

Men's Anti-DV Support in Japan – Growing Awareness of Male Parties

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A Master's dissertation submitted to Osaka Jogakuin University Graduate School
of International Collaboration and Coexistence in the 21st Century, Master's Course,
in fulfillment for degree requirements.

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January 25, 2019

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Abstract

Domestic violence (DV) is prevalent as a serious public wellbeing problem worldwide, and it brings negative and harmful influence on physical, mental and social growth of people. Therefore, it is significant and necessary to offer support for those who are suffering from DV, regardless of gender. In Japan, there are larger numbers of DV prevention institutions and programs for female victims, but support for male parties is extremely limited. Holding the idea that DV prevention should be a cooperative process of both sexes, qualitative approaches of semi-structured interviews were carried out with people involved with anti-DV programs: counselors from men's supporting centers, facilitators of men's group therapy treatment and scholars in the field of Men's Study.

The research aims to search for more information on men's anti-DV support in Japan, letting the public get to understand the situation of those struggling male parties and those active men's supporters. Furthermore, this study also uncovers some problems existing in the present prevention of DV, such as incomplete female support, deficient father-child visitation system and lack of understanding of men's counseling. Lastly, three advocated therapy treatments are introduced, such as men's counseling, men's group therapy treatment and especially mixed group therapy treatment. The research suggests DV prevention is neither a women-only nor men-only issue, but a serious one for all humans. Both sexes should be involved in and cooperate with each other to ease the domestic violence problem.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to show my greatest appreciation to my supervisor, Professor Hitoshi Mabuchi, to whom I owe my deepest gratitude for offering his invaluable research guidance over the past two years. Second, I am indebted to Professor Scott Johnston, for his useful and constructive recommendations in accomplishing this thesis in English; to Professor Kozo Kagawa, Professor Kumiko Shindo and Professor Akira Sekine, for their precious advice and incredible efforts for helping implement my fieldwork and conference presentation in Japan; to Professor Takamitsu Shimamoto, for his inspiring criticisms and comments which have brought certain improvement to this thesis. Third, I am grateful for Professor Mitsuru Kurosawa, Professor Mitsuko Maeda, Professor Kyoko Okumoto, and Professor Omi Hatashin, and other professors who provided me with their genuine instructions till the end of my thesis. Fourth, special thanks go to the five interviewees for providing me valuable information on my research and opportunities to participate in their group therapy treatments. Fifth, I am sincerely thankful to Osaka Jogakuin University, for offering me this opportunity to study here and for all the support to enable my research. Finally, I would like to express my gratefulness to my family and friends for encouraging me throughout the entire process.

Chapter I. Introduction

Domestic violence, a prevalent form of violence worldwide, is a serious public well-being concern in every community and culture, and it has negative and harmful impacts on mental, physical and social health of human beings. Despite its widespread prevalence, such violence is not customarily acknowledged and has remained invisible.

It is often difficult to conduct research on domestic violence, since most victims are reluctant to disclose information they consider confidential and intimate. Especially in societies like Japan, it seems to be a taboo for DV sufferers to come forward and openly voice, because the majority of Japanese regard it as an act that will bring shame upon their families. However, it is of great importance and urgently necessary to get access to the DV parties and assist them to be free from violence. How can the prevention of domestic violence be conducted?

With the purpose to find out what DV prevention programs have been launched and how the actual situation is in Japan, I attended the 20th National Shelter Symposium of No More Violence in Tokyo (2017); volunteered in assisting feminist counseling and one single mother programs for Gender Equality Center in Osaka; and attended several educational programs about explaining domestic violence against women. Throughout all those processes, I became confused by the following questions: why are most of the educational lectures and programs only for female? And is it true that domestic violence simply is a women's issue?

Considering questions about what men think of domestic violence and are male suffering from domestic violence too, I turned to one men's support center in Kyoto for answers. After having an hour communication with a men's counselor and joining a mixed group therapy treatment with DV parties (including victims and abusers regardless of gender), I realized that domestic violence is absolutely not a women-only or men-only issue, but a serious one for people.

Nowadays in Japan, most of the governmental-guided support institutions are exclusively open to female victims, which makes the present DV prevention more like a

one-side only process. Since the anti-DV law was revised in 2011, appending emotional abuse as domestic violence as well, the number of male victims is reported to suddenly be on the increase, and the lack of understanding and support for this newly-found group is one problem in Japan. What's more, assistance towards male abusers who are seeking help for how to release themselves from enacting domestic violence is also a problem in Japan.

Therefore, this research mainly concentrates on men's anti-DV support in Japan, aspects such as how men's anti-DV support are being conducted; what difficulties men's supporters are facing; what problems exist in the present DV prevention and how to improve them; what advocated therapy treatments can be adopted to better support both male and female DV sufferers.

In this paper, I first explain the overall situation of scholarly treatment of DV in Chapter II, in order to make it clear what is the main concern of researchers with this social problem. Secondly, to clarify the method taken in this paper, a description of methodology is in Chapter III. Since at present stage in Japan, research and data concerning domestic violence issue is extremely scarce in quantity, the qualitative approach rather than quantitative one has been taken in this research. In Chapter IV, data and information collected from the interviews of five people involved with anti-DV programs are analyzed. Specifically, three main reasons explaining why the rate of DV in Japan is still increasing are addressed, three problems in the current DV prevention in Japan are discussed, and three advocated therapy treatments are introduced especially for men's anti-DV support in Japan. In Chapter V, recommendations towards DV prevention in Japan and limitations of this research are briefly listed.

Chapter II. Theoretical Framework

II. A. Introduction

Chapter II presents a theoretical framework, which is a solid basis for further exploring the worldwide prevalence of domestic violence. It is divided into three sections. The first section - part A, focuses on certain theories towards domestic violence. In this paper, I mainly explain the domestic violence issue through the perspectives from Human Rights Study and Gender Study. The second section - part B, discusses three main forms of domestic violence, which are physical abuse, sexual abuse and emotional abuse. The third section, containing part C and D, is a contextual framework, which demonstrates the status quo of both male victims and perpetrators outside and inside Japan.

II. B. Theories of domestic violence

Domestic violence is prevalent in most countries and cultures around the world and is very hard to detect, as the victims are generally too powerless, fearful, intimidated, or ashamed to disclose the abuse (Badshaw, 2011). In recent years, domestic violence has increasingly been recognized as a serious social problem, therewith a great deal of research on its definitions, causes and consequences. However, since there is no universally accepted concept of domestic violence, different scholars or organizations from different fields have their own perspectives towards domestic violence.

Usually the way we understand the phenomenon of domestic violence is closely tied to the status and roles of women. In this stage, domestic violence is simply regarded as an appropriate part of the instruction, where women are viewed as inferior to men and needing to be led by men (Schneider, Hanna, Sack, & Greenberg, 2013, p. 13). After all, many studies have shown that women are the primary victims of domestic violence (Greenfeld, 1998; Neubauer, 1999; Rennison & Welchans, 2000). This results some feminists to define domestic violence as a gender-based violence, which is necessarily associated with patriarchy.

Based on the definition of violence against women proposed by Unite Nations

Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against women (1993), the Innocenti Digest (2000) explains “domestic” and “violence” respectively. For the term ‘domestic’, it includes violence by an intimate partner and by other family members, wherever this abuse happens and in whatever forms; as for “violence”, it refers to the gender-based violence that results in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women (UNICEF, 2000).

On the other hand, some others claim that domestic violence is related to power and control, regardless of gender. According to Kinstlinger-Bruhn (1997), domestic abuse is about a need for control. In this regard, the abuser will take complete control over the other person, and the abuser will use the abuse to intimidate the victims or to unleash his or her own uncomfortable feelings. In other words, hurting someone else is the method that the abuser has learned to deal with these feelings.

Turning to Human Rights Watch (1995), domestic violence is explained as a form of aggression perpetrated by one family member against another. It includes a pattern of behaviors involving physical, sexual, economic, and emotional abuse, used alone or in combination, by an intimate partner often for the purpose of establishing and maintaining power and control over the partner.

For social scientists, they used the concept of recognizing domestic violence as child abuse and wife abuse within the past four decades. Another twenty years later, researchers have found that other forms of violent relationships exist, including dating violence, battered males, and same-sex domestic abuse. Any domestic violence is inappropriate, irrespective of genders, ages, races, and classes (Jackson, 2007, p. 19).

II. B. 1. Domestic violence as a violation of Human Rights

Domestic violence within physical and mental health, legal, economic, educational, developmental, is above all, a human rights issue, as the Digest demonstrates (UNICEF, 2000). It continues to be a global epidemic that kills, tortures and maims – physically, psychologically, sexually and economically. “It is one of the most pervasive of human rights

violations, denying victims' equality, security, dignity, self-worth, and their right to enjoy fundamental freedom" (UNICEF, 2000). Domestic violence can be understood as a human rights violation in several related ways: such as a consequence of discrimination and lack of equal protection, torture, and state failure to exercise due diligence to protect, prosecute, and punish (Schneider, Hanna, Sack, & Greenberg, 2013, p. 900).

Thomas and Beasley (1995) provide a historical overview of the arguments that paved the way for domestic violence victims' international human rights. Domestic violence violates the principles that lie at the heart of this moral vision: the inherent dignity and worth of all members of the human family, the inalienable right to freedom from fear and want, and the equal rights of men and women.

Copelon (2003) indicates that the human rights community was traditionally reluctant to include domestic violence within its definition of human rights violations. Furthermore, she makes one powerful claim that domestic violence is a form of torture. International documents define torture as having four elements: (1) severe physical and/or mental pain and suffering; (2) intentional infliction; (3) specified purposes; and (4) some degree of official or quasi-official involvement, whether active or passive. Treating domestic violence as torture not only would make domestic violence preventable through training, investigation and prosecution or extradition of offenders, but also would provide victims the right to be free from retaliation and to receive fair and adequate compensation.

In accordance with the law, freedom from violence (whether sexual, mental, emotional, financial or physical) is a fundamental human right. The right to be free from violence and to have security and liberty of person is recognized in the major human rights agreements including: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; Convention on the Rights of the Child; Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Thus, domestic and family violence violate a wide range of human rights including: the right to life;

the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; the right to decent work; freedom of expression and the right to hold opinions without interference; a child or young person's right to leisure and play; the right to education and the right to be free from torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

II. B. 2. Feminist perspectives towards domestic violence

Thanks to the women's movement continuing to gain momentum during the 1960s and 1970s, the awareness of domestic violence issues gradually increased. As women continued to demand equality within the professional arena, equality became an issue within the personal realm as well (Hanser, 2002). Eventually, these personal demands extended to expectations within the marital relationship (Hanser, 2002). Thus, feminist theory has provided a guiding framework for understanding and addressing domestic violence (Frances, 1995, p.395). Feminist theory has been instrumental in raising the public consciousness about sex role conditioning (sexual division of labor in workplace and household) and how such conditioning can lead to belief systems that justify sexism, male privilege, and gender socialization (Healey, Smith, and O' Sullivan, 1998)

Since domestic violence often targets women and is most often committed by men, it is easy to see the connection to feminist theory (Hanser, 2002). Central to feminist perspectives (particularly radical feminism) towards domestic violence is the misuse and abuse of power and control by the perpetrators, who are more often men, particularly in patriarchal societies where men wield power over women and devalue women as secondary and inferior (Mullender, 1999, p. 63). To some extent, patriarchal societies keep men as the dominant group. Despite important class and race differences between them, many men tend to use violence to subdue women and keep them subordinate. Globally, domestic violence is played out, either in public or in private, in ways leading to death and suffering of many millions of women, and yet that are condoned and regarded as normal (Radford and Russell, 1992; Davies, 1994).

In addition, postmodern feminists also focus on the social construction of masculinities and femininities in a social group or culture and the ways in which they contribute to gendered violence (Weedon, 1997). They highlight the role that dominant discourses play in the social and cultural context related to gender and violence, and to the way that people interpret and respond to the violence (Bagshaw & Chung, 2000).

However, according to Burstow (1992, p.167) abusive behaviors also occurs in lesbian and gay relationships, which means that all kinds of abuse perpetrated by men against women can also be perpetrated by women against women and by men against men (Island and Letellier, 1991, pp. 26-32). This fact helps some of the feminists to develop a more complex analysis of domestic violence that it is the misuse and abuse of power, but not necessarily gender. Largely, all abuses can still be understood in the context of gendered power relationship since the tradition of masculinity keeps dominating the society in many ways, and rooting the analysis of abuse in an understanding of the patriarchy and of interconnected oppressions is of great importance (Mullender, 1999, p. 18).

II. C. Main forms of domestic violence

Domestic violence is often thought of as mainly physical. In fact, it takes on many forms of violence beyond the physical abuse. Note that perpetrators commonly combine physical abuse with psychological/emotional, sexual, financial/economic, or other abusive tactics, such as isolation, threats, etc., to gain control of their partners (Schneider, Hanna, Sack, & Greenberg, 2013, p. 7). Below, I introduce three main forms of domestic abuse; they are physical abuse, sexual abuse and emotional abuse.

II. C. 1. Physical abuse

The most familiar form of violence abusers inflict on their partners is physical abuse, including pushing, hitting, slapping, choking, pulling hair, punching, kicking, grabbing, using weapon against, beating, throwing down, twisting arms, tripping, biting, etc. In the view

of Mullender (1999), there is never any excuse for male/female hitting their partners, and when it happens victims should start to get worried. Because in an estimated 90 per cent of cases (Hammer & Stanko, 1985, p. 366), assaults begin with hitting or slapping and continue over time, during which it becomes more frequently and more severe. Dobash et al. (1985, p. 144) also insist that with early slaps and punches that resulted in cuts and bruises will give way to being knocked down to the floor. That is to say, more severe injuries will become common, such as fractures, burns, miscarriages, internal injuries, attempts to strangle and drown, being pulled around by the hair and having clumps of hair pulled out (Mullender, 1999, p. 20). Although the research on physical abuse was done in the past, exact cases continue happening these days. One victim in Japan (Gilhooly, 2016) described that she was repeatedly kicked, beaten, drugged and once raped unconsciously by her abusive partner, which explained why she was always with bruises, broken bones and scars. Another victim in China (Lee, 2014) stated that her partner jumped on her back and beat her head into the ground 10 times.

II. C. 2. Sexual abuse

Sexual and physical violence frequently are combined in dominating behavior that includes marital rape (Russell, 1990). It includes imposing any kind of intimacy while the victim is still hurting from the violence, and other acts to which victim does not consent or which he/she finds degrading or disgusting, such as being photographed in sexual positions against his/her wishes (Burstow, 1992, p. 151), or being forced to have sex with others, with or without her partner watching (ibid). Physical and sexual abuse may be combined in various ways, as in injuries to the breast and genital area (Pence, 1987, p. 37). The Japanese woman's case referred to above demonstrates this link between sexual and physical abuse: she is badly beaten until unconsciousness and then raped.

One form of sexual violence that is now more widely recognized because of changing public attitudes is marital rape (Mullender, 1999, p. 22). An American study (Russell, 1990, p.

57) with a random sample shows that approximately 14 per cent of the victims who had ever been married admitted to having been subjected to “complete or attempted rape”, which does not include attempted rape during sleep when the wives woke up and stopped it, because this was considered to be so common that it could lead to disbelief and discounting of the figure.

Actually now in Japan, “complete or attempted rape” (Russel, 1990) while sleeping is quite common that victims do not even have a concept of choice concerning sex with their partners and would not, therefore, describe it as rape (Kato, 2017). Even so, partners and ex-partners are the commonest category of rapist (Russell, 1990, p. 64). They also repeat their rapes more frequently than any other category of rapist, for some women hundreds of times, and their rapes are as traumatic as those inflicted by strangers (ibid, p. 67).

When given time and support to reflect, victims clearly recognize sexual assaults that are experienced as rape (Kelly, 1988, pp. 121-2), but they themselves may resist thinking of their partners as rapists (ibid, p. 123). It is easier for victims to call it ‘forced sex’ rather than ‘rape’.

II. C. 3. Emotional abuse

Perpetrators who have been physically abusive also deliberately use psychological tactics to reinforce their control. Emotional abuse, as another controlling tactics, includes all the words and actions designed to break victims’ spirit and destroy their self-image and self-esteem (Mullender, 1999, pp. 23-4).

Domestic violence survivors not infrequently describe the humiliation and degradation as the most damaging part of their sufferings: ‘Physical battering may last from five minutes to two hours, but the mental battering is 24 hours, even while you are asleep (n. d.); and: ‘I remember one night I spent the whole night in a state of terror, nothing less than terror all night... And that was worse to me than getting whacked... That waiting without confrontation is just so frightening’ (Kelly, 1988, p. 120). Emotional abuse may be constant criticism of the victims and everything she/he does, both specifically and generally. She/he

may be told that she/he is stupid, ugly and incompetent; she/he may be called degrading names and belittled through the ignoring of her/himself, her/his needs, her/his opinions and any previous agreements the couple had reached together; she/he may be embarrassed in public, constantly accused of actual or intended unfaithfulness; and negative comparisons may be made with other women/men (Binney, 1988, p. 4). At the same time as all the mental torture is happening, the blame is continuously shifted onto the victim, by an abuser who sees him/herself as always right and his/her partner as always wrong and who isolates her/him from any other influences who could change this – such as her/his family and friends, any education or leisure activities she might pursue on her/his own, and any professional help (Mullender, 1999, p. 24).

Emotional and psychological abuse is devastating. It closely resembles the torture of hostages (Graham et al., 1988) who are similarly stripped of all freedoms and deprived of sleep, never knowing when the next beating will be. No surprise, women ‘report symptoms of stress, such as lack of sleep, weight loss or gain, ulcers, nervousness, irritability and thoughts of suicide (Stanko, 1985, p. 57). Depression and anxiety are common and make it harder to escape the violence (ibid.), while self-esteem is damaged so long as the abuse continues (Smith, 1989, pp. 18-19).

It is difficult for victims to recognize emotional abuse: ‘mental violence is something you can’t pinpoint... you can’t define mental torture. It comes in very funny ways’ (Kelly, 1988, p. 120). Therefore, it also makes it hard to seek help. Most of the victims only know the term “battered wives/husbands”, and they may not apply the concept for themselves if they were only suffering emotional abuse (ibid, p. 166).

Through these main forms of abuse, it is the physical violence or the anticipation of it that keeps all the other forms of abuse in place (Mullender, 1999, p. 26).

II. D. Theories and practice on male parties of DV outside Japan

II. D. 1. Male victims of domestic violence outside Japan

Domestic violence sadly is as old as marriage, but its nature is changing. In the past the perpetrators were overwhelmingly male. Most of them still are, but women are learning that they too can seize the initiative. The acknowledgement that men and women might be victims of similar acts was put forward, it was assumed that men would be likely to experience more serious types of violence from their intimate partners than women because of their greater size, weight and strength (Steinmetz, 1978). Decades after, a growing number of American research has been conducted addressing that women hit men inside the house at roughly equal numbers, and men tend to be less severely harmed than women (Kimmel, 2002). Kimmel (2002) also explains that women's violence against men in domestic to c relationships does happen, but it is different from men's violence – it is far less injurious, and less likely be motivated by a desire to dominate or control their partner.

As for the combined impact of physical and psychological abuse, it is actually comparable across genders (Pimlott-Kubiak & Cortina, 2003). Clearly, the problem of male victims is as serious a one as that of female victims. Yet, men are more likely to remain in abusive relationship or do not ask others for help. For male victims, there are no rules as to how they should act or respond. They usually seem to be bewildered, searching for a set of guidelines that do not exactly exist (Cook, 2009, p. 52). Curran (2010, p. 13) also highlights that a great number of men consider that violence against them is not a crime, but just wrong or 'something that happens'. Besides, according to British Crime Survey (Garratt, 2012), regardless of how the abuse is reported, more than twice as many females (44%) reported incidents to professional organizations compared to men (19%) and were three times more likely to tell the police – female (29%) and male (10%). This finding somehow confirms that men are reluctant to report abuse for certain reasons, let alone the violence happened inside their house by their partners (Garratt, 2012).

Some of the reasons for being silent are similar to those given by female victims, while

others are particular to men:

- The lack of attention
- Economic concerns
- Worries about the safety of the child or the loss of the child custody

The first reason is the lack of attention to battered men. Since domestic violence has been brought into public, awareness and prevention of female victims has become part of a political agenda supported by feminist activist groups, while awareness and prevention of male victims has not yet been embraced similarly as important as a social or political issue (Steinmetz, 1978). Studies or articles on male victims often are hard to publish, so that the media attention and programs to help abused women will not be forthcoming to provide assistance to men who have been battered. Besides, men are always expected to be able to defend themselves against others, especially women, therefore, they become embarrassed to report and fear that they will not be understood (Steinmetz, 1978).

Here is an example. A male victim asked the social worker for help and when he stated to tell his plight the social worker looked at him as if he was making up stories (Garratt, 2012). Our society deplores abuse against women, but that towards men is treated as a humorous topic (Steinmetz & Lucca, 1988).

The second reason why battered husbands do not report violence is that they have economic concerns (Steinmetz, 1978). A common misconception is that men, who typically have more earning than women, enjoy greater financial independence and can therefore more easily escape from a violent relationship. However, this advantage of having higher income levels is often lost after a divorce, for paying alimony and child support (Cook, 1997).

The third reason is men worry about the safety of their children or losing the custody of their children (Margon & Gordis, 2003; Straus & Smith, 1990). Divorce means establishing a separate household, as well as leaving his children alone with the violent wife. So they remain silent in the house in order to protect the children because they are worried that if he left, the wife might get custody, leaving the children in even worse environment. It is somehow an

explanation that is similarly expressed by female victims. And the same as female victims, males may hold out the hope that the abuse will end one day.

To sum up, male sufferers of domestic violence are largely invisible, and working on improving society's response to domestic violence against women has not been matched by response to male ones (Feder & Potter, 2017). Furthermore, ignoring the existence of abused male results in a lack of resources for men. Fortunately, there is a small but growing trend in which feminist scholars and service providers are recognizing that males are experiencing considerable violence, and they are discussing options for addressing this issue (Jackson, 2007).

II. D. 2. Male abusers of domestic violence outside Japan

Whenever talking about abusers, people usually hold the stereotype that they are crude, uneducated, abnormal, or madmen. But actually, on the surface, they seem no different from the men we had passed on the street (Dutton & Golant, 1995).

In general, there are two types of theories that express why men inflict violence on their partners, one is psychological theory and the other is psychosocial theory. Psychological explanations are more common than physiological ones in the literature and tend to focus on allegedly uncontrollable anger which is seen as rooted in unresolved family conflicts, primitive aggressive reactions, the submerged fear of the bully, insecure dependence on women, or any other form of internal stress (Dobash & Dobash, 1992, p. 237). From this point of view, the wife abuser is mad or sad rather than bad, if he is emotionally disturbed; he is not fully responsible for his actions. He may believe that he should be forgiven or at least understood by society (Mullender, 1999, p. 38).

Usually, loss of control is a quiet popular notion amongst abusers. According to Pence (1987), when men introduce themselves in an abusers' group, they often defend their abusive behaviors with having a short fuse or anger problem. Ptacek (1988, pp. 142-52) also finds some very typical quotations from men who explain themselves in terms, such as "When I got

violent, it was not because I really wanted to get violent. It was just because it was like an outburst of rage". However, any loss of control model fails to explain why men hit women, in private, rather than other people whenever they feel annoyed. To a great degree, the abuser just wants to hurt and frighten his partner who annoyed him and drove him to punish her for not being a good wife (Ptacek, 1988, pp. 144 - 50). Hoff (1990, p. 137) describes that perpetrators usually began violence with slaps, more or less controlled so as not to hurt too badly, but as the abuse got on abusers always would lose their tempers. Towards this, Hoff (1990) gives his suggestion that the abuser indeed wants to control his partner with his violence, and that was socially acceptable for him to do so. Clearly, abuse is indeed all about control but, far from being loss of control, it is about controlling the will of another - the partner being abused (McConnell, 1991, p. 3).

Except for the loss of control, having a violent childhood is another common notion to explain someone's abusive behavior. That is to say, people who were brought up with violence are easier to become violent, because they are trapped in the cycle of violence (Mullender, 1999, p. 40). In some cases, the cycle of violence has been taken as the perfect excuse to deny responsibility for his violence against his partner - I know my husband used to tell me he beat me because he was working out a deep hatred he held for his mother and when he hit me it really had nothing to do with me (Pence, 1987, p. 34). However, the "cycle of violence" explanation tends to blame family influences alone rather than a social context, which is ineffective in tackling abuse. In men's rehabilitation group, men's present abusive behavior and violent growth environment should be undertaken in separate therapy or counseling time (Mullender, 1999, p. 42).

In the psychosocial approach, it addresses that men become individually abusive in response to social and environment pressures on them in the form, for instance, of poverty, bad housing, poor living conditions, unemployment or exploitation in the workplace, racism, educational underachievement, unfulfilled aspirations in the society, and lack of hope for the future (Gelles, 1987; Smith, 1989, p. 25). These pressures are considered to lead to frustration

and stress that, in turns, lead to abuse (Mooney, 1994).

It is also not the case that men will stop abuse when pressures are away. On the contrary, once violence has begun there is an escalation of it (Mooney, 1994). It does not mean that those material problems might not act as contributory factors to abuse in household, but they cannot take away men's responsibility for their abusive actions or explain why many men who are poor are not violent (Mullender, 1999, p. 44) Besides, psychosocial theories fail to explain why stress should lead to violence, especially gendered violence - virtually always men hit women (Walby, 1990, p. 134)

Certainly, we must recognize that the majority of perpetrators are men and we still live in a patriarchal society where men have more power, more sense of entitlement, and (on average) more income than women (Feder & Potter, 2017). Therefore, men should get involved in reducing domestic violence and they can play vital roles in helping to reduce and prevent men's violence against women.

Three key elements are listed in the Australian White Ribbon Foundation Report (2010). First, largely it is men who perpetrate this violence. Most men do not use violence against women, but when violence occurs, it is perpetrated overwhelmingly by men. Second is constructions of masculinity, which means man plays a crucial role in shaping violence against women. Third is gender inequality, which leads to male economic and decision-making dominance in families and relationships (Flood, 2010, p. 8).

Around the world, there are growing efforts to involve men in the prevention of violence against women. According to Flood (2011, p. 359), men are getting involved in some typical practices: as participants in education programs, as targets of social marketing campaigns, as policy makers and gatekeepers, and as activists and advocates.

With the awareness of violence against women growing, there have been quite a number of projects established to work on this issue worldwide. Nonetheless, we still lack good knowledge about what actually stops it from happening (Heise, 2014).

II. E. Theories and practice on male parties of DV in Japan

II. E. 1. Male victims of domestic violence in Japan

In Japan, domestic violence is often thought of as the abuse inflicted by men toward women and a number of supporting systems have been established for female victims since Act on the Prevention of Spousal Violence and the Protection of Victims (Act No. 31) in Japan was first released in 2001 (Gilhooly, 2017).

Whereas, the truth is that there are also male victims. Every three years, the Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office conducts a survey on spousal violence, which samples 5000 men and women across the nation in November and December 2016. Most of the reported findings are released in April. The result of 2016 shows 23.7 per cent married women and 16.6 per cent married men claim that they have experienced domestic violence from their spouses. Compared with previous data, both percentages in this survey are trending slightly downward, especially the percentage of female victims (The Cabinet Office, 2016).

Against the general background where men are defined as abusers while women are victims, the society and the government naturally tend to ignore the existence of male victims. The report carried out by the Cabinet Office (2016) is a good example. It emphasizes much more on the sufferings of female victims over that of men. For instance, when the percentage of both female and male victims is reported, the heading given to this section stresses that one in four married women claimed they have been assaulted several times and one in ten claimed that they have been abused many times. Moreover, most of the pages in the report focus on violence against females, and not one word to state men's situation. In addition, this survey says around 80 per cent of married men who had been victims of domestic violence over the past few years did not seek any assistance or guidance in response to the abuse they were subjected to. Meanwhile, the percentage of married women is around 40.

As for why men do not search for help when domestic violence happened to them, it was explained by Ito (2018) that the majority of men in Japan, are often unconsciously being caught in the common stereotype that one cannot be considered a real man if he was unable to

control or dominate a woman. Therefore, if a male victim voiced that he was abused by his partner, it would lead him to an unfavorable situation, especially disadvantaged for his career. Moreover, they are embarrassed to tell others because of fearing that they will not be believed or will be laughed at.

According to Hassett (2012), in Japan when men mentioned about domestic violence, they are more likely to recognize domestic violence as including slapping, kicking or causing a bodily injury, whereas a greater percentage of women said domestic violence also consists of behavior such as ignoring the partner for a long period of time, calling the partner a “good-for - nothing useless person” or shouting in a loud voice. Moreover, in Japan, the percentage of respondents who are unaware of the anti-DV law have slightly increased, with most of the uninformed being men between the age of 20 and 39 (Hassett, 2012).

In Japan, domestic violence is gradually acknowledged by the public with largely focusing on the violence against female, as well as most of the supporting centers or consulting services are for females. This leaves male victims nowhere to get assistance and they keep on being trapped in the cycle of violence. Surely, domestic violence towards women is obviously a serious problem, but with the Japanese government laying the whole stress on supporting female victims, where should male sufferers go for assistance?

II. E. 2. Male abusers of domestic violence in Japan

The imbalance can be found not only in the ignorance towards the male domestic violence victims in Japan, but also the less emphasis on getting male abusers involved in the prevention of domestic violence.

Education is very important to let people understand that hitting or harming family members are crimes (Rice, 2001). As the main perpetrator of domestic violence, men play a very important role in it and ought to be taught more than victims, either by education or other forms like consultation. For this part, Japan is still far from enough (Rice, 2001).

Fortunately, there are a small number of programs that deal with male abusers in Japan,

such as AWARE. According to two organizers of AWARE (Yamaguchi and Yoshizaki), around two-third of perpetrators stated that they grew up witnessing domestic violence. Meanwhile, approximately 80 per cent of program attendees experienced physical abuse by their fathers or their mothers. This abusive childhood experience leads some of the abusers to believe that their own abusive tendencies are not only normal and acceptable, but something to brag about. Besides, a few abusers take that terrible childhood experience as an excuse for their abusive acts, and claim that it is the only way they know how to express their love.

On the other hand, there are some abusers who tell that they don't want their marriage to end up like their parents'; however, they failed to get out of this horrible cycle and ended up with their partners exactly the same as their parents did. Others indicated that they had no idea that much of their abuse, especially the emotional part, was actually a kind of domestic violence. "I think there are still many Japanese men who instigate sexual or nonphysical violence without realizing that it is domestic violence. Many men I have met say, 'I don't know of any domestic violence among my circle of friends.' That's not denial, it's a simple lack of acknowledgement," says Taga, a founding member of the Japan chapter of the Global Anti-Domestic Violence Movement White Ribbon Campaign (Gilhooly, 2017).

Educating women about domestic violence is certainly vital, whereas if men kept being ignored, all these effort might be in vain. For perpetrators, with the aim of nurturing understanding of the exact meaning of domestic violence and the impact it has not just on wives and partners but on children as well, is urgently needed in Japan (Gilhooly, 2017). To ease this serious social problem is not just women's business, but a joint cooperation of both men and women. In other words, this goal cannot be realized until men and women come together to work on it.

Chapter III. Methods of the Research

III. A. Research questions and method taken

Based on my research significance, I drew out three research questions:

1. “Why is the rate of DV in Japan still on the increase?”
2. “What has to be improved in the present DV prevention in Japan?”
3. “How should anti-DV support for male parties be conducted in Japan?”

One of the primary purposes of this study is to solidify the foundation of research on the prevention of domestic violence in Japan, especially for male parties. However, this field has not yet been explored enough, and due to its sensitivity and confidentiality, it is difficult to get connected with the DV parties directly. Instead, I turned to the anti-DV supporters who are working hard on offering help to male abusers and victims.

Likewise, the number of male supporters in preventing DV in Japan is reported to be scarce, and it is difficult to gather enough informants to carry out a questionnaire survey for quantitative analysis. In other words, it is difficult to conduct quantitative method, whose nature of the response is prescribed by the need for quantitative analysis (Smith, 2015).

Furthermore, domestic violence issues are not the kind of problems that you can easily scrutinize with limited statistics. Instead, to seek the answers to questions that emphasize how social experience is created and given meanings needs numbers of exploring, describing and interpreting the personal and social experiences of participants (Smith, 2015).

Therefore, for this study on the prevention of domestic violence towards male parties in Japan, I conducted qualitative methods towards five people involved with anti-DV programs. And the information gathered by interviews was analyzed to depict the status quo in Japanese society towards the prevention of domestic violence mainly against male parties.

III. B. Interviewees and method of interview

The qualitative approaches provided in-depth data focused on five interviewees, who were counselors from Men’s Supporting Centers in Kansai area, and facilitators of men’s

group therapy treatments and scholars in the field of Men's Study.

Having considered both the linguistic and comprehension difficulties I faced, the interviews for this research were conducted in a semi-structured individual manner during August 2018. Brief introduction of five interviewees are as below:

- A: clinical psychologist, founder of Men's Hotline Japan
- B: men's counselor, facilitator of anti-DV group work
- C: industrial psychologist, operator of a Men's counseling Office
- D: scholar in Men's Study, a representative of White Ribbon Campaign Japan (WRCJ)
- E: industrial psychologist, facilitator of male child-abuser group work

On August 2nd, I met A, who is the founder of the first Men's Hotline in Japan, as well as a clinical psychologist dealing with domestic violence issues, mainly the male abusers. On August 3rd, I had a conversation with B, who is one pioneer of Men's Movement in Japan and is now the operator of a private facility which offers counseling, group-work and shelters for both DV abusers and victims. On August 7th, I interviewed C in his office. C used to work for one Men's center in Kansai area, and now has his own office providing counseling primarily to male who are suffering problems like DV. On August 10th, I had an opportunity to communicate with D, who is a well-known scholar in the field of Men's Study in Japan and one representative of White Ribbon Campaign Japan. On August 19th, I got connected with E, who also works actively not only as a clinical psychologist offering support for males but is a facilitator of group-work for fathers who are child-abusers.

Moreover, all the interviews were done in Kansai area, where Men's Liberation (1991) in Japan was launched; where the first Men's center in Japan was established (Oyama, 2018); where the first Men's Hotline (1995) in Japan was set up (Hamada, 2018). Till now, many male counselors and anti-DV facilitators gather in Kansai area, together operating men's supporting centers and counseling offices, especially for male parties.

III. C. Process of data analysis

In this research, I reexamined and reflected on the concepts that I acquired from literature review, and developed a more profound idea about the prevention of domestic violence in Japan, through detailed narrative interviews of the pioneers sharing their perceptions, understandings or accounts of this social problem.

According to Neuman (2014), many of the concepts can be developed and refined during or after the process of data collection in qualitative research. And the new ideas will provide direction and suggest new ways to measure.

Data analyses for this study are analysis and interpretation, which are inseparable and closely connected. Before interviews were conducted, documents or reports were read individually and in conjunction with each other. All these readings helped me to understand the interviewees. Furthermore, this helped me to organize questions better than before. After the interviews were completed, I listened to the typed records and summarized each interviewee's view toward each question, sorting out the similarities and differences.

When it comes to interpretation, it's obviously difficult to distinguish it from the process of analysis, as the step of analysis contains interpretation. As to the step of interpretation, it includes jotting down notes, revising them again and again, and seeking the key points in them.

While doing the interpretation, I attempted to not only draw all possible findings from the materials, but more importantly to stay true with what the interviewees said (Wolcott, 1994). Furthermore, the interpretation step drove me to look back to the primary questions of the research and to reflect on the significance of the questions asked and correspondence received.

The following chapter deals with the findings from the analysis of the dialogues between the researcher and the documents or the researcher and the interviewees, concerning the issue of domestic violence prevention in the Japanese context.

Chapter IV. Findings and Primary Analysis

IV. A. Introduction

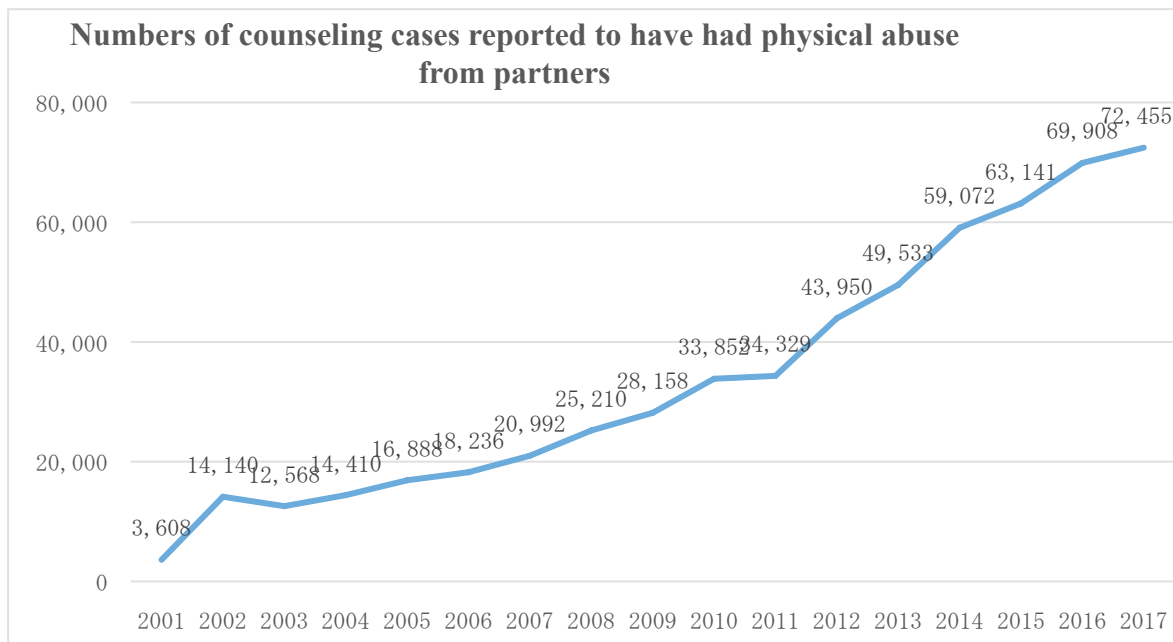
In this chapter, the current situation of domestic violence in Japan is examined on the basis of the information I has collected through interviews and written documents. Reasons why the rate of domestic violence in Japan is still on the increase are explained in details; the status quo of domestic violence male abusers and victims are described separately; three main problems in the present DV supporting systems are analyzed in turns; and advocated therapy treatments to conduct anti-violence programs for DV parties, in particular the male ones, are addressed at the end. In the following sections of this chapter, there will appear interviewee A, interviewee B, interviewee C, interviewee D, interviewee E, who are the main participants in my fieldwork sharing plenty of knowledge and experience about the prevention of domestic violence in Japan. Detailed information about these five interviewees was presented in Chapter III.

IV. B. Increasing rate of domestic violence in Japan

Since Act on the Prevention of Spousal Violence and the Protection of Victims (Act No. 31 of 2001) was officially implemented in Japan, a number of supporting programs and institutions, most of which are governmental-funded, aiming to assist and protect domestic violence victims, basically female ones. Generally, there are supporting centers that offer consultations on family violence, legislative assistance for divorce and future life assistance both for job hunting or child's education; and temporary shelters that, in order to ensure the safety of women victims, provide short-time stay for victims with or without child till they are able to live independently.

Furthermore, a growing number of educational lectures towards female audiences, for the purpose of explaining what domestic violence is and how to protect oneself from domestic violence are conducted either in communities or in universities; meanwhile, well-qualified

feminist counseling lectures are held frequently to educate female supporters; and special programs are planned to guide single mothers to lead a better live after divorce.



** Figure IV-1: Community Safety Planning Division, Criminal Affairs Bureau, First Investigation Division*

** Graph showing emotional abuse from partners is, unfortunately, not available*

Numbers of male victims (physical abuse)

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Ratio in 2017
Male	3281	5971	7557	10496	12440	17.2%
Female	46252	53101	55584	59412	60015	82.8%

** Table IV-1: Community Safety Planning Division, Criminal Affairs Bureau, First Investigation Division*

However, Figure IV-1 explicitly shows that the rate of domestic violence has not decreased; instead it keeps on the increase. Below I address several reasons to respond to the first research question, “Why is the rate of domestic violence in Japan still on the increase, even with a large number of support programs having been launched?”

The first and the most frequently mentioned reason, during the interviews, is that nowadays the number of male victims is gradually rising in Japan. As the statistics Table IV-1 shows the number of male victims who have experienced physical violence from their partners has risen from 3281 (in 2013) to 12,440 (in 2017). Thus, close to one in every five men is considered to be victim of physical violence. What is worse, interviewee D suggested that since emotional abuse was appended to the anti-DV law in 2011, men came to be aware of the fact that being verbally attacked by their spouses is within the field of domestic violence. Thus, a growing number of men are encouraged to speak out for rescue, mainly towards men’s counselors.

Statistically, the increasing number of male victims did make the total figure larger, whereas, support going to male parties is far away from being sufficient. Based on the latest data from Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, there are around 400 governmental-funded counseling centers and temporary shelters all over Japan offering support for female DV victims. In contrast, the sum of male support centers is reported to be 45 in 2017 (Miyake, 2017). By extension, during the interviews, interviewee C stated that the total number of male support institutions might be around 70 now. Whether it is 45 or 70, as compared with the number of facilities for female, which is 400, this fact certainly demonstrates that there exists an obvious imbalance between the number of support for male parties and that for female ones. In other words, the present aid for DV sufferers is obviously one-side (i.e., female victims), and this kind of gender-biased support cannot be regarded as sufficient to prevent domestic violence, claimed three interviewees in this research.

Leaving aside the quantity for the moment, as for the quality of those governmental-funded institutions, there are some negative criticisms. Firstly, interviewee B

pointed out that the majority of governmental-based counseling centers often recommend divorce as the first even the only choice, to female victims; persuading victims that “if you want to get rid of domestic violence you have to divorce your spouse with cutting off all the connections with him and hide far away from him.” If this easily escaping strategy was adoptable, then what would the next strategy be when she becomes a victim again in another new relationship? Another divorce?

Secondly, when it comes to male abusers, in order to avoid divorce, they try their best to accept consultation and seek men’s group therapy frequently, yet they were left behind with no partners to give positive judgment that they indeed succeeded in rehabilitation. As interviewee C indicated that partner (wife) is the only person who can confirm whether her abusive husband has made changes or not. Without partners’ affirmation, all effort that abusers have made seems to be in vain, and this will lead men into even more desperation. The two listed reasons can explain that divorce, namely escaping, should not be considered to be the most preferable way to handle domestic violence issues.

Furthermore, interviewee C also mentioned that quite a number of female supporters pay attentions mainly to the abuse part, not much to the future-life support. A survey conducted in 2009 by an NPO named “Ikuno Gakuen”, where 482 DV female survivors were interviewed about the conditions of shelters they’ve hidden in and life-support they’ve received from institutions. The problem was “there is plenty of information on how to get away from domestic violence, but merely little about how to lead your life after escaping” is included in the final analysis of this investigation.

Document of 2009 may not be convincing enough to state the negative aspects of current DV prevention status, however, in 2017 poverty of single mother issue was brought up in the 20th National Shelter Symposium of No More Violence. The distributed material presents that Japan’s poverty rate of single family had reached over 50 per cent, being the highest around the world (OECD 2014 Family database “Child Poverty”). To be specific, single mother who works as part-time worker has an average annual income reported to be

1.25 million yen (\$11255). Meanwhile, other single families simply live depending on livelihood assistance welfare, due to mother's depression from experiencing domestic abuse in the past (the 20th National Shelter Symposium of No More Violence).

It is true that women victims can survive with the support from institutions. However, the fact is after a certain period of time, victims have to leave temporary shelters and start to live by themselves. Due to the lack of future-life support, DV sufferers usually have difficulties to live independently and follow-up problems, such as depression, poverty, child's education and difficulty to find jobs, lead them into much worse situations.

Apart from the two aspects concerning about the deficiencies of anti-DV support towards both men and women parties mentioned above, interviewee D also complained about the never changing working conditions in Japanese society. Since the traditional concept of men working outside and women inside still remains deeply rooted, women, nowadays, not only have to go outside being one of the bread-winners, but also need to handle all the housework after work. The double pressure on women is obviously a negative factor that directly affects family's wellbeing.

On the other hand, as the power-structure system continues, men are not likely to take care of their household. Instead they have to stick on the life being fulfilled with various kinds of power-control and longtime work. Against this background, both husband and wife barely have enough time for communication. As Freire (1996) explains in his well-known theory about the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed, without dialogue, there comes conflict; without dialogue, there will be no effective cooperation. Clearly, without communication, it is almost impossible for couples to build a healthy companionship in domestic.

IV. C. Current situations of DV male parties

Japan, the same as China and Korea, is profoundly influenced by Confucian ideals. The family is central to Confucian societies, where sustaining the patriarchal continuity of man as

the head of the household and woman as the object being subject to man (Slote and De, 1998). Both men and women shared expectations under the Confucian system: loyalty. In the past, men were expected to be loyal to their lords, while women were to be faithful to their family and husband (Sugihara and Katsurada, 2002). When it comes to modern Japan, the typical idea of gender roles is still men work outside, and women inside handling housework and child rearing (Yamaguchi, 2000). In Japan, a typical patriarchal society, a large proportion of men tend to take it for granted that if you could not control or dominate a woman, then you would be regarded as a failure and not a real man (Ito, 2018). This deeply rooted concept, more or less, leads the power-control partnership between men and women, which is regarded as one of the main causes of domestic violence.

It is reported that 95 per cent of DV victims are females in Japan (Ito, 2018), which means close to the same percentage there are male abusers. Whereas, in the case of murder between couples, men are easier to be victims and the percentage is about 40. Incidentally, the majority of those who were killed are considered to be DV perpetrators once (Ito, 2018).

Though this traditional gender-based distribution remains highly valued in Japanese society, nowadays society has become more flexible (Kincaid, 2013). Thanks to feminist movement, women become to have much more power and to be able to be masculine, the same as men are able to be feminine. These days in Japan, “Sousyokukei Danshi” has increasingly gained popularity. In general, it refers to young men who are not competitive as in the traditional male stereotype, including in the avid pursuit of money and sex and who may also be considerable, smart, gentle, cooperative, well informed, family-oriented and not aggressive (Sousyokukeidanshi, n.d.). This phenomenon leads to great changes in Japanese gender roles and also affects sexual roles (Kitamura, 2011).

Another example is “Ikumen”, which refers to men who take initiatives in helping their wives with child rearing and other domestic duties (The Japan Times, 2015). To some extent, it seems to be favorable transformations for female; on the other hand, it brings crisis and violence to male.

Lately, the number of male victims is clearly on the growth, and this newly found group of sufferers has been unreasonably ignored in many ways. Below, I depict the status quo of male abusers and victims respectively in details, and point out the connections between abusers and victims.

IV. C. 1. DV male abusers

In Japan, the majority of people hold the view that once man had been recognized as an abuser, then he would never have any chance to stop from violence and have to bear the burden throughout his whole life, all interviewees stated in this research. Towards this phenomenon, all interviewees argued that it is not because the abusers did not pursue any transformations, but that there has been no support to guide them.

In fact, abusers also have the possibility to suffer mental disorders after conducting violence, suggested interviewee A. Also, interviewee C insisted that to understand abusers should be the start, and simply to leave abusers aside would make the situation even worse. It is possible that abusers can free themselves from violence, only if there was someone reliable to depend on and assist them. For interviewees B and D, they warned that being unreasonably pushed to take all the responsibilities for provoking violence will drive abusers to become more upset, and when emotions get out of control, injury accidents or even murders are more likely to occur. It is for this reason that perpetrators are the group who needs assistance and understanding, too.

Recently, there arose a different kind of dispute, whether father-child visitation should be continued or not. The public blame the abuser for bringing negative effects on the child's growth and advocate that it is better to stop father-child visitation. As for this complicated issue, there are diametrically different perspectives from the interviewees. Interviewees A and B affirmed that it is not the problem of the abuser but the twisted relationship between the couples that laid bad influence on the growth of the child.

Interviewee C contended that in 90 percent of the cases custody will go to the mother, and if the mother had troubles in mental health or constantly complained about the “father” in front of the child, unhealthy impacts would also occur. Without understanding both parties’ situation, it is not easy to make a conclusion as to which side is the key factor that causes trouble to the child, added interviewee E. Moreover, getting rid of the father-child visitation will seemingly irritate the fathers again, and trigger more attacks that could be avoided.

Ignorance continues. Interviewee C asserted that some of the abusers did their utmost to abandon violence by joining a variety of anti-violence group therapies or receiving counseling; however, there was no partner left to make positive comment on their transformation any more. The cause of this problem goes to the support system of governmental-funded institutions as I mentioned in IV.B of this chapter. Since divorce has been suggested as the only way to avoid domestic violence for females, the abuser is left alone with no one to understand. As a result, what men usually can do is silently accept that they will never make changes.

IV. C. 2. DV male victims

Table IV-1 (refer to p. 27) clearly shows the fact that the number of male victims is gradually growing year by year. In patriarchal societies like Japan, where men are always constrained by the so-called masculinity, it is a shame for them to speak out that they are abused by their partners.

Generally, there are four typical features of this group according to Yoshioka (2018). First, they don’t think it’s necessary to ask for help just because they were beaten by their wives; second, they don’t want their partners to be arrested as a criminal by the police; third, they blame themselves for provoking their spouses into violence; fourth, they have never considered themselves as domestic violence sufferers at all. The more they are trapped in masculinity, the more difficult to them to recognize themselves as victims of domestic

violence. To put in another way, they would rather continue to endure abuse than speak out for assistance.

With respect to the countermeasures for male victims, all interviewees stressed that it is far from sufficient. Especially for the victims, there are few places for them to have consultations as female victims do. What is worse, when they are in need of shelters, there is none. What they can do or what they are doing now is spending nights moving from one Internet cafe to another, or simply staying all nights in their cars. Ignoring the existence of battered men leads to the lack of support for male.

Violence, the same as the abusers, is unacceptable, which makes it uneasy for the public and social workers to accept offering support to male abusers. However, in the case of domestic violence, both abusers and victims should take part in the prevention process; otherwise the prevention will possibly turn out to be in vain. Furthermore, in patriarchal societies, the emerging group of male victims has continued to be ignored and despised in many ways, which not only lead those men into much worse conditions but also result in a lack of assistance for male.

IV. C. 3. Connections between abusers and victims

Throughout the interviews, one solid fact was found: there are no hundred percent abusers. All interviewees reported that most of the so-called perpetrators are identified to have experienced some verbal violence or slight physical abuse from their partners in the past. In some cases, women enact verbal (emotional) abuse against men and men are apt to respond using physical violence to confront it.

Even though emotional abuse has been officially identified as one form of domestic violence, the negative influence resulting from emotional abuse is often ignored in reality. In this research, data of Figure IV-1 and Table IV-1 is the number of victims who suffered from physical violence. As for the number of emotional abuse victims, there is no data available at this stage in Japan.

This fact explains that domestic violence should not be taken as a one-side only issue but a mutual one. As interviewee E indicated, there may be something that triggers men's violent deeds, and this something might be emotional attack by their partners. It is better to take this factor into consideration while conducting the prevention of domestic violence. In other words, it is favorable to have the same counselor to offer consultation to husband and wife. This helps the counselor to understand the problems of both sides thoroughly and bring forward a series of pointed suggestions to the couples for relationship repairing. However, it should be clear that emotional abuse is not an excuse for men's physical abuse. Thus, it requires more experienced and more skillful supporters (counselors). Unfortunately, among the present DV prevention programs there rarely are supporters who can adopt a proper attitude toward those abusers who have been emotionally abused and conduct suitable treatment to assist them, added interviewee E.

IV. D. Things need to be improved in the present DV prevention

At the beginning of this chapter, many domestic violence prevention programs have been identified in Japan. Whereas, this does not seem to work well since the number of domestic violence victims is still on the increase. Throughout all the interviews, the researcher found three serious problems exist, obstructing the present prevention of domestic violence in Japan. They are incomplete female support; deficient father-child visitation system and lack of understanding of men's counseling. In the following sections, those three problems mentioned above are analyzed in details. Furthermore, at the very end, three advocated therapy treatments, especially for male parties, are introduced.

IV. D. 1. Incomplete female support

As has been mentioned in IV.B, there are some negative criticisms against female supporting institutions, especially governmental-funded ones. First and foremost, the majority of female supporters tend to deliver opinions to female victims that divorce is the first, even

the only choice, to get rid of domestic violence (Ajisawa, 2016, p10). It is true that divorce is the most direct way for victims to stay away from domestic abuse, and in certain cases, divorce is indeed the right or only way to adopt. However, every case related to domestic violence is extremely complicated and totally different; thus, every case deserves its best solutions rather than ending up with the same outcome - divorce.

Secondly, as interviewees B and C mentioned, relationship between victims and supporters is somehow unhealthy, which retains power and control in it. According to Kinstlinger-Bruhn (1997), domestic violence is about power and control, that is to say, support under this sort of power-control relationships is simply re-enacting domestic violence. Moreover, since the supporters have taken almost complete control over the victims, victims' own wills can hardly be heard. In short, treatment or consultation based on such a relationship could not be expected as the proper method to prevent domestic violence.

Thirdly, based on what interviewee C claimed, most of the governmental-funded support only focuses on fighting violence aspect, and not much attention is paid to the future life of DV survivors. In Japan, when domestic violence occurs, very often, female victims do their utmost to escape from the abusers and hide somewhere without receiving any child support. What is more, in order to stay safe, they usually cannot show their residence certificate publicly. This means they would not be able to find a job, as soon as possible, to get their lives economically independent (Menkai kouryu, n. d.). Therefore, when it is time to leave shelters, to live without support, they are easily to be upset and bewildered. As a result, poverty of single-mother family gradually becomes a concerning issue nowadays as I explained in Chapter IV. B.

Meanwhile, unhealthy or unfavorable influence keep being piled up on the growth of child due to the mothers' post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) from domestic violence. It has been found that people who have experienced domestic violence in the past may be more likely to be abusive in their future life towards intimate family members (Tull, 2007). In

single-mothers' case, they are more likely to enact abuse towards their children. What is worse, if they were also with PTSD, then the possibility might be higher.

IV. D. 2. Deficient father-child visitation system

In order to protect parental rights as well as to guarantee child's healthy growth, Judicial System of Japan addresses that after divorce the party who lost the child custody enjoys the right to have visitations with the child. In the case of domestic violence, around 90 per cent of child custody goes to the mothers (interviewee C). Usually, the mother was unhappy to let her child meet the abusive father, but according to the judicial system, mothers have to let father visit the child. Somehow, this unwillingness worsens the situation of abusive fathers (interviewee D).

For instance, two chilling murder cases happened in 2017. In the first one, the father killed the four-year-old girl during the visitation first and committed suicide himself; in the second case, the mother got murdered after accompanying her child to ex-husband's place. Both cases occurred during the visitation, which raised growing voices criticizing that the father-child visitation has brought plenty of negative effects to the growth of child, so that it's better to have it abolished.

One research on father-child visitation system presented in the 20th National Shelter Symposium of No More Violence (2017) also addressed that children who continued to meet the abusive father have 12.6 higher possibilities to possess introverted problems and 17.9 higher possibilities to encounter comprehensive problems. All criticism pushes the father-child visitation system the same as the abusive fathers into situations in which fathers cannot meet their child. However, throughout all five interviews in this research, the most common reply I received is that it must be the badly twisted relationship between parents that lay unfavorable influence on the child's growth, rather than the imperfect systems.

The problem that we need to think about is what exactly turns the father into a murderer? In Japan, when domestic violence occurs, basically, women victims and their

children will be taken care of by supporters from certain governmental-funded institutions. This means women victims will have to leave where they used to live and hide somewhere far away from their abusive partners, certainly without informing partners the exact time they leave and the place they are going to stay. When we look back, husbands usually will be in bewilderment, with no idea what happened and why the families who he was with till this morning were all gone after work. Out of great shock and fear, husbands tend to go to the police or social workers for help; however, they often are treated with terrible attitudes as if they were charged with the commission of crimes. Anyone who is put in that kind of situation, all of a sudden, will try to find out why.

Whereas, there is no one standing out to offer information or assistance, instead they seem to blame you saying that it is the exact result that you deserve. Shouldering double pressure drives normal men into neurotic murderers (Menkai kouryu, n. d.). If the father-child visitation system was abolished, that is to say, the only chance that father can meet his child was deprived, this would definitely drive fathers into more desperation. Instead of blaming the abusive fathers, why not try to explain the situations to them and get to understand their conditions?

Additionally, while accusing fathers of being the bad factors in the growth of children, mother's mental illness should also be taken into consideration. As analyzed in IV. D. 1, mothers who have PTSD are more likely to become an abuser to the child, which will bring unhealthy influence to the child. What is more, instead of simply abolishing the father-child visitation system, some amendment is more urgently needed. According to interviewee D, in order to avoid more harmful or injury incidents, it will be better to have a third party, who can be a judicial worker or social worker, present throughout the whole visitation.

IV. D. 3. Lack of understanding of men's counseling

Men's counseling in Japan, first started with the form of Men's Hotline in 1995 and mainly dealt with men's issues (Hamada, 2018). Later in 2004, Men's Hotline cooperated

with Osaka Prefectural Gender Equality Center, which made men's counseling officially established. Men's counseling is not limited to telephone counseling, but also in-person interview that needs advanced reservation (Hamada, 2018). In 2011, a manual of men's counseling specifically towards domestic violence issue came into enforcement in Osaka. Based on this manual, several veteran counselors started to conduct educational programs in Tokyo and Kansai, for training and evaluating related social workers from different regions, which promoted the continuous spreading of men's counseling around Japan (Hamada, 2018).

Thanks to all the efforts done by those pioneers in men's counseling, the number of men's inquiry tables is gradually on the increase, whereas it is yet far from sufficient. Nowadays, support and consultation being carried out in local Gender Equality Centers are mainly for women. As for men, one or two times a week is at the best, while the majority of centers hold men's consultation only once a month with certain time constraints.

The reasons that men's counseling is not widely promoted are not only the restricting expenses of each local government, but also the difficulty to locate qualified counselors to work late at night or at weekends. For males, the available time blocks are after work at nights and weekends, which increases difficulties to find counselors who are willing to offer service in sacrificing their own time of rest (Hamada, 2018).

Until now in Japan, men's counseling has not been established as an official profession. Through the interviews, one shocking fact was found; most of the active men's counselors are not full-time. They are living with a full-time job while volunteering as a counselor offering assistance to males. As long as men's counselor remains to be an unofficial occupation, the number of this group will merely grow up.

In addition, all five interviewees stated that the misunderstandings towards male counselors or supporters are deeply rooted in the society. The public, especially certain groups of feminists, criticize that being a male counselor or supporter is being the ally of male abusers helping them make persuasive excuses of their abusive deems.

However, the original goal of feminism is to transform the patriarchal society into a more harmonious one where gender equality is highly valued. On this basis, feminist counseling was started, so was men's counseling. In regard of feminist counseling, it primarily deals with social issues towards women, such as sexual harassment, domestic violence, sexual abuse or violence. On the other hand, men's counseling, aims to eliminate gender discrimination, so it tries to assist men to release from the traditional concept of male-domination. If feminist counselors are doing their utmost to help women be free from men's domination, then men's counselors' work could be explained as to make men realize by themselves that it is time to get rid of the notion that men ought to dominant women either in workplace or household (Hamada, 2018, p. 15).

In short, a men's counselor is not trying to be a close ally of male parties, as well as the enemy of females, but a facilitator to help men to get rid of the restrictive sexual division of labor both in workplace and household; a transformer to inform men that they can be weak, they can cry, they can go search for consultation. To some extent, what men's counselors are trying to do is not just for men's sake, but also a huge merit for easing various issues of women. To eliminate gender discrimination or to maintain gender equality should not simply be women's issue, and not only be men's responsibility as well, but a serious task for all people. Instead of verbally attacking each other, it is more urgent to cooperate to conquer the problem.

IV. D. 4. Advocated therapy treatments

When it comes to current anti-DV therapy treatments towards male parties, male abusers in particular, men's counseling and men's group therapy treatment are the most well-known practices.

In Japan, the majority of men are resisting to search for consultation because they always hold the idea that whatever troubles them it is better to bear it or handle it by themselves (Hamada, 2018, p. 97). This compounds the difficulties of being a qualified men's

counselor, who not only has to skillfully facilitate the clients to open their hearts and voice out their sorrows, but also needs to proficiently assist the clients to face their weaknesses and step by step help them to be free from domestic violence.

Certainly, the way corresponding to male abusers differs from that to male victims. In regard to the countermeasure against male abusers: first and foremost, do not blame them for the abusive deeds they had done, but listen attentively and respond actively, which helps build up reliance between counselors and clients.

Second, since most men are not good at communication, it is necessary to aid the clients to translate their feelings into words, which gives chances for counselors to understand the situation of clients.

Third, usually men enact domestic violence because of dissatisfaction with their wives' bad cooking or other trivial matters. Therefore, lead them to think from another perspective, for example "even though your wife is not a good cook, does she deserve your abuse?" and this drives the clients to self-reflect on their violent behaviors.

Fourth, send positive messages to the clients about their seeking help from counselors, and cautiously assist the clients to confront what they have done, consider together about how to abandon violence and figure out how to deal with the relationship between the clients and their partners in the near future (Yoshioka, 2018, p. 198).

As for the countermeasure against male victims: above all, listen carefully and respond cheerfully, which makes the client feel safe to share emotional problems with the counselors. In the next place, a large percent of male victims do not admit themselves as DV victims because of being restrained by the so-called manhood, thus, counselors need to untangle those victims from being masculine first and comfort and encourage them not to blame themselves of triggering partners' violence.

Furthermore, offer advice to the victims about how to wisely communicate with their violent partners. In the worst cases how to keep distance with the partners, and how to act or who to ask for rescue while emergency is happening; ultimately, as soon as the clients settle

down, facilitate them with how to pursue a better life without violence (Yoshioka, 2018, p. 203).

Apart from all the skills mentioned above, there are three other significant reminders in conducting men's counseling. Firstly, be careful not to power-control the clients emotionally and always maintain a collegial relationship with them. Secondly, always keep in mind that the only one who can give confirmation of the client's transformation is client's partner; neither counselors nor supporters can replace that important role. Thirdly, it is of great importance for both female counselors and male counselors to exchange information timely (Yoshioka, 2018).

Men's counseling is suitable for those who have typical problems of communicating with others, while men's group therapy treatment is a better choice for those who want to exchange information with people embracing the same problem. As the name implies, men's group therapy treatment is mainly for male parties (usually male abusers), who have awareness of their abusive tendency and want to seek ways to release themselves from being violent. According to Ajisawa (2016, p. 46), men's anti-violence group work is carried out 24 times a year, with the themes such as "to be honest with your own feelings"; "translate your own feelings into words and share with others"; "build up a collegial relationships with others".

Generally, for each group work there are approximately ten participants, with one or two facilitators. Here the facilitator should not behave as an educator or a leader, which would easily bring hierarchical relationships into the group work. Instead, the facilitator himself should take part in activities as a party sharing his experience sincerely with all participants. Surely, among the participants there are newcomers and repeaters. Usually repeaters will start sharing ideas first to thaw the atmosphere, which helps newcomers to get ready for their voicing out. Through group therapy treatment, parties can be understood and be supportive with each other, which embolden them to face their weaknesses or abusive tendencies and be more initiatives to search for anti-violence treatment.

Besides men's group therapy treatment, which as its name suggests is only open to males, there is actually a mixed group therapy treatment being launched as well (Ajisawa, 2016). Mixed group therapy treatment is a group work for either victims or abusers regardless of gender. This is the group work that I had attended once and would like to highly recommend to other supporters. The basic processes and main contents are the same as men's group therapy treatment, while it provides a very valuable opportunity for both sexes to get to understand each other instead of drifting away from each other. Its uniqueness is that the mixed group work helps participants get to know the way the opposite sex behaves or thinks, which also indirectly assist participants to rethink about their prejudice towards their partners (Ajisawa, 2016, p. 54).

IV. E. Summary

This chapter has presented and analyzed the interview data concerning the ideas related to the current prevention of domestic violence in Japan. I highlight the significant points of the findings below.

In section B, three main reasons to explain why the rate of domestic violence in Japan is still on the increase are addressed. First and foremost, the number of male victims is raising year by year; however, support goes to male parties is far from adequate. Secondly, governmental-funded institutions for females seem not to work efficiently to ease the DV issue. The majority of female supporters tend to recommend divorce as the first and even the only choice to female victims, which not only takes no account of the situation when survivors become victims again in a new relationship, but also leaves male parties with no partners to give positive confirmation of their transformations after accepting numbers of rehabilitating treatments. Furthermore, future-life support for female victims is also clarified to be not sufficient, which leads to certain social problems, such as poverty of single mothers. Thirdly, the deeply rooted sexual division of labor in workplace and household as well as the

power-structured system remain highly valued in Japanese society, which somehow may provoke violence between couples.

In section C, the current situations of male abusers and victims are analyzed respectively. With respect to male abusers, one solid fact was discovered that most of the so-called perpetrators are identified to have experienced verbal or slight physical violence from their partners in the past. When it comes to male victims, they are absolutely in a worse situation than female ones. Usually, male victims have few places to go for assistance and no shelters for temporary stay. Instead they either continue to endure abuse or spend nights in Internet cafés or their cars.

In section D, three problems in the current prevention of DV in Japan are discussed. They are incomplete female support, deficient father-child visitation system, lack of understanding of men's counseling.

As for the incomplete female support, two main problems are indicated. One is most female supporter tend to deliver opinion to female victims that "divorce" is the first or even the only way to get rid of domestic violence. The other is the main support usually goes to fight violence aspect, and future-life support is not emphasized that much.

In terms of the deficient father-child visitation system, there exists deficiency that needs to be amended. Instead of inspecting the system, the majority turn to blame the abusive father for bringing negative influence on the growth of child. Concerning the lack of understanding of men's counseling, there is deep misunderstandings towards this group. They are very often being criticized as the alley of male abusers and enemies of females.

Furthermore, three advocated therapy treatments, especially for male parties are displayed, which are men's counseling, men's group therapy treatment and mixed group therapy treatment. Here the mixed group therapy treatment is a group work for either victims or abusers regardless of gender, which provides a valuable opportunity for both sexes to get to understand each other rather than drifting away from each other.

Chapter V. Recommendations and Limitations

V. 1. Recommendations

Concerning DV prevention in Japan, not only governmental-based support systems should make improvements, but also more aid needs to be provided by nongovernmental-funded support programs. The former mainly focuses on female victims while the latter pays more attentions to male abusers and victims.

In Chapter IV. D, three problems in the current prevention of DV in Japan are discussed. They are incomplete female support, deficient father-child visitation system, lack of understanding of men's counseling. Towards each problem, certain recommendations are put forward as below:

1. Government and NGOs need to offer support to both female and male parties, and get both sides involved in the prevention process.
2. Anti-DV support should be regarded as a life-long time process, not only focusing on anti-violence aspect but also future-life aspect.
3. Father-child visitation system urgently needs some amendment.
4. More understanding and attention is needed towards men's support.

In details, as for the incomplete female support, it is more favorable not to take "divorce" as the first or even the only suggestion to women victims. Moreover, future-life support should be laid more emphasis on. In terms of the deficient father-child visitation system, instead of simply abolishing the system, some amendment is urgently needed, such as having a third party accompany throughout the whole process of visitation, which can at least guarantee the safety of mother and child. With respect to the lack of understanding of men's counseling, it is important to acknowledge that men's counseling holds the same goal as feminist counseling, which is to ease the domestic violence issue and assist DV parties to release from abuse.

In respect of recommendations on men's anti-DV support, there are three advocated therapy treatments introduced in Chapter IV. D. 4. They are men's counseling, men's group therapy treatment and mixed group therapy treatment. Men's counseling and men's group therapy treatment are the two types that have been carried out frequently. However, most of the participants in these two therapy treatment are male abusers. Below, I especially would like to recommend the mixed therapy treatment in both counseling and group activities.

As to counseling, it is indeed important for both female counselors and male counselors to exchange information timely. Whereas, instead of counselors' exchanging ideas, how about both husband and wife accept counseling from the same counselor? Certainly, it might not be acceptable for both parties to have consultation together at the same time, but they can do it in turns. For example, victims come to tell their worries first and then abusers come to narrate their problems next. As pointed out in Chapter IV. C. 3, most of the male abusers are identified to have experienced emotional violence from their partners in the past. Whereas, it does not mean men can take emotional abuse as their excuses for physical abuse; instead, it means this factor should also be taken into consideration while conducting counseling, and counselors should listen to stories of both sides. Only through this process can the counselor thoroughly understand the exact problem of the couple. Being aware of the exact situation, the counselor can bring forward targeted advice to the couples for relationship repairing. However, it must be admitted that this way of counseling needs much more time and energy from counselors. Meanwhile, it brings more difficulties and pressure to counselors.

As for group activities, instead of having women or men separately participate in activities, it is better to let both victims and abusers regardless of gender attend together all as DV parties. Even though the basic processes and main content are the same as the usual group therapy treatment, the mixed group therapy treatment provides a very valuable opportunity for both sexes to get to understand each other instead of drifting away from each other. Its uniqueness is that the mixed group work helps participants get to know the way the opposite

sex behaves or thinks, which also indirectly assist participants to rethink about their prejudice towards their partners.

In short, if this form of mixed therapy treatment could be widely adopted in the prevention of domestic violence, the confrontation between men and women could, more or less, lessen to some degrees and relationship repairing, will be easier to develop.

V. 2. Limitations

There are limitations to this research. First and foremost, these results cannot be generalized in a country's scale as the research sites were mainly in Kansai area and the number of interviewees was not sufficient. Second, problems discussed in DV prevention towards female victims are mostly from written materials and five interviewees, as it was not allowed to interview female supporters. Third, considering that I am not a native Japanese speaker, there may be some misunderstandings during the interviews and mistranslations in the process of data analysis.

Chapter VI. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to gain a deeper understanding of anti-DV support in Japan, particularly the case of male parties. Below, general concepts discussed in previous chapters are reviewed and significant findings in response to three research questions are drawn.

In Chapter I, background information on anti-DV support in Japan, where the majority of government-oriented institutions or programs only offer help to women victims was addressed. Holding the idea that domestic violence is a serious problem for all human beings, as well as the prevention of domestic violence should be, the not widely spread men's anti-DV support was highlighted. To be more specific, the aim of this study was to explore the current situation of men's anti-DV support in Japan, with responding to questions such as how men's anti-DV support are being conducted; what difficulties men's supporters are facing, what advocated therapy treatments can be adopted to better support DV sufferers.

In Chapter II, general ideas of domestic violence from perspectives of Gender Study and Human Rights Study are explained, and three main forms of domestic violence were also generalized, which are physical abuse, sexual abuse and emotional abuse. Theories and practice on male parties outside and inside Japan were analyzed respectively. Through the examination of a wide-range of previous research, largely done by western scholars, it is clear that there are some significant studies dealing with the cases of male parties, in particular male abusers, but the number is extremely limited. In addition, as compared with the number of institutions or programs supporting female victims, the number of those for men is clearly far from sufficient. When it comes to the case of Japan, not only the amount of research dealing with male parties of DV is exceedingly limited, but also the anti-DV support to men is not widely advocated.

In Chapter III, the methodology and questions of the research is displayed. For the purpose to explore the present DV prevention, especially men's anti-DV support, in Japan, I started with three questions as follow:

1. “Why is the rate of DV in Japan still on the increase?”
2. “What has to be improved in the present DV prevention in Japan?”
3. “How should anti-DV programs for male parties be conducted in Japan?”

Research Question 1 is about the data gathering and Research Question 2 and 3 are about the findings of the research from Research Question 1. In order to gather persuasive information to respond to the three Research Questions, the qualitative approaches of semi-structured interviews with five people involved with anti-DV programs was adopted. The information gathered by interviews was qualitatively analyzed to depict the status quo of men’s anti-DV support in Japan.

In Chapter IV, important findings responding to the three Research Questions are analyzed. As for the responses to Research Question 1, three dominant aspects were mentioned in IV.B. They are: first, the number of the male victims is growing while the support for this group so far is wholly inadequate; second, there are problems in the present anti-DV support for females, such as taking divorce as the first or only choice to release from DV; third, the unchanging working conditions in Japanese society somehow lays negative influence on the relationships between couples.

In answer to Research Question 2, three problems in the present DV prevention in Japan are clarified in IV.D. They are incomplete female support, deficient father-child visitation system and lack of understanding of men’s counseling.

In responding to Research Question 3, three advocated therapy treatments are addressed in IV. D. 4. The treatments include men’s counseling, men’s group therapy treatment, and one rarely being carried out - mixed group therapy treatment. Mixed group therapy treatment is a type of group work that either victims or abusers regardless of gender can join, and the content and process are similar to men’s group therapy treatment.

In Chapter V, recommendations for the present DV prevention in Japan and limitations of this research are listed briefly.

To sum up, the findings of this research revealed the current situation of DV prevention in Japan, in particular men's anti-DV support. Even though there are a number of government-oriented institutions actively offering support for DV sufferers, they are mainly for female victims. As for support for male parties, it is extremely far from sufficient.

Furthermore, this study also uncovered several problems existing in the present anti-DV support and introduced three advocated therapy treatments for men's anti-DV support.

In Japan, at the current stage research and practices on men's anti-DV support have not been widely spread, and there will be other problems or difficulties uncovered in this field. Therefore in further studies, I would like to continue discovering more feasible therapy treatments for supporting DV parties based on more detailed data. In the future, a focus could be not only on Japan but also other countries, which could help to understand views and activities comparatively.

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Appendix

Main questions of interviews and its English translation

1. DV を発生させる原因とは何だと思われませんか？
2. DV はなおると思われませんか？
3. なぜ様々な DV 支援を行っているのにも関わらず、DV は減らないとお考えでしょうか？
4. 男性当事者に対して、どう思われますか？
5. 自分が加害者として認識している男性に対しては、自己の受け止めができているので、カウンセリングは不要であるという意見もありますが、そのことについてどう思われますか？
6. 男性当事者に対して、どんなカウンセリングスキルが必要だと思われませんか？
7. 男性カウンセリングは、女性相談員より男性相談員が担当した方がよいと思われませんか？
8. 夫婦が同じカウンセリング施設でサポートを受けることに対しては、どう思われますか？
9. 親子面会は、子どもに悪い影響を与えると思われませんか？
10. あなたが行っておられることは、「更生」と「支援」どちらに近いとお考えですか？
11. 男性相談以外に、他にどのような支援の提供が必要だとお考えですか？
12. 支援者として困難を感じるのはどのような時ですか？

1. Why does DV occur? What are the factors?
2. Is there any possibility to end DV? Or can male abusers make transformations?
3. Why is the rate of DV in Japan still on the increase with many anti-DV prevention being carried out?
4. What do you think of male parties?
5. Do male abusers need counseling or other support?
6. What is men's counseling? What type of counseling do male parties need?
7. Which is more suitable for men's counseling, female counselor or male counselor?
8. How do you think about couples accepting counseling from the same counselor?
9. Do you think father-child visitation will bring negative influence on the child's growth?
10. Are any other therapy treatments or support needed for male parties?
11. What are your concerns about the present prevention of DV?