UNSCR 1325 and Global Feminism[*]

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Ⅰ. Engendered View on Peace and Security

The discourse on peace has been under the religious connotation implying healing, care, reconciliation and tolerance. These implications have focused on the mutual relationship. Women's involvement in peace discourse has been more integrated into these connotations. However, peace politics and peace negotiations have remained male dominant. Security sector closely related with military sector, came to stay outside of democratic regulations. The secrecy of military budget, which is often drifted into the corruption, has been protected under the cover of national security. National security, which used to be the symbol of masculinities, could easily override the democratic procedure. The increase of military budget, combined with the decrease of social welfare budget, which has been used for public burden sharing of women's domestic care takings. Gender politics has been involved in the discourse on the prioritizing competition between care taking and national security. Male dominant national security came into being in scrutiny from the disadvantaged sectors with the analysis on the impact of male dominant representation of Peace and Security. In this case,
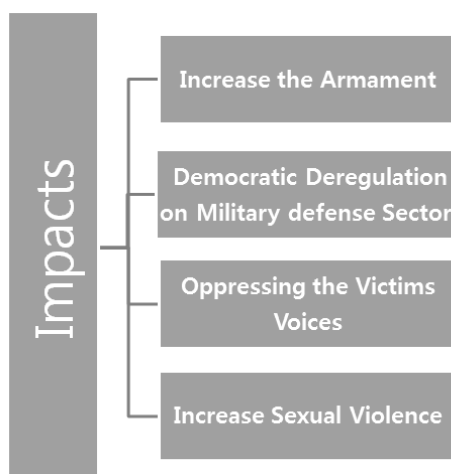
peace was understood as 'the absence of war,' while security was interpreted as the protection with the increase of military budget.

## Gendered division on Peace and Security

Peace Politics and Negotiations	• Male dominant • National Security First

Victims Advocacy	• Victimization of Women and Children • Silenced Sexual Violence

The Impact of Gendered Division

Impacts
- Increase the Armament
- Democratic Deregulation on Military defense Sector
- Oppressing the Victims Voices
- Increase Sexual Violence

[Figure 1] The Impacts of Gendered Division of Peace and Security

This unusual gendered division became challenged through the engagements of global feminism penetrated into both human right discourse, and the redefinition of international criminal law on sexual violence Those two pillars are composed of value oriented norm and means of the persecution prescription. The challenges have been made with the collective endeavors of global

feminist discourse and women's movements. Global feminist approaches have been multi-dimensional; 1) extension of existing concepts, with demarcation of gender specifications,2) institutionalization of gendered perspectives on male dominant sector such as peace and security 3) redefinition of existing concepts and 4) reintegration. The multidimensional approaches could construct and reconstruct gender sensitive global norm. This article tried the genealogical approaches towards the institutionalization of UNSCR 1325 and its impacts on the gender sensitive reframing of global value and norm. The understanding of the reinforcement relationships between the 'recognition of victims', and redefinition and reformulation of policy orientations is the focus of this article. The conceptual framework can be outlined as following diagram;
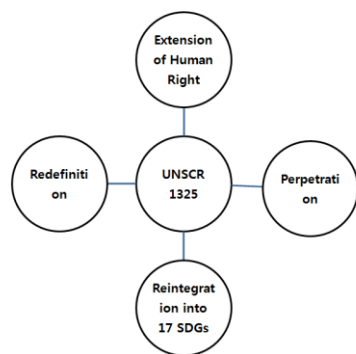
In this process, courageous victims' voices, which have been oppressed and silenced with ideological surveillance have provided the impetus to make the wheel turn in a spiral way. It has been reinforcement process among feminist discourse, women's movements and victims' courage to reveal their trauma.

One brave Korean woman broke her silence and shared her experiences encouraged by the women's solidarity and feminist counter discourses. Kim Bok Dong testified her experiences as 'comfort women' as one of the war crimes against women in Vienna at the world conference on Human right. Her courageous testimony has triggered other 31 witnesses and women's movements (Shin, 2016: 52-53). With these intervention, violence against human rights of women came into be defined as violations of the fundamental principles of international human right and humanitarian law. (shin, 2016: 53) "Women's right as human right" became specified as the 5th area within Beijing declaration and Platform for Action. (the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Paragraph, 135)

These voices could challenge the existing excuses prioritizing national security to victim's human right and human dignity abuses. Actually those challenging voices could burst out only through the deconstruction of existing gender blindedness on sexual violence, often resulting in negligence of its existences, which made the trauma deeper.

Through the collective consensus building among like-minded women, women's right organizations and feminist scholars' counter discourses on the national security and right to live in peace, came to be formulated. Peace activism came to be activated after the victim's courageous voices. The voices of victims have built solidarity across the various boundaries such as nationality, age and gender. This solidarity has constructed gender perspective on peace and security. This article will review the process of feminist engagement, demarcation of women's specificities, redefinition of peace and security especially related with the institutionalization of UNSCR 1325. Finally, the reintegration framework into 17 SDGs will be touched.

Ⅱ. Extension of Existing Concepts: Crimes against Human Right and Violence against Women

Human right became international norm and regulative criteria with the Rome statute of international criminal court in 1998. From the value oriented declaration to become international norm, extension of existing framework with clear gender sensitive demarcations was adopted.

The Statute of ICC provides for jurisdiction over four categories of universal crimes: genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity and aggression.

The ICC statute has clearly manifested the crimes against humanity and war crimes against women.

Crimes against humanity(Article7) has defined rape(g), sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity.

The war crime has been defined as follows;

War crimes means:

Grave breaches of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, any of 8 specified acts; ranging from willful killing and torture; through extensive destruction and appropriation of property and mistreatment of prisoners of war; to taking hostages and unlawful confinement, transfer or deportation. Other serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in the international armed conflict, within the established framework of international law, any of 26 specified acts: such as attacking civilian population; attacking humanitarian and peace keeping missions; attacking by whatever means, towns, villages, dwellings, buildings which are undefended and which are not

military objectives; intentionally launching an attack in the knowledge that such attack will cause incidental loss of life or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects widespread, long term and severe damage to the natural environment which would be clearly excessive in relation to the concrete and direct overall military advantage anticipated; intentionally directing attacks against buildings dedicated to religion, education, art, science or charitable purposes, historic monuments, or hospitals; employing asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases; committing outrages upon personal dignity, in particular **humiliating and degrading treatment; or rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and or any other form of sexual violence;** intentionally using starvation of civilians as a method of warfare; or using children under the age of fifteen years to participate actively in hostilities.(Article 8, 2.(b) art 36 8.(a) Art 42.9)

Crimes against humanity and aggression were defined as follows;

The crimes against humanity in the ICC statute are: murder; extermination; enslavement; deportation or forcible transfer of population; imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law; torture; **rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity; forced pregnancy and enforced sterilization;** persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender, or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law; enforced disappearance of persons; apartheid; and other inhuman acts of a similar character internationally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

Sexual violence could be covered by the regulation on genocide

Genocide was specified as (a) killing members of the group (b) causing serious bodily and mental harm to members of the group (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

With the clarification of crimes against humanity and aggression, war crimes, genocide, violence against women came to be persecuted within the international criminal court. With this development, the fairness in the number of female judges and professionalism to handle sexual crimes was proposed (Shin, 2016:56)
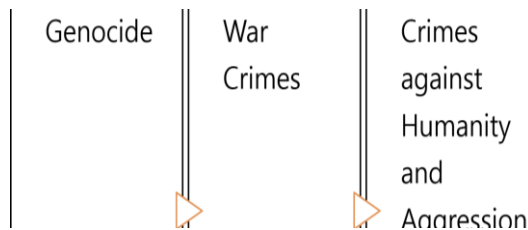
[Figure 2] ICC, Jurisdiction of Universal crime

The demarcations of gender specifications came to be applied into other sectors. For example, in 2000, the UN adopted "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish the trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children," supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime." The protocol defined sex trafficking which mainly victimizes women and children as the worst among many international organized crimes involving drugs, weaponry, organ sales, mail ordering bride, slavery, and others.

Once the conceptual extension has been made in each article, then it has provided the basis to be applied into other related area. Violence against women came into being clearly demarcated within the global norm frame.

Ⅲ. The institutionalization of gendered perspectives on peace and security

UNSCR resolution 1325, adopted Oct 31, 2000 as the fruit of women's solidarity, became institutional basis of women's engagement into peace and security sector. UNSCR 1325 has opened new dimensions of women's mainstreamization. The mainstreamization has emphasized women's participation in decision making body not only for equity and antidiscrimination, but also for reframing the existing policy guidelines. The mainstreamization cannot be accomplished with only normative prescriptions. In many cases, affirmative actions were adopted to fulfill these agendas. Global norm set the guidelines and national and local level women's movements have pushed their own decision making body to take affirmative action to open the door. One of most excluded sector such as peace and security was called into this mainstreamization. It proved to be the culmination of 1990s global feminism briefed as follows

It has manifested the importance of women's participation in peace negotiation and post conflict reconstruction. The resolution encouraged gender balanced representation of women in peace

process. The resolution paid attention to the vulnerabilities of women and girls as victims of rape and sexual abuse. The resolution tries to support the gender perspectives in peace and security related activities including the life of refugee camp. During the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, the gender dimensions should be considered. The 21stcentury has started with engendered framework of peace. Each nation state in UN bounded by UNSCR 1325 should set the national action plan in cooperation with women's organizations.

UNSCR 1325 is the fruit of long term engagement of global women's movement into UN process. Beijing women's conference (1995) declared the women's mainstreamization. Women's participation in national politics and decision making body in government came to be encouraged, monitored and evaluated. Affirmative action has been adopted to promote this process. Penetrating gender perspective into every level of budgeting and policy agendas setting became the common goal for universal human right. The concept of human right became clarified with the clear demarcation of human right of women. With those global feminist intervention, one of the most male dominant sector such as peace and security came into be institutionalized with due emphasis on both gender specifications and women's mainstreamization. Not only as victims with courage to reveal the truth, but also as decision makers related with peace and security, women could envision the global peace framework.

IV. Redefinition of Existing Concepts: the Redefinition of Peace and Security

1. The Construction of Human Security

With the gender perspective incorporation, the concept of security and peace has been in the process of reformulating. The redefinition process made the concept of peace more comprehensive and covering all aspects of life including politics, the economy, culture, social and natural environments, and social justice. The comprehensive conceptualization is going far beyond the absence of war, which has contained the concept of peace into the armament and military defense. With the comprehensive definition, peace and security came to be one of the important pillars of basic human right.

The concept of human security has been constructed to compliment the domination of security as national security. The predominance of national security has made blinded on the victimization in

conflict zone and the insecurities of the people on the move outside of citizenship protection boundaries.

The commission of Human security was established in January 2001in response to the UN secretary general's call at the Millennium Summit for a world "free of want" and "free of fear" (LEE, 2010)

The human security concept has identified the following policy priorities.

· Protecting people in violent conflict.

· Protecting and empowering people in post conflict situations

· Protection and empowering people "on the move."

·Addressing economic insecurity by creating power to choose among opportunities

· Promoting health for human security

· Building knowledge, skills and values for human security (Lee, 2010)

These new concepts have challenged those who are not covered by national security framework. Human security connects different types of freedom- freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to take action on one's own behalf (Human security Report, 2003) The state continues to have the priority; while the relationship of human security to state security is always complimentary and never contradictory, the reverse is not the case. But often it can be contradictory with military expenditure. Human security seeks to strengthen and bring together efforts to address issues such as conflict and deprivation with regard to the full range of critical and pervasive threats facing people.

To fulfill the policy agendas, joint efforts are necessary- a network of public, private and civil society actors who can help clarification and development of norms, embark on integrated activities, and monitor progress and performance. The commission recognizes the valuable contribution of the UN Trust fund for Human Security and encourages the broadening of its donor base. The Human Security Network (hereafter HSN) is a group of like-minded countries from all regions of the world, at the meetings of Foreign Ministers, maintains a dialogue on questions pertaining human security. An informal and flexible mechanism, the Human Security network;

· Identifies concrete areas for collective action;

·Pursues security policies that focus on the protection and promoting freedom from fear and freedom from want;

·Plays a catalytic role by bringing up international attention to new and emerging issues;

· Seeks to energize political processes aimed at preventing or solving conflicts and promoting peace and development; by applying a human security perspective to international problems.

2. The Implementation of UNSCR 1325

7 more UNSCRs-1820, 1888, 1889,1960,2106,2122,2242- have been made to back up the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Other multilateral mechanisms such as OECD/DAC and UN related committee such as CEDAW have paid attention to the implementations. Each nation state is bounded by its own national action plan.

UNSCR 1820 has reaffirmed that the war strategy is closely related with sexual violence and reemphasized women's participation in peace talks. UNSCR 1888 has clearly demanded the intervention of representatives of the secretary general and team of experts on sexual violence in conflict. UNSCR 1889 specified the monitoring and reporting system and institutionalized the governance system in cooperation with civil society participations. UNSCR 1960 has delineated the incorporation of women experts in sexual violence into the military sectors. UNSCR 2106 has stressed the global intervention into the conflicted zone with emphasis on the accountability of the perpetrators. UNSCR 2122 has emphasized the women's leadership in conflict resolution and peace building process with the increase of the women's participation in military and police sectors. UNSCR 2242 called for the creation of women experts group to deal with extremism.

UNSCR resolutions have clearly manifested the gender dimensions in conflict and tried to create the practical mechanism to guarantee women's participation in peace and security related decision making processes.

The further resolutions and their main emphasis to implement UNSCR 1325 can be summarized as following table.

<Table 1> 7 UNSCRs followed by UNSCR 1325

Year	Resolution	Main Focus

2008	1820	·Recognizes sexual violence as a tactic of war and a matter of international peace and security that necessitates a security response ·Asserts the importance of women's participation in all processer related to stopping sexual violence in conflict, including their participation in peace talks
2009	1888	·Strengthens efforts to end sexual violence in conflict by establishing a Special Representative of the Secretary-General and team of experts on rule of law and sexual violence in conflict, deploying expertise and improving coordination among stake holders involved in addressing conflict-related sexual violence. ·calls for an end to impunity for sexual violence in conflict
2009	1889	·Stresses the need to strengthen implementation and establishes indicators for the monitoring of resolution 1325; calls for the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council on women's participation and inclusion in peace building. calls for tools to improve implementation, including indicators and proposals for a monitoring mechanism ·Asks Member States, in consultation with civil society, to design concrete strategies that meet the full spectrum of the specific needs and priorities of women and girls
2010	1960	·Establishes a monitoring and reporting mechanism on sexual violence in conflict. ·Encourages Member States to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel to peacekeeping operations, and to provide all military and personnel with adequate training on preventing and responding to sexual and gender-based violence

2013	2106	· Focuses on accountability for perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict; stresses women´s political and economic empowerment. · calls for further deployment of gender advisors and training of personnel to combat sexual violence · Requests the Secretary-General and UN entities assist national authorities in increasing women's effective participation across post-conflict processes, including DDR processes, SSR, and justice sector reform
2013	2122	· Call on troop and police-contributing Member States to increase women military and police in deployments · calls for efforts to improve women's leadership and participation in conflict-resolution and peacebuilding and for renewed efforts to ensure women's access to justice.
2015	2242	· Establishes the Informal Experts Group (IEG); addresses persistent obstacles to implementation including financing and institutional reforms; focuses on greater integration of the agendas on WPS and counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism; calls for improved Security Council working methods on WPS. · Recognizes the Global Acceleration Instrument (GAI) as an avenue to attract resources, coordinate responses and accelerate implementation

(Cho, 2017, Revised version)

Global guidelines can only be reinforced with national action plan and financial support. Each nation state has accepted the UNSCR 1325 on its national agendas and applied it into the ODA (Overseas Development Assistance) program. One of the means of implementation of women's leadership in peace and security has been suggested 1) breaking the silos between humanitarian, peace, security and development finance 2) addressing the structural funding gaps for women's participation 3) improving policy coherence and coordination. Other UN frame such as CEDAW has recommended (general recommendation 30) the sex disaggregated statistics, and reports on the implementation

of UNSCR 1325(2000), 1820(2008), 1888(2009), 1960(2010) and 2106(2013) based on the indicators developed as part of that agendas.

The following table showed each nation state commitment of national action plan. The previous 3-year plan has been reviewed for further development of coming 3-year plan. OECD/DAC commitments has reassured that women, peace and security principles are at the heart of new peace and security architecture and targeted funding towards women's organizations working peace and security at all levels. Monitoring and coordination of DAC has improved the evaluations. (Cho, 2017)

<Table 2> OECD/DAC Commitments on WPS and NAP

year	State
2005	Denmark
2006	Norway, Sweden, UK
2007	Austria, Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland
2008	Finland, Iceland
2009	Belgium, Portugal
2010	Canada, France, Italy
2011	United States, Slovenia, Ireland
2012	Australia, Germany
2013	
2014	Korea, Japan currently developing a NAP (date TBC)

Ⅴ. Reintegration: Integration into 17 SDGs

After Women's specificities in conflict situations was highlighted, UNSCR 1325 has been integrated into the framework of Sustainable Development Goals (here after SDGs). Most of SDGs have focused

on the human security concept specified as poverty (1), food security (2), health security (3), water and sanitation security (6), energy security (7), job security (8), and housing security (11). These securities could be achieved through education (4), gender equity (5), reducing inequality (10), industrialization and innovation (9), effective and accountable institutions (16), and global partnership (17). SDGs have emphasized the ecofriendly use of land and water, combating against land degradation and desertification.

SDGs have reframed the concept of peace in inclusive and multi-dimensional way with detailed concern on human security rather than national security. Equity, equality, inclusiveness and sustainable use of ecosystem have been called, while economic growth has been cited with the adjective, 'sustainable,' in relation with employment. SDGs have incorporated the reconceptualization of peace and security. 21st century new framework has been initiated with UNSCR 1325, which paved the new value orientations. Women's integration into peace and security has transformed existing 'development' discourse into sustainable development goals.

17 SDGs are as follows;

1. End poverty in its all forms and everywhere

2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture

3. Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all ages

4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education

5. Achieve gender equity and empower all women and girls

6. Ensure sustainable management of water and sanitation for all

7. Ensure access to affordable and reliable and sustainable modern energy for all

8.Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and full, productive employment and decent work for all

9.Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation

10. Reduce inequality within and among countries

11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable

12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns

13. Take urgent action to combat on climate change and its impacts

14.Conserve and sustainable use ocean, sea and marine resources for sustainable development

15.Protect and restore sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainable manage forests combat desertification halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss

16.Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

17.Strengthen the means of implantation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable Development

VI. Conclusions

UNSCR 1325 is the fruit of 1990s global feminism. With the institutionalization of UNSCR 1325, existing gender blinded conceptualization on peace and security has been challenged. Human security instead of national security has been called in global setting. The basic approaches of human security have been integrated into 17 SDGs.

UNSCR 1325 and global feminism have paved new framework of 21st century. The Major findings can be summarized as follows;

1.Gendered division on peace and security has over emphasized national security, bypassing the democratic regulation of military expenditure and neglecting the sexual violence, sometimes as strategy.

2. Sexual violence came to be recognized with the courage of victims coming out. Feminist discourse has deconstructed gender blindedness of war crime and human right abuse. Global feminism could achieve global standardization of human right of women. The victim's appeals could be approached from the right- based perspectives. The sexual violence has clarified the perpetrators' responsibility and the right of compensations of victims.

3.Sexual violence came into be perpetrated with extended definition of genocide, war crime and crime against humanity and aggression with Rome Statute. The ICC jurisdiction of 4 categories of universal crimes-genocide, war crime and crime against humanity and aggression made clear the co relationships between war crime and human right.

4. UNSCR 1325 is the fruit of 1990s global feminism, which has tried to extend existing human right principles with clear gender demarcations of human right of women and specificities of sexual violence.

5. UNSCR 1325 has stimulated the re-conceptualization of peace and security. Peace became to be defined in inclusive way overarching economic, social, cultural and ecological dimensions. The concept of human security has been formulated to compliment one sided national security discourse in a more integrative way. The concept of human security made clear the freedom from want and the responsibility of service provider with financial support system.

6.UNSCR 1325 has been followed by 7 more resolutions to make clear women's leadership in peace and security related decision making process. To implement the global guidelines, development and aid related multilateral mechanism such as OECD/DAC came to be involved with clear national plan of action.

7. UNSCR 1325 agendas came to be integrated into SDGs 17, which emphasized the human security and the responsible society building with gender equity and global partnership.

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