

“Justice for Comfort Women through a Restorative Lens“

By Kerouac Awbrey

International Affairs Program

April 5th, 2023

Douglas J. Snyder, Honors Council Representative, Assistant Teaching Professor, IAFS

Michael English, Thesis Advisor, PACS Director, PACS

Kyunghee Eo, Outside Reader, Assistant Professor, ALC

Table of Contents

Background Information: pg.3

Literature Review: pg. 6

Japanese Colonialism: pg. 7

Who are Comfort Women?: pg. 10

Feminist Inquiry on International Politics: pg. 15

Restorative Justice Inquiry: pg. 19

Methodology: pg. 23

Data Analysis: pg. 27

Findings: pg. 29

Background Information: pg. 29

Needs: pg. 30

Harms and Impacts: pg. 41

Calls to Action: pg. 52

Discussion: pg. 56

Conclusion: pg. 62

Works Cited: pg. 64

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

During the Asian and Pacific War, historians estimate that from around 1930 to 1945 about 80,000 to 280,000 women from Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines were forced to serve Japanese soldiers in military brothels with a majority of the women being Korean (Min, 2003; Cho, 2020). "Comfort women" is the English translation of the Japanese euphemism *ianfu* which was applied to the women who were forced as sex slaves to Japanese soldiers before and during World War II (Kim, 2019, p. 6). The Japanese's army reason for establishing a formalized system of comfort stations was to "reduce the number of rape reports in areas where the army was based" (UNESCCHR, 1996, 52:11). Some Korean women and girls were recruited under the guise of helping the Japanese war effort and were called *Chongsindae* which translates to "Voluntary" Labor Service Corps and approximately 80% of Japan's *Chongsindae* were Korean (Cho, 2020). Some of these girls or women served as factory workers or as nurses in hospitals while many were sent to comfort stations as sex slaves, and there was even some overlap where girls would both be comfort women and military nurses. All of these women were labeled as being a part of the *Chongsindae*, so out of the 80,000 to 280,000 identified as being *Chongsindae* it is hard to differentiate which women were factory workers versus those subjugated to have sex. The comfort system ended in 1945 when the Japanese surrendered. Comfort women were either killed or abandoned by Japanese troops (Kim, 2019, pg. 7).

The end of World War II brought the end of Japanese colonization of Korea but immediately after, Korea was divided into two by the United States of America and the Soviet Union leading to the Korean War. Almost immediately after being freed from Japanese colonial rule, Korea was divided by the 38th parallel occupied by the Soviet Union in the north and the United States in the south. After 35 years of colonial rule, South Korea was then subjugated to

three years of U.S. Army military rule between 1945 and 1948. Because the Korean War quickly followed World War 2, South Korean society did not have the formal legal institutions to seek criminal trials or financial compensation on the issue of comfort women. If there were any agreements or compensation, comfort women were never a part of the conversation. The South Korean government was focused on creating national and economic stability (Cho, 2020, p. 3). The Korean War never ended; rather an armistice was signed between North Korea and the United States in 1953. The United States sought out Syngman Rhee for president because he was educated at American Universities such as Harvard and George Washington so Rhee was one of the few Korean leaders well-known to the United States government. In 1948, Rhee was elected president by parliamentary vote. Syngman Rhee remained in power for twelve years using “dictatorial methods under a democratic constitution to hold onto power” (Kim, Q., 1990 p.59). On April 19th known as 4.19 Day (*Sa-il-gu*), students from Seoul’s universities came together to protest Rhee’s repressive and undemocratic regime this protest led to the end of his Regime. Though after that, South Korea had two different military coups, the Park Regime between 1961 and 1979, and the Chun Regime from 1980 to 1988. South Korea did not fully democratize and develop functioning liberal institutions until the late 1980s. While South Korea was struggling to develop economically and democratize under heavily militaristic regimes, similarly in North Korea the Soviet Union appointed Kim Il Sung in charge, and the Korean War helped solidify Kim’s military dynasty rule or cult of personality. Throughout the 20th century to the present day, both Koreas are heavily militarized and influenced by other political figures like the United States, Russia, and China.

There has been a history of legal action in Korea about recognizing the harm done to comfort women, but efforts have been minimally successful. In 1965 Japan and South Korea

attempted to normalize relations through the Treaty of Basic Relations, yet comfort women were not part of this legal agreement known as the Agreement on the Settlement of Problems Concerning Property and Claims. The agreement settled issues around WWII conscript labor of Koreans for 300 million in Japanese economic aid and 200 million in loans; this settlement was part of South Korea's economic development strategy (Cho, 2020, pg. 3). The agreement focused mainly on the conscript labor of Korean men who were forced into the Japanese army and did not mention comfort women. Also, the agreement prevented the South Korean government from "any further claims for reparations for damages incurred during the colonial period" (Suh, 1996, p.1230).

Legal action for comfort women was promoted by women organization's groups and comfort women themselves rather than by the South Korean government. At first, the government ignored women activists due to the 1965 agreement, citing a lack of evidence to press charges against Japan as the Japanese government had destroyed many documents relating to the record-keeping of comfort women (Suh, 1996, p. 1230). The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Sexual Slavery by Japan is made up of 36 Korean women's organizations and was established in November of 1990 and formerly known as the Korean Council (Min, 2003, p. 941).

In August of 1991, Kim Hak-Sun was the first comfort woman to file a lawsuit against the Japanese Government and provide testimony on her experience. It was only when women began to testify and share their actual experiences and file lawsuits against the Japanese government that the issue of comfort women become known on the international level. Hak-Sun's public testimony prompted Japanese historian Yoshiaki Yoshimi to publish his findings of Japanese Military involvement in Japan's Defense Agency archives. Due to the

discovery of Japanese documentation and international pressure, the Kono Statement was presented by Japan in 1993 which expressed the Japanese government's responsibility for managing the comfort system and apology and remorse to all those that suffered as comfort women. The Kono statement led to the Asian Women's Fund being established in 1995 (Kimura, 2016, p.6). Funds came from private donors rather than the Japanese government, and as such, this received backlash in both Japan and Korea. Only seven South Koreans accepted the money (Cho, 2020). Rather than advocacy coming from the national level, the issues of comfort women were pushed by women activists and former comfort women.

The research question this paper seeks to answer is what does justice look like for comfort women? Centering on the voices of comfort women, this paper seeks to define justice through the lens of victim-centered restorative justice. By taking a critical feminist approach, this paper argues that the narratives of comfort women are worth the attention of the field of International Affairs.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The topic of comfort women is highly controversial and highly politicized, though the voices of the actual women are often pushed to the sidelines. Defining what a comfort woman is and what justice looks like for victims of sexual violence and exploitation are extremely complex conversations. It is important that this paper takes the time to break down these terms in order to understand the challenges associated with this topic.

The literature review for this paper serves two functions. First, the literature will help the reader gain a better understanding of the conditions these women faced as they were conscripted into the war effort. The second is that the major themes picked up from my literature review

inform the categories later used to examine and analyze the testimonies of comfort women's experiences and calls for justice. The literature review is divided into two subsections. First is the historical context of Korea during Japanese Colonialism during which Japan physically occupied and controlled Korea. This section will explore how young Korean women's lives were affected under imperial Japanese rule and will help explain the causes and factors that allowed the comfort system to transpire. Second, the literature examines just who are comfort women. This section summarizes the political and historical discourse surrounding the topic of comfort women and their pursuit of justice. Additionally, this section introduces readers to concepts related to restorative justice and provides insight as to why victim center justice matters, and how this is different from justice that elevates the concerns of states and governments over individuals.

Lit review: Japanese Colonialism

There are many power dynamics that interacted together that permitted the subjugation of women and the system of sexual slavery to develop. East Asia was in a power struggle between European powers who sought to colonize the region for their own interests. Japan's mode of resisting colonization in Asia was to begin the expansion of its empire. Japan annexed Korea in 1910 and it remained under the colonial rule of Japan until the end of the Pacific War in 1945 (Min, 2003, p. 943). Korea was colonized to provide labor and resources for Japan's imperial expansion. Modernity or colonial modernization argues that modernity comes from the West and is associated with the development of capital, industrialization, and urbanization. Part of Japan's colonial rule of Korea was a focus on industrialization. Japan's colonial rule of Korea is an example of resource colonization (Nicholls, 2011). Japan used Korea for resources and labor to benefit Japan's imperialistic effort in East Asia. Instead of creating a new national

identity for Japan's colonized territories, Koreans were forcibly assimilated into Japanese culture and used Japanese institutions (Cummings, 2021).

Militarization is the process of how a society organizes itself for military conflict. Japan colonized Korea to have resources and labor for Japan's war effort. Part of the reason for colonizing Korea was a part of Japan's militarization effort. Korea itself becomes militarized as Japan's war effort expands and the demand for military resources increases. The military-industrial complex is the system of all the institutions and individuals involved in the war effort. So prostitution or the need for soldiers to "relieve" themselves could be considered part of the military-industrial complex. Nationalism can be defined as an imagined political community that is limited and sovereign and more than a political ideology, nationalism has a firm hold on our identity (Anderson, 1991).

Japanese colonization policies came in waves and often went through periods of restrictions and revisions. In the first decade of Colonial Korea, the Japanese colonizer pushed a "military policy" or *budan seiji* and ruled with coercion because there was heavy resistance from the Korean people (Cummings, 2021). In March of 1919, a group of thirty-three intellectuals petitioned for independence from Japan and kicked off mass protests between March and April over 500,000 Koreans participated in these protests (Cummings, 2021). After the March First Movement, Japan allowed for more culturally flexible policies for the Korean people. But at the end of the 1920s to the 1930s around the time of the establishment of the comfort system, the Japanese war effort was expanding rapidly, and colonial rule became more and more repressive. In 1937, Japan enforced an assimilation program for Koreans, which entailed worship of the Japanese emperor, using the Japanese flag, and replacing Korean names with Japanese ones (Soh, 1996, p. 1228). In "Korean 'Comfort Women': The Intersection of Colonial Power Gender,

and Class, Pyong Gap Min discussed as colonial subjects Korean could be used as laborers, soldiers, and service to the Japanese war effort and would be governed by Japanese officials and military police (2003, p. 945). Since the military police were involved in the “recruitment” or kidnapping of comfort women, there was no enforcement power to keep these women safe from the comfort system.

Out of all of Japan’s colonies, Korea had the biggest population and therefore is the reason why most comfort women were Korean. Japan used its colonized subjects as sex slaves because Japanese women were to marry young and bear as many Japanese children as possible (Soh, 1996, p.1228). Japanese women were “mothers to the nation” whereas Korean women were dispensable. Military leadership suggests that the government “recruit” unmarried Korean women because they would be virgins and therefore free of venereal diseases (Soh, 1996, p. 1228). As mentioned in the background information, the Japanese comfort system was set up to prevent soldiers from raping civilians in its occupied territories. The policy was put into place after the Japanese army invaded China in 1937 had “raped and murdered ten of thousands of Chinese women in Nanjing” (Soh, 1996, p. 1228). So instead of raping civilians, the Japanese army set up a whole system of both private and military middlemen to “recruit”, coerce, transport, and monitor into sex slavery.

The colonial period was extremely devastating to Korean people economically and disproportionately hurt Korea’s farmers and working-class people. Japanese colonial economic policies had destroyed Korean agricultural practices so many daughters of farmers were desperate to find work and were coerced into the comfort system under false economic opportunities (Min, 2003, p.945). The economic disparity in rural working-class Koreans was facing as well as the few work opportunities for girls and women at the time “ made these girls

and women extremely vulnerable to force, fraud, deceit, coercion and abduction” (Dologopol, Paranjape, 1994, 11). By understanding the context of Japanese colonial rule and how it affected women we can have a better understanding of how women ended up in the comfort system. Lower-class Korean women were desperate for economic opportunities. Korean women were specifically picked as sex slaves because they were colonized subjects. Author Min argues that although Japan Colonialism had the greatest effect on suffering put towards comfort women, it is rather an intersectional experience between colonialism, class, and gender (2003, p.945). So far we have discussed how class, war, and colonialism interact together to uphold the comfort system. What links all these concepts together in fully understanding the suffering committed to comfort women is gender. The harm suffered to comfort women is not just sexual violence but rather sexual violence that is supported by many systems. This is known as structural violence (Woehrle, 2022). In the following section, we will dive deeper into literature about gender roles for Korean women and what comfort women endured.

Lit: Review: Who are Comfort Women

While it is important to understand the historical context of life under Colonial Japanese rule, it is also necessary to understand the lived experience of comfort women and how the redress movement came to fruition. First, this section will provide some information about gender roles for Korean women throughout the 20th century, then some basic facts about comfort women and the comfort system. Next, it will provide some context on the Redress Movement and explain the period of silence. Finally, this paper will discuss the political and academic controversies surrounding comfort women.

Gender roles for women in Korea were influenced by many different sources in the late 19th to the early 20th century. The role of women was tied to the private domestic sphere during

the Choson Dynasty (1392 - 1910). Although women were not allowed in public life, they were to influence public life by upholding their husbands, brothers, and sons to Confucian morality (Choi, 2009a, p. 46). Women had previously had more freedom and were not solely confined to the private home until the Confucian transformation of Korea during the Choson dynasty. Under Confucian social structures, women were subordinate to men and carried the roles of the “chaste woman, devoted wife, and dedicated mother and were confined to the inner chambers of the house” (Choi, 2009a, pg. 48). Before the Japanese occupation, it was pretty common for Korean women to get married early at the age of 12 or 13. What is important to note though is that these Confucian rules were loosely applied to commoner classes and women living in the countryside. During this time period, there was not a formal educational system for girls in Korea, any sort of education for women was typically done in the private home.

During the 20th century, more opportunities for women began to expand, but modern womanhood for Koreans was in tension with Korean nationalism in the face of impending Japanese colonial rule. Choi notes, “As the political situation of Korea grew more turbulent in the face of colonization by Japan, especially after Korea became Japan’s protectorate in 1905, the discourse on women’s equal rights rapidly extended to the new role of women as *kungmin* (citizens) in strengthening the nation.” (2009a, pg. 42). Early Female writers linked equality for women with strengthening the nation and were intertwined with civic duties of protecting the Korean nation.

At the turn of the 20th century, the gender ideology of “wise mother, good wife” (hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ) began to take charge for middle-class Korean women. In her paper ““Wise Mother, Good Wife””: A Transcultural Discursive Construct in Modern Korea”, Hyaeweol Choi talks about how this concept is a collective of the Confucian concept of *pudok* or womanly

virtue, Japanese *ryosai kenbo* ‘good wife and wise mother’, and American protestant missionary’s and their concept of victorian domesticity (2009b, 3). Women were to be well educated but for the purpose of understanding domestic work and keeping good relationships with both the husband and children. For the Japanese, keeping women subordinated allowed for easier control of its colonial subjects. For American missionaries, it allowed them to “civilize” Korean women with education and created missionary schools to teach these women the same gender norms that Victorian women held at the time.

Comfort Women

The word comfort women is a source of controversy and confusion. As “The euphemistic term ‘comfort women’ (*ianfu* in Japanese, *wianbu* in Korean) originally referred to the Japanese women who served in military brothels; later, the term was applied to those women who were deceitfully or forcefully recruited from Japan’s colonies” (Kwon, 2019). Although the background of women who were a part of the comfort system varied, there are some key demographics they shared in common. Most were young poor girls who came from families of landless tenant class; these girls were desperate to provide economic support for their families and joined due to the false promise of a job (Min, 2003, pg. 951). Most assumed they would be employed in factory work in faraway locations such as Manchuria, another location Japan had conquered through imperialist expansion. A chance at better economic opportunity was a significant driver for those who volunteered. However, many Korean comfort women were abducted, which shows the lengths Japan was willing to go to use force and coercion if promises of a better life were not enough. These women were usually transported to comfort stations with little information about their whereabouts or under false pretenses only to end up in a nightmare.

Comfort stations were usually filthy shanties nearby or within actual battle zones. Comfort Stations could be former hotels, barracks, brothels, or even schools, spaces were often divided into small makeshift rooms (Kimura, 2016, p. 114). There were detailed regulations around the logistics of the comfort system from the Japanese military that “reduced the women to mere commodities. Life at these comfort stations was living hell for the women” (Dologopol & Paranjape, 1994, 3&4). These women were forced to serve to have sex with Japanese soldiers multiple times a day ranging from about 10 to 30 times per day. Not only were these women subjected to sex slavery but also torture, stabbings, and beatings (Min, 2003, pg. 941). Many women died at the comfort stations from sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) or physical harm.

Chunghhee Sarah Soh discusses how former comfort women kept their past lives to themselves to avoid the shame their sexual impurity would bring to their families (1996, p. 1230). Unmarried women were expected to maintain their virginity and women who lost their chastity outside of marriage were seen as defiled and likely to be excluded from their families (Soh, 1996, p. 1299). Also, these women in their position of power had very little agency or power to take action. Most Korean comfort women came from poor farming families and had little formal education so even if they wanted to address their injustices they did not have a way to address them (Soh, 1996, p. 1230). Because the South Korean government did not have the capacity or the willingness to seek legal reconciliation for comfort women and surviving comfort women had self-silenced themselves out of societal shame and had little agency to take action, it took the rising women’s movement in international politics in the 1980s and 1990s for the comfort women redress movement to occur.

Redress Movement

The growth of the women's movement in international affairs set the stage for female activism for the redress movement on comfort women in the 1980s and 90s (Cho, 2020, p. 3). In "The Korean 'Comfort Women' Movement for Redress", Author Soh discusses how the Redress Movement was powered by female political activists. In 1988 at International Conference on Women and Tourism in Jejudo, South Korea, Yun Chunk-Ok from Ewha Womans University presented her research on comfort women and their connections to *kisaeng* "professional female entertainers" tourism which was very popular amongst male Japanese tourists in South Korea at the time (Suh, 1996). Under the leadership of Yun Chung-ok and Lee Hyo-chaе, multiple women's groups came together to form the "*Chongdaehyop*" or Korean Council in November of 1990 (Suh, 1996, p. 1232). In 1991 Kim Hak-Sun in her late sixties, became the first public surviving comfort woman by filing an individual lawsuit for damages against the Japanese government (Cho, 2020, pg. 3). Kim Hak-Sun's public testimony inspired other former comfort women to come forward and testify.

Yang's article states that Japanese scholar Professor Yoshimi had no problem getting access to Japanese documents proving that the military and Japanese government were involved in fabricating the comfort system (Yang, 1997, p. 127). In 1992, Professor Yoshimi, a male Japanese professor, reported the discovery of documents (Suh, 1996). It was only when these documents were published about the Japanese government's involvement in the comfort system did the Japanese start to take efforts to make reparations to the South Korean government (Cho, 2020, pg. 3).

Comfort Women were first discussed on the International political level in February of 1992 during the 48th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (Kimura, 2016). The issues received acknowledgment due to the increased awareness of women on human

rights, especially violence against women in the 1990s (Kimura, 2016). The topic of comfort women continued to gain more international acknowledgment throughout the 1990s due to reports of extreme sexual violence in former Yugoslavia (Kimura, 2016, p. 7).

Yoneyama argues the current international orders and their modes of transitional justice actually provide justice to the victors instead of the victims. Redress movements are not just to make up for calculation in loss and damages but are also used to redefine and challenge the meaning of war. Yoneyama argues that historical justice and a state's tie to modernity and colonialism are intertwined (2016, pg. 4). Achieving justice has to deal with addressing the modes that cause harm. Understanding the redress movement for comfort women and achieving justice has to recognize the harms of rapid modernization and Japanese colonial rule. The redress movements are part of a continuing struggle over the international order arising from the Cold War (Yoneyama, 2016, p.8). With the redress movement for comfort women, we can view it as a form of decolonization. It is a way to rewrite history and recognize how Japan's colonial legacy negatively impacted the lives of women in Korea. Most legal attempts at reconciliation between Japan and South Korea prior to the release of testimonies from comfort women left out the voices of comfort women.

Feminist Inquiry on International Politics

It is critical to bring a feminist lens to this situation if we are to understand both the Japanese and to a large extent, the South Korean government's resistance to acknowledging and seeking justice for comfort women. Cynthia Enloe's feminist analysis of international relations provides an important lens directed at uplifting women's experiences, particularly in situations of war and post-war contexts.

In Enloe's classic, "Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics" she argues that instead of viewing international politics as "the personal is international," which conveys how our lived experience is connected to the bigger global system, we should take it a step further and see "the international is personal" (2014, pg. 351). For Enloe, this means states depend on private local interaction to coordinate foreign politics. For example, the military-industrial complex needs not only military weapons but embedded notions of masculinity throughout society, the women's sexual services and the gratitude of military wives makes soldiers feel manly (Enloe, 2014, p. 351). To make sense of international politics, Enloe argues that power relations have to analyze both forwards and backwards. The international is personal asserts that women's lives and their experiences are just as vital to understanding international politics as are men's.

Enloe's writing provides the reasoning for why this research is centered on the lived experience of comfort women. Women's voices must be included in discussions of world affairs because women make up half of the population of the world. Patriarchal systems, especially governments, depend on the subjugation of women and the normalization of violence against them to achieve their national security goals. This paper takes a feminist curiosity on the subject of justice for comfort women. What does it mean to have feminist curiosity? It means to take women's stories seriously. Instead of taking their experience as secondary, it argues that women's experiences lead the discussion. It is also about asking the right questions, why are social divisions between men and women seen as "natural?" It is about deconstructing gender roles as a given, particularly in instances where patriarchal norms intersect with nationalism and militarism.

Concepts are tools that are measured in value by what a concept reveals (Enloe, 2016, p. 2). The concepts of colonialism, militarism, and nationalism and their interactions with gender can reveal and dissect our gendered assumptions of world affairs. We discussed how militarization was part of Japan's strategy to colonize Korea. There are gendered elements to militarization that are worth discussing. Enloe argues that the process of militarization is embedded with gendered assumptions such as men being natural protectors and women being grateful for this protection (2016). As national security becomes militarized the space of national security becomes more masculinized and state affairs are seen as devoid of feminine interests (Enloe, 2016).

Nationalism is about imagined communities and there are also gendered assumptions about how nations are conceptualized. With nationalism there is a hegemonic understanding of the place and role of men and women in the "modern nation, the main gender role constructed is man as the protector and provider and woman as the bearer of the nation" (Moon, 2005, p. 2). Specifically in South Korea, Choi argues, "ultimately culminated in the modern notion of the family as the central foundation for a modern nation-state, with women's roles reconfigured according to the ideology of (*hyonmo yangcho*) (wise mother, good wife)" (2009a). Women's civic duty was still tied to their responsibilities as a nurturer and a housewife. Nationalism labels women as "mothers" rather than active participants in building the nation and assumes natural the male dominance of political institutions and the military (Kim, 2019, p. 25). This is related to the concept of gendered violence. The idea behind gendered violence is that war and peace are not just about direct or personal violence, rather it includes the institutional power dynamics that allow violence to exist in a continuum (Vayrynen and Parashar, et. al., 2021). Not only are

women subject to personal violence from individuals, but they are also often subject to policies that further normalize violence against them and limit their rights.

What I have found surprising about the primary narrative on comfort women in the media, is that the actual comfort women themselves are afterthoughts. Public discourse centers on nationalistic sentiments, for instance, how Japan has disgraced Korean "people " rather than the local experience of how the victims themselves feel about what they endured. It showcases how nationalism and gender intermix in the concept of the nation and whose experiences matter. Because Korean women were humiliated then, therefore, all Korean people were victimized by the Japanese. These women and their experiences are used as pawns for a Korean Nationalist agenda. Discourse about comfort women was not about the victims, rather it was "men's talk" or a discussion between Korean and Japanese men while the women are denied a voice to represent themselves (Yang, 1997, p. 131).

How academics choose to define comfort women helps to further their own argument. Instead of assuming prostitution is a natural part of the military-industrial complex and therefore justified, a more productive conversation would be to ask why is prostitution or sex slavery normalized as part of the military-industrial complex? If we question why prostitution is an integral part of the military-industrial complex we have to bring up the hard and complex issues of militarization and its interaction with globalized patriarchy. Globalized patriarchy suggests that in international politics, men and masculinities dominate over women and femininity. It argues that world affairs are a very masculinized arena that seeks to subordinate women's interests. Traditionally in society, we tend to belittle or not take women's stories and their struggles seriously. But in order to get a fuller understanding of international politics and its underlying power dynamics we should investigate these stories. I will take the lived experience

of comfort women seriously and I will treat these women as people not objectify them as just victims. My goal for this research project is to think critically about justice and how women are treated in international politics. This paper seeks to understand comfort women and structural violence in a more nuanced way.

Restorative Justice Inquiry

When we first think of justice we tend to assume that justice falls into the realm of the legal system. Justice in our current legal system is mainly punitive or retributive. Harm is done to someone or a group and the perpetrator is punished for said harm. The traditional legal system asks what law is being broken and its purpose is to establish blame and punishment, whereas restorative justice asks who has been harmed and identifies obligations to establish accountability and healing (Zehr, 1997).

Restorative Justice defines justice as restoring harmony and healing. Practitioners of Restorative Justice critique our legal system because of its fixation on punishment and that it does not do enough to heal victims. Restorative Justice encompasses a variety of programs and practices but there are some commonly shared values and guiding questions. Restorative Justice is victim-oriented (Zehr, 2015, p. 9). The process of restorative justice is one “to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offense and to collectively identify and address harms, needs, and obligations, in order to heal and put things as right as possible” (Zehr, 2002, p. 37).

In the field of conflict resolution, ensuring the fulfillment of basic human needs is the center of resolving conflict. According to Burton, “the needs most salient to an understanding of destructive social conflicts were those for identity, recognition, security, and personal development” (Rubenstein, n.d.). Needs are important not only for physical survival but also in

recognizing how psychological factors relating to a positive sense of self are critical for a full life. It is therefore important to understand how a denial of needs affects people in situations of conflict.

In the language of restorative justice, this is often related to the concepts of harm and impacts. Harms are when suffering or pain is inflicted on someone. Harms can be physical, sexual, or psychological. Related to harm is the concept of impacts, which are understood as triggers from harm or lasting effects from harm. In the case of comfort women, many survivors have suffered lasting impacts including alcoholism, marriage issues, shame, sexually transmitted diseases, infertility, and social isolation (Min, 2003, p. 948). It makes the most sense to group harms and impacts together as something could classify as both harm and an impact. Restorative justice is about acknowledging harm, taking accountability for said harm, and then taking action to restore the community and individuals. The more harm done in a situation the more potential for a larger transformation or restoration. This idea first sparked my interest in how restorative justice could be applied to the immense harm done to comfort women.

After describing the unmet needs, harms, and impacts of someone, the next step of Restorative Justice looks at obligations. As a victim, one does not have control over the harm inflicted on them, but as part of the restorative process, harmed parties have a stake in the obligations and agreement process. Instead of obligations, this paper will call them “calls to action”. Usually, during the Restorative Justice process, all stakeholders involved come together and create a consensus agreement. For the sake of seeking victim-centered justice, this paper is only going to pay attention to the wishes of former comfort women.

The implications of sexual violence are more nuanced than other types of structural violence, especially when it comes to achieving justice or healing for victims of sexual assault.

In “Witness to Rape: the Limits and Potential of International War Crimes Trials for Victims of Wartime Sexual Violence,” Henry explains how the International Justice System deals with sexual violence that occurs during wartime through an analysis of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The ICTY along with other post-Cold War events led women's rights to be seen as a part of human rights in the international system. Awareness about women's human rights pushed the international women's movement to take action and seek prosecution for the violations of women during armed conflict (Kimura, 2016, p. 7).

Henry argues that due to the diversity and heterogeneity of wartime rape victims, the current format of giving testimonies in International War Crimes Trials provides mixed results in alleviating victims suffering (2009). For some victims, giving testimonies was empowering, while others felt powerlessness. Giving testimony could be therapeutic because speaking on traumatic experiences releases the burden of silence and repression (Henry 2009). Though the legal process in itself can be very powerless for victims as they have no control over the court process or the outcomes of the court. And there can be a loss of dignity as victims' experiences could be questioned by a judge (Henry 2009). This information could help understand why some women decide not to give testimonies. This paper also discusses women's role in post-conflict communities and why very few women participate in legal action post-war conflict. Henry points out that currently, it is unclear whether international criminal justice is efficient in victim restoration and “societal reconciliation”(2009). One of the core themes of restorative justice is to have the needs of the victim to be centered on the “justice” process. With that, it is important that during the process of justice, victims are not re-traumatized through the Justice process.

The legal classification of comfort women does matter when it comes to different war crimes and that could lead to different legal forms of retribution and punishment. However, legal classifications can sometimes erase the person behind the incident or define a group of people in one specific way that may not reflect their concerns or sense of self. Comfort women had a variety of experiences as well as a variety of coercion methods used against them. Legal classifications can potentially hinder our understanding of comfort women's experience with sex slavery. Instead, it is necessary to keep the voices and views of comfort women front and center to validate the individual personal experiences of these women.

One of the core themes of restorative justice is to have the needs of the victim to be centered on the "justice" process. By using a restorative justice inquiry with my research, I will center on the voices of comfort women which will then shine a light on insights into justice that have been hidden or disregarded in the current discussion on comfort women. Restorative Justice can be accomplished within or without the frameworks of the traditional legal system. Comfort women have had difficulties achieving justice through the traditional rational legal system because comfort women lack the documentation or legal definitions. Sexual violence against women such as rape, sexual slavery, and forced pregnancy was added to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court as a crime against humanity in 1998 (Kimura, 2016, p. 6). So the traditional legal system is a very limiting avenue for comfort women. Whereas restorative justice just needs to have harm done and to pinpoint the responsible party of said harm. When it comes to storytelling, in the restorative process we do not question validity but rather create a power-equalizing and non-judgemental environment for people to tell their stories.

METHODOLOGY

This research project strives to answer the question, what does justice look like for surviving comfort women in South Korea today? To answer this research question, I decided to perform a thematic analysis on secondary source data using the testimonies of 19 comfort women presented in the book *Comfort Women Speak* edited by Sangmie Choi Schellstede. These testimonies were given as part of the Redress Movement.

Testimonies are a great source for both feminist and restorative research as they come from a personal point of view and are centered on the voices of actual comfort women. In history, much of women's lived experiences are missing or have been ignored in official documents which makes the collection of such stories a unique source of information (Kimura, 2016, pg. 141). The testimonies analyzed in this research were translated into English and published to amplify the experiences of comfort women on an international stage. No longer were comfort women buried under the shadow of the interstate discussion between Japan and Korea. These English translations expanded the stakeholders of the comfort women issue to include the international community. Before the translations were published most people outside Korea and Japan had no idea about the comfort system. These translations allowed the international community to care for this issue when pressured by South Korea and Japan to make statements. Also, these translations allow researchers like me to have the capacity to study and investigate what happened to comfort women.

Instead of looking at the practice of Restorative Justice and feminist academic work as two separate sets of lenses, it is important to see where their practices align. There are many synergies in feminist and Restorative Justice inquiries as both work to empower marginalized groups, focus on the personal experience, and value multiple truths occurring at once. In line

with the spirit of both feminist and restorative practices, the research is centered on comfort women's lived experiences. There is no specific feminist or restorative justice methodology that exists but each perspective has its best practices. The feminist perspective on research argues traditional forms of research are embedded with unconscious patriarchal bias, what we know as general knowledge is actually 'male' knowledge (O'Learly, 2014, p. 146). The feminist perspective argues that research is always politically motivated, and should recognize the power dynamics and the position of the researcher (O'Learly, 2014 p. 146). O'Leary also highlights the importance of accepting multiple or partial truths as a key to what is described as constructivist research (2014). Feminist social constructionism rejects the idea that science can reflect or mirror reality, rather through science we create reality (Wigginton and Lafrance, 2019). Information is constructed rather than discovered. Truth is relative to who is asking for the truth and from what social location (the intersection of one's gender, race, social class, age, etc.). Instead of researching for the purpose of knowledge building, constructivist research's purpose is to gain an understanding of how power is resisted or exhibited.

Looking specifically at feminist research in international relations (IR), Tickner discusses that in contrast to traditional social science in international relations that deduces information from models based on economics or natural sciences to describe the behavior of states, feminist IR research uses "sociological analyses" to investigate the hierarchical social relations which individual lives experience (Tickner, 2005, pp. 6 -7). While the level of analysis of traditional IR focuses on states as the main actor, in feminist IR the individual is the main actor. Feminist research is centered on the local level of analysis while making connections between the local level of experience of the individual and its intertwined experience within the state and international systems. Falling in line with Enloe's perspective that the "local is global",

“Feminists are motivated by the goal of investigating the lives of women within states or international structures in order to change or reconstitute them” (Tickner, 2005, p.7). The purpose is to make women’s lives more visible and help women claim their own identities through their own storytelling. Because feminist researchers argue that research itself is not neutral and researchers have their own agenda, feminist researchers often reflect on their personal experiences within the research process (Tickner, 2005, p. 9). As an American university student, I should be aware of my Western biases when analyzing data and my blindspots as an academic.

There are limitations and faults to testimonies that are worth noting. The biggest factor is time. Most of the harm committed to comfort women happened during the 1940s and testimonies were given fifty years later in the 1990s. This gap in time will surely provide inconsistencies. These women are recalling events that happened decades ago. It is important to clarify that the research is not looking to verify facts or establish single truths, but rather to pay attention to the feelings and perceptions of comfort women and how they frame their calls to justice.

Another limitation worth noting is that these testimonies are not without political agenda. These women were interviewed by Dongwoo Lee Hahm who is the president of the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women (WCCW). In the spring of 1996, the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women began to transcribe and translate these testimonies in order to publish them in English (Schellstede, 2000, p.ix). The political reasoning for these testimonies is to prove that the Japanese government was a part of upholding, creating, and managing the comfort system during the Japanese occupation of Korea. The full title of the collection of testimonies is called *Comfort Women Speak: Testimony by Sex Slaves of the Japanese Military*. The testimonies showcase that comfort women were coerced against their will and placed direct blame for their treatment on the

Japanese government. This political orientation of the collected stories to further the Korean nationalist cause may have been the reason for the collection, but this does not invalidate the individual testimony of the women. Even if there is bias against the Japanese government shown in the collection of the test, this does not contradict the harms and needs to be articulated by comfort women.

Other feminist academics have looked at comfort women's testimonies. In *Unfolding the 'Comfort Women' Debates* Kimura argues to pay attention to where, when, and how comfort women give testimonies (2016, pp. 107). Understanding the setting and conditions of these testimonies could provide insight into why these comfort women address certain themes such as the women's background, how they became 'comfort women' forced sex with soldiers, and their life after their experience as comfort women. Because these testimonies were collected by the Korean Council to prove that the Japanese military was involved in administering the comfort systems, the testimonies will most likely direct their grievances to Japan. The content of the testimonies discusses personal experiences of the ways comfort women were exploited and the sexual violence women endured. The testimonies include graphic details of women's first forced sexual encounter, how often and under what conditions were these women forced to have sex, and the physical punishment these women endured (Kimura, 2016, p. 124). Instead of understanding the choices comfort women as a whole make, it is better to investigate each individual's stories and lived experiences. Kimura also notes the challenges feminist academics have faced while researching the topic of comfort women. Feminists who argue that there is historical fact or truth in comfort women's testimonies have had trouble challenging revisionist arguments against testimonies due to inconsistencies (Kimura, 2016, p. 132). The revisionist argument from some Japanese nationalist scholars like Professor Hata Ikuhiko is that these

women were paid prostitutes and that the testimonies do not provide any validity because their information is inaccurate (Kimura, 2016, p. 131). People dismissed the stories of comfort women because they are inaccurate, but there is still value in studying imperfect data. But as discussed above the truth is constructed. The purpose of my research is to understand from comfort women themselves how they make meaning of their experiences and let them dictate what should happen next, so testimonies serve as a great primary source. Through the lens of restorative justice and feminist research, the search for historical facts is subsidiary to the perceptions and feelings of one's lived experience. Both fields of study argue that multiple truths can exist at the same time. If these women believe something happened to them then it is worth evaluating whether the event actually happened as described in the testimonies. There is already academic research on what caused the comfort women system or what comfort women should classify as but there is not much out there on analyzing and figuring out how comfort women feel about their own experiences.

Data Analysis

In this research, I used thematic analysis to identify key themes related to comfort women's experiences and their understanding of justice. First, I used a deductive coding strategy based on the insights of basic needs theory and restorative justice. There are three categories important to a restorative understanding: needs, harms, and calls to action. Each transcript was analyzed first using these predetermined categories. The second approach to my analysis was to use an open coding strategy and follow my own natural curiosities to discover themes from the testimonies by reading them on their own at full length. Through this approach, I evoked a critical feminist approach to examine themes that enforce the status quo and patriarchal power

dynamics. My second set of themes is rooted in understanding harms and impacts, as well as how justice was understood by these women.

My approach to coding began by reading testimonies in full and then collecting and categorizing quotes by different themes on a spreadsheet. The first pass with each testimony used the deductive coding strategy based on needs, harms, impacts, and calls to action to ensure consistent application of themes across the data. While conducting my analysis, I discovered that there are important subcategories with each main category. Figure 1 provides a list of categories and subcategories. Once all the quotes had been inputted I printed out all the quotes, and manually cut and pasted them into groups based on common themes. I did not use any software or coding to input my data analysis. Similar themes of harms, needs, and calls to action appear throughout different testimonies which justify the use of these concepts as relevant themes of analysis. Because often the discussion of needs, harms, and impacts are intertwined some quotes were coded for multiple themes. Every subtheme had at least four quotes from two different women discussing the theme, except for the theme of self-actualization.

Figure 1: Thematic Categories and Subcategories		
Type of Needs	Types of Harm and Impacts	Types of Call to Actions
Physiological	Kidnapping	For the Korean Government
Safety	Punishment	For the Japanese Government
Love and Belonging	Rape	For the International Community
Esteem	Health Impacts	
Self-actualization	Self-harm	
	Psychological Impacts	

	Social and Economic Impacts	
	Impacts of Giving Testimony	

FINDINGS

Background Information on Those Who Testified

I read all nineteen testimonies from the book *Comfort Women Speak* edited by Sangmie Choi Schellstede and picked eleven testimonies to analyze. This section of the paper will describe the stories of Hwang Keum-ju, Jin Kyung-paeng, Kang Duk-kyung, Kim Sang-hi, Kim Soon-duk, Kim Yoon-shim, Kim Young-shil, Ms.K, Pak Du-ri, Pak Kyung-soon, and Yi Yong-nyo. Everyone used their real names in their testimonies except for Pak Kyung-soon and Ms. K. As expected, the testimonies showcase that the experience and livelihoods of surviving comfort women are very diverse.

Thus far, I have been describing these individuals as comfort women but it is important to take in that most comfort women were young children or teenagers when they were mobilized and forced to have sex. Out of the eleven testimonies, nine of the women in the testimonies discussed their age or the year they were “recruited” or taken in the comfort system. These women were imposed into sex slavery as adolescents, the youngest Kang Duk-kyung and Kim Yoon-shim at 13 years old; Jin Kyung-paeng and Kim Sang-hi at 14 years old; Ms.K at 15 years old; Kim Soon-Duk, Pak Du-ri, and Yi Yong-nyo at 16; Pak Kyung-soon at 17; and Hwang Keum-ju at 18 years old. These ages noted above may follow the Korean age tradition where a person is one at birth and gains one year every 설날 Seollal (Lunar New Year). So the ages used in the testimonies differ from the Western concept of “age” by at most a year. So these women

might actually have been a year younger than what they state in their testimonies. This difference in age should not remove any validity to the fact these girls were forced to have sex at a very young age. What is significant about their age is the fact most “were complete strangers to any understanding of prostitution or the sexual act” (UNESCCHR 1994, 52:31, p. 116).

Korean women were coerced into the comfort system under many guises. Some women were asked to volunteer themselves to help the war effort, formerly known as the “*Chongshindae*”, or women’s labor corps. Kang Duk-kyung, Kim Soon-Duk, Ms.K, and Hwang Keum-ju got into the comfort system because they were drafted and assumed they would be doing factory work or working as military nurses. Pak Kyung-soon was the only one in her family who could participate in mandatory air raid drills. An older man at the air raid drill said that there were better work opportunities in Hiroshima and Kyung-soon could see her older brother. After Kyung-soon initially declined the older man’s offer, she was blackmailed into taking the man’s offer, or else her parents could be tortured by police. Similarly, Kim Young-shil, Pak-Du ri, and Yi Yong-nyo were coerced into the comfort system under false guises of better employment opportunities for the Japanese war effort. Pak Du-ri wanted to do factory work to help her family financially and save up for her marriage expenses. Kim Sang-hi, Kim Yoon-shim, Jin Kyung-paeng, were kidnapped from their villages by military police or similar entities.

Needs

According to Human Needs Theory, underlying every conflict are unmet needs (Burton, 1990). Needs are important because they are universal to all humans, and are required for the survival and fulfillment of one’s life. From the testimonies, I sought to understand how different levels of unfilled needs interact with each other and what the lasting impacts of unmet needs are

for these women. I used Maslow's Pyramid of Human Needs as sub-themes for my analysis of needs (1954, 1943). This section will start analyzing the most basic needs and then move to more complex needs in order to discover how needs deprivation appears before, during, and after their experience as comfort women.

Physiological needs

At the most basic level of human needs are physiological needs. These are the needs that are sufficient for the survival of life such as access to clean air, shelter, food, water, sleep, and reproduction (Trivedi and Mehta, 2019). What is discussed in the testimonies is many of these physiological needs were scarce or unavailable. At the physiological level, the most common unmet need for comfort women was food. Out of 11 testimonies, 4 of the women discussed not having enough food while being comfort women: Hwang Keum-ju, Pak Du-ri, Kang Duk-kyung, and Kim Sang-hi. Pak Du-ri "recruited" at 16, remembers, "we were fed barely enough for survival, and were always hungry for six years" (Schellstede, 2000, p.71). Throughout her whole time as a comfort woman, Du-ri was hungry. Kang Duk-Kyung who was recruited by her Japanese school teacher at age 13, discusses that food was in such short supply at her comfort station that some women resorted to stealing food. Duk-kyung states,

"Food soon became so scarce that we could count the grains of rice in a bowl. One day a girl in our room stole food from the room where the other group was staying. Later we found out that those people were left with nothing to eat for that day. We pulled grass, roots or anything we could find to eat. Many girls died of hunger and some went crazy" (Schellstede, 2000, pp. 16 - 17).

Living in comfort stations, these women were starving and some women resorted to gathering wild greens and roots. These women were living in horrible conditions as they had to service soldiers in starving conditions. Towards the end of the Pacific War, many of the women discussed that food rations became more and more scarce. Drafted at age 15 Ms. K states, "Life

in the camp became devastating toward the end of the war. We were starving. Those who were sick had no medical treatment. [...] It took me about two months to walk back to Korea. I had to beg [for] food from the Chinese on the way” (Schellstede, 2000, p.104).

These women were usually not informed by officials about the war coming to the end. They had no idea when they would stop being sex slaves. With the Japanese Imperial Army weakened and supplies running low towards the end of the war, comfort women were left to fend for themselves. Although these women were a part of the Japanese military-industrial complex, these women were seen as disposable in the eyes of the Japanese military. War is inherently patriarchal, and these women were treated as objects rather than humans, to further Japan’s imperialist effort. They were used to support the military-industrial complex and to provide “relief” for soldiers yet were not valued as worth protecting and caring for as fellow human beings. The girls in the testimonies also talk about other basic needs that were unmet. Kim Yoon-shim discusses how she was not allowed time to clean herself in between having forced sex with soldiers. Hwang Keum-ju notes that girls in her comfort station were punished for stealing soldiers' used leggings to use as clothing. Also, Hwang Keum-ju, Kim Sang-hi and Kim Yoon-shim discuss the horrified and makeshift comfort stations that were forced to live in.

When I discovered that most of these women were fed very small rations or in fact had to starve, it made me realize how deprived these women are of basic human survival or decency. What is significant about these women not having access to enough food is just encapsulating the full extent of their suffering. They were given less food than soldiers which again showcased that these women were treated as second-class citizens.

Safety Needs

After physiological needs, the next level of needs is based on safety. Types of needs under this category include health, employment, and personal security. There were more quotes about unfulfilled safety needs than out of any other level of needs from the testimonies of former comfort women.

Our personal health is a safety need because good health ensures our biological fitness which means the ability to survive and reproduce. Being forced to have sex over and over again led many women to get sick from either sexually transmitted diseases or other illnesses passed around from the warzone. Kim Yoon-shim from Seoul who was kidnapped at 13 talks about how having forced repeated sex at such a young age led to a swollen uterus, “My body was so young, and repeated sex caused my uterus to be inverted. Sitting up was so painful; I could only lie down. Penicillin shots would heal my sores. I was also injected with “#606” (Schellstede, 2000, pp. 44 - 45). At any age, the amount of repeated forced sex these women experience would be detrimental, for most of these girls were forced to have sex before their bodies were even mature enough.

Three other women besides Kim Yoon-shim talk about getting administered #606, which is arsenic-based treatment to deal with syphilis. Pak Kyung-soon recalls remembering the strong odor of #606 and Hwang Keum-ju discusses how getting shot with #606 caused miscarriages, Jin Kyung-paeng talks about how the shots caused her to form lumps on her back. So from this information, we know that the Japanese army knew that STDs were a rampant problem for comfort women and that treatment was administered to these women by the Japanese army. The health issues these women faced were awful and many comfort women died while in comfort stations due to health challenges.

Kim Sang-hi who was kidnapped at age 14 expressed that she was thankful for her illnesses. Sang-hi became hospitalized on a number of occasions, and her hospitalizations stopped her from having to have sex with soldiers. She states:

“After three years in Suzhou, I was transported to Nanjing. There I caught malaria and almost died. But, again, I didn't die. I should have. Next I had appendicitis. At the clinic the nurses put ice on my head and buttocks for pain for three days, because they did not have modern medical facilities. After this, I got sick again—hemorrhaging from my vagina and was again hospitalized for two weeks. Out of my nine years as a "comfort woman," almost a total of three years were spent at the clinics. Was God helping me?”(Schellstede, 2000, p. 32)

Kim Sang-hi spent a third of her time as a comfort woman sick suffering various illnesses, yet she preferred the pain of sickness over the suffering of forced sex. When women were hospitalized or so sick that they did not have to have sex. Sickness is usually seen as a negative thing but for these women, sickness could be a chance of having to have sex with soldiers. Notice though I said it could be a chance, later in the harms section I will talk about how some women were still forced to have sex through sickness and pregnancy. So for Sang-hi, she is rather thankful for hospitalization in comparison to overall suffering. Of course, these women only became sick because of their unsafe environment and inability to access basic needs such as food. It is clear from Kim Sang-hi's experience that living in comfort stations was not a healthy or safe place to live. Although there was some sort of access to healthcare through military hospitals, services were either very limited or inadequate to properly deal with all the health issues that comfort women faced. The good medicine and healthcare were saved for soldiers whereas comfort women were to suffer through the pain.

Another safety need that is commonly discussed amongst comfort women is employment. More specifically the need to receive compensation from employment. Proper employment ensures economic security through compensation. What I mean by proper employment is

specifically that compensation is given to someone who is employed and provides labor. The opportunity for employment was the reason many women volunteered themselves for the draft or listened to recruiters. As is likely assumed, many women discuss how they never received any money as comfort women. Pak Du-ri discusses the payment process at her comfort station,

"Whenever a soldier arrived, our manager, a woman, collected money from him, and brought him to one of us. So we did not see any money or tickets. We were told that money was being held for us. [...] Six years passed. One day they hurriedly moved us out, loaded us on a ship, and sent us back to Korea. We could not pack our belongings. The manager disappeared without giving us any money that she said she was holding for us. This was how we found out the war was over. I was then 23" (Schellstede, 2000, p.70)

It is unknown whether there was formalized note-keeping for comfort women throughout the Japanese government. But at least at the individual level, most comfort stations had a way of note-taking and keeping track of money. Out of the eleven testimonies only Kim Yoon-shim received money while as a comfort woman. A soldier felt pity and gave her 500 won and she was going to use that money to escape but was later caught and beaten as punishment (Schellstede, 2000, p.46). After coming back to Korea, Jin Kyung-paeng received money of 1000 won and a bag of candy from an American GI (Schellstede, 2000, p. 12). It is interesting that the only time a comfort woman ever received any money was not from a Japanese Soldier at a comfort station, rather they received money from an American Soldier after returning to South Korea.

In a time of economic desperation and minimal job opportunities for women, these women went away from their private homes where "women" belong in traditional Korean society for the opportunity to receive compensation. These women would only be greatly betrayed when they arrived at comfort stations and never received money for their "services". Japan's main argument for the reason why comfort women are not considered as having been slaves is that these women were supposedly employed as prostitutes but if they were never paid this also undermines Japan's already weak argument about treatment. The mention of the

American soldiers showcases that after Korea was liberated from Japanese occupation it was then heavily ruled and influenced by the United States in the latter part of the 20th century.

During Japanese colonial rule, unmarried young Korean women had very little safety and autonomy. After returning back to Korean society, many former comfort women were afraid they would be drafted back into the voluntary corps and back into comfort stations. They were concerned about their personal security. Pak Kyung-soon from Seoul who was recruited at age 17, returned to Korea but, “The mustached man who recruited me learned of my return and came to see me. Shouting, he told me to return to the ‘comfort station.’ I was not going to oblige him but I was scared of what he might do next” (Schellstede, 2000, pp. 77 - 78). After returning back to Korea, Pak Kyung-Soon was threatened by her original recruiter and was asked to return back to her comfort station. Kim Yoon-shim from Seoul kidnapped at age 13, got married after returning to Korea as a way of personal security, “My parents married me off as a safeguard because the government was less likely to summon married women for work” (Schellstede, 2000, p. 47). Both Pak Kyung-Soon and Kim Yoon-shim got married as a protective measure to avoid getting drafted into the comfort system again.

Before doing the analysis I knew safety issues would come up in the testimonies but I never thought about human security as a relevant topic when it comes to comfort women. So instead of focusing on threats to the state, human security cares about threats to individual people or groups of people such as famine or in the case of comfort women sexual violence (Tripp, 2013, p. 3). Through my analysis, I was able to recognize that human security is at the core of the comfort women discourse. Life as a comfort woman was filled with so many insecurities, that the fact these women survived is an expectation, not the norm. Comfort women's lives were insecure due to both health, personal security, and employment. Because so many women discuss

safety needs in their testimonies, I know addressing security needs is vital to ensuring justice. Human security and how it pertains to victims of sexual wartime structural violence will be essential to investigate in my search to discover what justice looks like for comfort women.

Love and Belonging

The next level of needs is about love and belonging. The needs for love and belonging include friendship, intimacy, family, and a sense of connection. Towards the end of most of the testimonies, the women tend to reflect on their current lives and how the experience of comfort women impacted them at the time of their testimony. Their time as comfort women tainted their sense of belonging in society and within a family. Most comfort women never married and or were unable to have children. Those who married to avoid getting redrafted ended up having failed marriages. Pak Kyung-soon's husband kicked her out after a year of marriage and Kim Yoon-shim could not find happiness in her marriage. Even though Jin Kyung-paeng was the only woman out of the 11 testimonies to stay married, after being a comfort woman she still longs for a sense of connection, "In July of that year, I was married and lived in Hapchon for 22 years. Eventually, my husband passed away, and I raised and arranged marriages for his children. I could not have my own. Today they all have their own families and have left me" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 13). Although Kyung-paeng had a successful marriage and a sense of family, her past suffering has left her feeling isolated from society.

Kim Sang-hi discusses her longing to have her own grandchildren, "I was born into a good family and was raised properly. I never went outside the house much until I was so suddenly abducted that evening. Now, no family, no children, I am only growing old. Whenever I see an old lady of about my age walking hand in hand with her grandchild, my heart wrenches" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 35). If Sang-hi was not kidnapped or were to live in an earlier time period

she would have gotten married because she came from a well-off family. Her time as a comfort woman destroyed any of those plans. Sang-hi was not able to experience the gender role of being “wise mother, good wife”. It is not our place to judge these women for wanting a very heteronormative and patriarchal family. They were longing for the social norm of the time and for Korea, as adult women should long to be married, homemakers, and bear lots of children. Most comfort women were deprived of this experience.

In the 20th century, it was very common for Korean women to get married at an early age. Hwang Keum-ju explains in her testimony why she was unmarried at the age of eighteen, "My long hair was still braided, as was customary at that time for a maiden—unmarried girl. There were few Korean men to marry at that time because they had all been drafted for labor or into the Japanese Army [...] (Girls got married very young in those days)" (Schellstede, 2000, pp.5-6). Under Japanese colonial rule, most young men were drafted to work or serve in the Japanese Imperial army which left very few men for young women to get married off to. Daughters were usually seen as a financial burden to a family unit and the only way that women could provide for a family were to get married or get a job. Besides supporting the war effort or getting married there was no other role for young Korean women under Japanese rule.

Esteem: Recognition

After securing basic needs for biological functionality as well as a sense of belonging to a community, the next level of human needs has to do with esteem. What esteem needs is having a positive evaluation of oneself such as respect (Trivedi and Mehta, 2019). In the esteem category, the most commonly expressed need for comfort women is recognition. As humans are innately social creatures, we reach fulfillment when our identities are recognized by others. This idea is expressed in social identity within an ethnic or national group which suggests identities emerge

within specific sociocultural contexts and that people believe they belong to a group and that membership in a said group is important (Ashmore, Jussim, et al., 2001). Koreans already had a cohesive ethnic identity before Japanese colonization. Under colonial rule, Koreans were not allowed to express their own identity rather they were to join the Japanese social identity, where Koreans were seen as second-class citizens or the “outgroup”.

During Japanese colonial rule, Koreans were forced to speak Japanese. As Ms. K from Ulsan drafted at 15 discusses, “My Japanese name was Kikuko Kanazima. Under the Japanese colonial rule at the time, we were forbidden to use our own Korean names or language” (Schellstede, 2000, p. 102). Japanese was taught in school. In the testimonies, it is apparent that these women's Korean identities were to be suppressed. Comfort women were given Japanese names and or assigned numbers. Kim Sang-hi kidnapped at 14, talks about how she was given a new name when she arrived at her first comfort station, “The soldiers gave out numbers to us. I was #4. My own name was replaced with a Japanese name ‘Takeda Sanai’” (Schellstede, 2000, p.31). By having Japanese names their Korean identities were suppressed, it is a cultural suppression and stripping away of their Koreanness. Part of Japan’s colonization policy was the assimilation of Japanese culture and institutions, which required the erasure of Korean identity, culture, and institutions. Classifying these women with numbers is a form of dehumanization and objectification. Some of the testimonies discuss the physical punishments associated with expressing their Koreanness. Kim Young-shil from Yang-gang-do bears witness to this punishment,

"There was a girl next to my cubicle. She was younger than I, and her Japanese name was Tokiko. One day an officer overheard her speaking to me and accused her of speaking Korean. He dragged her out to a field and ordered all of us to come out there. We all obeyed. He said, ‘This girl spoke Korean. So she must die. You will be killed if you do too. Now, watch how she dies.’ He drew his sword. Horrified, I closed my eyes and

turned my face away. When I open my eyes, I saw her severed head on the ground" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 50).

Having to bear witness to this punishment was traumatizing for Kim Young-shil. The quote above showcases the extremity of how Korean people were treated during Japanese colonial rule. Is speaking Korean worth the punishment of death? The denial of these women's identities created lasting impacts on their self-esteem. Not only are former comfort women not being recognized for the physical harm suffered because their Korean identity was suppressed and punished if expressed. Such dehumanizing policies clearly indicated that Koreans were seen as the outgroup. These women were forced to repress their Korean identity under threats of extreme violence.

Self-actualization is the last level of Maslow's needs hierarchy and is understood as the desire to be the most you can be. Unlike the other needs which are described as deficiency needs, self-actualization is about personal growth and becoming. Only Kang Duk-kyung talked about self-actualization in her testimony. She talks about how her experience as a comfort woman stopped her from having a family and life worth desiring. Reflecting on the present, Duk-kyung states,

"I am now 65 years old. As I think back on my past nightmares working as a 'comfort women,' I want to believe that it was just a terrible dream. And if it were not a dream, I would like to think of it as my fate, over which I had no control. But then, I often say to myself, 'but I had every right to have gotten married and lived a happy life'" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 19)!

Duk-kyung talks about at the end of her testimony how her experience as a comfort woman stopped her from receiving any fulfillment in her life. She discusses how she has no control over the fate of her life. Duk-kyung could have gotten married but why did she not? Maslow would argue that because comfort women had unmet needs at all levels leading up to the

need for self-actualization there's no need to reach self-actualization. There is too much unresolved internal conflict for these women to move beyond survival into fulfillment and thriving in their own life.

Needs at lower levels are easier to fulfill than the more complex ones. Some needs are easier to repair and restore. But how can one repair the experience of family and marriage? Most comfort women are now supported by the Korean government or women's organizations like the Korean council. Jin Kyung-paeng discusses currently living in an apartment provided by the Korean government and getting 45,000 won about 50 U.S. dollars a month. Ms. K receives support from the United States government because she now lives in New York with her sister. To fully grasp the scope of structural violence we need to look at unmet needs. What is important about discovering all the unmet needs that comfort women face, is to get a more well-rounded gravity of what all these women lost and suffered. A person's identity is tied to both their sense of autonomy and connection and if both are compromised it makes for a very disturbing experience (Bush and Folger, 2005, pg. 61). And for comfort women their autonomy and connections were severely fractured by their experiences as comfort women. If the basis of conflict is unmet needs, then taking the time to look at the different levels of needs should give us an overall scope of the structural violence inflicted on comfort women. Structural violence is defined as violence without a single actor committing harm rather violence occurs from unequal power structures such as the military-industrial complex, nationalism, and colonialism (Woehrle, 2022).

Harms and Impacts

Harms are actions done to someone and we can think of impacts as the effects of harm done. Harms and impacts should be understood as linked together because there is a causal

relationship between the two. The harm is the cause and the impact is the effect. The main harm done to comfort women is centered on their sexual enslavement. This sexual harm has caused many impacts such as the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases and physical scars. What I have discovered through my analysis is that sexual harm also causes other harms and impacts to comfort women such as physical punishment, self-harm, and poor health. The following section explores subcategories of harms and impacts that emerged from the testimonies.

Kidnapping

As mentioned earlier, some women were brought into the comfort system because they were forcibly taken from their homes or off the streets. Out of the 11 testimonies, three of the women were kidnapped and brought into the comfort system: Kim Sang-hi, Jin Kyung-paeng, and Kim Yoon Shim. Kidnapping is harmful because our personal security and agency are taken away. Kim Yoon-shim was playing outside with children in her village when she was kidnapped. Yoon-shim recalls,

"One day I was playing jump-rope in front of my house when an automobile drove up the road. Trains even don't come through my village, let alone cars. Curious about something we had never seen before, all the children nearby ran to it and tried to climb up. The driver shook the small children off and let me and my girlfriend get in it. There were two other uniformed men inside. I thought it would be a short ride, but the truck rolled on with us in it and then kept on going and going" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 43).

Kidnapping is harmful because one's autonomy both a need for freedom and safety is taken away. Both Kim Yoon-shim and Jin Kyung-paeng were kidnapped right outside their own home, both living in rural villages. Kim Sang-hi and her friend were kidnapped while walking in her village. All of this to say, these women were where they were supposed to be, staying mostly in the private sphere of the homes and villages yet they lost all of their autonomy. As Japan's war effort continued to expand the need for more soldiers also increased the need for comfort

women. So middlemen would go to the extent of kidnapping these women to provide for the system.

Punishment

What took my breath away while reading these testimonies was just the extremity of punishments these women had to endure. I have already discussed how Kim Young-shil and the other girls in her comfort station had to bear witness to the killing of a girl who was accused of speaking Korean. Expressing Korean identity was worth the punishment of death to the Japanese soldiers. Kim Young-shil was not the only woman to testify about enduring cruel punishments. Kim Yoon-shim who was kidnapped at 13 years old was punished for crying too much when she first arrived at her comfort station near Cholla Namdo Province. Yoon-shim recalls, "I couldn't sleep and cried all night. As punishment for crying, I had to stand outside without any food. I could not survive even if I escaped, they said, because there was no place to run to in an empty open field" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 44). After finally realizing that she had been kidnapped to be a sex slave Yoon-shim was harmed further for a typical emotional response from anyone who is experiencing so much trauma, yet she was punished for having such a response. The punishments these women received were inhumane and were meant to humiliate and degrade these women to feel less than human. In Pak Du-ri's testimony, she describes how the physical punishments she faced as a comfort woman have now left physical scars,

I remember the physical punishments. When one of us broke even a minor rule, we were all punished with beatings, mainly on our heads and legs. I have several scars on each of these places. Sometimes when they beat us, I tried to cover myself with my hands. So they hit my hands and broke my fingers. Two of my fingers became deformed from the beatings.[...] I suffer pains from my injuries from those days (Schellstede, 2000, pp. 70 - 71).

Pak Du-ri's testimony expresses the lasting impacts of physical punishment. Her fingers are now deformed because she used to cover her body with her hands when she was beaten on

her head or legs. The type of punishments these women had to endure showcased that they were subjugated and treated like second-class citizens. The testimonies express just the extent of harm these women were able to endure. Instead of thinking of these individuals as powerless victims, think about the mental and physical strength it took to endure such cruel punishment and survive to tell the story.

Rape

Unsurprisingly, the bulk of harm done to these women was by sexual harm of forced sex. What is made clear in all eleven testimonies and every single testimony in the book *Comfort Women Speak* is that these girls were forced to have sex with multiple men on a daily basis. Within the eleven testimonies, I was able to find a total of 105 quotes discussing harms and impacts and about a quarter of these quotes (27 in total) mentioned forced sex. It is very transparent that there was no consent to the act of sex. Some of these girls first learned what sex was at their comfort station. Kyung-paeng, who was abducted at 14, talks about her time as a comfort woman,

"I was a 'comfort woman' between the ages of 14 and 19. Most of the girls were 16 to 19 years old. They all had been abducted and brought to the camp like me. During those years I received about 12 soldiers by midnight. After midnight one soldier often stayed with me through the night. Weekends were much worse. I was forced to service men from early in the morning to late at night with almost no time to rest, and then spend the rest of the night with yet another man. Frequently I did not have time for a meal. On days like this, I became feverish. Some girls serviced up to 50 men a day" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 13).

Kyung-paeng spent a total of five years, spanning most of her adolescence as a sex slave. These women had to spend the formative years of their life with minimal access to basic needs such as clothes, food, or water while being subjugated to forced sex and physical punishment, this amount of trauma would, of course, have a lasting impact on the rest of their lives. Although the number of men served a night and the age range of women might have slightly differed from

comfort station to comfort station most comfort women had a similar experience to Jin Kyung-paeng. They were forced to have sex all day long without breaks and even in some cases without food. If girls refused to have sex they were meant with physical threats, the soldiers would cut open their clothes, pry their legs open and rape them. The testimonies clearly communicate that these women were forced to have sex and the comfort system was one of sex slavery rather than prostitution. If we disregard this just because comfort women do not directly fit into the legal definition of sexual slavery, we deny their lived experience and that is rather damaging.

I could spend a whole paper investigating all the sexual harm done to these women but I do not want to exploit their trauma rather I want to validate their experiences. Rather, this paper wants to look at the harms and impacts from a holistic perspective. The sexual harm committed to these women was justified or assumed natural to the military-industrial complex due to the assumption that providing soldiers with sex makes them better fighters. Violence is both universal and gendered and in the discussion section, this paper will delve into the topic of gendered violence.

Health Impacts of Forced Sex

Having forced sex led to many health impacts for comfort women. Ms. K from Ulsan talks about the relationship between comfort women and military health care. In some comfort stations, she states that "a military doctor inspected us on a regular basis, but we all ended up having venereal diseases. Some girls died from these and other illnesses. Some girls became hysterical and crazy" (Schellstede, 2000, p.103). The Japanese army was aware of and helped facilitate checkups of sexually transmitted diseases. Being subjugated to repeated forced

unprotected sex left both a physical and mental toll. Kim Young-shil talks about what would happen to sick girls at her comfort station,

“We were exhausted, weakened, and some of us could not even eat meals. We were in the state of 'half-dead.' Some girls became really sick and could not recover from the ordeal. The soldiers took them away. We did not know what happened to them but we never saw them again. A new batch of girls arrived to replace the missing ones, like we did” (Schellstede, 2000, p. 50).

Again, the testimonies showcase that comfort women were disposable to the Japanese war effort. The army could find more young and poor Korean girls to replace those who died from an illness. Because they were forced to have unprotected sex repeatedly many girls' health would deteriorate. Young-shil's comment about being in a state of 'half-dead' was really impactful. She wasn't living a life worth living, to cope with all the sexual harm she became numb. As might be expected due to unprotected sex, comfort women also became pregnant. Kim Yoon-shim discusses what happened to the girls that would get pregnant.

"Many girls got pregnant but still were forced to have sex up until the childbirth. If a girl refused sex, the soldier would tie up her feet with his boot straps and force sex on her. When she delivered a baby, a blue-uniformed woman put the baby in a sack without cutting the umbilical cord properly and carried it away. She was given no recovery period after the childbirth and was forced to have sex right away" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 45).

Even with their health impact, these women were not given breaks or chances to rest rather they had to keep serving men. These women became pregnant without their own autonomy and had to deal with giving birth and forced infantilization. There are multiple harms happening all at once. These women were solely used as an object of sex and were given no chance to experience motherhood. The testimonies showcased that the Japanese Army generally was aware of the health impacts of the comfort women with checkups from military hospitals. The women's bodies were used to weaponize themselves. Meaning that women's bodies were used as part of a tool as “weapons of war” because sexual pleasure for combatants has been

“naturalized” during war (Carlesi, 2020). Because these women were forced to have sex and some became sick or pregnant against their will their own bodies were weaponized against them. The Japanese military got to decide what would happen to these women’s bodies.

Self-harm

Not only were there physical scars there were also many psychological impacts that tormented these comfort women. Self-harm or the ideas of self-harm are a reaction or coping mechanism for dealing with the immense sexual harm these women had to face. Kim Sang-hi’s suicidal thoughts stem from her loss of childhood and innocence as she was abducted and put in the comfort system. Sang-hi who was 14 years old when she was kidnapped and thrown into the comfort system says, "I found out later that I was the youngest in our group. I was so enraged, so desperate that all I could think of was killing myself" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 31). Sang-hi’s suicidal thoughts are a reaction or an impact to the sexual harm she had to endure. Sang-hi tried to kill herself by drinking disinfectant she found in the bathroom but she was unsuccessful and instead hospitalized. Psychologically, these women would rather kill themselves than continue to suffer from sexual harm. Similarly, Kim Soon-Duk who was drafted at 16 talks about her suicidal thoughts during her time as a comfort woman,

“I frequently thought of killing myself. I thought of jumping from a high place, or cutting myself with a knife, or using other means. I contemplated ending my life for a year when I was there, for another year while moving around in small villages, and for a third year while staying near Nanjing. Somehow I could not do it." (Schellstede, 2000, p. 39)

Kim Soon-Duk is very descriptive in all the different ways and times she thought about committing suicide. The movement of the “comfort women” were closely monitored and restricted (UNESCCHR, 1994, 33, pg. 117). Although Soon-duk wanted to kill herself she could not because she was closely monitored by guards. She did even have the freedom to end her life.

Kim Young-shil talks about how she felt dead as a comfort woman, "I was totally exhausted. I could keep neither my sense of humiliation nor my dignity. I felt like a living corpse. When soldiers came to my room and did it to me one after another, it was done to a lifeless body. Again. And again. And again..." (Schellstede, 2000, p. 51). Physically, Kim Young-shil was alive, but mentally she did not feel her life was worth living. To understand the reason why people commit self-harm or have suicidal thoughts, one has to look at what would cause someone to be suicidal. The environment of constant sexual harm and physical punishment, unmet needs, and overall lack of autonomy caused some comfort women to commit suicide or have suicidal thoughts. Comfort women had no control over the harm that was committed to them, but there is control in deciding when life ends. Coping with life as a comfort woman was dreadful and it makes sense that women would feel this despair.

Lasting Psychological Impacts

The experience of being a comfort woman also left psychological impacts and the feelings of shame, and unhealed pain has caused these women in the present day to feel bitterness. Kim Yoon-shim from Seoul talks about how her past life as a comfort woman has stopped her from achieving happiness, "Completely affected by my past, I could not be happy in my marriage. Korea was liberated, and all the Japanese left from our land, but I couldn't be happy. All these years I have lived in secret, in shame, and in pain" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 47). Yoon-shim's internal conflict dealing with the secret and shame of being a comfort woman interfered with her marriage. Yoon-shim felt so shameful about being a comfort woman that she lied to her parents about what happened to her. Having to keep all that pain and suffering inside affected her chances of maintaining a marriage. Because Yoon-shim had sex outside of marriage

she considered herself “de-file” or unchaste woman and therefore unfit for marriage. Here we see how sexual expectations for women in Korea impacted how these women felt about themselves.

Kim Sang-hi from talks about how even religion cannot help her find peace, "I became a Catholic, but I still cannot find solace in religion. I should forget and forgive, but I cannot. I try and try, but I cannot let go of it. When I wake up every morning, my head subconsciously turns east toward Japan, and I curse her. I cannot help it" (Schhellstede, 2000, p. 35). After 40 years and now at an old age, these women are still holding onto their pain. What could explain this inability to move forward is family development theory, which states that individuals and the family system as a whole pass through stages of development, and if certain conflicts can not be resolved or family transitions are made, life tasks or the family system could be hindered (Carter & McGoldrick, 1999). Most of these women experience an immeasurable amount of conflict and trauma as a very developmental time of their lives as young adolescents. Instead of experiencing sex slavery, these girls were supposed to be at home developing the skills to become dutiful wives and mothers. Because Korean society did not acknowledge the harm done to comfort women for so many decades after World War II, the women were to internalize their harm into shame.

Society and Economic Impacts

As mentioned in the needs section, being comfort women many women had issues with having children and having successful marriages after transitioning back into society. The women were unable to resume their previous social roles, which in a highly patriarchal society created immediate economic disadvantages for the women. Returning back to Korean society was economically challenging for comfort women. Yi Yong-Nyo talks about how being a comfort woman affected her social and economical prospects, "I never married. I have no

children. All these years I have earned my living, working as a maid in others' homes or in restaurants. I sorely miss the ordinary life that most women enjoy: getting married and having a family. The Japanese took that away from me" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 97). Yong-Nyo directly names the Japanese as the reason why she was not able to enjoy the typical life of children and marriage. Similarly, as Kim Soon-Duk's parents died she did not have anywhere to go. Soon-Duk talks about all the odd-end jobs she had to get by, "Life in Seoul was very difficult for me. My family had disintegrated, and I had no place to go to. I did many things to earn a living. I was a washerwoman, a street peddler, and I did other things, too" (Schellstede, 2000, pg. 40). Later in life these women got by with odd jobs and service work. It is important to realize life after being a comfort woman was difficult for these women. They were freed women but they never fully adjusted to returning to normal life. Most surviving comfort women are poor and live off of government support. Kim Soon-duk, Yi Yong-nyo, and Pak Du-ri all live in the House of sharing. Which was set up in 1992 and funded by Buddhist monks and private funds (Soh, 1996, p. 1236). These women were not provided any support or recognition from society to heal. They returned to a country that was still heavily militarized and was returning to war. Nationalistic ideology aligned with patriarchal norms and women's role in society was to be a mother and raise Korean children. Most of these women could not go through with marriage because of their sexual shame. Also, most surviving comfort women had difficulties with fertility later on in life because of their past health impacts. The external stressors post-comfort women endured came from the social framework and institutions of South Korea.

Impacts of Giving Testimony.

Reflecting on the present day, the women in these testimonies discuss how mentally straining it is to remember their time as comfort women. Some women even discuss the mental

task of giving testimony. Retelling stories can be a re-traumatizing experience. Kim Sang-hi talks about the deep remorse of her experience as a comfort woman, "What I had to go through from then on, what had been done to me, I don't ever want to talk about it again, I don't ever want to hear about it..." (Schellstede, 2000, pg. 30). Our mind may block out memories as a way to protect ourselves from trauma. Kim Sang-hi giving testimony is painful because she has to relive her memories of a comfort woman. Both Kim Soon Duk and Pak Du-ri discuss how talking about their experiences as comfort women have a negative impact on health with nightmares or headaches. Kim Soon-Duk talks about the mental strain of sharing her story, "Nowadays, people often come here to interview me about my life as a 'comfort woman.' I cannot see them as often as I used to. My nightmares become worse after remembering the past at these interviews" (Schellstede, 2000, pg. 40). As well as Pak Du-ri who explains "Occasionally I meet visitors who want to hear about my ordeal. After these meetings I frequently suffer from severe headaches. Sometimes they became so bad I had to be hospitalized" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 71). These quotes all had me wondering if the international community is harming surviving comfort women with the process of recording and giving testimony. Having to relive one's trauma and retell can be a mentally draining and harmful experience. Even with this pain all of these women have chosen to tell their stories in an effort to get recognition from the international community and the Japanese government.

It is important to realize the harm done to comfort women is more than just sexual harm. There are so many impacts of sexual harm that are worth investigating. It is important to understand the extent of what was taken from these women: their privacy, their autonomy, their dignity, the prospects of having a family, and their Korean identity. Part of the Restorative Justice

process is the acknowledgment of all the harms and impacts and vitally, a call to action to take steps to address these harms.

Calls to Action

In line with victim-led agreements, lastly, my analysis focused on calls to action. I understand this theme as letting comfort women themselves articulate and determine what the next steps should be for them to receive justice. In the Restorative Justice process, the last step is coming to an agreement on obligations a perpetrator has to do to a person or group they have harmed. In the process, this agreement is constructed with the input of the victim and community, which is why the process is viewed as victim-centered justice. This section will look at whether these women's calls to action align with actions that might restore the harms and impacts done to these women. Calls to action are important to determine what justice looks like to comfort women.

Kim Soon-duk was the only woman out of the eleven testimonies to call out and demand things from the South Korean government. Soon-duk states,

"I am unhappy with the Korean government also. They asked us to come out from hiding and to speak out to let people know the truth. So I did. I spoke out my past that had been hidden even from my mother. Now I wish the Korean Government would be more forceful in representing our interests, and help us regain our dignity. I wish they would pursue it vigorously until our goals are achieved. (Schellstede, 2000, p. 41).

Soon-duk is unhappy that the Korean Government is not doing enough to support former comfort women. She kept her memories of being a comfort woman away from her mother but did it out of national interest. Soon-duk wants support from South Korea to regain her dignity. Financial support is much easier to achieve than changing history and shifting cultures so these women can regain dignity. It is important to realize that although we can attach the responsibility of harm done by Japan and the Japanese military, we must also appreciate that the South Korean

government is also responsible for the continued mistreatment of comfort women in the post-war period. There were plenty of Korean middlemen that helped coerce and abduct these women into the comfort system. And the Korean government has a responsibility to take care of these women now. What kept women silent for over 40 years was the fact that the government did not do anything to address their suffering. They were not included in the discussion of damages during Japanese colonial rule in the 1965 agreement between Japan and Korea. Surviving comfort women were first supported by women's organizations before they received support from the Korean government.

Most surviving comfort women directed their grievances and demands toward the Japanese. Some women are seeking recognition and empathy from the Japanese government, while others have demanded more traditional legal forms of justice like compensation and apology. Now living in New York, Ms.K wants to ask the Japanese Government, "Is it right to ignore me like this as if they did nothing to me? Are they justified after trampling an innocent and fragile teenage girl and making her suffer for the rest of her life? How would you feel if your own daughter met the same fate as mine" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 105)? Recognition was one of these unmet needs that commonly came up. So it makes sense that former comfort women are demanding some sort of official recognition at the state level. In the quote above Ms.K is also calling for empathy from the Japanese people. This might be seen as an attempt to be heard not only by the government but at the population level who might be unaware of the issue. At the end of their testimonies, Yi Yong-nyo and Kim Soon-duk ask for compensation directly from the Japanese government. Yi Yong-nyo declares, "I rightfully expect an apology and compensation from the Japanese government for these crimes" (Schellstede, 2000, p. 97). Compensation is seen as necessary for rectifying economic hardships these women faced after their experience as

comfort women. An apology directly from the Japanese government allows the Japanese government to take accountability and responsibility for the harm done to these women.

Kim Soon-Duk also specifically wants compensation from the Japanese government, “They try to let civilian organizations pay some compensation. But it was the government's deeds. The Japanese government must compensate us. They should also publicize the crimes committed and take measures not to repeat them” (Schellstede, 2000, p. 40). The money should directly come from the Japanese government because it recognizes that the Japanese government was at fault for causing harm to comfort women. It allows the Japanese government to take responsibility and ownership of the harm done. Soon-Duk talks about the necessity of the Japanese government giving its own statement on the issue to further acknowledge injustice and that in doing so, Japan might use such an event to put laws in place to prevent a repeat of history in any future conflicts.

Other women offer a similar message toward the end of the testimonies. Kim Yoon-shim is worried about history repeating itself, “I worry now: what if a war breaks out in the future, how do we know that they will not repeat such atrocities again” (Schellstede, 2000, p. 47)? Similarly, Ms. K living in New York states, “This should never happen again in this world. I hope the Japanese people will also join mankind's march for justice and peace” (Schellstede, 2000, p. 105). When explaining why they chose to give testimony, some women said they choose to speak up about their experience because they want to make sure that what happened to them never happens again in history. Some of these women would not even tell their own families about their experiences as comfort women but felt the issue was important enough to participate in public conversations that would ultimately reveal what had been done to them. I found this to

be very moving that these women, who were forced to endure so much suffering and made the brave conscious sacrifice to share their stories.

All the testimonies in *Comfort Women Speak* were given during the mid-1990s. It is therefore worth looking at these calls to action to compare the above wishes of these women with legal and activist actions taken over the past two decades. In 2015, Korean President Park Geunhye and Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo met in secret and signed an agreement that established the Foundation for Reconciliation and Healing, which was described as a final apology and acceptance of responsibility/accountability from the Japanese Government; this included a donation of one billion yen (Cho, 2020). In exchange, the “Statue of Peace” would be removed and the agreement would be final and irreversible, bringing a close, at least at the state level, to the issue of comfort women between the two countries. The Statue of Peace, Sonyeosang in Korean, is a bronze sitting statue of a barefoot young girl in traditional Korean dress known as *chima jeogori* the statue stands directly in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul where the Wednesday Protests would occur. This agreement faced public backlash in South Korea and led the Korean Council to reject the agreement. Weekly protests known as Wednesday protests in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul were organized. Former comfort women alongside female activists joined in on these weekly protests. In 2018, South Korea’s review committee decided to reject the 2015 agreement with Japan and in its place created a Memorial Day for comfort women (Cho, 2020, p. 6).

Because the means of traditional procedural justice had failed to validate the personal experience of comfort women, surviving comfort women and their advocates have used public memory as a way of giving recognition (Nadeson and Kim, 2021, pg. 127). South Korean people refer to surviving comfort women as *Chongsindae halmoni*, *halmoni* meaning grandmother (Soh,

1996, p. 1229). In 2011, the Korean Council installed the first Statue of Peace (or comfort woman statue) behind the Japanese embassy in Seoul to commemorate the 1,000th weekly anniversary of the Wednesday Protest (Nadeson and Kim, 2021, pg. 125). Similar memorials have been installed throughout the world including in the United States, China, and Germany.

As stated earlier, the House of Sharing was created as a living space for former comfort women. It allowed these women to create their own shared community. In 1998, the House of Sharing was expanded to include both a living space and a museum about the victims of Japanese Military Sexual Violence (Nanum.org). It is considered a safe space for former comfort women as well as a place to continue educating Koreans and other visitors about the experiences of comfort women. Because the Korean government is not leading the effort for reconciliation for Comfort Women, it is up to non-governmental and private organizations to lead advocating for surviving comfort women (Cho, 2020, p.7). South Korea's effort to make reconciliation efforts for comfort women has not been successful. It has really been Comfort Women themselves and other activists keeping the movement alive.

DISCUSSION

Suffering in Silences: Feminized Silence and the need for Recognition

Coming into this research I was curious about why these women waited so long to tell their stories, but diving deeper into understanding the testimonies I discovered that there were many cultural and institutional barriers that suppressed these women into silence. While these women lived under colonial Japanese oppression their Korean identity was suppressed. In the findings section we discussed how women were given Japanese names or numbers instead of

their given Korean names and that speaking Korean could lead to death while at the comfort station.

Coming back into Korean society, most women were left uncompensated and were left to fend for their own. Mainstream media in war reporting works to silence and annihilate women's experiences during war (Nadeson and Kim 2021, pg. 124). Silencing also occurred at the State level as the South Korean government did not immediately seek reconciliation about the comfort system after the end of Japanese colonial rule. Because South Korea did not seek formal reconciliation efforts for comfort women immediately following the end of colonial rule, it allowed for a socio-political silencing of the victims (Cho. 2020, p. 3). Cho argues that lack of government action from South Korea to address the impact and magnitude of harm done to comfort women created a collective silencing and stigma towards Comfort women. Due to a lack of formal legal institutions to seek reconciliation, the Korean war and also Korean society speaking about sexual crimes was extremely shameful and taboo. It makes sense why these women kept their experiences to themselves. The culture of shame and self-blame is a way for society and victims themselves to silence those of sexual violence (Kimura, 2016, p. 156). Talking about sexual violence can be very taboo, especially for the generation that former comfort women belong to. Many former comfort women waited until the other family members died before ever giving testimony in public.

Often times survivors of sexual violence have difficulty talking about sex. Suffering is ingrained in the experience of womanhood. But thankfully due to the women's movement in the last couple of decades, political feminist activists have fought for recognition and the call to end sexual violence committed against women during armed conflicts from the International Political Community. Without recognition from the State, these women did not feel safe telling their

stories. It was only after the first individual lawsuit by Kim Hak-Sun did other women publicly come out as former Comfort Women. Women got the courage from other survivors to tell their stories. The individual recognition of their lived experience allows women to have the strength to bear witness and give testimony. Understanding the many ways these women were silenced, we see how important the need for recognition is on many levels. Shifts in recognition and empowerment are vital to a transformative view of conflict (Bush and Folger, 2005, pg. 75). Recognition is what has powered the comfort women redress movement. For these women speaking up had a political and social consequence that was worth overcoming social stigma. Breaking the silence, it was former comfort women themselves who powered the redress movement by speaking up about their lived experiences.

Human Security: In International Politics why do we pick and choose who to protect?

In the pursuit of looking for victim-centered justice, I was able to discover the biggest challenge for comfort women is human security and the special attention to securing human rights for vulnerable populations. Human security argues that the security of all individuals is paramount to solely focusing on state security or national security. At the state level, Japan failed at protecting these women instead they were exploited and coerced into the war effort to support Japan's imperialistic goals. After Japanese colonial rule, solely focused on economic growth and national security, the South Korean government failed to acknowledge or address the lasting impacts of the experiences of comfort women.

Violence is both gendered and creates gender. As an issue violence is universal but violence is also specific in the ways it interacts with identities such as gender, class, race, and nationality. (Tripp, 2013, pg. 9). If we just look at what the comfort women experience as just rape we do not get a full picture of the gravity of what was taken away from these women. These

women were neglected and exploited because they were poor Korean women living under Japanese colonial rule. Sexual violence and trafficking have been used as a weapon during war and it is justified under the patriarchal assumption that this violence will increase the morale of troops” (Kim, 2019). Korean women were seen as second-class to Japanese women. Most of the women came from lower economic and educational backgrounds which led these women to be easily coerced or desperate to seek better economic opportunities.

At the state level, states have the power to monopolize violence. The state has the decision power to justify which form of violence is allowed in society and who is in charge of using violence. Because violence is gendered, it has gendered outcomes and creates or re-created gender roles (Tripp, 2013, p.27). When violence is committed against women it communicates the gender role of women in society as subordinate to men. The violence and harm that have been put on comfort women communicate that it is justified from the state's point of view. The violence communicates that these women are used as pawns in the military-industrial economy. What is communicated through the violence, is that some women are not worth protecting. The current political stance of the Japanese government showcases that the use of violence and harm was justified because prostitution is “vital” to the wartime economy. But who says that prostitution and war have to go together? War can not be “natural”, the concept of war is a socialized one.

By questioning the natural, International Relations feminists have investigated wartime rape and prostitution as tools of war and instruments of state policy which has led academics like Enloe and Moon to redefine the meaning of security and investigate how national or state security is often dependent on “the insecurity of certain individuals’ often women’s lives.” (Tickner, 2005, pg. 8). States are able to achieve their national security goals through war at the

expense of subjugated women through the process of militarization and nationalism. Women are not seen as activist agents in these processes rather they are to support and “mother” the nation. Women are there to provide sexual relief for the wartime effort. The state itself is not gender-neutral. While human security focused on remedying the insecurities of individuals or groups. An approach to human security should link and connect various forms of violence.

Challenging Victimhood/The Political Act of Giving Testimony - “I hope this never has to happen again”

Making sure this never happens again has to do with ensuring security for young women. The women are being activists by taking power to tell these testimonies. It is important that we do not label these women as sole victims. Yes, they were subjugated to immense harm and violence but we lose the complexity of our humanness when we are simplified to labels whether the labels be positive or negative. Being labeled as a victim can have the connotation that they are helpless or without any agency. When we see by giving testimonies and the active engagement of surviving comfort women is that they have empowered themselves, the South Korean people, and the international community to care about their experiences. Sexual violence is one primary underreported crime in South Korea according to the UN’s Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (2007). Sexual violence is now considered a crime against humanity. So in the present or future cases of sexual violence, there is an international legal framework to pursue justice, something that comfort women did not have.

Drawing from their own words, what justice for comfort women looks like a multiple of action items. Extracting further, restoring the harms done to comfort women is securing the needs and or “human rights” and protecting the livelihoods of women around the globe. It’s securing that women’s own bodies will not be weaponized against them. That their biological

functions are exploited and women are given up their autonomy. Instead of thinking of these individuals as powerless victims, think about the mental and physical strength it takes to endure such cruel punishment and survive to tell the story. What is so empowering about the comfort women's redress movement is that it is powered by feminist political activism (Soh, 1996, p. 1238). Presently, acknowledgment of comfort women is still powered by women's organizations. Being a comfort woman was a very isolating experience and many of these women did not feel as though they belonged in society and were not given the opportunity to have a happy marriage or family. Stripped away from any community these women remained shameful even though women's organizations like the Korean Council have created a community that fully supports these women. Comfort women themselves would take part in political activities such as the Wednesday protests and the House of Sharing allowing for the few surviving to connect with each other.

The Continued Normalization of Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones

According to the World Bank, one out of every three women, experiences some form of gender-based violence which includes physical, sexual, and emotional violence such as early marriage, sex trafficking, and genital mutilation. Also, 30 percent of all women in the world, or about 736 million women around the world have experienced sexual violence (WHO, 2021). The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) states that between 2018 - 2019 sexual violence targeted towards girls and women made up 27% of all political violence. The areas in the world with the most reported sexual violence in Africa followed by South Asia with the countries with the highest number of reported events of sexual violence in 2018 are the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Burundi, India, and Sudan (Pavlik & Matfess, 2019).

I would love to be an optimist but around the world, women's and girls' bodies are being weaponized against themselves. With the amount of surveillance technology the international community has in the 21st century, the international community could catch on to a large state effort to exploit women into sex slavery. But just the awareness of sex slavery does not stop it from occurring. It's whether or not the international community has the motivation to care about it to interfere and make someone take responsibility for it. To follow through with the comfort women's demands and obligations is to secure the safety needs of vulnerable women and children. It is also to bring light and recognition to these women's stories. Gendered violence in conflict still exists today. Sadly, our international system and the conflict that arises within still reflect patriarchal, nationalist, and militarist assumptions about women's role in society. Unless we revolutionized these patriarchal power structures the exploitation of female sexuality will continue to exist.

CONCLUSION

So what does justice look like for comfort women? In summary, justice for comfort women is to have secure access to the basic needs of food, shelter, health, compensation, and personal security. It also is the right to speak to the need for recognition and belonging within Korean society. Justice looks like addressing the harms and impacts caused by kidnapping, physical punishments, rape, sickness, and attempted suicide. An agreement made must work towards both the Korean and Japanese governments supporting comfort women, with the additional action of the Japanese government taking accountability by apologizing and giving compensation to Comfort Women. For the international community, the legacy of comfort women serves as a vital call to intervene in situations of wartime sexual violence to ensure what happened to comfort women never happens again in the future. The three biggest lessons learned

from comfort women and their testimonies are understanding people remain silenced until they receive recognition, the importance of understanding human security through a feminist lens, and the act of giving testimony is itself a political act.

Although the research in the paper attempts to separate itself from the “politics” of researching comfort women it is important to recognize the biases and assumptions my research takes on. My research assumes that these women’s experiences are worth investigating and that women are important subjects to study in international relations. These assumptions are not radical to me as a women researcher but in comparison to traditional International relations studies these assumptions are not always present. I make the claim that women’s lives have been disadvantaged and marginalized and efforts should be made to protect and make women’s lives better.

Instead of focusing on the validity of objective facts, I wanted to give space to honor the experiences and feelings of these women. Every human on this planet and their stories make a small part of our ever-connected world. The field of International Affairs should investigate and value all human stories. Rather than exclusively emphasize the role of States and more masculine frameworks such as war, nationalism, and economics. By saying women are not worth studying in International Affairs we are continuing to silence the experience and suffering women have to face around the world, particularly during times of armed conflict. Even if academic fields like International Affairs remain patriarchal, there will be feminist political activists out there to continue to empower and shine a light on women's experiences.

Work Cited

- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities*. Verso Books.
- Bush R. A. B. & Folger J. P. (2005). Chapter 2 A Transformative view of Conflict and Mediation. *The promise of mediation : the transformative approach to conflict* (Rev.). Jossey-Bass.
- Carlesi , C. (2020, December 31). *Weaponisation of female bodies - part I, "Comfort women"*. The Security Distillery. Retrieved March 29, 2023, from <https://thesecuritydistillery.org/all-articles/weaponisation-of-female-bodies-part-i-comfort-women>
- Carter, B., & McGoldrick, M. (1999). *The expanded family life cycle: Individual, family, and social perspectives* (3rd ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Cho, M. (2020). "*Victim Silencing, Sexual Violence Culture, Social Healing: Inherited Collective Trauma of World War II South Korean Military "Comfort Women"*" Undergraduate Research Posters. Poster 285.
- Cho , M. J. (2020). Victim Silencing, Sexual Violence Culture, Social Healing: Inherited Collective Trauma of World War II South Korean Military “Comfort Women.” *Auctus: the Journal of Undergraduate Research and Creative Scholarship* , 78 . <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25886/af32-b610>
- Choi, H. (2009a). *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways: Seoul-California Series in Korean Studies, Volume 1* (1st ed.). University of California Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1ppg5t>
- Choi, H. (2009b). “Wise Mother, Good Wife”: A Transcultural Discursive Construct in Modern Korea. *The Journal of Korean Studies* (1979-), 14(1), 1–33. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43998361>
- Cumings, B. (2021). Korea, A Unique Colony: Last to be Colonized and First to Revolt . *The Asia-Pacific Journal* , 19(21), 1–8. Retrieved March 24, 2023, from <https://apjif.org/2021/21/Cumings.html>.
- Dolgopol, U. & Paranjape, S. (1994) *Comfort Women – An Unfinished Ordeal*. International Commission of Jurists.
- Enloe, C. (2014). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press. <https://doi-org.colorado.idm.oclc.org/10.1525/9780520957282>
- Enloe, C. H. (2016). *Globalization and militarism: Feminists make the link* (Second). Rowman & Littlefield.
- Henry, N. (2009). Witness to rape: The limits and potential of international war crimes trials for victims of wartime sexual violence. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 3(1), 114–134. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijn036>

- House of Sharing. 나눔의 집. (n.d.). Retrieved March 29, 2023, from <http://www.nanum.org/eng/sub2/sub1.php>
- Kim, M. J.(2019) Reparations for “Comfort Women”: Feminist Geopolitics and Changing Gender Ideologies in South Korea *The Cornell International Affairs Review*,
- Kim, Q. (1990). Disjunctive justice and revolutionary movements: The 4.19 (sa-il-gu) upheaval and the fall of the syngman rhee regime in south korea. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 6, 56. Retrieved from <https://colorado.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/disjunctive-justice-revolutionary-movements-4-19/docview/1307825712/se-2>
- Kimura, M. (2016). Chapter 5. Reading the Testimonies . In *Unfolding the "Comfort women" debates: Modernity, violence, Women's Voices* (pp. 105–140). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kwon, V. S.-yeon. (2019). The sonyōsang phenomenon: Nationalism and feminism surrounding the "Comfort women" statue. *Korean Studies University of Hawai'i Press* , 43(1), 6–39. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ks.2019.0006>
- Maslow, A (1954). *Motivation and personality*. New York, NY: Harper. ISBN 978-0-06-041987-.
- Maslow, A.H. (1943). "A theory of human motivation". *Psychological Review*. 50 (4): 370–CiteSeerX 10.1.1.334.7586. doi:10.1037/h0054346 – via psychclassics.yorku.ca.
- Min, P. G. (2003). Korean “Comfort Women”: The Intersection of Colonial Power, Gender, and Class. *Gender and Society*, 17(6), 938–957. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3594678>
- Moon, S., Adams, J. & Steinmetz, G. (2005). *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea*. New York, USA: Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822387312>
- Nadesan, M., & Kim L. (2021) The Geopolitics of Public Memory: The Challenge and Promise of Transnational Comfort Women Activism, *Women's Studies in Communication*, 45:2, 123-142, DOI: 10.1080/07491409.2021.1954119
- Nicholls, T. (2011). Colonialism. In: Chatterjee, D.K. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Global Justice*. Springer, Dordrecht. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-9160-5_229
- O'Leary, Z. (2014). *The Essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project* (2nd ed.). Sage .
- Pavlik , M., & Matfess, H. (2019). Fact sheet: Sexual violence in conflict. ACLED. Retrieved March 29, 2023, from <https://acleddata.com/2019/06/19/fact-sheet-sexual-violence-in-conflict/>
- Rubenstein , R. E. (n.d.). Basic human needs: The next steps in theory development. *Basic Human Needs: The Next Steps in Theory Development - Richard E. Rubenstein*. Retrieved March 5, 2023, from https://www3.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol6_1/Rubenstein.htm?gmuw-rd=sm&gmuw-rdm=ht
- Schellstede, S. C. (Ed.). (2000). *Comfort women speak: Testimony by sex slaves of the Japanese military: Includes New United Nations Human Rights Report*. Holmes & Meier.

- Soh, C. S. (1996). The Korean "Comfort Women": Movement for Redress. *Asian Survey*, 36(12), 1226–1240. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645577>
- Tripp, A. (2013) Toward a Gender Perspective on Human Security. In Tripp, A., Ferree, M., Ewig, C. (Eds.), *Gender Violence, and Human Security Critical Feminist Perspectives* (pp. 3 - 29). New York University Press
- Trivedi, A. J., & Mehta, A. (2019). Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs-Theory of Human Motivation. *International Journal of Research in all Subjects in Multi Languages*, 7(6), 38-41.
- UN's Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (2007)
- UNESCCR. (1996). Excerpt of the report of Ms. Radhika Commaraswamy, U.N. Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, on crimes against military ex slaves to the UN Commissions of Human Rights
- Wigginton, B., & Lafrance, M. N. (2019). Learning critical feminist research: A brief introduction to feminist epistemologies and methodologies. *Feminism & Psychology*, 095935351986605. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353519866058>
- World Health Organization. (2021). Violence against women prevalence estimates. World Health Organization. Retrieved March 29, 2023, from <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240022256>
- Woehrle, L. M. (2022). Structural violence. *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict*, 1, 431–438. <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-12-820195-4.00260-0>
- Yang, H. (1997). Chapter 6: Re-membering the Korean Military Comfort Women: Nationalism, sexuality, and silencing. *Dangerous Women Gender and Korean Nationalism*, 131–148. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203379424-9>
- Yi, K. L. H. (2020). *Traffic in Asian women*. Duke University Press.
- Yoneyama, L. (2016). *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critiques of american justice and Japanese War Crimes*. Duke University Press.
- Yun, C. 1997. Chosun sikmin jungchaek eui ilhwan euroseo ilbongun "wianbu" (The military "comfort women" as part of Japan's colonial policy in Korea). In Ilbongun "wianbu" munje euijinsang (The reality of the Japanese military "comfort women" issue), edited by the Korean Council. Seoul, South Korea: Yuksa Bipy
- Zehr, H. (2015). *Little book of restorative justice revised and updated*. Good Books Skyhorse Publishing .
- Zehr, H. (2002). *Little book of restorative justice*. Good Books Skyhorse Publishing .
- Additional Reading:
- Yi, K. L. H. (2020). *Traffic in Asian women*. Duke University Press.