to increase in East Asia including Japan and China, it is necessary to understand the reality and identify the risk factors of domestic violence victimization among women who have considerable economic power. This study made a significant contribution to the literature in this regard. The findings of this thesis also raised some important theoretical and empirical questions (2)Practical significance: this thesis provided new approaches and methodologies for future research on domestic violence victimization of high-income
Limitations	(1)a larger sample size is required to obtain more accurate results (2)limitations in the design of the questionnaire content, and future research needs to continually refine it (3)a lack of research in East Asian countries such as China and Japan is an obstacle to the further improvement and development of academic research on domestic violence in the Asian region in the future

Figure V-2 Summary of conclusions

5.1 The Summary of the Findings and the Implications

5.1.1 Domestic violence victimization among high-income women

The findings of the current study suggest that women with higher incomes face a similar risk of domestic violence, although the victimization of low-income women has received much more attention. A survey in Japan showed that no less than one-fifth of high-income female respondents had experienced domestic violence, and around two-fifths of them had experienced psychological violence. As shown in Figure V-3, similar results are obtained for China. A survey in China found that the victimization rate of psychological violence among respondents with the highest level of personal income was 62%, which is approximately two to three times higher than the other three types of violence. Additionally, the victimization rates for all types of domestic violence in China were slightly higher than those in Japan.

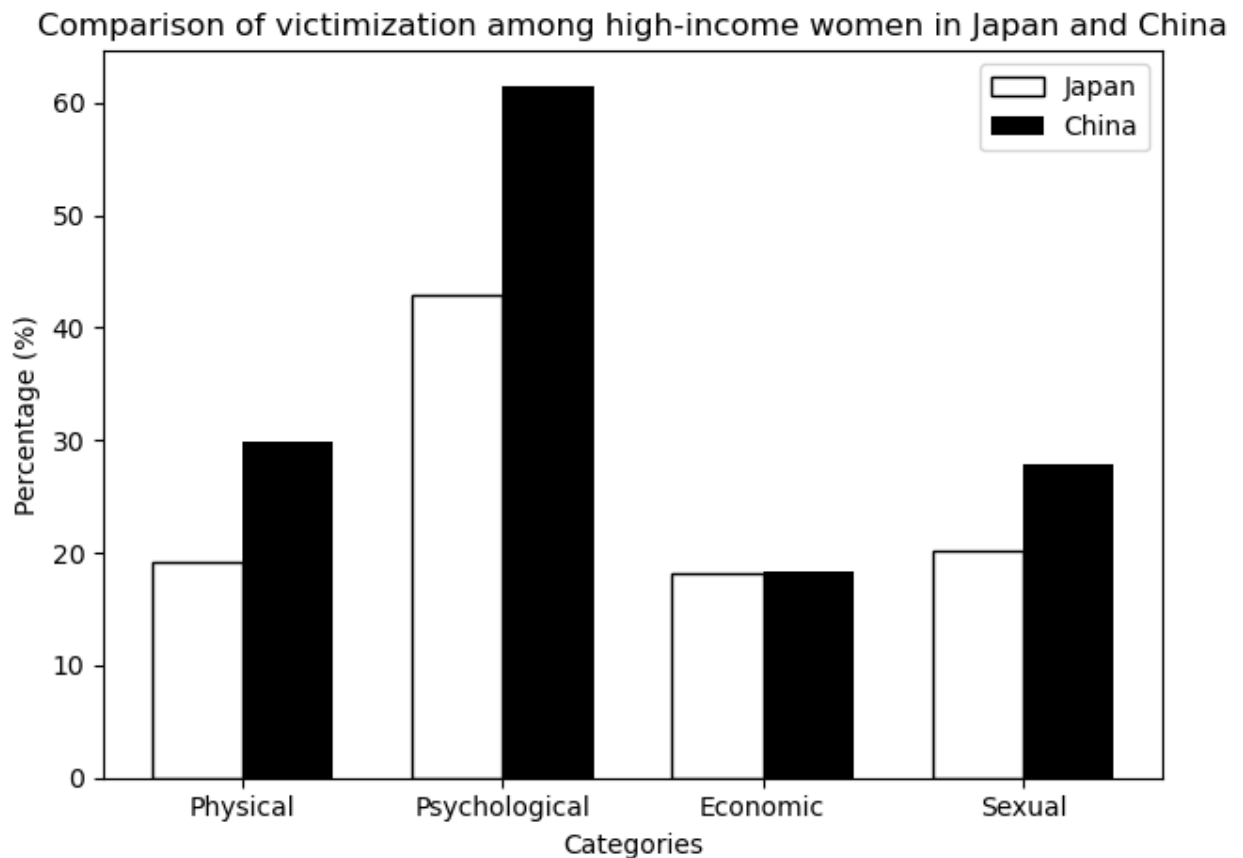


Figure V-3 Comparison of victimization among high-income women in Japan and China

Although further investigations in China and other Asian countries are needed, the current findings suggest that high-income/above-average-income women's domestic violence victimization may be overlooked by academia, supporting sites, and society. It is harmful to develop well-rounded policies/initiatives to solve the

domestic violence issue, as well as to form a deeper understanding of the nature of women's domestic violence victimization.

5.1.2 Prevalence of domestic violence against Chinese women

A survey in China revealed domestic violence victimization not only among high-income women but also among women across different income groups. Moreover, physical, psychological, and sexual domestic violence victimization rates show a “U” shape as the income increases. In other words, respondents with above-average incomes experienced an increasing trend of domestic violence from their spouses/ex-spouses, while victimization rates decreased in the middle-income strata. Respondents belonging to the highest-income strata experienced almost the same rates of victimization as those belonging to the lowest-income strata. This U-shaped trend was unique to China, which was not observed in the surveys conducted in Japan by the Cabinet Office or in this study. These figures are higher than those reported thus far (China Women's News, 2021). This suggests that such cases may be underreported in the Chinese society.

5.1.3 Influence factor for domestic violence among high-income women

(1) Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs)

Adverse childhood experiences, especially physical and sexual abuse by elder family members or witnessing mother/stepmother victimization, are said to be related to women's domestic violence victimization from intimate partners such as adults (Franklin and Kercher 2012; Vung and Krantz 2009; Whitfield et al. 2003; Sesar et al. 2015; Black et al. 2010; Khalidry et al 2021). However, few studies have applied childhood experiences to empirical research on domestic violence victimization among high-income women.

In this thesis, the results of both Japanese and Chinese surveys show that adverse childhood experiences (including physical or sexual violence or witnessing violence) are among the major risk factors for high-income female respondents' exposure to physical, psychological, economic, or sexual domestic violence from their spouses. In the Japanese case, respondents with physical/sexual ACEs were more vulnerable to experiencing physical/psychological/sexual domestic violence from their spouses/ex-spouses. In the Chinese case, respondents belonging to the highest-income group who had sexual ACEs were more vulnerable to experiencing physical, economic, or sexual domestic violence from their spouse or ex-spouse. According to interviewees from domestic violence victim support organizations, it is commonly seen that female victims have somehow adverse childhood experiences; “It is possible that women who have such experiences failed to learn how to build healthy intimate relationships, result in entering in abusive marriage.” Additionally, some interviewees mentioned that, from their experience, children in domestic violence environments are neglected victims, and such children are likely to grow up as victims or perpetrators of domestic violence.

Based on the above findings, it is important to pay attention to the childhood experiences of high-income women and develop solutions for repairing the negative effects of adverse childhood experiences, especially in the construction of healthy intimate relationships, to prevent and reduce the problem of domestic violence victimization among high-income women. In this regard, practitioners from domestic violence victims' support organizations state that it is essential and feasible to conduct educational programs on children about not only domestic violence but also gender equality, how to respect others, and how to express self-feelings and needs.

(2) Traditional gender ideologies

Traditional gender ideologies, deeply rooted in social culture, shape people's conceptions of intimate partner relationships, marriage, and domestic violence (De SILVA et al 2022). A culture that accepts or justifies violence within the family silences women when they encounter domestic violence (Rahman and Rahman 2021; Ali, N. 2011). Studies show that women who have challenging ideas about traditional gender ideologies and take challenging actions against patriarchal norms are at risk of experiencing domestic violence from their husbands (Ishikawa 2004). Additionally, disagreements between couples about traditional gender roles are said to trigger violence (WHO, 2010). Women with comparatively more resources may face a higher risk of intimate partner violence. Additionally, men's conventional attitudes are an influential factor (Hynes 2012; Weitzman 2014; Logoz et al. 2023). Furthermore, men with traditional gender thoughts, which reinforce their dominant role within the family, are more likely to perpetrate violence (Atkinson et al. 2005). Nevertheless, there are no universal definitions or models of traditional gender ideologies that can be used to statistically analyze their relationship to domestic violence victimization, which is even scarce in Asian studies.

Referring to previous studies on traditional gender ideologies, this thesis analyzed their influence on high-income respondents' victimization. The results of the Japanese survey showed that respondents' attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies and arguments due to different perspectives on these norms had varying degrees of influence on physical, psychological, economic, and sexual violence victimization. The results of the Chinese survey also showed that the influence was present in all income brackets surveyed and was most pronounced in the highest-income groups.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that high-income female respondents, both in Japan and China, who hold conventional attitudes are riskier than those with challenging attitudes, which does not match the findings of previous studies. In other words, women with high incomes do not necessarily hold challenging attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies, and in most cases, approval attitudes put them in danger.

Overall, it is essential to implement initiatives to improve the mutual understanding of traditional gender ideologies between couples to mediate their negative influence on domestic violence perpetration and victimization. From the viewpoint of policy practice, the domestic violence support organizations that were interviewed about the

proposal to "regularly conduct workshops or seminars on traditional gender concepts with couples" agreed that it was "necessary," but the likelihood of its implementation would decrease. This shows that support measures for domestic violence centered on traditional gender ideologies are necessary at the support site and that there is a need for better design of specific programs to improve their feasibility. One interviewee partly disagrees with program designs for co-participation of couples, since "it may be dangerous for abusive partners." Instead, "it is much easier and more important to conduct programs targeted at children." There was also advice to improve the feasibility of "holding workshops/seminars on traditional gender ideologies for young people who are about to enter intimate partner relationships."

(3) Income gap between couples and education level

Studies show that women with a higher income than their spouse may face the risk of experiencing domestic violence (Abramsky et al 2019), which is possibly because it opposes spouses' conventional thoughts about gender roles (Atkinson et al 2005), or it brings about backlash from their spouses to regain the dominant status inside the family (Rocca et al 2009; Krishnan et al 2010). Women's low educational attainment is also related to domestic violence (Boyle et al. 2009; Dalal et al. 2009; Bhattacharjee and Banda 2016; Wilson 2015; Kabir, Russell et al 2017). However, few studies have investigated the impact of the income gap between couples in Japan and China.

This thesis investigates the above factors using Japanese and/or Chinese surveys. A survey in China demonstrated the impact of the income gap between couples on domestic violence victimization. The results show that women who "used to earn more than their husbands, but now less/almost the same" or "always earn more than their husbands" face a higher risk of victimization than women who always earn less than their husbands.

The survey in Japan found that compared with "university level," husband's lower education levels are shown to be a higher risk for high-income respondents' economic violence victimization. Furthermore, in both surveys, the respondents' education levels did not have a significant influence on their domestic violence experiences. One interviewee who works in a domestic violence victims support organization mentioned that "high-income and highly educated women may be trapped in domestic violence just because she did not recognize what she is experiencing was domestic violence." This exposes a worrying sign that, when it comes to domestic violence, a higher education level may not necessarily be protective. Knowledge about domestic violence may be missing or insufficient in the current Japanese and Chinese school education systems. Future research should include more samples and improve the questionnaire to obtain further implications, such as the mechanisms behind the influence of the "income gap between couples."

5.1.4 Obstacles to reduce domestic violence among high-income women

Interviews and surveys with domestic violence support organizations in Japan show that even professionals active on the frontlines of supporting domestic violence victims do not yet have a sufficient understanding of the reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income women. In China, research on the relationship between financial ability and domestic violence victimization is sparse and requires further investigation in future studies. The current state of support for economically independent women is a cause for concern; domestic violence victimization has not received enough attention and may even remain hidden. This is an alarming sign for Japanese and Chinese societies, where the economic and social advancement of women is being promoted.

Additionally, an interview survey of non-governmental domestic violence victim support organizations in Japan revealed that, while cooperation between the government and non-governmental organizations is considered very important in the process of domestic violence victim support, there is still much room for improvement. In an evaluation of proposals to reduce domestic violence victimization among high-income women, the feasibility of implementing all the proposals that were considered “very necessary” has decreased. The need to obtain government permission was cited as a major factor. For example, one of the organizations interviewed stated that “support programs for children require permission from the relevant government agencies first. Such a process reduces feasibility”. This reflects an existing environment in which cooperation between the government and civil society organizations needs to be strengthened.

Third, the social background of high-income women, such as the social status of their spouses/ex-spouses, may be overlooked on the front lines of supporting domestic violence victims. According to an interview survey of support organizations for nongovernmental domestic violence victims, many high-income female victims may not choose to seek help from governmental institutions because their husbands are public figures or work in government departments. Additionally, they may be turned down by shelters because they have comparatively higher incomes. These facts may prevent high-income women from seeking appropriate support and even worsen their current situation of domestic violence victimization. As one interviewed organization stated, “the danger of domestic violence victimization could be the same level, no matter of victims’ incomes or other social status.”

5.2 Novelty, Significance and Limitations

5.2.1 Novelty

(1) Domestic violence victimization rate among high-income women

This study contributes to the literature because it revealed that domestic violence victimization rates among high-income women, particularly in East Asia. Previous studies have reported contradictory results regarding the relationship between women's economic capacity and their domestic violence victimization. Some studies suggest

that low-income women are more vulnerable to domestic violence, while others imply that high-income women face a higher risk. Particularly, little research has been conducted in East Asia on the subject of domestic violence against women and its relevance to their economic powers. In Japan, for example, a government survey reported that the prevalence of domestic violence against Japanese women was approximately 25% (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2021). Although women belonging to different personal income brackets, ranging from no income to JPY 10 million or more annually, were included in the survey, the sample size of high-income women was extremely small. Moreover, empirical studies on domestic violence in Japan are needed (Hall 2012).

In this regard, as summarized above, the results of both Japanese and Chinese studies showed that approximately one-fifth of high-income women had experienced physical, economic, or sexual domestic violence, and many more women had experienced psychological domestic violence. These findings suggest that even women with a high economic capacity may not be free from the risk of domestic violence. Furthermore, this study indicated that the most commonly reported type of domestic violence is psychological abuse.

(2) Prevalence of domestic violence against Chinese women

This study contributes to the literature by revealing domestic violence victimization rates among Chinese women from multiple economic strata of society with multiple earning capacities. Little academic research has been conducted on domestic violence against Chinese women and its relevance to their economic powers. According to a national survey on women's social status conducted every decade in China, approximately 8.6% of women experience physical and emotional violence from their spouses (China Women's News, 2021). However, research on the victimization of Chinese women across different economic strata is scarce. This presents a critical void in clarifying the reality of worldwide domestic violence victimization worldwide. Particularly, the relationship between women's economic capacity and their domestic violence victimization has not been elucidated in previous studies.

The results showed that approximately 27.91 and 62.38% of the Chinese women who participated in this study experienced physical and emotional domestic violence, respectively, which is much higher than the results obtained by the Chinese government. This difference may be due to different definitions and descriptions of each type of violence used in this study and by the Chinese government. Alternatively, the inherent nature of on-site surveys with interviewers, which were adopted by the Chinese government's survey, and online questionnaires that relied on the subjects' understanding resulted in differences.

(3) Influence factors for domestic violence among high-income women

It is also an important novelty of this study to statistically clarify the factors that cause high-income women to suffer from domestic violence. In previous studies, factors such as adverse childhood experiences, traditional gender ideologies that are deeply rooted in society, and educational attainment are violence victimization. Nevertheless, little empirical research has investigated these factors focusing on high-income women. Additionally, very few previous studies have analyzed influential factors in East Asian countries.

By adopting a binary logistic regression analysis, this thesis identified the significant factors influencing domestic violence among high-income Japanese and Chinese female respondents. Physical/sexual/witnessing violence from elderly family members during childhood, respondents' own approval level of traditional gender ideologies and quarrels due to different perspectives on traditional gender ideologies between couples were found to be the main factors in the surveys conducted in Japan and China.

Furthermore, this thesis applied these results to the frontline of domestic violence victim support in Japan with evidence-based initiative proposals and collected evaluations of its necessity and feasibility through an interview survey of domestic violence victim support organizations. The current situation of high-income female victims' support activities, which was shown to be extremely insufficient, as well as opportunities and challenges for future support initiatives, were obtained through this interview survey.

5.2.2 Significance

(1) Academic significance

This thesis revealed the reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income/above-average-income women in Japan and China and analyzed the factors affecting their victimization. Domestic violence is the most prevalent form of violence against women and poses a threat to the human rights of victims and their physical and mental well-being. The relationship between poverty and domestic violence victimization has been widely discussed in prior research worldwide. In contrast, research is scarce on the victimization of women with modest economic power or high incomes, including those in Japan and China. As economic empowerment and gender equality activities continue to increase in East Asia, including Japan and China, it is necessary to understand the reality and identify risk factors of domestic violence victimization among women who have considerable economic power. Therefore, this study makes a significant contribution to the literature.

Additionally, several studies in Western societies have analyzed the impact factors for women's domestic violence victimization, including cultural background factors, such as traditional gender ideologies and cultures tending to accept violence. However, similar studies that include local cultural factors remain scarce in East Asian countries, such as Japan and China. This thesis contributes to academia by conducting surveys in Japan and China and developing a statistical analysis that includes East Asian cultural factors, which will provide new insights for future related investigations and studies.

The findings of this thesis raise the following important theoretical and empirical questions: Theoretically, do women with different income levels experience different forms of domestic violence? Empirically, for instance, what is the "threshold" for defining that abuse has occurred relative to an interaction that may have produced a negative emotion but does not reasonably constitute domestic violence? These questions need to be answered in future studies.

(2) Practical significance

As stated in Chapter 4, this study applied the findings of the survey to existing support practices for victims of domestic violence in society to raise awareness of domestic violence victimization among such women and ultimately to try to find solutions. Thus, this thesis provides new approaches and methodologies for future research on domestic violence victimization in high-income households.

The current study's findings suggest that women with higher incomes face a similar risk of domestic violence, although the victimization of low-income women has received much more attention. Accordingly, the needs of women with a high economic capacity must be investigated and considered when formulating and implementing domestic violence support policies.

Additionally, this thesis made other initiatives and proposals for reducing domestic violence victimization among high-income women that were considered "necessary" from the point of view of the victim's support organizations. It is important to emphasize education and help children break the cycle of violence. From this point of view, including high-income or economically independent women, adverse childhood experiences may put them at risk of domestic violence, and for this reason, the childhood experiences of victims should be emphasized in future academic research and policymaking to find better solutions to the problem of domestic violence. Therefore, the childhood experiences of victims should be emphasized in future academic research and policymaking to find better solutions to the problem of domestic violence.

5.2.3 Limitations

This study has some limitations that must be considered. First, a better questionnaire design and larger sample size are needed to improve the accuracy and reliability of the results. For example, a survey in Japan could only focus on one income stratum and could not be expanded to all income strata, limiting in-depth research and analysis. Additionally, both married and divorced women with an annual income of 10 million JPY were included as subjects at the time of the survey; however, for divorced women, the possibility remains that their income during marriage did not exceed 10 million JPY. For statistical analyses related to influencing factors, data with a larger sample size and a more balanced distribution of attributes are important to obtain more convincing results. Additionally, improvements in statistical analysis techniques, such as reducing the effects of multicollinearity, will help in obtaining more reliable factor analysis results. Furthermore, web-based surveys have inherent disadvantages. It is difficult to determine the validity of respondents' answers or reach people outside the online environment. Additionally, there could have been a strong selection bias inherent to the participation of women with high incomes in the questionnaire.

Second, there are limitations to the design of the questionnaire, and future research should continually refine it. For instance, the definitions and categories of domestic violence behaviors described in the questionnaire are limited. It may fail to collect and analyze the reality of domestic violence victimization among high-income women more thoroughly. Additionally, the use of definitions and categories of domestic violence referenced from Japanese studies may have resulted in bias in the Chinese survey. For example, the domestic violence victimization rates of

the Chinese survey were much higher than those of governmental open data. This difference may be due to different definitions and descriptions of each type of violence used in this study and by the Chinese government. Alternatively, the inherent nature of on-site surveys with interviewers adopted by the Chinese government and online questionnaires that rely on subjects' understanding resulted in these differences. Nevertheless, it is necessary to continue developing investigative approaches and conduct additional surveys to obtain a better understanding

Third, regarding the influencing factors, the results of both prior research and this thesis suggest that traditional gender ideologies influence domestic violence victimization. However, there is a paucity of research in the existing literature on the association between attitudes toward traditional gender ideologies and domestic violence victimization in Asian societies. To explore this association, a larger sample size and a more systematic investigation of traditional gender concepts deeply rooted in Asian societies are important for future research. In the questionnaire used in this thesis, not all traditional gender ideologies were included, and only Japanese society was used as a reference. Additionally, the design of the questions can only reflect whether the respondents had arguments with their spouses due to differences in opinions, but it is not clear what kind of differences were involved: opposite or different degrees of agreement or different definitions of these ideologies. Moreover, as previous studies and this thesis have shown, traditional gender ideologies in society have a significant impact on women's victimization in domestic violence. Therefore, it is important to consider the specific sociocultural context of a country or region when researching domestic violence. However, there is a lack of research in East Asian countries such as China and Japan, which is an obstacle to further improvement and development of academic research on domestic violence in the Asia region in the future. Additionally, a survey in China demonstrated the impact of the income gap between couples on domestic violence victimization. The results show that women who “used to earn more than their husbands, but now less/almost the same” or “always earn more than their husbands” face a higher risk of victimization than women who always earn less than their husbands. However, the questionnaires used in this thesis did not include items to identify the underlying mechanisms, which should be investigated more thoroughly in future studies.

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Appendix 1 Online survey questionnaire

Q1: Which of the following ranges does your age fall into?						
☐ 18 ~ 30	☐ 31 ~ 40	☐ 41 ~ 50	☐ 51 ~ 60	☐ 61 ~ 70	☐ 71 ~ 80	☐ 80 and more
Q2: How many kids do you have?						
☐ None	☐ One	☐ Two	☐ Three or more than three			
Q3: What is your occupation?						
☐ Civil servants	☐ Institutional staff	☐ Enterprise workers	☐ Medical workers	☐ Student	☐ Self-employed	☐ Housewife
☐ Freelance workers	☐ Other					
Q4: Which of the following was the last school you graduated from? If you dropped out, please answer the last school you graduated from; if you have not yet graduated, please answer the one you are currently attending.						
☐ Middle school	☐ Vocational high school	☐ High school	☐ College	☐ University	☐ Master's	☐ Doctoral
☐ Other						
Q5: Which of the following was the last school your spouse/former spouse graduated from? If you dropped out, please answer the last school your spouse/former spouse graduated from; if your spouse/former spouse have not yet						
☐ Middle school	☐ Vocational high school	☐ High school	☐ College	☐ University	☐ Master's	☐ Doctoral
☐ Other	☐ Have no idea					
Q6: Which of the following is the income gap between you and your spouse/former spouse and how it has changed?						
☐ My income is always lower than/about the same (within 10% difference) as that of the spouse/former spouse since the beginning of the relationship						
☐ My income was once lower than/about the same (within 10% difference) as that of the spouse/former spouse but now higher						
☐ My income was once higher than that of the spouse/former spouse but now lower /about the same (within 10% difference)						
☐ My income is always higher than that of the spouse/former spouse since the beginning of the relationship						
☐ Have no idea						
Q7: Has your spouse/former spouse ever done any of the following to you? Do you think the behavior is domestic violence?						
		Never. It is not domestic violence.	Never. Whether it is domestic violence depends on the situations.	Never. It is domestic violence	Experienced. It is not domestic violence.	Experienced. Whether it is domestic violence depends on the situations.
Hit you with hands						
Kick you with feet						
Hit you with an object that could hurt you						
Scaring you by pretending to hit you						
Thrusting a knife or other object to scare you						
Shouting at you loudly						
You are not allowed to have conversations or contacts with other males						
You are not allowed to have contact with family or friends						
Closely monitoring your social behavior such as friendships/travel/phone calls						
Preventing you from going to work or restricting you from going out						
Ignoring you for long periods of time without saying a word						
Saying things like "you're worthless" or "I gave you your life" to you						
Not giving you the necessary money to live						
Demanding to have sex with you even if you don't want to						
Not cooperating with your birth control						
Q8: When you have experienced the above behaviors from your spouse/former spouse, where and with whom have you talked about these experiences?						
☐ Police	☐ Legal department, women's union, local community, and other public institutions	☐ Private organizations (private law firms, private women's organizations, etc.)	☐ Medical workers (doctors, nurses, etc.)	☐ School-related personnel (teachers, school directors, etc.)	☐ Workplace-related personnel (colleagues, supervisors, etc.)	☐ Family members or relatives
					☐ Friends	☐ Other
						☐ Never consulted with anyone or organization
						☐ My spouse/former spouse has never done the behaviors mentioned above
Q9: Do you have any of the following childhood experiences?						
		Never	Almost none	Often	Frequently	Very frequently
Has your parents or other adult family members ever pushed/punched/kicked/pulled on you?						
Has an adult family member, older than you by more than five years or older, ever touched you or let you touch him/her in a sexual way?						
Has your mother or stepmother ever been pushed/slapped/pulled hard by your family members?						
Q10: Do you agree or disagree with the following gender ideologies?						
		Totally disagree	Disagree	Have no idea	Agree	Totally agree
A husband should take a job outside the home, and a wife should take care of the home						
The man is responsible for providing and protecting his family						
Women are not obligated to work if they do not face economic disadvantages						
In public settings, it is expected that the wife prioritizes her husband's viewpoint and behaves accordingly						
Important decisions in a marriage should be made by husbands						
Women are better suited for housework and childcare than men						
Being a housewife is a socially meaningful job						
Women should also focus on their professional lives						
Housewives are better off in many ways than women who work outside the home						
Q11: During the relationship with your spouse/former spouse, did you have any arguments that adversely affected your relationship because of the different perspectives on the gender ideologies mentioned above?						
☐ Never	☐ Almost none	☐ Often	☐ Frequently	☐ Very frequently		
Q12: During the relationship with your spouse/former spouse, is there anything that has happened that was very unpleasant or had a negative impact on your love life? (Not mandatory) [Fill in the blanks]						

Appendix 2 Assignment of variables

Variable	Assignment
Education	Lower than university (including middle school, high school, vocational high school, and college) = 1, University = 0, Higher than university = 2 (including master's and doctoral)
Education of spouse/former spouse	Lower than university (including middle school, high school, vocational high school, and college) = 1, University = 0, Higher than university = 2 (including master's and doctoral)
Ever experience of domestic violence ^a	Yes = 1, No = 0
Income gap with spouse/former spouse	1 = Always lower than/about the same (within 10% difference) as that of the spouse/former spouse since the beginning of the relationship, 2 = Once lower than/about the same (within 10% difference) as that of the spouse/former spouse but now higher, 3 = Once higher than that of the spouse/former spouse but now lower/about the same (within 10% difference), 4 = Always higher than that of the spouse/former spouse since the beginning of the relationship, 5 = Have no idea
Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs)	1 = Never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Often, 4 = Frequently, 5 = Very frequently. In binary regression analysis, "never" and "sometimes" were coded as "0," while "often," "frequently," and "very frequently" were coded as "1"
Arguments related to different gender ideologies	1 = Never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Often, 4 = Frequently, 5 = Very frequently. In binary regression analysis, "never" and "sometimes" were coded as "0," while "often," "frequently," and "very frequently" were coded as "1"
Approval level toward gender ideologies	1 = Totally disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Not sure, 4 = Agree, 5 = Completely agree

Note. ^aFour types of violence were included: physical, emotional, economic, and sexual violence. Analysis of each type of violence was conducted separately. As long as the respondent selected "experienced" for one or more of the behavioral or descriptive options that belong to a type of violence in the questionnaire, she was considered to have experienced that violence and was coded as 1.

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