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Study on Limitations of Protection Discourses in Gender-Based Violence Policies and Policy Directions: Focusing on Sexual Violence Prevention Policies

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on Sexual Violence Prevention Policies**



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I . Introduction

1. Research Purpose

This study takes note of the ‘primary prevention’ of violence, which applies to the prevention of its ‘occurrence’ among the three phases of a ‘prevention’ policy, which is a policy on gender-based violence. Focusing on the primary prevention of gender-based violence, the purpose of this study is to examine how an attitude of classifying women as a group vulnerable to gender-based violence and treating them as targets of protection en masse is at work in the prevention¹⁾ policies on gender-based violence. Here ‘protection’ means ‘protection of women as

1) Unless otherwise explained, ‘prevention’ will be used hereinafter as a concept of ‘intervention against gender-based violence prior to its occurrence,’ which excludes punishment and protective intervention for victims.

a group,' not such protection as in the 'protection of victims.' It is one thing to protect victims as post-intervention for victims to violence after the occurrence of gender-based violence, and it is totally another to have an attitude of considering women as a 'group vulnerable to gender-based violence' and treating them as targets of protection. This study aims to analyze problems of supposing women at large as a group of 'latent victims' and treating them as targets of 'protection' for preventive intervention prior to the occurrence of gender-based violence. The study also aims to identify what impact such protective attitude toward women has on preparation of prevention policies on gender-based violence, how such attitude incapacitates socio-structural approach to gender-based violence at the policy enforcement level, and what efforts are made to respond to gender-based violence. To this end, the study examines the contents of and changes in prevention policies on gender-based violence. Through interview surveys, the study grasps the experience and attitude of main actors who make and implement prevention policies on gender-based violence. Through the beforementioned research efforts and the analysis of overseas cases of gender-based violence policies, the study aims to identify limitations of the gender-based violence policies and to seek directions for the future gender-based violence policies.

2. Research Content

Among the prevention policies on gender-based violence, the sexual violence prevention policy reveals most clearly the protective attitude toward women as a group. As such, focusing on the sexual violence prevention policy, we researchers performed the following studies taking the continuity of gender-based violence into consideration.

First, we conducted theoretical examinations related to limitations of protectionist approach to women in gender-based violence policies. Through literature review, we analyzed the concept of gender-based violence, response models to gender-based violence, and examined limitations of discussion concentrated on ‘protection of women’ in response to gender-based violence.

Second, we analyzed how the policies on gender-based violence develop, and the topography of discussion on ‘protection.’ Focusing on the primary prevention policy on sexual violence among gender-based violence policies, we also analyzed changes in gender-based violence policies by period and the contents of ‘protection’ policies on women. We then analyzed the meaning of ‘protection’ in the discussion about current gender-based violence policies.

Third, we conducted interview surveys of instructors for violence prevention education, safety policy officers at local governments, and experts on gender-based violence policies. Based on the survey results, we identified how protection of women works and its accompanying limitations in the process of forming and implementing gender-based violence prevention policies.

Fourth, we analyzed overseas policy cases of countries which have prepared gender-based violence polices in response to socio-cultural and socio-structural causes. Through the analysis, we presented implications for preparing policy alternatives.

Fifth, based on the results of literature review, policy analysis and interview survey analysis, we presented directions for future gender-based violence policies.

3. Research Methods

A. Literature Review

We reviewed previous studies at home and abroad as well as international human rights norms to examine the concept of gender-based violence, response models to gender-based violence, and limitations of policies centered on ‘protection of women’ in gender-based violence policies. We also analyzed the literature of international organizations, overseas policy data, and preceding domestic and overseas studies to collect overseas cases of gender-based violence policies.

B. Policy Analysis

1) Policy analysis through vocabulary network analysis and topic modeling

In order to examine how protection discourses specifically materialize in gender-based violence policies, we analyzed the network of vocabulary that appears in government statements about sexual violence and the centrality of each word.

We analyzed government statements using press releases provided on the Republic of Korea Policy Briefing.²⁾ For the policy analysis, we limited the press releases to documents that contain such vocabulary as ‘sexual violence’ and ‘sexual crimes.’ The final documents subject to the analysis included a total of 1,790 documents from their initial releases on August 4, 2000 until to date on June 5, 2020. The documents also included documents in which related policies appear together with other vocabulary that refers to gender-based violence, including sex trade

2) The Republic of Korea Policy Briefing(<http://www.korea.kr>)>News> Briefing Room>Press Release

(prostitution), sexual harassment, domestic violence, and violence against women as well as the beforementioned vocabulary ‘sexual violence’ and ‘sexual crimes.’

According to the results of the vocabulary network analysis, developments of prevention policies in the mid-2010s and thereafter were centered on prevention education and spatial approach to build a safe physical space. With the exception of the changing process of overall policies on gender-based violence, this study aims to explain the process of related policy changes focusing on these two areas. To this end, we conducted content analysis of existing reports and studies.

Contents subject to the analysis included the above-mentioned press releases, websites of relevant ministries, legislation purpose of related laws, basic plans for policies on women, gender equality policies and implementation performances, gender budget statements and gender impact assessment reports, and preceding studies on the current status of each policy. We also analyzed contents of prevention policies, including the policy purpose, implementation methods, targets and implementers, and changes in policy contents by period based on the data from the vocabulary network analysis.

C. Focus Group Interview

Focusing on the prevention of sexual violence and safety policies, we conducted a focus group interview to collect rudimentary data for exploring how ‘protection of women’ is at work in the formation and implementation of gender-based violence policies and seeking directions for gender-based violence policies.

The subjects of the interview survey included 20 experts, including

experts on violence prevention education, and experts on safety policies and sexual violence prevention policies of local governments. Specifically, participants in the focus group interview were selected from experts i) on violence prevention education, which accounts for an important portion in policies on gender-based violence, ii) on safety policies, which have recently expanded in the communities, and iii) who work in the area of sexual violence prevention policies at local governments. Interviewees on violence prevention education were selected from those who take charge of education for youth and non-youth, respectively. In other words, interviewees for youth violence prevention education included three health teachers in charge of school and youth sexuality education and four instructors at youth sexual culture centers. Interviewees for non-youth violence prevention education included three experts who participated in training instructors for violence prevention. Interviewees for safety policies and sexual violence prevention policies at local governments included three government officials, three researchers on community safety policies, and four activists.

As for the main contents of the focus group interview, first of all, we interviewed experts on sexual violence prevention education focusing on the dynamics occurring in the field of sexual violence prevention education. Through the interview, we identified interactions between educators and participants in the education, and the participants' receptivity to education with regard to the contents and methods of sexual violence prevention education. We also analyzed the content of 'protection discourses' and how protection discourses are at work in the curriculum. Because the community-centered safety policies recently made up an important part of the prevention of sexual violence, we then

examined the process of establishing and implementing the community safety policies. The interview focused on the following issues: In which context and background are the safety and sexual violence prevention policies formulated and enforced at the community level? What are the main project contents of the community safety and sexual violence prevention policies? Who are the policy targets? What perceptions do people concerned in each policy have of sexual violence? And what are the effects and limitations of implementing the policies? Lastly, we collected opinions about directions for improving sexual violence prevention policies from the participants and the persons concerned in the sexual violence prevention education and the community safety and sexual violence prevention policies.

D. Expert Consulting

Through consulting with experts, including researchers on gender-based violence and field activists, we sought their opinions about research directions and planning, survey design, and analysis of research results, then incorporated their opinions in this study.

II. Concept of Gender-Based Violence and Theoretical Discussion on Prevention Policies

1. Concept and Nature of Gender-Based Violence

International human rights norms make it clear that violence against women is gender-based violence and falls under forms of discrimination against women. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination Against Women (hereinafter called the ‘Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women’) ³⁾ calls for the prevention of discrimination against women. Although the Convention does not use such expressions as ‘violence against women’ or ‘gender-based violence,’ its implementation monitoring body, namely, the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women reiterated violence against women as a form of ‘discrimination’ against women through the general recommendation No 12: Violence against women and the general recommendation No 19: Violence against women. The Committee also clearly made it mandatory for the Convention members to take measures against violence against women.⁴⁾

In 1993 immediately after the announcement of the general recommendation No 19, the UN adopted the Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women in its 48th general meeting, and stated violence against women as ‘gender-based’ violence. In this Declaration, violence against women was defined as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (Article 1). The concept of ‘gender-based violence’ has since been widely used in the international community. The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (hereinafter called ‘Council of Europe Convention’)⁵⁾ which entered into force in

3) The Republic of Korea ratified the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in 1983. The Convention took effect on January 26, 1985, and it has the same effect as domestic laws.

4) UN Human Rights, “General Recommendations”, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/cedaw/pages/recommendations.aspx> (search date: 11.10.2020.)

5) Council of Europe, “Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women

2014, slightly expanded the concept of ‘violence against women’ stated by the above-mentioned UN Declaration. The Council defined the concept of ‘gender-based violence against women’ as “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately” (Article 3-d), and expressly stated that gender-based violence is discrimination.

The Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Council of Europe Convention limited the targets of violence to that perpetrated ‘against women,’ but made it clear that the attribute of violence is ‘gender-based.’ In other words, violence is discrimination against women. However, it is true that in the context of Korea, the meaning of ‘gender-based’ violence has often been misused and misinterpreted. Korea enacted a law on special cases concerning sexual violence in the early 1990s and the Framework Act on Prevention of Violence Against Women in 2018. When we examined the legislative process, the concept of gender-based violence was stressed in the discussion process, but the structural nature of gender-based violence weakened in the process of making the laws. As the relations between violence and discrimination became insignificant, the process revealed the limitation that emphasized the meaning of gender-based violence as sexual violence and violence against women.

When ‘gender-based’ violence is not related to discrimination, the concepts of ‘violence against women’ and ‘gender-based violence’ are distorted to mean ‘violence against a particular gender’ on the premise of dichotomous notion of gender or ‘all kinds of violence whose victims

and domestic violence” (CETS No.210), <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/210> (search date: 11.10.2020.). Council of Europe Convention, also known as ‘Istanbul Convention,’ is a worldwide convention in which non-European countries as well can be a member.

are women' regardless of the background or attribute of violence. There is an attitude of simply placing stress on violence 'whose main victims are women' rather than meaning violence caused by gender power, or gender power maintained by violence. However, this attitude contributes to designating women as a group biologically vulnerable to violence and controlling them through protection. Na-yeong Lee and Min-sook Heo (2014) analyze that gender-based violence not only inflicts physical and mental damage on victims from the violence itself, but also leaves 'the effect of control and regulation' on the group of latent victims and reproduces gender order by spreading fear.⁶⁾

There is also a viewpoint that emphasizes gender difference and places women on the position of victims while merely stressing the meaning of 'violence perpetrated against women by men.' This viewpoint paradoxically encounters with a protectionist perspective for women as a group, fixes women on the position of victims, and makes it difficult to expand women's identities. In preventing gender-based violence, there has been a need for 'protector' of women who are considered as a group biologically vulnerable to violence.' On the other hand, a role of paternalistic protection of women is granted to 'normal' men-distinguished from 'abnormal' group of offenders-who protect their wives, sisters, or daughters from perpetrators.⁷⁾ Distinguishing men at large from the offender group and granting them the role of protector may be a way of avoiding resistance in that it does not disrupt their patriarchal position nor challenges the existing power structure. However,

6) Lee, Na-Young & Heo, Min Sook(2014), "Gendered Violence and Gender Regime in the Neo-Liberal State of South Korea: Reconceptualization and Reconstruction of Violence Against Women", *Family and culture*, 26(4), pp.83~84.

7) Young, Iris Marion(2003), "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 29, p.4.

this approach cannot but have fundamental limitations in eradicating gender-based violence. A ‘paternalistic head of household,’ even if ‘paternal,’ still keeps the position of ‘head of household’ that has power over the protected. For this reason, the more men as protectors ‘protect’ women, the more solid the gender power becomes. As a result, the structure is maintained that enables gender-based violence. As is the case with many policies on ‘safety,’ the composition of the protector and the protected cannot include gender-based violence arising from intimate relationships. Furthermore, such composition makes it difficult to properly achieve even the goals of ‘protecting victims’ and punishing perpetrators, in that not until they meet the requirement of ‘vulnerability’ can victims be classified as ‘genuine victims’ and their protection value can be recognized.

2. Consideration of Gender Category and Intersectionality of Gender-Based Violence

Gender-based violence is deeply related to gender discriminative social structure, women’s low economic and social status, their low status in the family, gender norms based on paternalism, individualization of responsibilities and spread of insecurity under neoliberalism. Gender-based violence becomes possible and reinforced when numerous positions of individuals, including gender, sexuality, economic status, education level, disabilities, and migration, intersect with particular social and cultural contexts. However, some believe that violence can be prevented on the presupposition of the biological vulnerability of women as main victims to gender-based violence and by ‘protecting women as a vulnerable group,’ rather than examining complex contexts that make women vulnerable to gender-based violence in the direction of emphasizing the risks of

gender-based violence and women's vulnerability.

Because gender-based violence manifests itself as violence against something feminine in a sexually discriminative society, it is true that gender-based violence is largely perpetrated against women and that violence against women is mostly included in the category of gender-based violence.⁸⁾ Nevertheless, the concept of gender-based violence is not identical to violence against women. Strictly speaking, gender-based violence is committed against beings not because they are women but because they are considered lacking in masculinity or because they are denied gaining masculinity. Not only do the group of 'biological women' but also feminized men, including boys, men in the lower class and gays, and transgender people who deny their sex at birth become targets of gender-based violence or attack for the reason of lacking in masculinity or for the reason of not corresponding to dichotomous gender system. They are then banished from the group of men to be feminized.

Fletcher (2014) stresses that what is most important in changing the gendered pattern is to remove the dichotomous opposite clause that supports the gendered pattern and to understand gender as a dynamic continuum, not as a fixed category.⁹⁾ When based on the problem posing about the dichotomous gender order, the concept of gender-based violence can be expanded to the practice¹⁰⁾ of fixing a dichotomous notion of gender on individuals and forcing them to live as beings corresponding to the assigned gender.

8) Kim, Dae-Gun(2018), "The Role of Ethics Education in the Narrative of Gender-based Violent Men", *Journal of Ethics Education Studies*, 50, p.254.

9) Fletcher G.(2014), "Just How do We Create Change?", Henry N. & Powell A. eds., *Preventing Sexual Violence*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.134.

10) Ruin(2010), "Normal Gender as Anxiety/Fear: A Note for TransFeminism, 3rd" *Journal of feminist theories and practices*, 23, p.71.

Seeing gender-based violence as ‘violence against women’ only and explaining male or female sex as the single factor of gender-based violence is to consider the concept of sex at birth only and at the same time to obscure the impact of diverse positions and identities of each individual on power relations. Power that enables gender-based violence and socio-structural violence as well does not derive from gender alone. Discrimination and violence are related to diverse identities, including sexual orientation, gender identity, age, disability, education, religion, economic standing, employment relations, region of origin, immigration status, language, marital status, and family type. These identities intersect with each other and lead to a unique form of discrimination.

As pointed out by Crenshaw (1991) who stressed the intersectionality of identities, attempt to explain a certain person’s experience of discrimination and violence as a mere part of the person’s identities will make it unable to look into the whole experience of life as the person experiences it.¹¹⁾ Therefore, it is required to include the examination of the intersectional impact of gender and identities other than gender on violence in understanding the concept of gender-based violence and responding to the violence.

3. Prevention Models on Gender-Based Violence

Gender-based violence prevention policies adopt various approaches according as where they find causes for gender-based violence or where they put focus in order to prevent gender-based violence. The criminology model, on which various types of safety policies are based, aims to confirm factors providing opportunities of crimes. Although the

11) Crenshaw K.(1991), “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color”, *Stanford Law Journal*, 43(6), pp.1245~1251.

model brings perpetrators to its explanation of violence, the criminology model tends to employ a strategy of actually focusing on victims and protectors. This model is criticized in that it makes perpetrators invisible in gender-based violence but reinforces the responsibilities of victims.

The public health model for the prevention of gender-based violence is a population-based approach employing an ecological model that understands violence as the “outcome of interacting factors at the four layers of individuals, relations, communities, and society.”¹²⁾ This model takes the interdisciplinary and intersectoral approach in that it aims to identify various factors. And the model emphasizes the primary prevention that blocks violence prior to its occurrence among the three phases of violence prevention. However, it is pointed out that this public health model has problems of explaining violence in the language of ‘risks,’ rarely addresses structural issues while stressing personal elements in the assessment of ‘risks,’ and ascribes the causes and impacts of violence to individuals.

The feminist approach to the prevention of gender-based violence aims to find causes for gender-based violence from the patriarchal system, hierarchical structure of masculinity and femininity, and gender power relations.¹³⁾ In particular, the stance of focusing on socio-structural inequalities views gender-based violence as the result of long suppression and inequalities of women (Kuskoff & Parsell, 2020: 229).¹⁴⁾ As such, cultural and structural aspects of gender-based violence work in a deeply interconnected manner. Discriminative structure provides a ‘ground’ for

12) World Health Organization & London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine(2010), *Preventing intimate partner and sexual violence against women: taking action and generating evidence*, Geneva: World Health Organization, p.6.

13) World Health Organization & London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine(2010), p.6.

14) Kuskoff, E. & Parsell, C.(2020), “Preventing Domestic Violence by Changing Australian Gender Relations: Issues and Considerations”, *Australian Social Work* 73(2), p.229.

cultural inequalities and again supports structural discrimination as something justifiable.

The criminology model puts focus on individuals rather than on offenders, while concentrating on the reduction of opportunities of crimes rather than on the motives of perpetrators. Next, the public health model based on an ecological model presents complex factors of violence but still uses the language of ‘risks’ and tends to attribute the causes of violence to individuals similarly to the criminology model. Compared to these two models, however, the feminist model is significant in that the model attempts to seek the causes of violence from socio-cultural and structural aspects of gender power relations rather than from individuals. When the feminist model is taken, gender-based violence is explained not as an issue of personal traits of victims or offenders, ‘inappropriate’ attitude of victims, ‘deviant’ character of perpetrators, improper communication, or hazardous place, but as an issue of inequalities of social resources granted to women and men as groups and that of gender power relations. The feminist model opens the way to examine the relations between gender-based violence and the gender performance forced on individuals by the dichotomous gender order.

III. Prevention Policies on Gender-Based Violence and Protection Discourses

1. Legal Basis and Structure of Prevention Policies

The Framework Act on Gender Equality, the Framework Act on the Prevention of Violence Against Women, and Basic Plans for Policies on Women have maintained preventive approaches to gender-based violence

largely from the following three aspects: ① education and public relations, ② survey and research, and ③ improvement of hazardous environment.

These prevention policies emphasized different approaches and understanding of gender-based violences depending on the period as follows:

- The first period of women's policies (1998-2002) focused on domestic violence and protection of sexual violence victims, but there were no prevention policies for unspecified individuals in this period.
- The second period of women's policies (2003-2007) began to introduce public relations and prevention education, database-building as policy agendas with the emergence of gender-based violence as the big agenda.
- The third period of women's policies (2008-2012) added the perspective of intersectionality among sexual violence, domestic violence, children and adolescents, people with disabilities, and immigrant women, but its problem awareness of gender relations did not extend to go beyond the protection of victims.
- The fourth period of women's policies (2013-2017) set the major agenda of elimination of violence as the top priority in the Basic Plan, and the creation of safe community environment emerged as it was pointed out that existing prevention policies had the limitation of focusing on the improvement of awareness only.
- The first period of gender equality policies (2015-2017) upgraded

the creation of ‘safe social environment’ to the point of separating the agenda as a detailed goal.

- The second period of gender equality policies (2018-2022) continued projects to improve the environment of hazardous areas and set the eradication of violence against women in the online space as the direction for prevention policies.

2. Changes in Prevention Policies

A. Prevention Education

In the early 2000s, the Ministry of Education established the Basic Plan for Sex Education in School in 2000. But the professed policy goal was to make known the harm that autonomy of sexuality may bring rather than to raise the issue of gender relations, such as making the prevention education on sex trade or prostitution mandatory ‘to develop sound values on sex and to prevent prostitution.’

In the mid-2000s and thereafter, various methods of education on the prevention of gender-based violence expanded in the policy keynote that called for the adoption of a gender-responsive perspective. Still, the targets of sexual violence prevention education were mostly limited to children and youth. Also, the approach of prevention education to groups who were assumed latent victims for education targets exposed the limitation of conducting the prevention education centered on avoiding and responding to victimization. Although there was a repetition of school education to promote gender equality as well as movement to expand gender equality education other than violence prevention education, school education continued to have the limitation of focusing

on sex education.

In the mid-2010s and thereafter, ‘violence prevention education’ concerning sexual harassment, sex trade, sexual violence, and domestic violence began to be implemented in an integrated manner from the perspective of gender equality in 2014. As the integrated violence prevention education began to be conducted, there emerged a movement aimed to expand a gender perspective on human rights education in school. ‘Gender equality education’ was also included in the cross-curricular learning themes to strengthen the gender equality perspective in the curriculum. In addition, attempts followed to expand the targets of prevention education from public agencies to the private sector. Also, methods of monitoring the implementation and quality management of education advanced.

In 2018 and thereafter, prevention education has expanded to include the military, businesses, and universities with a goal to prevent ‘violence against women.’ As the Me Too movement and cases of sexual abuse committed by powerful and/or prominent men emerged in each sector as issues, the government introduced policies to raise the effectiveness of prevention education. These policies are characterized by the aspect that they expanded the prevention education focusing on women’s experience of falling victim to violence rather than that of children and adolescents. In the case of the ‘visiting prevention education on digital sexual crimes’ for elementary and secondary school students, its focus is on safety rules to prevent digital sexual crimes, provision of information on how to report victimization, and urging them to be aware of the danger and violent nature of the acts of illegal filming and distribution.

B. Building a safe space

In the early 2000s, environmental improvement became a goal of major prevention policies after the legislation of the Act on the Punishment of Sexual Crimes and Protection of Victims Thereof. Entering the 2000s, prevention policies on gender-based violence centered on the ‘protection’ of adolescents, and the tasks of improving the environment began to materialize focusing on the improvement of hazardous environment for adolescents.

In the mid-2000s and thereafter, prevention policies began to expand from the protection of adolescents to children as a series of sexual violence against children became an issue. In this process, the fear and terror women felt in public spaces emerged as a matter of interest. Policies that were introduced, expanded, and connected in this process included the ‘women-friendly city’ and ‘the community solidarity for protecting children and women’ projects. Although the women-friendly city projects claimed to ‘operate community policies in which women and men equally participate and to achieve women’s empowerment and care and safety,’ actual construction of a gender equal space was centered on the removal of hazardous elements from public spaces, including schools, restrooms, and streets on their way home.

In the mid-2010 and thereafter, it was pointed out that existing prevention policies centered on education and public relations were insufficient to bring practical changes in the community due to their focus on the aspect of awareness. In this background, building a safe infrastructure, including the creation of safe community and school environments emerged as the essence of prevention policies. Accordingly, applications expanded that enabled users to inform their

location to the protectors or people around them or to report any danger in emergency, including not only closed circuit television (CCTV) but also smart applications for safe homecoming and SOS security service for the people. By providing such information, individuals came to be held responsible for avoiding the danger.

In 2018 and thereafter, the policy keynote centered on the crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) continued. As illegal photo-taking became an issue, projects to improve the physical environment tended to rapidly expand through digital technologies. In addition to illegal filming, multiuse facilities, and streets, and houses began to be pointed out as major spaces for the prevention of crimes. The environment improvement projects expanded to female one-person households, or households without men, and small business places run by women. As discussions repeatedly find the necessity for prevention policies from women's fear of crimes, there remains the limitation of highlighting women's vulnerability. Sexual violence is considered as a safety issue of preventing potential offenders from finding opportunities to perpetrate crimes rather than as a problem of unequal gender relations. Also, maintaining a subjective wellbeing of 'feeling secure' rather than prevention itself was presented as the priority goal of the policies.

3. Changes in Protection Discourses and Prevention Policies: Analysis of Press Releases on Sexual Violence Policies

To identify the process in which prevention policies appear in the statements and remarks regarding 'protection,' this study conducted a vocabulary network analysis of policy briefings related to sexual violence.

For the past two decades since 2000, support, prevention, protection,

and safety were set, in that order, for a goal to attain in sexual violence policies through intervention. Human rights and gender equality were in the lower ranking. In other words, discussion on what the protection and prevention were for has been left out.

When we examined the developments of discussion on ‘protection’ by period and relations between the discussion and certain prevention policies through the analysis of the centrality and topics of vocabulary network, the findings were as follows:

In the early 2000s, there was a lack of conception of prevention except for the improvement of harmful environment for youth. The discussion was largely centered on the protection of children and adolescents in the investigation process.

In the mid-2000s and thereafter, discussion on prevention in the sense of protecting unspecified individuals began in earnest. In spite of the emergence of spatial approach such as the community solidarity for protecting children and women and women-friendly city projects, discussion in this period concentrated on the protection of children and adolescents like in the previous period. Gender-based violence or the purpose of protection was understood as an issue of blocking strange perpetrators from approaching latent victims.

In the mid-2010s and thereafter, sexual violence policies per se sharply decreased. There was no big difference in policy approach between this period and previous periods, but prevention began to be stressed more than protection.

In 2018 and thereafter, ‘women,’ not children and adolescents, have been at the center of discussion on protection. Not until this period were discourses materialized that gender-based violence, including digital

sexual violence and sexual harassment, was not an issue of protection but a gendered issue. 'Gender equality' appeared as a goal of sexual violence policies. Compared to previous periods, the tendency of implementing prevention policies based on the necessity of protection weakened in this period.

4. Sub-Conclusions

In the early 2000s, prevention education and hazardous environment improvement policies stood out more than before, focusing on the concern about the harm of youth prostitution. In this period, a dominant policy discourse was to protect particular victims by criminal procedures rather than prevention. As there was a growing public rage in Korean society about sexual violence against children and youth in the mid-2000s and thereafter, prevention policies began to be specified on a large scale. As a solution, building a safety net in the community was presented, and accordingly, policies were introduced chiefly to improve the environment of physical spaces, including the community solidarity for the safety of children and women and women-friendly cities. Gender-based violence was considered as a safety issue of preventing potential offenders from finding opportunities to perpetrate crimes rather than as a problem of unequal gender relations. Also, there was a change that the maintenance of a subjective wellbeing of 'feeling secure' rather than prevention itself emerged as the main goal of the prevention policies.

In the late 2010s, there was a decrease in the policy interest in gender-based violence. In this situation, the crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) further developed as a physical spatial

approach to shut off opportunities of crimes through digital technology. Prevention education made a continuous attempt to expand its targets to the private sector, going beyond public agencies. Violence prevention education as well was conducted in an integrated manner from the gender perspective. In schools, there was a continued movement to expand ‘human rights education on sexuality.’ However, prevention education continued to reveal the limitation of focusing on avoiding and responding to victimization because the targets of education were selected mainly on the basis of the vulnerability of falling victim to violence.

It was in 2018 and thereafter when the ‘Me Too’ movement began in earnest and an issue was raised about digital sexual violence that there emerged an interest in many kinds of violence women experienced. In this period, the government continued its policies to respond to ‘violence against women’ through the legislation of the Framework Act on the Prevention of Violence Against Women. Through this, discussion expanded about the necessity for gendered construction of spaces and for gender education in the higher education curriculum. In the meantime, spatial approach to protect women went beyond common spaces to expand to female one-person households. Prevention of digital sexual violence as well concentrated on technological approach to spaces in order to minimize the risks of victimization.

As mentioned in the above, discourses on prevention policies on gender-based violence have constituted safety as a passive sense, that is, a ‘minimized state of risks’ and space as a ‘place of criminal opportunities’ rather than making gender an issue. Safety, a state free from any risk, including crimes and violence, is one of human rights. It cannot be conclusively said that demand for safety per se is to lay the cornerstone for de-political movement to urge response to

individualized risks rather than to be a structural issue called gender. This can be seen from the fact that a lot of women today raise an issue over sexual dual norms and gendered distribution of resources as mechanisms that cannot guarantee their safety. The same is true of spatial approach. Questions such as which body will occupy which space and what are the conditions for it are sufficient media that can expand discussion about gender inequalities.

Preventive approach centered on blocking criminal opportunities is valid and urgent for the time being, but it is repeatedly pointed out that such approach may end up protecting individuals or ensuring their security without guaranteeing changes in gender relations. In this situation, it is necessary to discuss what strategy is needed lest policies to secure safety and safe spaces should perpetuate women as incomplete beings or beings in need of protection as equal members of a society.

IV. Protection Discourses in the Field of Sexual Violence Prevention Policies: Focusing on Focus Group Interview

1. Contents and Effects of Protection Discourses

A. Highlighting the vulnerability of victims and reproducing 'victim-likeness'

Since the legislation of the Sexual Violence Prevention and Victims Protection Act in 2010, prevention education on sexual violence has tended to become mandatory and expand. Community safety polices too have expanded along with implementation of women-friendly city

projects. In 2011, prevention education on sexual violence became mandatory at daycare centers, kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools. In 2012, the prevention education expanded to national bodies, local governments, and public agencies. In 2015, the duty to make an effort to conduct the prevention education on sexual violence in the workplace of private businesses was newly established. As there was a rising public rage over sexual violence against children in the mid-2000s and thereafter, prevention of sexual violence against children emerged as an important policy agenda. As a consequence, the ‘community solidarity for protecting children and women’ project was implemented. The content of this project was to build a safety net for women and children led by the community, and its focus was on the protection of women and children. Putting stress on the pain of victims in implementing the prevention education or policies on sexual violence tended to work as the basis for ‘useful’ persuasion and necessity for implementing the education and policies. Despite the significance of mandatory prevention education on sexual violence, education participants showed great resistance to or skepticism about the prevention education. The process of proving the necessity and justification for prevention education on sexual violence resulted in stressing the seriousness of sexual violence and the difficulties sexual violence victims had in their lives. In the case of community safety polices too, when implementing projects related to the prevention of sexual violence, their manner of persuading the necessity for the policies led to emphasizing the gravity of women’s victimization and the pain they suffered after falling victim.

The purpose of prevention in the prevention education or policies on sexual violence comes to signify that women, ‘the weak,’ should not fall victim to violence. This results in positioning women as targets of

protection, and even further strengthening the demand for victim-likeness. The logic still at work is that the purpose of preventing sexual violence is to prevent women, the weak, from falling victim to violence and that sexual abuse should be prevented because the victimized women's lives become devastated. This approach again results in criticizing a victim when there appears a victim who is "not like a victim," and tends to even further force the victim to prove the victimization.

B. Emphasizing the individualized responsibility for prevention and obscuring the issue of power

As the past sexual violence prevention education centered on 'not becoming a victim' is criticized as mass-producing 'victim blaming,' The approaches of 'actively confronting' and 'not becoming an offender' constitute an important content of recent education. The 'actively confronting' approach emphasizes that in a situation where sexual violence takes place, the potential victims need to express their intention of refusing to the situation as an agent who has the right to sexual self-determination and to raise issues after the situation is over. This approach is significant for emphasizing that victims are not responsible for the past sexual violence victimization and that sexual violence victimization is not a matter of damage to virginity or to femininity but a matter of infringement on human rights.

However, calling for women to actively confront to the situation still transfers the responsibility for sexual violence victimization to women or leads to stress 'victim-likeness.' When faced with a victimizing situation, it is necessary to actively confront the situation and raise issues after the situation is over. However, this approach still has the aspect

of individualizing the responsibility for victimization in that it still calls for women to keep themselves from violence and respond to the situation for themselves. Emphasizing the victim's confronting ability is to shift the responsibility for preventing sexual violence on the victim and to obscure the issue of structure and power that cause the sexual violence victimization. Because sexual violence is a matter of structure and power, only emphasizing individual responsibility cannot prevent the violence from taking place. Moreover, stressing the victim's confronting ability only is highly likely to overlook the issue of power and structural causes for the occurrence of sexual violence.

Although it is stressed that women should take the duty of preventing sexual violence as equal citizens, this manner of imposing responsibility still relies on patriarchal power. Also, the manner of stating the duty to prevent violence still tends to position women as beings subject to individual men as fathers or husbands, not as citizens equal to men. Men are the protectors, while women are the protected. Responsibilities of male-centered prevention may lead to the direction of reinforcing the patriarchal order and power structure that give rise to sexual violence.

C. Control of women according to the safety centered on the improvement of physical space

In the mid-2000s, crime prevention through environmental design was introduced, which accordingly raised interest in crime prevention through improvement of physical space and environment. Community-centered spatial improvement projects have since expanded, and safety projects for women are being actively implemented in the context of women-friendly city projects. Reconstruction of space through a gender-sensitive approach aims to resolve gender inequalities that are

reproduced through space. Also, safety policies set the prevention and elimination of gender-based violence as their goals. Empirically, women have different accessibilities to space, anxieties about spaces, and perceptions of risks from men. Considering this difference, creating a safe space make up an important part in relieving women of their anxieties and preventing crimes.

Safety policies centered on the improvement of physical space in the community are implemented in the name of 'security projects.' But these policies tend to be implemented regardless of whether they have any practical effect on eradicating gender-based violence. As most community projects aim to enhance the satisfaction of female residents in the community, their implementation is largely centered on projects that can display tangible performance. Also, as there appear cases of emulating projects that are highly evaluated among the projects implemented by other local governments, it is hard to say that the projects are implemented with the practical effect of preventing violence as their goal.

Community safety projects centered on the improvement of physical space bring the effect of stigmatizing a particular space and confining women to a particular space. This results in raising the hazards of unidentified spaces. In community safety projects, spaces for the projects are selected based on crime statistics. Although crime statistics provide important rudimentary data, spaces where unidentifiable crimes by the statistics or other crimes occur cannot become the targets of prevention. Implementing security projects for spaces where crimes often take place is likely to overlook the multi-layered contexts of the occurrence of sexual violence and characteristics of sexual violence. Although it may be committed by strangers, sexual violence occurs in close relations in many

cases. For this reason, it is likely to miss out intervention in spaces where the violence actually takes place, including homes and schools. Assessing a particular place as a hazardous space and improving its environment presupposes protecting users of the place. Among the users of the place, children and women are essential targets of protection. By designating the space often used by them as a hazardous space, women and children are regarded as targets of continued protection. Also, describing a particular area as a risky area, including the area crowded with female one-person households and rental apartments, brings the effect of attaching stigma to the place. On the other hand, this approach is likely to overlook the risks of the space that is not often used by women. Implementing safety policies centered on women's use may weaken the practical effect of prevention. Also, carrying out safety projects centered on crime-occurring space and building a safe space create a new rule that women should lead their lives and do activities chiefly in the safe space. This rule is likely to blame women for falling victim to crimes when they led their lives and did activities in an unsafe space.

2. Contexts of Protection Discourses at Work

A. Concept-centered education and insufficient understanding of gender-based violence

Sexual violence prevention education may put women's vulnerability into spotlight and lead to reproduce the common idea of victim-likeness because of its excessive preoccupation with the concept of violence. The prevention education tends to concentrate on explaining the concept of sexual violence on the presupposition that one should understand what is sexual violence in order to prevent sexual violence. Sexual violence

does not take place because victims do not understand its concept, but when concept-centered education is conducted in spite of that, it is likely to strengthen the stereotype of victims, victim-likeness, and objectification of victims rather than to emphasize structural problems and power relations. The concept of sexual violence should be approached from the aspect of understanding structural contexts of its occurrence and the issue of power, not from that of deciding which behavior falls under sexual violence. However, it is pointed out that the present sexual violence prevention education cannot fully explain gender-based violence, including sexual violence, sex trade, sexual harassment, and domestic violence, from an integrative perspective. Although education is conducted focusing on the structural aspect at the conceptual, general level, lectures are still delivered focusing on victims and stressing victim-likeness in the details.

The issue of understanding gender-based violence comes from understanding 'gender' and 'power.' Gender-based violence tends to be explained in the manner of understanding gender simply as men and women and highlighting male victimization. Even when the issue of power is addressed, only the power exercised in general violence is discussed without revealing the contexts in which gender power is at work and the points where gender crosses over. Sexual violence prevention education if conducted in a state without presupposing the integrative perspective of gender and power, results in distorted understanding of gender, overlooking of gendered power, and objectification of victims.

B. 'Fairness' discourse and response to backlashes

With a recent emphasis placed on 'fairness,' backlashes from men deepened against gender equality, gender discrimination, and sexual

violence. In a situation where all rushed into a competition system under neoliberalism, the issue of ‘fairness’ was raised over gender equality policies because the establishment and implementation of the policies for women only were considered ‘reverse discrimination.’ In this reality, backlashes and resistance to sexual violence prevention policies and gender equality policies were experienced in the field. In response to the backlashes, the seriousness of sexual violence came to be stressed. To continue education while reducing the backlashes and resistance from men, instructors took extreme cases for examples or kept identifying women in vulnerable positions. Also, while presenting male victimization cases to be ‘fair,’ they explained gender-based violence in such a way that men fall victim to violence ‘in the same way’ as women do. Because it was difficult to handle resistance they faced in the education field, instructors made a ‘compromise’ for themselves. They made it official to include male victimization cases in the education content, and cut off resistance to sexual violence prevention education in advance by asking male educational hosts to appear for the education. With the overlapping of the hosts’ lack of understanding gender-based violence and education participants’ resistance to sexual violence prevention education and gender equality, the meaning of gender-based violence was lost and women’s victimization was reinforced.

Such backlashes and demands for fairness that were witnessed in the field of sexual violence prevention education also appeared in community safety policies. Under the concept of mechanical gender equality, a logic was at work that the benefits from safety policies should be awarded exactly ‘half and half’ to both women and men. As a consequence, women’s vulnerability was highlighted even further. To persuade the necessity for the policies, women’s victimization was revealed and

emphasized, and women were highlighted as vulnerable beings. Thereby, the necessity for implementing separate policies for women was presented. This contributed to maintaining the protectionist viewpoint of women. Also, the word 'women' was deleted from project or policy names to prove the 'half and half' equality. This approach attenuates the contexts in which the projects are implemented, and the socio-structural contexts in which women cannot feel secure or safe, and fails to materialize the gender inequal structure. Also, this manner of policy response contradicts itself by disorienting gender equality or women's policies with its own recognition that gender inequalities do not exist.

The recent 'fairness' discourses centered on mechanical equality, backlashes to feminism and gender equality policies, and so forth imply that it is difficult for sexual violence prevention policies to be effective unless the policies change the overall structure and culture of a society. Arguments of mechanical equality and backlashes to feminism impact the overall sexual violence policies and even more highlight the gravity of sexual violence. On the other hand, they make it difficult to reveal structural problems that cause sexual violence. Materializing the problems of sexual violence victimization experienced by social beings in various positions is a very important policy task. In spite of this, addressing these problems in the frame of mechanical equality makes it inaccessible to the essence of the problems.

C. Reaction to education centered on schematized prohibition

Concept-centered prevention education on sexual violence and the individualized responsibility for prevention are related to the stronger punishment of perpetrators and support for victims. As education

participants tangibly affirm the punishment of sexual violence crimes, they take greater interest in the penalty level or standards for the punishment of sexual violence rather than in the causes and structures for the occurrence of sexual violence. As a result, participants in sexual violence prevention education are more interested in confirming the level and type of behavior that prevents them from being convicted or punished as offenders. Social response to the publicized sexual violence cases and resultant reinforcement of punishment had an impact on intensifying the fear about punishment of those who witnessed the process. As a result, a greater attention was paid to the level of punishment, standards for punishing sexual violence, and whether a particular behavior or language is sexual violence than to the causes and structure of the occurrence of sexual violence. As such, participants in sexual violence prevention education took interest in confirming the level and type of behavior that do not make them offenders or that they are not punished for. Educators as well insisted on the justification of matching the needs of education participants and of raising educational effects. Accordingly, they conducted education focusing on the cases of accidents and punishments to distinguish whether some behavior or act falls under sexual violence.

Schematized approach to sexual violence appeared not just in education but also in the attitude toward policies and measures related to sexual violence. As the laws and systems related to punishment of sexual violence were specified and reinforced, there was a tendency of gradually weakening interest in structural changes, including improvement of organizational culture for prevention. Even people involved in policies to prevent the occurrence of secondary victimization and to support sexual violence victims were preoccupied with the criticisms that they

were offenders of secondary victimization or that they neglected supporting victims. As a consequence, they implemented given systems and manuals mechanically and took the attitude of avoiding criticisms and responsibilities rather than showing empathy with victims. In this situation, victims were considered solely as targets to be protected.

The fear of punishment even further stirred up the need for concept- or case-centered education. In the prevention education on sexual violence, it was not easy to convey the meaning of gender-based violence, and instructors encountered more often than not backlashes from education participants regarding the type of crimes and level of punishment. It was found that there were different stances toward the appropriateness of the punishment. Explaining the criteria for deciding the appropriateness in connection with the seriousness of sexual violence victimization and the pain of victims eventually solidified the notion of victim-likeness and strengthened the screening of victims as well.

3. Directions for Improving Sexual Violence Prevention Policies

A. Reinforce sexual violence prevention education from the gender equality perspective

As education is important in the prevention of sexual violence, an emphasis should also be on educational content and approach. The prevention education from the perspective of gender equality rejects the reinforced protectionist perspective as an educational effect, but instead fosters the strength of educators to respond to dynamics taking place in the field of sexual violence prevention education. In a situation where educational programs for instructors of sexual violence prevention education are diversified, more opportunities should be given for

individual instructors to complete sexual violence prevention education from the gender equality perspective.

A foundation should be laid for implementing community projects from the perspective of gender equality. As there are diverse implementers of safety projects in the community, it is necessary to provide opportunities for them to implement the projects or policies from the perspective of gender equality. It is also necessary to expand gender equality education for project implementers and participants as well as projects to support the education.

B. Emphasize communal responsibilities for prevention

Sexual violence can be prevented through intervention in the power structure and culture that cause the occurrence of sexual violence. It is necessary for the whole community to make active efforts to change unequal gender structure and culture. In recent cases, community restoration projects and gender equality awareness projects were implemented in connection with each other among village-centered safety projects. In light of these cases, active efforts should be made to change the structure and culture, beginning from the community.

Instead of holding individuals responsible for falling victim to sexual violence or for the prevention of sexual violence, a stress should be placed on the communal responsibilities. Also, plans should be made to enable all members of the community to become responsible individuals for the problems of violence and to actively intervene in preventing violence and solving problems rather than merely trying not to become victims or offenders.

C. Implement sexual violence prevention policies as part of gender equality policies

Sexual violence is caused by gender discriminative structure, culture, and power, and it is closely related to gender discriminative belief or sexism. When violence against women is said to arise from women's low social and economic standings, it is inevitable to change unequal political, economic, social structures, and culture in order to prevent violence. The recently publicized sexual violence cases in Korean society also demonstrate that the causes for sexual violence are the gender discriminative labor market and structure of the society.

Sexual violence prevention policies should be implemented in connection with gender equality policies to change gender discriminative structure. Practical effects of sexual violence prevention policies can be achieved with efforts to change the structure and reality that cause gender discrimination. In this respect, sexual violence policies should actively intervene in the issues of discrimination, and be formulated and implemented in the context of gender equality policies.

4. Sub-Conclusions

According to the recent increase in sexual violence cases, deepened seriousness of the cases, and public opinions about sexual violence cases, there have been more policies on sexual violence, including sexual violence prevention policies. Despite the importance of the design and executive ability of the policies, the effectiveness of sexual violence policies can be secured through integration with the gender equality perspective and connection with gender equality policies.

Therefore, sexual violence policies, including sexual violence prevention

policies, should be approached from the standpoint of realizing gender equality. In sexual violence policies, it is necessary to clarify that sexual violence is related to gender discrimination and equality. Although solving the cases is important in itself, the issue of power causing gender-based violence should be actively posed. It is also necessary to reveal how ‘gender’ intersects with other identities and to break away from the dichotomous frame of women and men.

V. Directions and Implications of Overseas Prevention Policies on Gender-Based Violence

1. Policies of International Organizations to Combat Gender-Based Violence

A. UN Women’s Guidelines for the Establishment of National Action Plan (NAP) for the Prevention and Elimination of Violence against Women

To root out violence against women, it is important to establish and implement comprehensive and sustainable plans that can be carried out in a wide range of areas at the national level. UN Women published the Guidelines for the Establishment of the National Action Plan for the Prevention and Elimination of Violence against Women (hereinafter called ‘NAP,’ for short) in 2012, and presented the following principles for preventing violence against women.¹⁵⁾ First, violence against women should be approached from a human rights perspective. Recognizing it

15) UN Women (2012), “Handbook for National Action Plans on Violence against Women”, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2012/7/handbook-for-national-action-plans-on-violence-against-women> (search date: 11.10.2020.)

as violation of human rights, violence against women should be defined according to the international standards, and at the same time national obligations should be fulfilled according to the human rights convention.¹⁶⁾ Second, violence against women should be recognized as manifestation of unequal power and a form of gender discrimination that have historically existed between men and women.¹⁷⁾ Third, it should be understood and confirmed that violence against women occurs in a multi-layered and intersectional way, not in an independent and individual form.¹⁸⁾ Fourth, fundamental causes, attributes, and effects of violence against women should be revealed. To this end, data should be collected regarding the actual situations and effects of violence against women in each member state.¹⁹⁾ Lastly, it should be understood that women's experiences of violence, discrimination and disadvantages are composed of complex factors, depending on race, religion, politics, nationality, property, marital status, sexual orientation, and disabilities.²⁰⁾

UN Women's primary prevention strategy takes an important position in the model for the NAP, because the strategy aims to end violence against women prior to its occurrence by resolving fundamental causes for violence against women. The NAP presents a strategy for changing social and cultural norms, a strategy by major environment, a strategy by specific group, and a strategy on the factors influencing violence against women as core elements of the primary prevention. The NAP then presents specific means for each element.

16) UN Women(2012), pp.10~11.

17) UN Women(2012), pp.11~12.

18) UN Women(2012), pp.12~13.

19) UN Women(2012), pp.13~14.

20) UN Women(2012), pp.14~15.

B. WHO RESPECT women

Violence is a factor that seriously violates the physical, psychological, and emotional health and wellbeing of individuals. In order to attain the goal of prosperity of humankind, it is essential to prevent and eliminate violence against women and girls. With this problem awareness, WHO, UN Women, and 11 international organizations jointly announced “RESPECT women: Preventing violence against women” in May 2019.²¹⁾ This is an international framework for preventing the occurrence and recurrence of violence against women.

The RESPECT women framework is also a strategy focusing on the primary prevention to block the occurrence of violence in advance by reducing the multi-layered risk factors and increasing protection factors of violence against women. Specifically, the framework presents seven essential strategies that policy makers and people in charge of health services in each country can use for preventing violence against women and prevention policies as shown in the table below.

<Table 1> RESPECT women’s seven strategies

Category	Main content
R	• Relationships skills strengthened
E	• Empowerment of women
S	• Services ensured
P	• Poverty reduced
E	• Environments made safe
C	• Child and adolescent abuse prevented
T	• Transformed attitudes, beliefs and norms)

Source: WHO (2019), “RESPECT women: Preventing violence against women”.

21) WHO(2019), “RESPECT women: Preventing violence against women”, <https://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/preventing-vaw-framework-policymakers/en> (search date: 11.10.2020.)

The strategies of the RESPECT women framework are expected to be effective when they are suitably used in the context of each country. For example, it was found that counseling or therapy conducted together with partners was highly effective in high-income countries, and cash support and other direct financial support in medium to low income countries. Also, the framework stresses that the presented seven strategies cannot be operated in a mutually exclusive and separate manner, and the goal of preventing violence against women can be achieved through multi-componental intervention and integrative practice.²²⁾

2. Overseas Cases by Country

A. The United Kingdom

The coalition government of the United Kingdom announced a report in November 2010 that contained its vision and basic principles for eliminating violence against women and girls “Call to End Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG)” in November 2010.²³⁾ This report takes an approach that includes girls based on the definition of violence against women as stated in the 1993 UN Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women. Its vision is “to achieve a society in which no woman or girl has to live in fear of violence.” To realize this vision, the UK presented guiding principles for the VAWG strategy as shown in the table.

22) WHO(2019), pp.8~9, p.25.

23) Home Office(2010), “Call to end violence against women and girls: strategic vision”, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/call-to-end-violence-against-women-and-girls> (search date: 11.10.2020.)

〈Table 2〉 Guiding Principles for the VAWG strategy

Category	Content
Prevention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevent violence against women and girls from happening, by challenging the attitudes and behaviors which foster it and intervening early to prevent it.
Provide	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide adequate levels of support where violence occurs.
Partnership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work in partnership to obtain the best outcomes for victims and their families.
Reduce the risk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Take action to reduce the risk to women and girls who are victims of these crimes and ensure that perpetrators are brought to justice.

Source: Home Office (2010), “Call to end violence against women and girls: strategic vision”, p.5.

Based on the awareness of the problem that existing approaches to the prevention of violence against women were top-down and centralized, the VAWG strategy divides the roles of the central government and the communities. Specifically, the central government performs the role of presenting the overall vision and direction, providing financial support, collecting and sharing data, and building cooperative systems at the international level. On the other hand, the communities provide specific services befitting the situation of the communities under the support of the central government.²⁴⁾

Effective prevention is an essential element in the UK’s VAWG strategy. As such, efforts should be made to change gender discriminative attitudes and behaviors with ministry-wide cooperation. Together with the awareness that violence against women and girls are unacceptable behaviors, the message delivering this content should be provided from birth through the lifetime. To this end, the prevention strategy comprises largely three detailed strategies.²⁵⁾ The first is to prevent through changes

24) Home Office(2010), pp.7~8.

25) Home Office(2010), p.8.

in attitudes, behaviors, and practices that keep women and girls live in the fear of violence. Strategies should be established to change practices harmful to women, including sexual violence, early marriage, murder of women, female genital mutilation, sexual exploitation of children in prostitution. Also, efforts should be exerted to enhance awareness thereof.²⁶⁾ The second is to prevent through early intervention in children who may accept violent behavior as normal due to their exposure to violence. The strategy presents ways of strengthening education about sexual consent in the curriculum and supporting families that experience various problems.²⁷⁾ The third is to prevent through proper and right response to gender-based violence by front-line workers, including the police. These workers should recognize that the fundamental causes for crimes and health issues can be sexual violence against women. To do so, they need to receive proper education and training.²⁸⁾

In 2015, the UK government published a report that reviewed the achievements of the VAWG strategy over the past five years. In March 2016, the government announced a new policy report on the VAWG strategy “Ending Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy: 2016 to 2020.”²⁹⁾ The comprehensive outcomes to be achieved by 2020 consist of two axes: reducing all forms of violence against women and girls and increasing the report, indictment, and conviction of hidden violence against women.

While maintaining the existing vision and main principles, the 2016 – 2020 VAWG strategy presents its contents and methods more richly

26) Home Office(2010), pp.9~10.

27) Home Office(2010), pp.10~12.

28) Home Office(2010), pp.11~13.

29) Home Office(2019), “Ending violence against women and girls strategy: 2016 to 2020”, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/strategy-to-end-violence-against-women-and-girls-2016-to-2020> (search date: 11.10.2020.)

than before. The strategy constitutes its major principles largely in four areas: preventing violence, supporting victims, forming cooperative relations between organizations, and tracking and prosecuting perpetrators. Because prevention and early intervention are directly related to reduction in the number of women situated at a “crisis point,” they have importance at a different level from response to violence after it occurs.

The prevention-related contents of the 2016-2020 VAWG strategy include education of children and adolescents on healthy relationships and operation of related campaigns. In addition, the strategy presents major prevention strategies, including response to gender-based violence committed in the online spaces, prevention of harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation and forced marriage, prompt recognition of violence against women and girls and early intervention, intervention against offenders focusing on changes in their violent behaviors, establishment of database for evidence and international practice strategy that can measure practical effects of the prevention strategies.

B. Scotland

Scotland adopted its strategy “Equally Safe: Scotland’s strategy for preventing and eradicating violence against women and girls” in June 2014.³⁰⁾ Its goal was to prevent and eliminate violence against women. This strategy is based on the problem awareness that violence against women originating from deep-rooted inequality against women violates the principle of “the country of equality” pursued by Scotland. Based

30) Scottish Government(2018), “Equally Safe: Scotland’s strategy for preventing and eradicating violence against women and girls”, p.6, <https://www.gov.scot/publications/equally-safe-scotlands-strategy-prevent-eradicate-violence-against-women-girls> (search date: 11.10.2020.)

on the problem awareness, the strategy aims to promote the eradication of violence against women and girls. The Equally Safe strategy focuses on violence against women and girls perpetrated by men. However, this does not mean excluding men from gender analysis. By strategically placing the focus of gender-based violence on women and girls, it is to awaken the realities where a particular form of violence is more frequently and unequally experienced by women and girls. The report on the Equally Safe strategy also takes note of the fact that men and boys too can be victims of gender-based violence and abuse. In particular, the report notes that where they depart from the normal gender norms of a society, like homosexual or bisexual men or boys, gender-based violence and abuse can be perpetrated against them. Furthermore, it point out that masculinity and femininity, which are part of social construct of gender, are fundamental factors contributing to the continued violence against women and girls. The strategy report also stresses that men should play an essential role in challenging violence and breaking such gender norms of a society.³¹⁾

The vision of the Equally Safe strategy is “to achieve a country where “all individuals are equally safe and respected, and where women and girls live free from all forms of violence and abuse – and the attitudes that help perpetuate it.” ³²⁾ For this vision, the Scottish government presents the following four priorities: first, all forms of violence should be rejected, and equal relationships be fostered. This incorporates the viewpoint that the attitude of the local community towards violence against women is important. ³³⁾ Second, women and girls should be respected as equal citizens. That is to say, women and girls should be

31) Scottish Government(2018), p.20.

32) Scottish Government(2018), p.10.

33) Scottish Government(2018), pp.36-38.

able to gain equal access to power and resources, and to enjoy economic, social, and political rights as equally as men do.³⁴⁾ Third, interventions for the prevention of violence and the safety and welfare of women and girls should be made early and effectively. The government should respond in a powerful, prompt, consistent, and organized manner. Also, service providers should competently recognize and cope with violence against women and girls.³⁵⁾ Fourth, men should stop all forms of violence against women and girls, and powerful and effective measures should be taken for offenders of violence against women.³⁶⁾

The prevention of violence is addressed as an important issue in the Equally Safe strategy. In particular, the primary prevention is emphasized to prevent violence prior to its occurrence. To challenge the proposition that violence is inevitable and acceptable, it is required to take a long-term approach that can aim at fundamental changes of social attitude, value and structure, including changes of individuals' behaviors and knowledge. Based on the Equally Safe strategy, Scotland developed and implemented a variety of violence prevention policies considering specific situations and conditions, including schools and workplaces. The Scottish government implemented the 'Equally Safe in Colleges and Universities' project to prevent violence in colleges and universities. The government formed a working group, comprising the National Union of Students (NUS Scotland), Universities Scotland, College Development Network, the police, and organizations in the third sector, and carried out activities to provide an environment safe from violence for students and the faculty. For a leading example, the government supported the development and use of a toolkit called 'Equally Safe in Higher

34) Scottish Government(2018), pp.38~40.

35) Scottish Government(2018), pp.40~42.

36) Scottish Government(2018), pp.43~45.

Education (ESHE) Toolkit’ to be used in Scottish higher education.³⁷⁾ Scotland also developed a program named ‘Equally Safe at Work’ to promote gender equality in the workplace, to prevent violence against women, and to support gender-based violence victims-survivors in the workplace. The program provides education in six areas, including leadership, data-building, flexible work arrangements, segregation of duties, workplace culture, and violence against women. The program also supports collection and analysis of related data as well as review of policies and practices.³⁸⁾ Not only this, Scotland also carried out diverse prevention programs and activities based on the Equally Safe strategy, such as developing and operating a violence prevention mentoring program ‘Mentors in Violence Prevention Programme (MVP),’ implementing a pilot project ‘Equally Safe at School,’ hosting forums on journalists’ perceptions and the mass media releases, and publishing materials to support the sexual well-being of children and youth and their formation of positive relationships.³⁹⁾

C. Australia

Based on the need for establishing a mid- to long-term plan to prevent violence against women through cooperation among the central government, the communities, and individuals, Australia developed the ‘National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010-2022’ (hereinafter referred to as the ‘National Plan’ for short). The National Plan, a long-term 12-year plan, consists of national action plans

37) Scottish Government(2019), “Equally Safe: Year Two Update Report”, <https://www.gov.scot/publications/equally-safe-year-2-update-report> (search date: 11.10.2020.) pp.10~11

38) Close the Gap, “About Equally Safe at Work”, <https://www.equallysafeatwork.scot/about> (search date: 11.10.2020.)

39) Scottish Government(2019), pp.12~16.

that are implemented four times every three years. Its fourth action plan (2019-2022) is currently being implemented.⁴⁰⁾

The overall vision of the National Plan is ‘Australian women and their children live free from violence in safe communities.’ The objectives of the National Plan by period are set to promote the gradual achievement of the vision as they develop with the passage of each step. The objectives and priorities of Australia’s national action plans by period are shown in the table below.

〈Table 3〉 Objectives and priorities of Australia’s national action plans: 2010–2022

Period	Objectives
1 st (2010–2013)	Building a Strong Foundation
2 nd (2013–2016)	Moving Ahead
3 rd (2016–2019)	Promising Results
4 th (2019–2022)	Turning the Corner

Note: The table shows the summary of objectives and priorities presented in the national action plans by period.

Australia’s National Plan to respond to violence against women has stressed the importance of prevention of violence, particularly primary prevention throughout all the periods. The National Plan is based on the international research result that the primary prevention strategy deployed at various levels in diverse environments is the most effective for the prevention and eradication of violence against women. Accordingly, the National Plan has placed an emphasis on the prevention of violence in advance and the responsibilities of perpetrators for violence and their behavioral changes by forming respectful relationships and enhancing

40) Australian Government, “National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children: What is the National Plan?”, <https://plan4womenssafety.dss.gov.au/the-national-plan/what-is-the-national-plan> (search date: 11.10.2020.)

gender equality from a long-term perspective.⁴¹⁾

The tools and methods of implementing the prevention strategies by period developed gradually and incrementally with the passage of each period. In the first period (2010-2013), the national action plan presented action tasks to strengthen the competency of primary prevention. In the second period (2013-2016), the national action plan further developed the tasks that had been implemented in the first period, and identified new action tasks. In the third period (2016-2019), the action plan expanded prevention strategies to include early interventions in violence. In the fourth period (2019-2022), the action plan reiterated the importance of prevention prior to the occurrence of violence, sought to maximize the effect of cooperation-based prevention, and implemented primary prevention activities considering the characteristics of the communities.

In particular, ‘respectful relationships education’ - which has been conducted and developed throughout all periods of Australia’s National Plan – is a good testament to the country’s long-term effort to respond to gender-based violence. The Australian government invested its funds of over 9 million dollars in developing a respectful relationships education program from 2008 to 2013. Australia’s non-profit organization Our Watch, Australia’s Department of Education, and teachers’ associations develop the program in cooperation with one another.⁴²⁾ Respectful relationships education is Australia’s violence prevention education and gender equality education alike in order to depart from gender stereotype and help build respectful human relationships. This

41) Australian Government(2012), “First Action Plan 2010-2013”, <https://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/women/programs-services/reducing-violence/the-national-plan-to-reduce-violence-against-women-and-their-children/first-action-plan-2010-2013>(search date: 11.10.2020.) p.2

42) Our Watch, “Respectful relationships education”, <https://education.ourwatch.org.au/respectful-relationships-education> (search date: 11.10.2020.)

education aims to promote changes in generations and culture centered on schools to create a future free from violence. The education teaches that all people are equal and that gender roles are not distinguishable. Its focus is on nurturing abilities to respect others by recognizing diversity and difference, and to take direct actions when they witnessed problematic situations.

〈Table 4〉 Core elements of respectful relationships education

Core elements
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify drivers for gender-based violence • Vision, approach, and financial support from a long-term perspective • Adopt approach targeting the whole school • Build a system for collaboration and joint effort • Ensure integrative assessment and constant improvement • Provide resources and support for teachers • Use age-appropriate, interactive, and participatory curriculum

Source: Gleeson, C, Kearney, S., Leung, L., et al.(2015), “Respectful relationship education in schools: Evidence paper” pp.15~28.

Unlike the mode of education conducted by experts invited from outside or by specialized subject teachers, respectful relationships education takes a mode that general teachers directly teach students. As such, teachers’ abilities and competencies are important elements that determine the outcomes of respectful relationships education. Teachers should be able to provide information on gender equality regardless of their subjects in charge. They can also request professional services to be provided for this. This approach is effective for promoting changes throughout all members of a school by strengthening the competencies of not only students but also teachers and by encouraging them to change.

Respectful relationships education pays attention to the special importance of the space called school. Teaching the value of respect and equality, the awareness of discrimination, and the method of challenging gender stereotypes to students who are ready to learn various kinds of knowledge and attitudes is a starting point for preventing gender-based violence. Also, school is not only an educational institution but also the center of the local community. In this regard, experience and practice through respectful relationships education can be expanded to the local community, including not just students but also teachers, school personnel, parents and guardians.⁴³⁾

3. Sub-Conclusions

Based on the review of overseas cases, this research developed implications for establishing the directions of Korea's policies on gender-based violence as follows:

First, it should be made clear that the issue of gender-based violence should be approached from the standpoint of equality and human rights. Since the UN Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women in 1993, the term 'gender-based violence' has been widely used. International conventions and frameworks have also been presented to conceptualize gender-based violence as violation against human rights and discrimination against women and also to prevent and resolve gender-based violence. Considering this trend in the international community, Korea should view gender-based violence as violation of human rights and discrimination against women and approach the issue from the perspective of human rights and equality in setting directions

43) Our Watch, "Respectful relationships education".

for gender-based violence policies.

Second, an in-depth examination is required of the concept of gender and the way gender is understood. Understanding gender as a narrow and personal attribute of sex makes people unaware of the dynamics of social order, structure, and practices that position women in unequal power relations and maintain such relations. Thereby, such understanding contributes to reinforcing the existing gender order that generates and sustains gender-based violence. This leads to a misunderstanding that the protection of a specific group ‘biologically’ vulnerable to violence is one of major approaches to the prevention of gender-based violence. Also, it runs counter to the approach to gender-based violence policies from the viewpoint of equality and human rights. Based on the in-depth examination of the concept of gender, sufficient discussions should be conducted and a social consensus achieved concerning the meaning of ‘gender-based violence against women’ and the way it is understood.

Third, gender-based violence prevention policies need to be prepared from integrative, comprehensive, and long-term perspectives. Prevention policies prior to the occurrence of violence have taken on a gradually heightened importance in the international response to gender-based violence. Prevention of gender-based violence is not possible with efforts of particular individuals or organizations alone, but it requires the overall changes of individuals and society. In this regard, it is required to seek prevention policies that promote changes of individuals and society from integrative, comprehensive, and long-term perspectives.

Fourth, it is necessary to give deep consideration to the roles of the local communities and the State as the main agent of performing integrative roles in responding to gender-based violence. According to the analysis of overseas cases by country, there was an awareness that

changes should be promoted in all the sectors of their society over a long-term period to eradicate gender-based violence. With this awareness, the overseas countries established mid- to long-term plans and attached importance to the responsibilities of the State as the main player of formulating and implementing integrative and long-term policies. While the State was expanding the roles of local governments and the communities, the central government played a remarkable role in providing financial and systemic support for them. Based on the overseas cases, Korea as well should make discussion about the proper division of roles and responsibilities among the central government, local governments, and the communities.

Lastly, attention should be paid to the importance and effects of gender education. In the specific cases by country related to the prevention of gender-based violence, importance was attached to conducting gender equality education in school for children and adolescents, respectful relationships education, and empowerment education. Childhood and adolescent period are the periods when children and youth grow while learning individuals' attitude toward and perceptions of life plus relational skills. Also, the space called school has importance as the central space of their school life and at the same time as the center of their communities. Therefore, it is necessary to take closer note of the importance of school in acquiring sensitivity to violence and awareness of interactive and respectful relationships, and learning such skills.

VI. Conclusions and Policy Directions

1. Shift Directions of Prevention Policies on Gender-Based Violence

A. Raise the issue of the dailiness of gender-based violence

Gender-based violence is a comprehensive concept that encompasses not only physical and sexual violence against women recognized as ‘crime’ by the State but also any act of violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological, or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty. Prevention policies on gender-based violence should be based on the comprehensive concept of gender-based violence. When gender-based violence is understood in a narrow sense as violence to be punished, the dailiness of gender-based violence is not shed light on. As a result, mentioning gender discrimination or gender norms in prevention education may not be associated with violence but be removed from it. Also, this makes it difficult to address broader structural issues and instead keeps controlling individuals’ perceptions or behaviors.

B. Aim at socio-structural changes

As revealed in the results of policy analysis, existing prevention policies on gender-based violence have expanded and reinforced focusing on violence prevention education and construction of a safe space. Also, the prevention policies tended to seek ways of changing individuals’ perceptions and attitudes, and avoiding the risks of individuals who belong to a group of latent victims. In overseas cases, criticisms were raised about their policies that although the polices mentioned the

structural aspect of gender-based violence at the level of analysis, they focused mostly on cultural changes, including gender norms and the promotion of respectful relationships, in their policy cases. Still, this is significant in that cultural changes are important, and that policy contents of the overseas cases shifted directions from the attitude of stressing the gravity of gender-based violence and positioning women as targets of protection toward emphasizing equality. Nevertheless, their lack of socio-structural measures are pointed out as a limitation. Changing the structure takes a long time, hence it is a difficult job that is ‘not tangible’ in the short term. This is the reason why they mentioned structural causes of gender-based violence, but actually focused on changes of individuals when they prepared the prevention policies.⁴⁴⁾

Kuskoff & Parsell (2020) point out the limitation of policies that concentrate on the cultural aspect. According to their criticisms, policies focusing on the cultural aspect are on the presupposition that culture can be changed independently of the social structure supporting gender-based violence; policies, including educational programs or campaigns to promote men’s participation and cultural changes, subject men again to serve dominant masculinity; and these policies cannot prepare a strategy for structural changes while emphasizing structural inequalities.⁴⁵⁾ For the reason that the State cannot deal with socio-structural issues, this paper presents neoliberalist policy changes. According to the paper, neoliberalism contributes to shifting the responsibilities of the government for citizens to the responsibilities of individuals and the

44) Winett, B.(1998), “Constructing violence as a public health problem”, *Public health reports*, 113(6).
Pease, B.(2014), “Theorising Men’s Violence Prevention Policies: Limitations and possibilities of Interventions in a Patriarchal State”, Henry N. & Powell A. eds., *Preventing Sexual Violence*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, requoted from p.27.

45) Kuskoff, E. & Parsell, C.(2020), p.232.

communities.⁴⁶⁾

The feminist approach to the prevention of gender-based violence points out that gender-based violence is related to structural discrimination, such as limiting access to or participation in social, political, or economic resources. Although cultural changes are important, culture creates an environment that makes gender-based violence possible and easy in connection with structural inequalities. For this reason, gender-based violence policies should challenge not only social and cultural bases but also structural foundation.

C. Reflect intersectionality in the prevention policies

Victims taken as a model in Korean policies on gender-based violence are basically people without disabilities, heterosexuals, former inhabitants, cisgender, and adult women. On the other hand, the group of women represented in policies on the prevention of gender-based violence and support for victims tend to be presupposed as beings without vulnerability other than the gender of women. For instance, support for victims whose identities stand out, including people with disabilities, immigrants, gender minorities, children and youth, has expanded its scope of support in the manner of ‘adding’ them to the existing support system.

Group-specific support has the advantage that there exist unique experiences and needs according to identities other than the female gender, and that it is easy to provide suitable support for a particular group. However, to support a particular group, a particular identity should be materialized as a trait ‘important enough to need the support,’

46) Kuskoff, E. & Parsell, C.(2020), p.233.

and the State should approve the need of the support for the group. Unless individual victimized cases are materialized even if revealed fragmentarily or unless the State determines to provide special support even if materialized, group-specific support are not provided. These individual cases are treated as being absorbed into the experience of ‘women’ group, and therefore they can be understood as much as being aligned to the experience of ‘representative women’ group

Another approach takes only gender into account in gender-based violence policies and supposes only ‘biological women’ as gender under the dichotomous notion of gender. Supposing ‘women’ as a homogeneous group, this approach assumes that women would experience the victimization of gender-based violence in an identical way. Due to this, however, this approach makes it impossible to understand experiences of gender-based violence and to respond to various needs. People’s identities intersect with gender in a complex manner and generate unique discrimination and violence. If this is the case, then research and development of response policies are required in gender-based violence prevention policies as well, considering the violence generated through interaction between various identities and gender, but without being preoccupied with the supposition that ‘women’ would have a homogeneous experience.

2. Improve Prevention Education on Gender-Based Violence

A. Universalize prevention education on gender-based violence

Prevention education on gender-based violence should be conducted by professional instructors. Also, prevention education on gender-based violence should be generalized in school education. Particularly in

schools, eradication of gender-based violence through equality and anti-discrimination should be incorporated in the existing curriculum, and should be learned in school life. The perspective of human rights and equality needs to be blended in the existing curricular content, and ways of integrating content related to gender-based violence sought. It is also required to review and develop the content of textbooks and teaching methods so as to conduct education on equality in an integrated manner. The equality education should encompass prevention education on gender-based violence in almost all subjects, including not only ethics and social studies but also Korean language, mathematics, and English.

To convey the ideology of equality and elimination of gender-based violence in the overall curriculum, all teachers should be equipped with competencies of conducting equality education and gender-based violence prevention education. Even if related content is included in the textbooks, education content can be reduced or miscommunicated depending on the standpoints and capabilities of teachers. The significance of gender-based violence prevention education, if separated from everyday life, cannot but disappear in many cases. Specifically, if a teacher sexually harasses a student after conducting prevention education on sexual harassment and sexual violence, if sexual harassment and sexual violence are considered as normal and tacitly approved among students without any sanctions imposed, if gender roles are taken for granted, if a sexually exploited student is merely subjected to guidance or excluded from education from the very outset, if the teacher does not provide proper support for a student subjected to domestic violence, and if content that glorifies gender discrimination or gender-based violence is taught in the curricular education without any particular criticism, prevention education on gender-based violence is separated from everyday life, and therefore its

meaning gets lost. In addition, changes should be achieved regarding the acceptive attitude toward gender-based violence, the forcing of dichotomous gender norms, and the creation of the composition of gender-based violence with 'women as its latent victims and men as its potential offenders.' To do so, not merely some teachers or instructors from outside but all teachers also should consent to foster professional expertise. This should be supported with policies as part of the prevention of gender-based violence.

B. Improve training of educators for violence prevention education

Violence prevention education is made mandatory in the public and private sectors. Also, according to policies that make the integrated management system of prevention education and announce the completion rate publicly, the education completion rate has gradually increased. However, we still witness a situation in which a number of sexual harassment occurs in schools which reported their education completion rate as 100 percent. Although the mandatory education completion rate went up, most of violence prevention education is collective education. Also, the education content is largely for instructors to teach the definitions and cases of violence that require the mandatory education, including sexual harassment, sexual violence, domestic violence, and sex trade as well as the punishments and disciplines upon violation of laws. This presupposes that the perceptions and behaviors of education participants will be corrected if they get to know how widespread gender-based violence is, what personal and social risks result from gender-based violence, how big the victim's damage is, and what punishment or discipline ensues from violent actions. Education participants are deemed as blank paper to be filled in with knowledge

provided by instructors. As a consequence, simplified are complicated issues such as competing values and characteristics of power and close relationships that should be examined to understand gender-based violence. Then violence prevention education seems to be an area where educational achievements can be confirmed simply through quizzes after completing the education. This returns as resistance in reality. Education participants question even the objectivity of knowledge provided by instructors. Although instructors ‘provide’ knowledge, knowledge is not conveyed to education participants.

Educators, including prospective educators who aim to become professional instructors for the prevention of gender-based violence, have diverse viewpoints on gender and gender-based violence and theoretical backgrounds. They may put their focus of education on gender in gender-based violence or their basis on the criminology model or the public health model. They may have considerable differences in the degree of understanding the intersectionality between gender and the other identities, or in understanding and viewpoints of identities other than gender. Also, their own experiences of life may affect their attitudes toward and beliefs in gender and gender-based violence, or directions of their education. As such, educators need the process of revealing, reflecting, and critically reviewing their own diverse perspectives in an environment where they feel safe.⁴⁷⁾

This is the same for education participants. Education participants to be faced by educators are not blank paper but people who already have various perspectives. To promote changes of beliefs and attitudes through education, the participants should be provided with an environment that

47) Carmody, M.(2014), “Sexual Violence Prevention Educator Training: Opportunities and Challenges”, Henry N. & Powell A. eds., *Preventing Sexual Violence*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.157.

enables critical reflection. Knowledge of gender-based violence should be a stuff for critical reflection, and not ‘everything to be conveyed.’ To attain the effects of education on the participants who have their own standpoints, knowledge and experience, educators should be trained to be able to consider dynamics of the participant group and take a proper response. Approach to two groups of participants will be different when one group voluntarily participates in education for themselves whereas the other group should complete mandatory education. And it will be a sure way to failure to ask the participants to discuss power relations in an organization where sexual harassment is likely to occur due to the power relations. Just as most of gender-based violence prevention education is conducted in the manner of one-sided lecture, so is the education for educators, focusing on the delivery of knowledge. A recent tendency of the education is to address not just the definition or gravity of gender-based violence but also the culture and structure that make gender-based violence possible. But this is approached as part of knowledge that should be educated. In order to handle ‘risky’ content that questions the mainstream order of gender norms and encourage the participants to have critical reflection, it is important to motivate educators to develop and share methodology as well as programs.

C. Expand the approach to bystanders’ behavioral facilitation

As an alternative to such approach as ‘to teach victims how to avoid victimization’ or ‘not to become offenders,’ overseas countries have developed a method of facilitating bystanders other than victims or offenders to take positive action to stop gender-based violence.⁴⁸⁾ In

48) Powell, A.(2014), “Shifting Upstream: Bystander Action Against Sexism and Discrimination Against Women”, Henry N. & Powell A. eds., *Preventing Sexual Violence*, London: Palgrave Macmillan,

Korea as well, school violence prevention education and some gender-based violence prevention education address the content of encouraging bystanders to intervene. But it is hard to say that such bystanders' behavioral approach is widely used in gender-based violence prevention education.

Bystander is defined, according to the context of the term is used, as “a person or persons, not directly involved as a victim or perpetrator, who observes an act of violence, discrimination or other unacceptable or offensive behaviour,”⁴⁹⁾ or “a person who gets to know a situation or act of violence that is likely to occur, is occurring, or has occurred.⁵⁰⁾ To promote the primary prevention of gender-based violence prior to its occurrence by facilitating bystanders' action, the concept of bystander should include a person or persons who have not recognized an act or situation of violence as gender-based violence even when such act or situation has not yet occurred or already occurred rather than limit the concept to ‘observance of violence after its occurrence.’

Bystanders may eventually play the role of supporting violence by remaining onlookers and acquiescing violence, or furthermore commit secondary offenses. On the other hand, they may play the role of preventing violence by creating an environment to prevent violence from occurring or raising issues over discrimination and wrong practices.

Instead of the approach that places men as potential offenders and women as latent victims, the prevention of gender-based violence that

p.189.

49) Powell, A.(2012), *More than ready: Bystander action to prevent violence against women in the Victorian community*, Carlton, Australia: Victorian Health Promotion Foundation(VicHealth), p.4.

50) Potter, S.(2012), “Using a Multimedia Social Marketing Campaign to Increase Active Bystanders on the College Campus”, *Journal of American College Health*, 60(4), p.283. Powell, A.(2014), quoted from p.190.

calls for bystanders' action places responsibilities for preventing and intervening against gender-based violence on all the members of the community by calling the name of them regardless of gender. As such, individuals as bystanders are required to challenge the gender norms that enable gender-based violence.

The strategy of urging bystanders to take action can be effective where an act of violence is clearly that of gender-based violence. On the other hand, the role of bystanders is unclear in the phase of the primary prevention of violence prior to its occurrence. Also, it is difficult to expect of bystanders' intervention against a type of violence that is uncertain whether the type of violence falls under gender-based violence even after its occurrence or that does not incur damage immediately, or in a behavior that is allowed to some degree in a group.⁵¹⁾ However, when intervention is likely to be supported, the possibility of intervention as bystanders increases. According to the survey result of Powell (2012), employees were highly likely to intervene as bystanders when the gender ratio of the management was identical or there were more women in their workplace.⁵²⁾ This result shows the limitation of the prevention policies on gender-based violence that focus on violence prevention education with a goal to change the perceptions of individual members. Bystanders' intervention is an issue deeply related to the culture and policies of the community, and to the gender equality of managers. In other words, the bystanders' approach should accompany changes not only in the attitudes of individuals but in the commonly held norms of the community and structures that enable gender-based violence.

51) Powell, A.(2012), p.7.

52) Powell, A.(2012), p.41.

3. Promote non-state actors' participation

Pease(2014) criticizes that violence prevention policies tend to present the State as 'neutral coordinator' and regard the State as being able to carry out policies based on gender equality.⁵³⁾ However, it is obvious that the State is gendered,⁵⁴⁾ and the state actors who make and enforce laws and policies include individuals who have discriminative gender norms. As groups of benefiting from gender inequalities are overrepresented in the State, the State reflects the viewpoints and interests of the groups. This paper of Pease contends that if the State is patriarchal, the State needs to be challenged from the feminist movement or research activists outside policy-making organizations, and that through this, violence prevention strategies should not become neoliberalist and managerialist policies.⁵⁵⁾ Cooperation with civil society and researchers that hold fast to gender perspective can alleviate the State and the state-actors' patriarchal notions of gender and help establish directions for pursuing gender equality rather than benevolent patriarchy. As such, in formulating and implementing policies on gender-based violence, it is necessary to form organizations in such a way to promote active intervention of actors outside the State from the gender-responsive perspective and make the structure in such a way that policy-makers and implementers can actively listen to and accept opinions of civil society.

4. Amend the Framework Act on the Prevention of Violence Against Women

The legislative intent of the Framework Act on the Prevention of

53) Pease, B.(2014), p.23.

54) Pease, B.(2014), p.35.

55) Pease, B.(2014), p.23.

Violence Against Women is to have an integrative approach to ‘violence against women’ as a form of ‘gender-based violence.’ To correspond to the intent, it is necessary to clarify the ideology and purpose of equality and anti-discrimination that were blurred in the process of discussing the bill. Also, by revising the definition of ‘violence against women,’ it should be confirmed that gender-based violence does not simply mean violence ‘against women’ only. In addition, the provisions on prevention education in the Framework Act on the Prevention of Violence Against Women should be improved so that violence prevention education can focus on the fact that gender-based violence originates from the dichotomous gender hierarchy, and occurs or aggravates due to intersectional identities.

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