SOCIALIST LEGACY:

WEST GERMAN PERCEPTION OF EAST GERMANS AND SOUTH KOREAN PERCEPTION OF NORTH KOREANS

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Abstract

Opposition of socialist East and capitalist West in XX century led to division of nations and creation of new states. Due to historical process Korea and Germany were divided into Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and Republic of Korea, and German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany, respectively. Development of states required construction of new ethnic identities/ethnicities. In this research through the prism of Cornell and Hartmann’s constructivist approach and stereotype theory secondary and primary data is analyzed. On the basis of analysis of secondary data this research examines and compares measures that were used by ruling parties of GDR and DPRK in order to create and develop new ethnic identities. Further in paper on the basis of results of interviews and analysis of secondary data is described and compared how West Germans perceive East Germans and how South Koreans perceive North Koreans. According to the results of the research it is possible to state which measures were undertaken by governments of GDR and DPRK in order to create an ethnicity and it is possible to state that West German stereotypes about East Germans and South Korean stereotypes about North Koreans are partly based on ideological/political aspects of divisions of nations.

Key words: stereotype, perception, DPRK, GDR, construction of ethnicity, Ossi, Saeteomin
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL NOTIONS USED IN TEXT

CPC – Communist Party of China
CPSU – Communist Party of Soviet Union
DDR – German Democratic Republic (Germ. Deutsche Demokratische Republik)
DMZ – Demilitarized Zone
DPRK – Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
DVD – Digital Video Disc
FRG – Federal Republic of Germany
GDR – German Democratic Republic
Juche/Chuche – State Ideology in North Korea
KPA – Korean People’s Army
MPS – Ministry of People’s Security in North Korea
Red Army – Soviet Union Army
ROK – Republic of Korea
SED - The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Germ. Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands)
SSD – State Security Department in North Korea
Stasi – Ministry of State Security in German Democratic Republic (Germ. Ministerium für Staatssicherheit)
USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VHS – Video Home System, system which uses cassettes with magnetic lent
WPK/KWP – Worker’s Party of Korea
Part I: Introduction

On Subject

We live in a world where stereotypes play important role. Stereotypes ease our thinking processes. To have stereotype is to generalize. Stereotypes can occur between representatives of different nations but also between representatives of one nation. Due to historical circumstances German nation and Korean nation were divided into separate opposing states. These oppositions between states led to the situation when representatives of socialist camp were made to think in a socialist way, while representatives of capitalist camp were made to think more in capitalist way. I would like to analyze how ethnicity construction processes in North Korea and East Germany echoed in South Korean stereotypes about North Koreans and West German stereotypes about East Germans. I will try to find out if there are stereotypes which are based on capitalist ways of thinking about people with socialist background.

On Structure

This research includes two parallel tracks, the first one is German track, and the second one is Korean. Research consists of four stages: firstly, there is given and compared historical background to give the reader better understanding of contexts related to historical aspects; secondly, research provides reader with information about measures implemented by governments in order to construct ethnicity, then measures implemented by governments are compared; thirdly, reader is provided with data, comparison and analysis of materials about stereotypes and prejudices; finally, results of interviews and analysis of them are presented to the reader in order to indicate utility/uselessness of findings gathered through analysis of previously done researches.

The Purpose

Purpose of the research is to explore phenomenon of how a nation can be divided into separate ethnicities. This purpose requires examination of stereotypes. For successful conduction of the research it is needed to answer three questions:

- Which measures should be undertaken by government in order to create ethnicity; which additional aspects are crucial?
- Are stereotypes about different ethnicities of one nation based on political/ideological aspects of division?
- Are there any common socialist stereotypes for representatives of North Korea and East Germany, what are similarities and differences?
Historical Background

In 20th century many important historical events happened in human history, consequences of these events still influence different aspects of today’s generations. This century was marked by the formation of two opposing political powers – capitalist and socialist, they were led by the USA and the USSR respectively. Concurrence between the USA and the USSR spread out world-wide. These two empires attracted new allies and collaborators. Devotions of different states to socialistic camp were associated with formation of socialist-oriented governments, enriching socialist or communist parties of states with governing power, receiving financial, source or military support from Soviet Union and socialistic allies, tries of eradication of capitalism, ideological education and propaganda, and confrontations to capitalist countries. Devotions of states to capitalistic camp were reversely associated with formation of capitalist-oriented governments, eradication of socialist/communist parties and enriching conservative or liberal pro-USA oriented parties with power of governing, receiving financial, source and military support from the USA, anti-socialistic propaganda, and confrontations to socialistic states (Chandra, 2010: 25-30).

The USA and the USSR were in the state of “Cold War”, it’s obvious that these super states tried to attract as many allies as possible and tried to control territory as much as possible, nevertheless it didn’t lead to open military conflict between these two powers, however it led to confrontation on the regional level. The USA and The Soviet Union were trying to cover new zones and states with own influences. Regional confrontations between the USA and the Soviet Union led to internal conflicts and confrontations within different states like Vietnam, India, China, Germany, Korea, Chile, Angola etc. Consequences of these internal conflicts promoted by the USA and USSR are still exist, for example India and Pakistan are not the one state anymore, Taiwan still has special status in relation to China, Koreas are still divided, number of countries are still trying to catch up years of state development which were lost due to civil wars and internal conflicts (Ibid., 30), Germany is united but still experiences difficulties with incorporation of East Germans (Grix & Cooke, 2002: 2) etc.

This thesis is oriented on exploration of ethnic metamorphoses within of divided nations like Koreans and Germans and examination of perceptions of East Germans by West Germans and North Koreans by South Koreans, thereby it is necessary to elucidate some historical aspects of divisions of these two nations.
Pre-history of division of the Germany began during the World War II, when it became clear for Allies (Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and the USA) that Nazi Germany which was led by Hitler was going to be defeated in the war, and it was necessary for Allies to plan and agree on the future of Germany. During Yalta and Potsdam Conferences which took place in February 1945 and July/August 1945, respectively, division of Germany into occupational zones was agreed between the Allies, thus after Germany’s defeat four zones of occupation occurred. There were American, British, French and Soviet sectors. It was agreed that each ally will administrate, denazificate and demilitarize the own occupational zones and reparations division was also decided during this conferences (Fulbrook, 1992: 131-132). As far as different zones were administrated differently, different ideologies and different measures were used to revive and design political and economic functioning of occupation zones, consequently different treatment of zones led to different results. Differences between Eastern and Western occupational zones were growing.

Growth of differences in development between occupational zones was a projection of a global concurrence growth between Allies (the US and USSR). From 1945 to 1949 occupational zones experienced influences of their patron-states, and as a result different political systems and powers occurred in Western zone and Eastern zone. In 1949 it was firstly declared about establishment of Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany) and later it was declared about establishment of German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany) (Ibid., 244). Thus history of division of German nation lasted from 1949 to 1989¹. Two states were developing independently from each other, they had opposite internal and external political positions, West Germany conducted West-oriented/US-oriented policy while GDR was Soviet Union-oriented. The two countries developed absolutely in different ways, and as a result different factors like an ideological treatment, educational systems, labour systems etc. influenced formation of GDR and FRG identities and after reunification of Germany in 1989 there occurred a problem of different identities which still cannot be solved.

¹ Find division map in appendices: appendix 1 (Burns,2012) and appendix 2 (Burns, 2012)
Japan’s colony by that time) was going to lose the war. Like in a German case establishment of sovereign states began from the occupation by Soviet Union’s forces and by forces of the United States of America. Korea was divided into occupation zones by the 38th parallel\(^2\). Development of administrative structures began right after arrival of Soviet forces and US forces in 1945 and lasted until 1947. In 1947 it was declared about establishment of Republic of Korea (ROK or South Korea) and establishment of Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea). This situation looks very similar in a comparison to the German case, because analogical processes occurred there. The Soviet Union and the United States of America promoted and supported leaders which they considered suitable; ideological treatment of Koreans in both states was also quite strong, North Korea which was under patronage of Soviet Union inherited economic and administrative structures from USSR, as a result Korean Workers Party took over power in DPRK, while South Korean administration under patronage of the USA started to implement capitalistic economic system; leaders of promoted by USSR and the USA were chosen as representatives of communist movement and anti-communist movement, respectively (Olsen, 2005: 71-72).

As a result of swift development of administrative structure, due to ideological treatment, due to support and patronage given by such super states like USSR and the USA North Korea and South Korea began to develop in parallel as sovereign states very rapidly (Ibid., 72). Different ways of evolutions were chosen, and differences in identities between Koreans of these two countries grew and these differences still exist.

\(^2\) Find division map in appendices: appendix 3(Burns,2012)
Theoretical Section

Constructivist approach

In order to examine relations between East and West Germans, and North and South Koreans I decided to take constructivist approach which was described by Cornell and Hartman. As far as this approach deals with ethnicity and ethnic identity, to begin with it is seems relevant to describe term of ethnicity itself. Concept of ethnicity today is used in different ways and can refer to number of features, Thomas Hylland Eriksen underlined difficultness that scientists are facing in defining of culture and ethnicity. It seems rational to use concepts which are clear to understand in order to provide successful research (2002:13). Ethnicity can be described as an aspect of relations between people/agents who consider themselves different from representatives of other group; it can also be described as social identity characterized by metaphoric and fictive kinship (Yevlington 1991:168, in Eriksen, 2002:13). “When cultural differences regularly make difference in interaction between members of the groups, the social relationship has an ethnic element. Ethnicity refers both to aspects of gain and loss in interaction, and to aspects of meaning in the creation of identity. In this way it has political, organizational aspect as well as a symbolic one” (Eriksen, 2002: 13).

We are interested in the ethnicity from the standpoint that it can be constructed. As it is described by Cornell and Hartman ethnicity is a quite unstable phenomena, during the process of existence it can be re-built, dismantled, transformed, created, and reproduced (2007:75-76). For better understanding of how ethnicity can be built it seems relevant to describe aspects that can influence creation, transformation, reproduction of ethnicity. First of all, ethnic communities influence their identities, they can promote own culture, use or stop usage of different cultural practices, they can invent them, they can retell histories from own standpoints; these creative activities are aimed to specify, glorify, elaborate, reinforce own identity (Ibid., 82). This is a creative part of the constructivist approach, and ethnic communities perform in this case as active party, but there exist another way that can influence on ethnicity/ ethnic identity. In this second part ethnic community is a passive or reactive party. There exist different circumstances that can directly or indirectly influence on an ethnic community: these factors could be, for example, historical and geographical, this means that the ethnic community finds itself among already “given” things like climate, geographical disposition, fertility of the soil, neighboring communities, thus neighboring community can affect by interactions development of ethnic community, of its culture and identity.
There doesn’t exist a balance or a formula which could define by which extent an ethnic identity is influenced by circumstances or by own activity - for every ethnic community this proportion is unique (Ibid.,94).

It’s necessary to highlight importance of identity, as far as identity is a product of social processes. Social processes create it, transform it, and give shape to it. Societies have different histories which were created by men with particular identities (Berger & Luckmann, 1966:106), that’s how ethnic identity, ethnic society, ethnic community can be influenced, and furthermore that is how identity can influence other identities, societies, communities.

Besides the circumstantialist theory constructivist approach incorporates in itself so called “constructed primordialities”, Cornell and Hartman outlined that primordial ties are ties which “capture our hearts”, and not minds. On the one hand it could seem illogical that primordial features can be socially constructed, but on the other hand if we will leave “pure” primordialism we will see that these primordial ties are hidden in the symbolism and rhetoric which are often attached to the primordialism (2007: 94), and as far as nations are now “unstable categories”, primordialistic rhetoric are used to reify nation, and this primordialistic methods which allow creation of national identities are teaching, repetition and intensive reproduction until it will become a “common sense” and until it will provide common emotions (for example pride or pain or anger) about shared knowledge (Suny, 2001: 894-895).

So as we can see constructivist approach of Cornell and Hartman is bridging circumstantialist theory, primordial theory and social constructivist theory. Circumstanionalist standpoint describes circumstances as a main and only factor that influences development of ethnicity (Cornell & Hartman, 2007: 99). Through the circumstanionalism prism an ethnical identity is a passive phenomena, that cannot influence on own development. Moreover it’s necessary to underline that according to circumstantialists, interests of an ethnic identity holder are formed in accordance to the given circumstances (Ibid., 90-91) and ethnic identity holder has to adapt to circumstances in order to follow own interests, or has to change own interests that they could follow the circumstances.

Primordialist theory stands for dependence of ethnicity to such primordial ties like kinship, facial features (like skin color), language and religion or customs (Bayar, 2009:1642) but in the same time primordialists don’t argue in favor of transition of language (for example) through genes from mother to child, but they highlight that fact that person has no opportunity to chose his parents or change language and it’s predetermined that child will be a follower of particular religion like Judaism if he or she will be born in a Orthodox Jewish family, in that sense primordialists believe that ethnicity cannot be reconstructed (Ibid., 1643).
And finally we will use the social construction theory which supports the concept that people actively create and transform own identities through social interactions (Berger & Luckman, 1966: 194).

Theoretical base for the research portrays construction of ethnicity like this: ethnic identity and ethnicity is created, constructed and transformed by people themselves in accordance to particular circumstances (which influence people/ethnic community), interests (which are based on needs which occur due to circumstances, so are caused from the outside), interests (which make people interact within communities in order to achieve them, so these interests are caused from the inside of ethnic community and encouraged by rational reasons), and “given” primordial ties which were constructed before (which make people make decision on the basis of emotional reasons).

Taking this constructivist approach and usage of circumstantialist and primordial aspects of it is essential to examine cases of Germans and Koreans because this theoretical frame will help us to understand reasons why there exists a need of reunification of Koreas, why Germanies united, why it took so long for Germanies to reunite, why immediate reunification of Koreas is difficult to imagine today, why there occurred stereotypes and which interactional problems do still have North and South Koreans and West and East Germans due to stereotypes and prejudices.

**Stereotype theory**

As far as we are dealing with stereotypes and prejudices in this paper it is necessary to develop theoretical underpinnings for it. Firstly I will describe definition for stereotypes and prejudices, and then it will be shown how stereotypes work i.e. how stereotypes and prejudices can be related to the topic of the research.

Myers defines prejudice as set, and set is a compilation of feelings, tendency to actions and beliefs. Consequently prejudice is a combination of feelings, behavioral tendencies and cognitions/beliefs. So people who have particular prejudices can on purpose negatively influence on people who differ from them, and who are seen as, for example, dangerous or undereducated. Prejudice has quite difficult structure, and prejudices can include such elements like sympathy which turns into patronization. “Stereotypes” according to Myers are used by human in order to ease thinking, in other words to make stereotypes is to generalize. Prejudices could be connected to stereotypes, through the need to justify own behavior or negative prejudices. (Myers, 2002) According to Kon in national psychology there exist stereotypes of ethnic groups, and these ethnic groups have own group consciousness which fixes group’s specific features. Any nation is intuitively associated with particular image (1966).
According to Lippmann there is no necessity to see the object if it is needed to characterize or describe it, because usually we give a description to it first and then we begin to examine or analyze it (2004:94). Further Lippmann states that among thousands of definition of objects we firstly single out those that were already defined by our culture (Ibid). If we’ll analyze stereotypes theory through the prism of the topic of the research it is necessary to highlight couple of features for stereotypes that directly relate to the topic. Lippmann tried to understand where stereotypical images come from and how they get in minds of people and came to the conclusion that stereotypical images can be loaned to the world not only by arts (such like literature, paintings, sculpture etc.), but also by moral codes, social philosophy, political agitation etc. (Ibid, 98). As far as all these sources by huge degree complement to the culture of people it would be fair to underline that stereotypical images can transfer from one generation to another, but in the same time, according to Lippmann, there are no real researches that could prove that newborn babies have particular political habits that they gained because they were born in particular country; consequently if people from one country have similar or common political preferences it could be explained by the similar or same way of upbringing and education in kindergartens and schools, or by church’s influence (Ibid, 107).

As a result we can highlight number of features for stereotypes that will be helpful for analysis and understanding of the research topic: 1) stereotypes are used in order to generalize/ease thinking; 2) stereotypes can transfer from generation to generation; 3) institutions that create stereotypical images (like media) play important role; 4) Prejudices are connected to stereotypes through justification of behavior.

Stereotype theory is crucial for a research paper because it allows understanding of formation of stereotypes; it allows understanding linkages between stereotypes and results of ideological treatment of citizens by governments. It will also allow understanding of media’s influence on stereotypes construction.

**Additional terminology**

As far as the research analyzes cases of Koreas and Germanies, and deals with a phenomenon where one nation splits into two states it is also necessary to describe how should be understood such notions as “state” and “nation”. Debates on definition of nation are still in power today, these debates are based on disputes if nation is constructed or essential, if it is political or cultural, if it is ancient or modern (Cox, Low & Robinson, 2008: 272). As far as nation could be closely related to ethnicity it is easier to describe “nation” through the prism of “nationalism”. In this case nation could be seen as group of people who are culturally closely related, who
established boundaries and can distinguish “others” and who “demands command over state” (Eriksen, 1993: 6-7). For the “state” there’re exist also a number of definitions, but most of them overlap and come to an agreement on features which state should have, so the state must have such features like: “(1) There is a population which reproduces itself and whose members are socially related. (2) There is territory. (3) There is a single government, which: (a) is a distinct body of rule, supported by a judicial, administrative and military machine; (b) is the ultimate prescriber and enforcer of law for all those within its jurisdiction; (c) claims exclusive control of the use of force within the territory and has preponderant control of its use; (d) claims authority for its existence and actions and is generally accepted as authoritative. (4) The state is legally and politically independent from other states, and recognized by other states as an independent or sovereign state” (Nicholson, 1998: 8274).
Section on Methods

On Multiple methods

In this paper multiple methods will be used, this can be argued by the fact that usage of multiple methods can contribute to validity of final results, and also implementation of different methods can contribute to data gathering (Silverman, 2005:125). In terms of methods it is necessary to state that it was chosen to gather, analyze and compare findings in previously done researches on research-related topics. I also decided to make interviews because it allows gathering and analyzing primary data.

I chose to make interviews through sending questionnaires to interviewees.

It is fair to say that this research was constructed in a way of triangulation, because collected data represented different sources (like results of interviews, books and journals dedicated to topic, video source) (Somekh & Lewyn, 2005: 349). In addition to it, in data are represented different points of view (interviewees’, scientists’, official authorities’). Triangulations’ utility manifests itself in results of the research. If findings which were received by gathering of data through different methods show same or similar results it is worth to say that triangulation allows stronger credibility and validity of findings (Ibid., 273). Also if findings which were received through analysis of data which was gathered through different methods contradicts it is also important message. Such contradiction signalizes about possible mistakes in data gathering or about the fact that examined question should be revised.

On interviews

To make interviews it was chosen to use questionnaires. There exist two questionnaires – designed for two target groups. Questionnaires were created by using Google Documents. Link to the questionnaires was sent via Facebook, Twitter and with e-mails to the English-speaking West Germans and South Koreans. In order to find interviewees I asked to fill in questionnaire couple of West Germans and South Koreans which I know in person and also I asked them to forward the questionnaire to number of other West Germans and South Koreans, respectively. Furthermore, to find South Korean interviewees I found Twitter account of South Korean newspaper which writes in English and chose interviewees among subscribers for this Twitter account. Accidently one questionnaire was sent to the person who was not South Korean (she was Philippine who lived in Korea), she informed me about a mistake and she didn’t participate in the research.
West German interviewees were chosen among Facebook subscribers of English/German language journal.

First target group are West Germans (13 respondents): citizens of Federal Republic of Germany, who were born in West Germany before reunification or during process of reunification. Questionnaire was designed in English, thus it was sent only to English-speaking West Germans.

Second target group are South Koreans (14 respondents): citizens of Republic of Korea, who were born in South Korea. There existed no age limit for participants in an interview. As far as questionnaire was designed in English it was sent only to English-speaking South Koreans.

As far as questions in questionnaires touch upon sensitive topics for interviewees and there was no need to ask names for further interviews I decided to make this interviewing anonymous, thus it wasn’t asked to type name.

Questionnaires were structured and consisted of number of closed-end and open-end questions, first part of questions allowed researcher understanding if interviewee relates to the target group, second part of questions focused on the interviewees’ opinions and reflections on the topic.

As far as quantity of samples is not high I decided to leave in a questionnaire some multiple choice and checkboxes questions where interviewees could write down own answer if they feel necessity. Furthermore, final question is left for additional comments from interviewees. I chose to design questions in that way because answers can contain some very important and “sensitive information” (Somekh & Lewyn, 2005: 220) and in order to minimize risk of manipulation.

Results of the interviews were analyzed by author with Google Documents.

On Secondary Data

For the research I used books which were published by Routledge, SUNY Press (which was supported by the Academy of Korean Studies of the Republic of Korea), Praeger Security International, Pluto Press, Federal Research Division (Library of Congress), Brookings Institution Press, University of Birmingham Press, SAGE Publications, Oxford University Press and others.

In addition to it I analyzed data which was presented in articles from scientific journals like Korean Journal of Defense Analysis, Asian Perspective, Feminist Studies, Representations, International Journal for Cultural Policy, German Politics and Society and others.

In addition to it I used number of articles from online newspapers like The Korea Times, Daily NK, Spiegel Online International, and Foreign Policy.

3 examples of questionnaires can be found in appendices
Furthermore, some findings which were received through documentary and fictional movies are also presented.
Finally, it was also used different statistics data presented by German Historical Institute, East Asia Institute, and International Crisis Group. All materials are in English or Russian.

On limits and boundaries of the research

Conduction of this research also faces a number of limits and boundaries. First of all it is necessary to understand that research examines two cases: Koreas and Germanies; this research doesn't examine cases of other countries. Secondly, I scrutinize processes of ethnicity construction in German Democratic Republic and Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Thirdly, I find and analyze stereotypes about East Germans and North Koreans which appear in societies of West Germans and South Koreans, respectively.
This research was done on the basis of materials which were written in English and Russian. In spite of language limits knowledge of English and Russian contributed a lot in the research, because number of data in Korean and German was translated and used by English and Russian-speaking authors, furthermore the secondary data that I used was from well-known researchers or from authorities and publishers with established reputation.
Interviewing of West Germans and South Koreans was also done in English.
Quantity of interviewees doesn’t allow making general conclusions about findings on behalf of whole populations of countries. But data gained through interviews allows showing correlation with findings gained through analysis of secondary data.
Finally, there was a limit which concerned financial aspects. Due to lack of finances it was impossible to travel to South Korea and Germany in order to take interviews in person.
Part II: Ethnicity construction and perceptions

Section Number One: Conscious Shaping

In this section I demonstrate ways and results of identity construction in East Germany and North Korea. This section could be seen as an illustration for constructivist approach of Cornell & Hartmann, because there’re showed, described and analyzed the measures that were used by governments in order to create a separate ethnicity/identity. As far as constructivist approach also takes in consideration primordialist and circumstantialist aspects of ethnicity in this section of research historical aspects of development and reunification efforts of countries are touched upon.

German Case: Creation of GDR Identity

The research work is partly based on comparison of ethnic identities, thus it seems necessary to argue why case of Germanies and Koreas were chosen. As far as research is dealing with construction of ethnic identities, in this part of the paper I’ll examine ways of identity constructions, and compare outcomes of the construction in order to find similarities and differences. As far as now we’re transferring to practical part of the research which is based on the cases of Germany and Korea it would be relevant remind few theoretical basics. So ethnic identity is a very difficult abstract concept, and as it was discussed in theoretical part of the research ethnic identity is not “given” it is rather constructed.

Identity itself is not stable, it is fluid and changing, but the things that are connecting people of one identity are shares of common history, problems and common values. These things are fluid, but they change very slowly, thus people are connected by them (Grix & Cooke, 2002:6). There is number of most crucial factors (“inputs”) that promoted and influenced construction of identity in East Germany, for example Grix highlights such factors like language, situational factors, socialization, social context (Ibid.).

Now it is relevant to switch over to practical part. It is necessary to list and describe actors and instruments which were influencing creation of ethnic identity in case of Germanies.
**Historical aspect**

There’re few historical aspects that should be mentioned because these aspects influenced on creation of GDR identity. It’s fair to mention that until last days of existence German Democratic Republic were oriented on relations with Soviet Union as patron, but in the same time while GDR tried to use West Germany as an image to oppose there still were connections with West Germany.

**Actor**

Perhaps one of the main actors who was promoting and directing creation and development of East German Identity was The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, SED). This party was established in 1946, and started to function within Soviet occupational zone, and later take over power from Soviet authorities when the GDR\(^4\) was established. The political model of GDR was almost copied from USSR\(^5\)’s model, where there was one-party government, thus SED became a political monopolist in GDR. During SED’s ruling huge attention was dedicated to socialism (like in USSR), and formation of identity was hugely influenced by this movement. The regime tried to install in people’s minds association of socialist as good, and regime was putting efforts to produce “socialist men” and “socialist women”(Grix & Cooke, 2002:17).

**Instruments: education**

Very important instrument which was used by SED for cultivation and support of socialist identity was *education*. Education in GDR by very high degree was enriched with political information and upbringing. The system of political education controlled children since the Kindergarten age until approximately 25 years old. Children and young people were joining different youth organizations, pioneering organizations, Free German Youth organization. As members of these organizations, people in a spare time took part in different activities like “holidays, exercise and team games (often of a paramilitary nature), and meetings with their counterparts from other communist countries” (Grix & Cooke, 2002:17). Another step of ideological education was the Military service, where young people were educated to behave in a disciplined way and were educated to do what country and ruling party needs; this service for

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\(^4\) GDR – German Democratic Republic, in German – DDR (Deutsche Demokratische Republik)

\(^5\) USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
young male people in East Germany was obligatory, and young people had to serve in army for 18 months; nevertheless there existed opportunity to choose civil service instead of military one, but selection of civil service could be recognized by society as an act of “non-conformity” and could lead to negative consequences (Ibid.). All these youth organizations and the army were allies of SED or were its subordinate organizations and structures; such kind of control promoted stability and discipline in country, and in some sort could prevent break-outs.

*Spare time activities*

It is also necessary to mention that creation, promotion and cultivation of identity continued during adult age as well. It was done by creation and development of official trade union; so trade unions participated in person’s off-work life by organizing different activities which were oriented on individual pressure to increase productivity of plants, organizations, co-operatives of farmers; trade unions were organizations that organized holidays for workers, thus even off-work activities were more or less related with SED, and personnel of plant took part in private life of each other as well; SED made people revolving around working places, and their social lives were mostly associated with working place organizations (Grix & Cooke, 2002:18).

*Censorship*

Another instrument which SED used in order to create this ‘socialist identity’ was the *censorship*; censorship by huge degree was touching upon of adult’s off-work time. In a spare time adult citizens of GDR could attend exhibitions of visual arts, but the art which was exhibited was mainly oriented on glorification of socialism (Grix & Cooke, 2002:18), thus arts which were recognized as arts that lampoon and abase socialism could not be exhibited. The same thing happened with literature - citizens of GDR were offered books which were approved by “Head Administration for Book Publishing and Trade” (officially censorship was forbidden in GDR by constitution, so it was called with more positive words) (Darnton, 1995:47), moreover it is necessary to mention that journals and publishing firms were run by SED (Ibid., 49). Literature mostly didn’t contain straight propaganda, but contained ideas that were approved by party, pro-socialist ideas or antifascist ideas (Ibid., 52). Writers and artists which considered by party as free-thinkers or persons who could carry a threat towards party and the system oppressed by

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6 These episodes of history were well-depicted with portions of irony in such movies like “Good bye Lenin” by Wolfgang Becker, 2003, and “Sommerallee” by Leander Haussman, 1999 (these movies bring contribution in understanding of perception of East Germans by West Germans later in the next section of paper).
bureaucratic system and by Stasi\textsuperscript{7} (Henckel von Donnersmarck, 2006). Nevertheless citizens of GDR were able to receive television broadcasts from the West and were able to tune their radio sets to FRG radio stations (Grix & Cooke, 2002:24).

\textit{Celebration}

One more important instrument to construct identity which was used by party was the \textit{celebration}. SED promoted celebration of different happenings; mostly these happenings were closely related or were dedicated to socialism. The occasions for celebrations were national day, or international workers day, or celebration of economic achievements of country. Of course, during this celebration the role of socialism was highlighted. It was done in order to promote idea of socialism and to bring up sense of patriotism among citizens (Grix & Cooke, 2002:18).

\textit{Nationality question in identity construction and interpretation of history}

One of the biggest problems for SED in identity creation attempts was the nationality question. Nationality in primordial sense of this word; thus for SED common cultural German background with FRG\textsuperscript{8} and common language seemed to be problematic.

During first few years of GDR’s existence SED described GDR “as the one true state of the German people and as the basis or model for a future united socialist Germany. GDR citizens' national identity as Germans was not in doubt, indeed they were the 'good Germans' who had found a solution to fascism by transferring power to the working class, or rather, their party. Thus socialism was portrayed as synonymous with the national (i.e. all-German) interest” (Grix & Cooke, 2002: 20). Erection of Berlin Wall in the 1961\textsuperscript{9} constituted that GDR and FRG further will develop as individual states, consequently there’re appeared a need for SED to create or somehow mark out DDR identity which would differ from neighbors’ from FRG. One of the fields that could help to define distinctiveness of GDR citizens was the history. SED cultivated special attitude towards Nazi past of Germany. For example in FRG people we’re made to think that they have to share responsibility for that was done by Nazis, while in GDR it was promoted thought that Soviet Union “liberated” Germans from such a product of capitalism like Hitler (Fullbrook, 1992: 302). Also there were aspects of German history that SED would like to

\textsuperscript{7} Ministry for State Security of German Democratic Republic (Stasi)
\textsuperscript{8} FRG – Federal Republic of Germany (in German – Bundesrepublik Deutschland)
\textsuperscript{9} Berlin was divided between FRG and GDR, in 1961 due to political situation there’re was erected Berlin Wall by GDR, it led to cut off of West Berlin from East Berlin and other East German surroundings.
highlight or shade and diminish its importance. After Honecker\textsuperscript{10} shifted Ulbricht\textsuperscript{11} the attitude of SED towards history changed: for example the statue of the Fredrick the Great\textsuperscript{12} was re-erected, or “Luther\textsuperscript{13} was rehabilitated in the history books as a figure of major importance in East German history” (Ibid., 301) and “there was a new focus on the historic role of individuals, such as Bismarck\textsuperscript{14} and Frederick the Great. Certain traditional German themes, for a long time taboo, made their reappearance, such as militarism, the Army, and the legacy of Prussia” (Ibid., 302). Previously heroes for GDR citizens in history books were mostly German workers movement heroes like Rose Luxemburg\textsuperscript{15} or Karl Leibknecht\textsuperscript{16} and Thomas Müntzer\textsuperscript{17} or socialist heroes who were opposing Nazis like Ernst Thãllman\textsuperscript{18} (Grix & Cooke, 2002: 22). So policy of \textit{interpretation} and rethinking of the past was an important instrument which was used in order to create identity.

\textit{Renaming policies}

During development and formation of attitude towards history there occurred happenings in relations with FRG which required a reaction from SED to keep creation of GDR identity. Chancellor of FRG Willy Brandt\textsuperscript{19} introduced new concept for relations with GDR, “Brandt articulated the notion that there were 'two states of one nation on German soil, which were bound by a 'feeling of belonging together' (Grix & Cooke, 2002: 21). As far as this concept of FRG implied that GDR was not fully recognized as fully sovereign state, SED had to work on formal recognition of GDR citizen as sovereign identity. “In 1974 a new constitution replaced that of 1968, according to which the GDR was no longer the 'socialist state of the German nation' but merely the 'socialist state of workers and farmers!'” (Ibid., 21). In order to erase any linkages with West Germany SED undertook policy of “de-Germanisation” and as a result number of governmental organization around GDR were renamed (Ibid.). Policy of \textit{renaming} also is an important instrument for identity creation.

\textsuperscript{10} Erich Honecker led GDR as head (General Secretary) of ruling party between 1971 and 1989
\textsuperscript{11} Walter Ulbricht was the General secretary of SED party between 1950 and 1971
\textsuperscript{12} Fredrick the Great – King of Prussia in 18\textsuperscript{th} century
\textsuperscript{13} Martin Luther – German monk in 15-16\textsuperscript{th} century, was a key-figure of the Protestant Reformation
\textsuperscript{14} Otto von Bismarck was a statesman in 19\textsuperscript{th} century and was a key-figure for unification of numerous German states and creation of German Empire
\textsuperscript{15} Rosa Luxemburg – Marxist theorist, one of the founder of Communist Party of Germany
\textsuperscript{16} Karl Liebknecht – German socialist, one of the founder of Communist Party of Germany
\textsuperscript{17} Thomas Müntzer – German theologian of 16\textsuperscript{th} century, symbol of class struggle promoted by Engels
\textsuperscript{18} Ernst Thãllman – leader of Communist Party of Germany
\textsuperscript{19} Willy Brandt – West German politician, was a Chancellor of West Germany between 1969-1974, put efforts in improvement of relations with East Germany and Soviet Union
Language policies

Another important instrument that can influence creation of identity is a language. But it is fair to say that SED didn’t undertake reforms of grammar. As studies show the main differences in language between GDR’s German and FRG’s German were semantic, lexical and pragmatic, thus the grammar and phonology were not affected by Germany’s division. Meanwhile FRG’s German language was adopting different English words and Americanisms; the German language of GDR was adopting different words which were related to socialism and Soviet Union (Clyne, 1995: 83-87), but nevertheless it is necessary to understand that language is an instrument to shape consciousness, and as far SED tried to create socialist consciousness among citizens of GDR the language was developing in correlation with development of consciousness (Grix & Cooke, 2002: 138).

Penalties and control

Finally, in order to secure achievements in identity creation SED used organization called Stasi (Ministry of State Security) which processed, spied, detained and prosecuted citizens who were not very reliable in political sense. “The creation of a socialist identity was largely achieved through a system of rewards for those who complied and penalties for those who did not, although it would be naive to assume that everyone who complied only did so for this reason. Those who did not conform, for example, some practicing Christians, encountered difficulties, such as having visa applications declined or not getting the university place they or their offspring wanted” (Grix & Cooke, 2002:17). Furthermore, disclosure of Stasi archives showed that this organization had around 102,000 of officers and quarter of million were Stasi’s informants and spied after colleagues or family members (Ellis, 2011). Political repressions and observation were quite massive, it was counted that after disclosure of Stasi’s archives in 1991 from 40,000 to 80,000 of German citizens would like to receive their files (Ibid.), the full extent of the files which were found in Staci archives “is estimated at 170 running kilometers, an incomprehensible mass of materials, which it will take many years to catalogue. Some thirty running kilometers are personal dossiers in the narrow sense of the word.” (Wolle & Selwyn, 1992: 140-141)\textsuperscript{20}.

\textsuperscript{20} Due to mass detention of politically “undesirable” citizens during Erich Honecker’s rule GDR faced problem of children, whose parents were detained. Margot Honecker who were minister of education from 1963 to 1989 introduced program of forced adoption, moreover there are evidences that GDR allowed FRG to buy out children for approximately 90,000 Deutsche Marks (today it is about 68,000 Euros) (Ellis, 2011).
Reunification and conscious shapes

It is clear now that ruling party East Germany influenced consciousnesses of own citizens in order to construct (or reconstruct) identity, but to demonstrate effects of these influences we need to take into consideration reunification context. Conscious shapes of East Germans contrast a lot against unification background, and it allows us to define them easier.

SED’s influence on its citizens didn’t disappear without a trace after reunification. Academics underline that SED was successful in shaping consciousness because “there is some evidence to suggest that the younger generation did begin to think in terms of 'GDR citizenship', 'GDR culture' and so on, rather than the notion of 'German' which appeared more natural to the older generation” (Fullbrook, 1992: 302), many East German were used to more collective forms of organization than to individual ones (Ibid., 313).

It is also necessary to remember that development of GDR’s consciousness and identity is a reflective phenomenon, holders of GDR identity react to the context in which they are getting in, so “identity is a dialectic process between human agents and their environment” (Grix & Cooke, 2002: 6).

After reunification East Germans and West Germans faced misunderstanding, it was by certain degree a result of differences in consciousness. It is necessary to understand that before reunification East Germans had already an image of West Germans in their minds and West Germans also had images of East Germans in their minds, thus after reunification both parties get into situation when they had to deal with each other: misunderstanding was caused by differences in consciousness, by different frames of minds. Moreover treatment of East Germans by West Germans was predetermined by certain degree by stereotypes, and treatment of West Germans by East Germans was also predetermined by stereotypes. During process of reunification these stereotypes could be dismantled or consolidated. Presence of this stereotypes and prejudices influenced relations of East and West Germans within common soil, and still influences. In the following section of the research on the basis of previously done researches stereotypes will be marked out and discussed.
Korean Case: Creation of North Korean Identity

Historical process

In this part of the research I will demonstrate patterns of how North Korean identity was constructed and how this construction develops today. North Korea and South Korea is another example of how people of one nationality can be divided into two different states. North Korea and East German has a number of similarities in the historical development of country. First of all it is necessary to mention that North Korea emerged few years after World War II, and like East Germany North Korea was patronized by Soviet Union. When Japanese left North Korea after the World War II Soviet Union wanted to create a regime in North Korea that would be friendly to Soviet Union. This will of USSR turned into promotion of local communist party and local leaders. Among number of local communist and nationalist leaders Kim Il-Seng was chosen by Soviet Union to be a leader for whole country. He was chosen because he was communist, he was young and enthusiastic, he was already acquainted with some high leader of the USSR, he was fighting for Soviet Union against Japanese within a partisan movement and he received military rank in Red Army of captain (Lankov, 2000). During few years of transitional period Kim Il-Seng was promoted by USSR, while his opponents and competitors for power were experiencing deterrence from the side of USSR. After completion of transitional period the Korean Workers’ Party (WPK) was established, and Kim Il-Seng become a leader of it. For more than 60 years of existence country had to deal with different situation, thus country had to balance as ally between USSR and China until dissolution of Soviet Union; after dissolution state DPRK had to focus on China as main partner and ally (Ibid.).

One more historical aspect that should be mention is an opposition to the South Korea, confrontations between socialist and capitalist powers led to Korean War of 1950-1953 which is still important topic for both North Koreans and South Koreans. Bloody confrontation influenced on today’s identity situation in a sense that creation of identities North Korea was partly built through depiction of South Koreans as enemies.

Most of regimes which were friendly to USSR copied model of government organization, and North Korea weren’t an exception. The organization structure of country was based on one-party system like in the Soviet Union; the ideology of country was communism which later developed

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21 Korea was officially annexed by Japan in 1910, and until 1945 was officially under Japanese rule
22 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
23 Kim Il-Seng or Kim Il-seng or Kim Il-sung or Kim Il-Sung was first Prime-Minister of Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, first Chairman of Working Party of Korea
24 National Army of Soviet Union
into Juche ideology (Ibid.). Instruments that were used by functionaries of Worker’s Party of Korea (WPK) to shape consciousness of citizens and create identity were also copied from Soviet Union’s government organization.

Instruments: education

Like in Soviet case and like in GDR’s\textsuperscript{25} case the ideology and ideological treatment plays important role. Ideological treatment of people begins from the very young age. One of the main instruments for shaping consciousness in North Korea is education. “Principles of education in North Korea can be characterized by three primary objectives: (1) the socialistic reorientation of the younger generation and the adult population in the direction of the "Communist man "; (2) the revival of nationalistic patriotism; (3) the promotion of the educational concept of integrating theory and practice or "learning and labour." (Yang & Chee, 1963: 125). Education system stipulates compulsory primary and secondary education for citizens of DPRK, it is important to notice that among ordinary subjects like Maths or History, people study also such disciplines like “basics of Juche philosophy” or “Juche philosophy”, also they study biography of country leaders such as Kim Il-Seng and Kim Chong-Il\textsuperscript{26} (Worden: 2008:122), quantity of hours dedicated to study of such disciplines differed through the history of DPRK existence, but nevertheless it is fair to note that ideological studies are still presented in number of disciplines in schools and universities (Lankov, 2000; Demick, 2006: 87; Se, 2007), moreover as Andrei Lankov wrote that North Korean textbook for mathematics for primary school contains political and ideological references: children are offered to count for example how many houses were destroyed during flood in “South Korean village which is suffering under the heels of the American imperialist wolf-like bastards” (Lankov, 2011a).

And ideological treatment begins even not from the first year of a school, but begins even from Kindergarten age, where young North Koreans are told different didactic stories, where the main characters are Kim Chong-Il or Kim Il-Seng (Fleury, 2004). Perhaps today Kindergarten’s education included stories about Kim Chong-Un (who took over the power in North Korea in December after his father’s death) in a collection of didactic stories.

\textsuperscript{25} GDR – German Democratic Republic

\textsuperscript{26} Kim Chong-Il or Kim Chong-il or Kim Jong-Il or Kim Jong-il was son of Kin Il-Seng, was a Supreme leader of North Korea between 1994 and 2011, was a General secretary of Worker’s Party of Korea between 1997 and 2011
Work time activities

Lives of adult North Koreans are also permeated with ideological treatment. As far almost all factories in DPRK are owned by a state, Workers’ Party of Korea has a huge influence on the development of relations between workers and political atmosphere. As it was demonstrated in the documentary movie “Noord-Korea: Een dag uit het leven”(2004) by Pieter Fleury workers of plants are whipped on by head of department with speeches which contained propositions about party and country needs. Andrei Lankov brings additional evidences and portrays how workers sing patriotic, Juche and Kim Chong-Il related songs in between of working hours (2000), and the very similar situation was depicted by Fleury, when women sang patriotic song when the lack of electricity occurred at the fabric (2004).

Spare time treatment

In continuation of ideological treatment of people during work time there exists also treatment of people during spare time. People during their travel to the work can hear broadcast of patriotic songs from loudspeakers in the streets (Feddema & Tetteroo, 2001), for children there exist different organizations like Pioneers where they are politically educated and take part in different activities in spare time (Lankov, 2000).

Censorship

Censorship also plays huge role in creation of North Korean identity. The regime of governing in DPRK is quite specific, and this regime entails strict censorship and control of press and media, thus citizens of North Korea can only enjoy newspapers which are approved by ruling party and which allow citizens only to get to know with standpoint of party. Situation with television is absolutely the same, channels are state-owned, and people receive only approved information (Feddema & Tetteroo, 2001) with the difference that quantity of television sets was quite low, and people outside of Pyongyang mostly received information via radio (Lankov, 2000). But it is necessary to understand that situation with censorship developed in accordance to intra-political situation and in accordance to technological progress. Since 1960s usage of radio was controlled, and people couldn’t purchase and owe free-tuning radio sets, the radio had to be tuned to the state radio wave, and if incorrectly tuned radio set was found then citizen could be prosecuted for a crime (Ibid.), today people usually pay bribes to escape the punishment and listen to South Korean radio stations (Lankov, 2011b). During last decade people began to

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27 North Korea: A Day in a Life
purchase VHS and DVD players, they are legally recognized in DPRK, but instead of watching patriotic propaganda movies North Koreans prefer watching South Korean movies and Chinese movies which were smuggled through North Korean-Chinese border (Ibid.).

_Juche’s renaming policies and history interpretations_

Other two strong instruments which were used and still are used to shape conciseness of citizens and to promote North Korean identity are renaming policy and history interpretation. Issue of history is very crucial. First of all it is necessary that history of North Korea is very closely related and influenced to ideology.

_Juche_

_Juche_ (or Chuch’e) is a state ideology that is running through party organization, party works and government operations. This ideology was elaborated by Kim Il-Sung and now it is presented by party as “only one correct guiding ideology in revolutionary movement” (Worden, 2008:203). “Chuch’e was proclaimed in December 1955, when Kim emphasized the critical need for Korean-centered revolution rather one designed to benefit, in his words, “another country”. Chuch’e is designed to inspire national pride and identity and to mold national consciousness into potentially powerful focus for internal solidarity centered on Kim and the KWP” (Ibid., 203-203). The ideology was constructed in a way that it has wise answers for all possible questions, and ideology justified hierarchical construction of society and necessity of Kim’s governance, only Kim’s governance could allow DPRK to achieve goals (Ibid., 206-207). By the way, ideology promotes the idea that North Korea should be a country that is self-reliant, that is independent to any other states, that is using only own powers (Ibid., 204). “Sacrifice, austerity, unity and patriotism became dominant themes in the party’s efforts to instill in the people the importance of Chuch’e and collective discipline (Ibid., 206).

_Renanings and interpretations_

To support own image and to promote beliefs in Kim and in Party there are undertaken measures that interpret historical process in very specific way, history is examined through the prism of Juche. First of all, let’s mark out few most important historical events that happened to North Korea: establishment of the state, war 1950-1953 against the South Korea, economical rise, and crisis after Soviet Union collapse. As far as one of the necessary part of Juche ideology
was glorification of Kim Il-Sung, roles of other people in historical events was belittled by official press and historiography. Thus in historical episodes of North Korea which are connected with revolution and state establishment; the fact that Kim Il-Sung was elected among others to rule country by Soviet governing body is covered, and the fact that occupied Korea was governed by Soviets and communist party was also governed by Soviets; role of Kim on the contrary is exaggerated; or, for example, in official history can be found different renamings which are oriented on eradication of any role of South Korea in history of North Korea (like “North Korean bureau of communist party” turned into “Bureau of North Korean communist party” it was done to erase any traces of the fact that during establishment of state and occupational period headquarters of communist party of Korea was in Seoul). In description of War 1950-1953 the inputs by North Koreans and in particular Kim are beautifully painted, while inputs of Soviet Union could be even not mentioned. If economical achievements and economical growth during 1970-1980s are discussed then here will be underlined importance of self-reliance, and hardly will be mentioned financial and cadre nutrition for North Korea received from USSR or China (Lankov, 2000).

Language

Language is one more instrument that can influence shaping of consciousness, and this instrument also was used by DPRK. Thus to make Korean language more nationalistic and self-reliable DPRK tried to get rid of Chinese characters (hieroglyphics) in the language, as a result “ignorance of Chinese characters has been a major drawback for North Korea in its efforts to expand trade and other foreign contacts and an embarrassment in terms of its academic and scholarly standards” (Worden, 2008: 120). Moreover there exist differences in lexicon, grammar and orthography. For example names of three consonants in North Korean language were changed, alphabetic order of letters doesn’t match between South and North, and South Koreans also allow horizontal and vertical writing, whereas North Koreans allow only vertical writing. Spelling of loan words is also different, North Korean spelling is more influenced by Russian and Japanese languages while South Korean’s pronunciation reflects English pronunciation (Sohn, 1999: 146-147). In addition to it, South Korean language loaned mainly English words, while in North Korean Russian words are mainly loaned (Ibid., 119-120).
Another important conscious shaping instrument is an army. Army of North Korea is one of the biggest armies in the world (contingent of army is approximately 1.2 million people, and the total population of North Korea is about 23 million)\(^{28}\), “since 1996 Armed Forces Day has been celebrated as a national holiday, having been moved (in 1978) from February 8 (the day the KPA\(^{29}\) was founded in 1948) to April 25 (the day in 1932 on which Kim Il Sung allegedly founded the Korean army while in exile in China). In 1997, the day marking the signing of the Korean War armistice, July 27, was also declared a national holiday and named Victory Day” (2000: Oh & Hassig, 105). So DPRK’s inputs to military are really huge. There exists obligatory military service for male citizens of the state, and people can spend in army from 3 to 10 years (Lankov, 2000). It is obvious that even after 3 years of military service people learn how to think in a way that is needed for Party. It is necessary to notice that there exist a cult of military, and Kim as a leader of the party\(^{30}\).

“The military plays three important roles in North Korean society. First, it provides for national security. Second, it supports the Kim regime and maintains social control. Third, it is held up as a model for the rest of North Korean society.”(Oh & Hassig, 2000:106).

Penalties and control

Other instruments of conscious shaping are secret services and penalty system. There exist two quasi-military intelligence services like Ministry of People’s Security (MPS) and State Security Department (SSD). “The MPS investigates the background of North Korean citizens as a means of classifying them according to their loyalty to the regime. The background and behavior of visitors to the DPRK are also thoroughly investigated” (Oh & Hassig, 2000:136), furthermore “The MPS protects state property, provides security for railways, airports, and seaports, and runs the air traffic control system. The MPS conducts criminal

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\(^{28}\) It is estimated that Army derives 25% of GNP of North Korea (2000: Oh & Hassig, 105).

\(^{29}\) Korean People’s Army

\(^{30}\) This cult was accompanied with distribution of military ranks, thus Kim Il-Sung was the first Marshal of Army, and was sole Marshal in DPRK for 30 years, then his son Kim Chong-II received rank of Marshal of Army (without having any combat experience in his live, and without service in the army) (2000: Oh & Hassig, 106). As soon as Kim Chong-II received his rank of Marshal, his father became first Generalissimo of North Korea. In 1994 Kim Il-Sung died in the rank of Generalissimo, as far as by that time there were a number of other Marshals of Army in DPRK (mostly these people were combatants who were fighting under command of Kim Il-Sung in 30s or 50s) the new rank was invented specially for Kim Chong-II; in 1994 he became “Marshal of DPRK”. He died in this rank and recently, already after his death he became Generalissimo. Now, Kim Chong-Un, son of Kim Chong-II, is already a General of Army (he also never served in Army), and it is expected that he will receive a rank of Marshal soon in order to highlight his leadership position in Army (Lankov, 2012a).
investigations and manages the nation’s prison system, except for political prisons. It also provides protection for high-ranking cadres, except for Kim Jong Il, who has his own secret service” (Ibid., 135), while the “SD investigates political dissident suspects and manages political prisons. The SSD is also in charge of examining the backgrounds of important party and government officials and military officers, and monitoring their behavior. Electronic communication channels are monitored by the SSD.” (Ibid., 136), military has its own secret monitoring services and espionage organizations (Ibid.). Needless to say that there are thousands of political crimes, today the approximate number of people who were imprisoned for political crimes in North Korea is about 150,000-200,000. Nevertheless it is fair to say that dynamics of politically imprisoned people is declining, one of the biggest factor for it is corruption (Lankov, 2011c). After crisis of 90s people started to earn money and it became easier now to pay off from government for political crimes (Lankov, 2011d). However, it is necessary to mention that camps for political prisoners camp conditions are rather worse than for non-political.

**Personality cult**

Among these instruments of conscious shaping importance of ideology is obvious, and one of the most interesting and special aspect of ideology is the personality cult. Personality cult is inalienable part of ideology (Lankov, 2000). I would even underline that there exists the cult not only of Kim-father (Kim Il-sung), Kim-son (Kim Chong-il) or Kim-grandson (Kim Chong-un); there exists a cult of whole Kim family (including mothers and wives). There exists Juche calendar (Oh & Hassig, 2000:3), and it starts with a birthday of Kim Il-sung, and dates in newspapers appear with double date, according to Juche calendar and according to Gregorian calendar (Lankov, 2000). Birthdays of Kim Il-sung and of Kim Chong-Il are official holidays. Everything that is connected with Kim Il-sung is sacral, there are signs that Kim visited this or that cabinet, or sit on the bench. Pictures of Kims are in every rooms of official building, in public transport, every North Korean is carrying a badge with the picture of Kim (Worden 2008:106), there’re pictures of Kims in private apartments and houses (Fleury, 2004). Feddema and Tetteroo as directors of documentary were surprised when they saw people’s attitude towards Kims. In spite of people were cured of cataract by foreign doctor who brought all instruments techniques with him and who was curing people on the basis of charity, they were grateful to Kim and were crying because of happiness (2001). Media shot and showed hysteria among

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31 Moreover, for a long time in North Korea there existed procedure when whole family could be imprisoned for political crime of one family-member, thus there appeared camps for families and even juvenile camps (Ford & Kwon, 2008:109-110).
North Koreans which occurred after Kim Chong-il’s death. Perhaps, propaganda of personality cult tries to make of Kims icon to worship. Officially in North Korea there is a freedom of belief, whereas the cult of Kim is a religion for citizens (Worden, 2008: 115).

Division of Koreas lasts for long time and as it is easy to understand that many factors influenced on creation of separate ethnicities. This division promoted increase of culture differences between Koreans. Consequently this division led to creation of images and perceptions of each others. In the section number two existing stereotypes and perceptions about North Koreans are presented, analyzed and discussed.

Analysis: Differences and Similarities

Similarities

After description of situation in GDR\textsuperscript{32} and DPRK\textsuperscript{33}, it is fair to define similarities and differences that two systems have in a field of conscious shaping and identity creation. There are similarities which lie on the surface, and there’re important differences that mainly are hidden in details.

It would be correct to say that role-model for governmental organizations and implementation of ideology policies for GDR and DPRK was the government of USSR\textsuperscript{34} with its policies. GDR and DPRK imitated ideologies and governmental organization that are oriented on one-party system. So, the party plays role of basic element for country organization. Party controls (through branch organizations) almost every aspect of citizens’ life.

Another aspect is that all organizations (including military, production, schools, hospitals, media, shops etc.) are state-owned (i.e. party owned). Thus ruling party can control what population consumes, listens, reads, watches etc.

For perfection of organization system party needs loyal citizens, consequently party implements ideological treatment to own citizens. SED\textsuperscript{35} and WPK\textsuperscript{36} used almost the same instruments to shape consciousness. First of all, it is education. Consciousnesses of people started being shaped with the kindergarten age, then shaped during school age, then shaped at the higher education level or military service level.

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\textsuperscript{32} GDR – German Democratic Republic
\textsuperscript{33} DPRK – Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
\textsuperscript{34} USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
\textsuperscript{35} SED - The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (In German - Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands)
\textsuperscript{36} WPK – Worker's Party of Korea
At the grown-up age level parties put efforts in identity construction through organization of working processes at plants, offices and farms. Parties laid special emphasis on construction and support of co-operative responsibility and identity.

In a spare time citizens experienced ideological treatment as well: censorship was the instrument that secured citizens from penetration with harmful (in Party’s opinion) information or wrong thoughts.

Historical interpretations also served as an instrument that allowed parties to construct and shape identities of citizens. In this case Korean and German situations are similar also in a sense that SED and WPK had to construct identities in opposition to neighboring enemies – West Germans and South Koreans, respectively. Historians had to interpret somehow common history of neighboring states and had to portray and mark out place of neighboring enemies in nation’s history.

Renaming policies also took place in ideology treatment policies organized by parties. In order to eradicate any unlikely reminders about neighboring countries (In DPRK’s case – ROK\(^{37}\); in GDR’s case – FRG\(^{38}\)) a number of organizations were renamed.

Nation languages in GDR and DPRK also experienced changes due to ideological treatment.

In order to maintain successes that were achieved in identity constructions SED and WPK used repressive and observational organizations to keep own citizens in fear of committing political crimes.

**Differences**

Differences arise in details in comparison of GDR’s and DPRK’s ways of identity construction. First of all, there are differences in historical development of countries, and especially towards relation with Soviet Union and towards relation with FRG (in GDR’s case) and with ROK (in DPRK’s case). Up to last day of existence of GDR SED’s foreign partner was mainly the Soviet Union headed by Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) (Kudoyarov, 2010). While WPK of the DPRK firstly focused on relations with USSR; later, when there appeared tensions between CPSU and Communist Party of China (CPC) that ruled in China, North Korea had to balance between both in order to continue receiving financial and personnel help. After dissolution of the Soviet Union, North Korea thoroughly focused on People’s Republic of China as the main partner (Lankov, 2000).

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\(^{37}\) ROK – Republic of Korea, South Korea  
\(^{38}\) FRG – Federal Republic of Germany, West Germany
One more important aspect of historical development is concerned of DRPK’s and GDR’s relations with ROK and FRG, respectively. In both cases relations developed between countries like between opposing powers, but opposition between countries reached different levels of confrontations. During existence of divided Germany, opposition of states led to creation of Berlin Wall, but later there appeared improvement of relations and divided families even were able to visit their relatives in the East. In Korean case relations developed according to different scenario. The hugest impact Korean relations received due to Korean War 1950-1953, which become a tragedy for both Korean states. This war is still one of the most important topics of discussion.

Third historical aspect that discerns German case and Korean case is the time. Division of Germany lasted for about 40 years, while division of Korea lasts already for more than 60 years. This difference in duration of divisions’ existence plays important role because number of people who were born before division in Korean case is rather small, and number of those who lived whole life during division times is by huge degree higher.

Ideological treatment was provided almost by the same measures, but the ideologies differed. While in GDR ideology was copied from CPSU ideology and could be defined as Marxist-Leninist, in North Korea communist ideology which was firstly copied from CPSU later developed in an ideology called Juche. And one of aspects of Juche is the cult of Kim’s personality and family (Worden, 2008: 74-75). Consequently in terms of historical interpretations in German case there was focus on glorification and emphasis of socialist achievements by different representatives of socialist movement, whereas in North Korea official history associates all achievements with different representatives of Kim’s family.

Censorship and repressions were used in GDR and are still in use in DPRK, but achievements gained by parties by usage of these tools are different. In terms of repressions and political detainees it would be fair to say that in North Korea they are harsher and more massive, than they were in GDR, but still political detainees in GDR were tortured (Ellis, 2011). Censorship in North Korea is harsher in terms that it is harder to receive information from the South, than it was in case of Germanies. Expression of own standpoint in Germany was under control of WPK permanently reminds own citizens about the war and about American participation in it and uses militaristic or anti-American-/South Korean rhetoric (Fleury, 2004) during different activities, beginning with education and finishing with motivation of workers on the plants. After war there appeared Demilitarized Zone between Koreas (DMZ) (Feddem & Tetteroo, 2001), and free-travel between Koreas today is almost unthinkable (there’re exist special occasions for South Koreans to travel to the North (Worden, 2008: 176). Nevertheless, both parties did a number of declarative steps towards reunification and improvement of relations, there’re still exist number of difficulties which are evinced, for example, in kidnapping of people, or military training or even attacks like it was in 2010 with Cheonan vessel.

39 WPK permanently reminds own citizens about the war and about American participation in it and uses militaristic or anti-American-/South Korean rhetoric (Fleury, 2004) during different activities, beginning with education and finishing with motivation of workers on the plants. After war there appeared Demilitarized Zone between Koreas (DMZ) (Feddem & Tetteroo, 2001), and free-travel between Koreas today is almost unthinkable (there’re exist special occasions for South Koreans to travel to the North (Worden, 2008: 176). Nevertheless, both parties did a number of declarative steps towards reunification and improvement of relations, there’re still exist number of difficulties which are evinced, for example, in kidnapping of people, or military training or even attacks like it was in 2010 with Cheonan vessel.
40 CPSU – Communist Party of Soviet Union
41 Communist Ideology, official ideology of Soviet Union
Stasi\textsuperscript{42}, and branch-organizations of SED, but nevertheless it was possible to write a novel and publish (if control organizations would have consider as going along with party ideas) (Darnton, 1995: 54), in North Korea for a long time it could be hardly imaged, during Kim Il-sung’s reign almost all novels were about his heroic deeds by corporate author, and during Kim Chong-Il for long time none of fiction work of art was published (Lankov, 2000).

Caused by nations’ divisions German language and Korean language experienced change, but it is fair to state that while German language adopted a number of socialism-related words (Clyne, 1995: 83-87), Korean language changed by higher degree, and besides adoption of new foreign words it also changed in a sense of orthography and grammar (Sohn, 1999: 146-147). It is important to mention that one of the aspect of identity creation is the conscious shaping, and if the successes of SED and WPK in creation of absolutely separate identities are questionable and disputable, changes in conscious shapes of citizens of East Germany and North Korea, and differences of conscious shapes of citizens of GDR and DPRK from FRG\textsuperscript{43} and ROK\textsuperscript{44}, respectively, are evident.

On the basis of comparison of effects by conscious shaping measures which were undertaken within GDR and FRG, it would be fair to state that affinities of FRG and GDR identities was higher than affinity of DPRK and ROK identities, because consciousnesses of North Koreans have been shaped for longer time than consciousnesses of East Germans, and measures which are undertaken by DPRK government were implemented harder and had huger influence, than measures which were undertaken by GDR.

\textsuperscript{42} Stasi – Ministry for Security of East Germany
\textsuperscript{43} FRG – Federal Republic of Germany, West Germany
\textsuperscript{44} Republic of Korea, South Korea
Section Number Two: Existing Perceptions

In this part of the paper are given stereotypes and perceptions of North Koreans by South Koreans and East Germans by West Germans. This part is based on examination of literature, previously done researches dedicated to these topics and analysis of results of interviews which were made for this research. This section illustrates stereotype theory discussed in the first part of the paper and explains how and which socialist stereotypes occurred and how did they develop through time.

German Case
Perceptions of East Germans: important aspects to mention

Before starting examination of images of East Germans in West German’s eyes it is necessary to remind that creation of stereotypes and perception of them is a dialectical process, thus if we take German case it is fair to say that image of East Germans was created during division time, then this image was supported or changed via media and mass culture. After reunification East Germans could face problem that West Germans in everyday life were constructing relations on the basis of images; perhaps some images and stereotypes were approved, some were disapproved, some were popularized. In this complicated situation I would like to define existing images and perceptions of East Germans by West Germans.

The perception of East Germans by West Germans stems from different sources of information receiving. Thus, West German can have an image of East German which is based on information which is broadcasted via media; or which is based on own experience (from, for example, personal experience of having talk or relations with representatives of East Germany); or which is based on information which was received from friends, family, colleagues, thus it could be a common belief for particular group of people; or which is based on products of art (movies, fiction, paintings etc.). Important things to notice is that these sources of information can give a certain image, can prove or disapprove this image, can back this image or dismantle.

Another important aspect about perception of East Germans by West Germans is that it is dynamic, thus West Germans had different grounds for image creation during last 20 years after reunification. Before reunification East Germans could be associated with GDR (and GDR had quite negative image), after that West Germans associated with the popular images which East Germans gained already during their life in reunited FRG (mainly based on East Germans and West Germans attitudes towards reunification, and economical and labor consequences).
Through the prism of GDR/SED

Examination of perceptions question are quite difficult because there are different aspects and nuances, nevertheless it makes sense to start with scrutiny of attitudes of West Germans towards East Germany as a state, and towards unification.

According to surveys “in the 1980s two-thirds to three-quarters (depending on the survey instruments) of the West German population expressed their support for unification” (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 77). But in the same time only very small part of people believed that unification was possible to achieve during their lifetimes. Furthermore, surveys showed that from 1971 to 1989 on the average 42% of West Germans showed interest in GDR affairs, meanwhile personal knowledge of East Germany was quite low. In 1987, 36 % of West Germans stated that at least once they travelled to East Germany since 1961, and only those who had “close family ties used to travel to the GDR often” (Ibid., 78). For other West Germans GDR was a kind of a “never never land” (Ibid.). Moreover, as far as GDR and FRG had two opposing governmental systems and lifestyles of citizens were contrasting, GDR “helped West Germans accept the Federal Republic as a democratic state” (Ibid.).

Surveys which were conducted among West Germans for a decade between 1977 and 1987 showed that West Germans were sympathizing East Germans as “Country & People” while they had very negative perception of “Political system” (probably it is fair to associate political system with SED\textsuperscript{45}) (Ibid., 79).

Perceived:

Stemming from the surveys the image of GDR among West Germans was built on three main tracks: first of all, West Germans found lack of freedom in GDR as factor that made people mistrustful and having own lives affected via interference of state authorities. This lack of freedom strongly affected lives of East Germans\textsuperscript{46}. Second track concerned economical situation in GDR, West Germans were able to see economically poor characteristics of GDR and deficits, and furthermore information from West Germans who travelled to GDR underlined “Economy of shortages” which took place in GDR\textsuperscript{47}.

\textsuperscript{45} SED - The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (In German - Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands)
\textsuperscript{46} this influence most visibly manifested itself in travel restrictions. Freedom situation in FRG was contrasting; consequently indignation with travel restrictions was increased (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 79).
\textsuperscript{47} Economic situation in FRG also was contrasting; consequently impressions about economical difficulties in GDR were enlarged (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 79).
And the third track of perception concerned of societal realm, in eyes of West Germans fields of education, science and technology or health care were characterized as quite alike in the FRG and the GDR. But in the field of sports and youth support the GDR was seen as leading country (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 79).

Few more findings showed that despite of the negative image of the GDR as a country, West Germans “felt they had a great deal in common with the citizens of the GDR” (Ibid.). Furthermore it was also found out that from the West German point of view West Germans and East Germans are diligent, “humanly rather than inhumanly and, with some small disparities, as peace-loving rather than aggressive, not dangerous rather than dangerous, active rather than passive and bureaucratic rather than not bureaucratic. Only four distinct differences appeared: West Germans thought of themselves as being much more demanding, progressive and self-confident than East Germans. Also, Westerners thought East Germans tended to be more nationalistic rather than cosmopolitan.” (Ibid., 80-81).

On the basis of these researches it would be fairer to state that East Germans weren’t directly associated with the SED, they were mostly perceived as victims of not very successful governmental rule. Thus West Germans perceived East Germans as people who had been made to be mistrustful, unconfident, experiencing economical problems, experiencing lack of freedom.

**West Germans face East Germans: collapse of GDR and reunification on the FRG basis.**

The process of reunification of the Germanies happened quite rapidly. Caused by economical problems (which occurred due to crisis of economical and political system in the Soviet Union) Honecker 48 had to ease regime and had to establish closer relations with West Germany. In exchange to lowering of age qualification of own citizens to travel to the West GDR received huge credits from FRG, thus promotion of such kind of policy led to erosion of political system in GDR and increase of pro-unification attitude of mind among Germans in GDR and FRG. This situation turned in into “Gentle revolution” which consisted of peaceful demonstrations against Honeckers’s regime and emigration movements (through Hungary 49) (Fulbrook, 1992: 324-325). These peaceful demonstrations urged destruction of Berlin Wall on 9 November of 1989 and later in March 1990 led to conduction in GDR of Parliamentary elections where SED, headed by Egon Krenz 50 was defeated. On 29th September of 1990 it was signed reunification treaty between GDR and FRG. And on the 3rd of 1990 this treaty came into power. Duration of

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48 Erich Honecker led GDR as head (General Secretary) of ruling party between 1971 and 1989
49 Hungary by that time eased visa regime with West Germany
50 Egon Krentz – General Secretary of SED in 1989
reunification took about a year; while number of politicians (like Thatcher or Mitterrand) hoped that that it will take decades (Kudoyarov, 2010).

During 1989-1990 before reunification huge influx of refugees from East Germany to the West occurred. “The most spectacular migration peak occurred in 1989, when 344,000 people, 2 percent of the East German population and 3 percent of the labor force, left for West Germany” (Kurthen 1995: 920).

It is also necessary to highlight that starting from 1949 to 1961 for about 200,000 of East Germans migrated to West Germany annually, after 1961 up to 1988 the number of annual migrants was between 12,000 and 41,000 (Judt, 1997: 545-546 cited by GHDI). So it is fair to state that huge number of East Germans settled in West Germany before 1961. But then numbers of migrants decreased and differences between ways of thinking between West Germans and East Germans increased year by year. Right after reunification West Germany experienced huge migration flow from the East and such rapid process of reunification probably revealed cultural differences in identities of reunited country citizens.

Attitudes of East Germans and West German towards socio-economical system were different. East Germany joined West Germany; this means that West Germans went on to live in system that they accustomed to, while East Germans had to get accustomed to live in new system, and had to establish new way of life.

**Through the prism of East German self perception**

One of the core issues of reunification of Germanies was the identity issue. Misconceptions between East Germans and West Germans partly were stemming from the fact, that unification contained “‘one-sided nation-building”, it means that “unification has forced East Germans to re-assess their national identity(…)but this readjustment has taken place in a context dominated largely by West German interests and in a political atmosphere in which East Germans have often been portrayed as a nation of second-class citizens.” (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 69).

Examination of studies shows us how East Germans perceive themselves. Studies were conducted in order to answer question if East Germans have “so-called 'Mauer im Kopf' (Wall in the head) and is this hindering the unification process?” (Ibid., 62). Gordon Charles Ross tried to answer the question by scrutiny of how do East Germans perceive national identity and till which extent East Germans identify themselves as Germans.

Number of studies showed that East Germans see themselves more as ‘German’ when they speak with foreigners, while when East Germans talk to West Germans they are more likely to emphasize their “eastgernerness” (Ibid., 65). Interesting fact was discovered in this research, it
appears that East Germans have strong feeling of national identity, but they don’t consider national identity in nationalistic or patriotic terms, they see it in more belonging and citizenship terms. Further investigation showed that feeling of national identity (33%) among East Germans is stronger than regional (subnational) identity (24%) or “East German” identity (22%) (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 67). Studies also showed that number of East Germans don’t want that they were seen as “Ossis” (Ibid., 67-68). Another part of studies demonstrated that huge part of East Germans (61%) started to feel themselves more German after reunification (Ibid., 68). One more important finding is concerned feeling of pride, more West Germans are prouder for their constitution and institutions which are West German products than East Germans, and moreover East Germans are very skeptical about German military operations abroad (Ibid., 69). On the one hand it’s surprising but on the other hand why should East Germans be proud of things that they didn’t contribute in creation.

While East Germans mainly identify themselves as ‘Germans’ they also see themselves as ‘second-class Germans’/second-class citizens’. In addition to the domination of West Germany in reformation process of East Germany after unification “unemployment is higher in the East, wages lower and that East German achievements, for example in sport and social care, have largely been ignored or discredited in the new Germany, it is not hard to understand why many East Germans see themselves this way” (Ibid.). Results of surveys showed that answers to the question if former citizens of GDR are second-class citizens in FRG were quite opposing. 72 % said that they think that former citizens are second-class citizens, while 77% of West Germans thought that former GDR citizens are not second-class citizens in FRG (Howard, 1995: 61).

Gordon Ross Charles also highlighted one important aspect of the topic. “Eastgermannes” and sense of “second-class citizenship” are not connected on the regional basis, according to him “the one-sided nature of the unification process, in which millions of East Germans see themselves as excluded from the mainstream or, at least, not fairly treated as fellow citizens, helps understand the East German specifics of national identity” (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 71).

There exist regional differences among Germans (Bavarians, Prussians, Hessians etc.), but these differences don’t make these groups feel themselves as ‘second-class citizens’ (Ibid.), consequently not the territorial disposition makes East Germans feel themselves as second-class citizens, but feeling of exclusion during unification process.

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51 Probably this is a one of the consequences of SED nation building policy, which focused on promotion of DDR identity, not in nationalistic terms but in citizenship terms, because nationalistic terms could make SED deal with term as ‘German’, which they tried to erase.
Perception of Women

Reunification of Germany revealed differences in identities of West German women and East German women. Probably these differences occurred because women lived in different systems, thus one of the most important fields of misconception for women of East and West was the field of employment. Development of emancipation of women in terms of employment in GDR was rather more rapid than it was in FRG. The law system and condition system for women was very well developed, as a result by the time of reunification around 93% of East German women were working or studying, and the number of fields where women were represented was much higher than in the West, furthermore, in the GDR women were more likely to take highly ranked positions (Becker, 2003) than women in FRG (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 121).

Feminism in FRG grew up in absolutely in different conditions. “Here there was a strong patriarchal voice in the form of a conservative Federal Government, which upheld traditional gender roles and a male-breadwinner philosophy supported by tradition and the market economy. This was reflected in the fact that fewer policy decisions relating to women were made in the FRG than in the GDR, and to the fact that the rate of female employment increased relatively slowly. By 1989 it had only reached about 50 per cent and most of this was part-time” (Ibid., 121-122). Emancipation through the prism of Western German was not so strongly oriented on employment; it was more focused on achievement of sexual equality in family and relations. West German women didn’t need to imitate men (Ibid., 123), moreover number of branches (like construction branch) were closed for woman on the legislative basis (Ferree, 1993: 101). So what happened after reunification is that East German women were unable to have their jobs (which are traditionally male) like electricians or constructions workers, moreover they lost their benefits from so called “mommies’ policies”.

After reunification appeared huge problem of women unemployment, importance of it was increased because according to surveys more than half (51%) of Eastern Germany women recognized paid employment as an important part of their lives, while only 3% were able to imagine themselves in a full-time housework carrier (Ibid., 105); another important aspect was

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52 SED promoted emancipation in GDR through employment, this happened also due to economic needs of country and a wish of SED to enroll women in industrialization process. Consequently this employment principle was fundamental in terms of “Marxist feminism” which took place in GDR (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 121-122).

53 “Among the supportive measures introduced in the 1970s and gradually increased throughout the 1980s were paid time off for housework( a reduction of the "normal work week from 43.5 to 40 hours for mothers of two children or more); a "baby year" of paid 93 leave for the birth of the first child, increased to eighteen months of support for second and later births; four to eight weeks of paid leave for the care of sick children. Provision of childcare was also expanded and strengthened, so that as of 1988, 81 percent of preschool children were in heavily subsidized public facilities, costing about sixty-five cents per day per child. In addition to the "baby year" infant care was available in day nurseries in the community and at the mother's workplace. If childcare was not available, mothers' paid 'baby year' could be extended to a total of up to three years” (Ferree, 1993: 93-94).
that East German women contributed in a family budget more than Western women (40% vs 18 %) (Ibid., 93).

So, for East German women work was crucial, but West German women looked at the employment of East German women from the different angle. Western opinion on the employment of women in GDR is interpreted “as a simple economic necessity in a less advanced economy, which had no 'emancipatory basis'. East German women's acceptance of the State's role in their emancipation is, therefore, perceived as their collusion in the perpetuation of patriarchy. As a result Western women do not necessarily view East German women's return to the home as problematic, since the GDR's 'Emanzipation von Oben' (emancipation from above) is deemed to merely be the manipulation and exploitation of women by men.” (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 123), Western German women perceive Eastern ones as women who let themselves being manipulated by men, and those who had to juggle household duties and range of works (Ibid.).

Perceived:

So it would be fair to say that East German women, who are also called as Ostmuttis (East German mommies) is a complex stereotype which is based on perception of East German women by West German. Ostmuttis are women who is 1) very paid-employment-oriented, who 2)can have traditionally male profession (like electrician, construct worker), who 3)see having male profession as normal phenomenon, who 4) think that they are emancipated and 5)don’t suspect that they were exploited and manipulated by men, 6) who need to be guided because they were victims of SED regime. These descriptions could also be proved by complaints about West German treatment: “East Germans were already criticizing the way West Germans were treating them, claiming that Westerners looked down on them, that they were patronizing and superficial and had taken everything from them, including their dignity” (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 130).

Ossi

Despite that Eastern Germans are not homogeneous in terms of political identity and they consist of different groups with different interests (like women, for example), East Germans, however, are found by scientists as agents that “share a specific level of identification with one another: their socialist past experience and the extensive social, political and economic transformation since 1990” (Grix & Cooke, 2008: 4).

In relations with West Germans East German also could be seen as different groups, but there exists one very strong stereotype, that covers different groups of East Germans. This stereotype
is concluded in such a notion like *Ossi* (Ossie or “Eastie”, means those who come from the East) or *Jammerossi* (Moaning Easties) (Ibid., 2). This stereotype of Easterners stems from the post-unification situation, when West was trying to resurrect former East Germany’s economy and invested huge amounts of money, up to 140 billion marks annually, but the level of unemployment in former East Germany is still higher than in other parts of Germany (Ibid.), and East Germans are not very satisfied with how West Germans treated them, thus East German see Westerners as “arrogant, greedy and heartless”, while West Germans blame Easterners “for economical difficulties and accuse them of being lazy, backwards and of complaining too much” (Howard, 1995: 56). Moreover, there is an important aspect that “the elites and public of the west do not believe they have anything to learn from the GDR’s cultural experience - if they so much as consider such a possibility” (Hogwood, 2000: 58). In terms that identity construction is a dialectical process it is interesting to notice that *Ossi* stereotype, which has mainly negative features and in the media Ossi “is seen from the west as lazy, passive, lacking in initiative and drive, sly, secretive, distrustful, discontented and having a scrounging ’welfare mentality’” (Ibid., 59) was adapted by easterners and used “to reflect those values perceived amongst themselves as both positive and characteristic of easterners” (Ibid.). Thus negative Ossi stereotype produced by the Westerners turned into Ossi pride and adoption of more ironic perception of socialist past (Ibid., 64).

*Perceived:*

So, in general Ossi stereotype has negative features, Ossis are 1) complaining (because they state that they are unsatisfied with treatment), 2) backward (because of their ‘socialistic’ values partly differ from Westerner’s values), 3) lazy, passive, lacking initiatives (because of economic and employment problems in a region), 4) secretive, distrustful (probably this features stem from the understanding of Stasi’s involvement in private lives of own citizens during GDR 54, 5) has nothing that could be learned from them in cultural plan (probably, this feature stems from Westerners’ doubt and skepticism towards Ossi’s lifestyles and values).

*On the basis of interviews (13 respondents)*

According to analysis of results of interviews which were done as part of the research West Germans can have absolutely different and contradicting opinions on GDR, on East Germans, on

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54 it is known that around 70,000 former Stasi officers are employed by FRG’s government on different positions, mainly ion a territory of a former GDR (Ellis, 2011)
“Ossi” notion. This means that today among West Germans there doesn’t exist one solid perception of GDR (it can be illustrated by fact that some respondents see it as liberal, individualist, friendly and democratic while others see it as socialist, communist, collectivist and unfriendly). But nevertheless it is necessary to emphasize that majority described GDR in a way that it was an aggressive and militant state of socialist/communist regime. Concerning the stereotype about East Germans it is also worth to say that there is no one solid stereotype, moreover in this case results and descriptions are more diverse and more polar (position of “happy” and “unhappy” is a good illustration for it). Statistics show that West Germans on the one hand associate East Germans with GDR (it can be illustrated by the fact that some of respondents associate East Germans with such words like “socialist”, “communist”, “militant”, “undereducated” etc), but on the other hand high number of associations cannot be directly linked to (like “poor”, “rich”, “happy”, “unhappy” etc). It is fair to mention that words that could be directly linked to East Germans’ belonging to GDR were chosen by 1-3 respondents. Statistics on associations on notion “Ossi” demonstrate that image of “Ossi” is more agreed. According to statistics Ossi is associated with words like “complaining” (5 respondents), “socialist”, “undereducated”, “backward” (4 respondents), “problematic”, “free”, “weak” (3 respondents). Statistics show that Ossies are more associated with GDR than East Germans, but nevertheless image of Ossi contains associations that are not directly linked to belonging to GDR (it is fair suppose that such associations like “complaining” or “lazy” occurred during unification period or post-unification situation).

According to majority of respondents it is believed that stereotypes about East Germans are partly justified. But there is an interesting fact that only two persons said that “stereotypes are not justified” and one of the main sources of getting information about East Germans for these two persons are “meetings in person with East Germans”. Nevertheless 3 respondents who met East Germans told that “stereotypes are partly justified”.

Perceived:

Findings received through interviewing partly complement to findings which were received through analysis of previously done researches, but it is necessary to underline few aspects: 1) in both questions on association on East Germans and Ossi besides associations which link this

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Like “communist”, “collectivist”, “militant”, “passive” etc.
Like “sober”, “heavy-drinking”, “problematic”, “huge” etc.
group of people to belongingness to GDR there were chosen mostly negative features; 2) some features of East German stereotype could be really seen as “socialist legacy”: inherited from the GDR; 3) in comments number of respondents mentioned that issue of stereotypes about East Germans but there are some differences between East and West Germans. As one of respondents emphasized that “to say there is no distinction between East & West Germany is wrong. But it's not a big thing. And we're getting better after 20 years”.

**How do these stereotypes become apparent in relations?**

There’re few interesting fields of the relations which should be covered. Due to sense of Ostalgia, which means that East German were romanticizing socialist past, Easterners preferred to buy products of East German labels, with which they were already acquainted, thus it led that West German businessmen revived number of East German labels like “Rötkappchen champagne” (Boyer, 2000: 466).

Another interesting case of relations between East and West is concerned, as it is about journalists and media. As Dominic Boyer demonstrated in his paper after reunification East German journalists had problems with employment. In spite of East German journalists were trained better than Western ones, they were patronized by West German chiefs and were treated within a model teacher-student, where West Germans were teachers and East Germans were students. West German were reasoning this way of relation by the need to implementation of “Western model” of journalism, in addition to it, Western chiefs tried to overhaul staff and “democratize” it, consequently number of young journalists from the West Germany were taking on the internship basis, while employment of older East German journalists could depend on understanding of “democracy” (Boyer, 2001: 2-3). Probably it happened because “the negative image of the eastern professional intellectual as spiritless functionary was requisite for defending the legitimacy of western intellectuals to privileged negotiation and articulation of a healthy German national culture” (Ibid., 6).

There’re also exists evidence that there still is a problem with communication between West Germans and East Germans, so one of such evidence is that people of East Germany and West Germany rarely marry each other and prefer to mingle with people of common distinct (Abadi, 2009).

Also it is necessary to mention the case of woman from East Germany who lives in Stuttgart and she was unable to get a job; employing firm insisted that the woman was not enough qualified and labeled resume of the woman with the term “Ossi”. Woman tried to sue firm on the
basis that she was discriminated on the basis of ethnic background. The labor court rejected the claim and stated “that East Germans could not be seen as a tribe-like group”. (Smee, 2010).

**Outcome**

Stereotypes and prejudices are still in power, they take place in everyday lives in Germany. West German stereotypes about East Germans are mostly based on the term “Ossi”. Ossi describes geographical origin (territory of former GDR) and special shape of mind (which stems from socialist past). Mostly Ossi is used in neutral or negative terms of this word. Perception of citizens who come from former GDR through the prism of Ossi (or Ossi related stereotypes) stereotype leads to establishment of particular ways of treatment.

First way of perception towards East Germans I would call “track of victim”, within this perception of East Germans West Germans try to protect former citizens of GDR from horrors of communist past.

Second way of perception I would call “track of younger brother”, who should be taught how to live, what to do, how to act to be as successful as elder brother. Within this way of perception West Germans act as teachers and East Germans are perceived as students; West Germans should teach East Germans basics of German culture, German lifestyles, and German way of business conduction etc. I would emphasize the fact that West Germans perceive East Germans in a way that East Germans have nothing that they could teach Westerners.

Third way of perception I would call “track of ungrateful complainant”. Within this way of perception West Germans emphasize own self-sacrifice and highlight East German laziness, lack of desire to use West German achievements, lack of initiative to adopt West German lifestyles, will of East Germans to conserve themselves in socialist shape consciousness. In some sense West Germans blame Ossis for having features that are mentioned above.

In all three ways of perception there is a sense that East Germans should be patronized, that they are lacking ability to act on their own. Probably exactly this aspect of perception of East Germans by West Germans led to cultivation of “second-class citizen” feeling among East Germans. West Germans didn’t really intend to make East Germans feel so, and West Germans mostly don’t see East Germans as second-class citizens, but East Germans themselves promote this feeling.
Korean Case

Perception of North Koreans

In this part of the research perception of North Koreans by South Koreans is investigated. Before going deeper in details it is necessary to underline number of aspects that should be taken in consideration.

Division of Koreas lasts already more than 60 years, this means that 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation of North Koreans were born in sovereign DPRK\textsuperscript{61}, so did the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation of South Koreans. Consequently, these younger generations don’t remember united Korea under Japanese occupation, but they can receive information via different sources of information (media, portions of fiction and art, etc.).

As far as Koreas experiencing division there’re some difficulties for citizens of DPRK and ROK\textsuperscript{62} in connection to each other, therefore perception of North Koreans by South Koreans is mainly based on connections with defectors from North Korea, information given by media, information received through conversations within family or working/studying community. As far as unification process didn’t occur most of Koreans were unable to meet each other, thus they were unable to construct an image of each other on the basis of own reflections to the real meeting.

Perception through the prism of DPRK

Due to lack of personal contact of South Koreans to North Koreans perception of North Koreans is constructed around association with the state. Thus, DPRK’s initiatives could be associated intentions and mood of people. As far as North Korean division lasts for more than 60 years it is obvious that during different periods of history, government of DPRK was taking different decisions and expressed different opinions. Moreover it is necessary to understand that South Korea also developed during history, thus it would fair to examine DPRK’s development and in the same time watch reaction of ROK. It is also important to understand that main topic of inter-Korean relations for almost whole history was the unification; at least it had been permanently declared by governments (Olsen, 2005: 159). Transitional period of establishment of divided Korean states which included Korean War 1950-1953 could be described as an open opposition of Koreans on the grounds of political belonging.

\textsuperscript{61} Democratic People's Republic of Korea
\textsuperscript{62} Republic of Korea
After the “end” of Korean War for nearly 20-years two Koreas (patronized by the USSR and the USA) seldom took talks about possible reunification where each party tried to demonstrate own vision of the problem (Kim, 2007: 71).

Since 1970s relations between Koreas became more intensive; in 1971 there were arranged and held seven talks on the basis of Red Cross led to creation of joint communiqué which contained three basic principles of unification, these principles were: “(1) unification achieved through independent efforts; (2) unification achieved through peaceful means; and (3) national unity sought by transcending differences in ideas, ideologies, and systems.” (Ibid.). Later in 1984-1986 these were upheld during talks which led to exchange of specialists within different humanitarian fields (Ibid.).

Another cycle of cooperation between Koreas took place in 1990s, and “was inspired in part by changes in global politics linked with the end of the Cold War, was more promising than the first two. It jump-started inter-Korean trade, eased the entry of the two Koreas into the UN as two separate but equal member states, and led to the drafting of two documents: the North–South Basic Agreement (officially known as “Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North”) and the “Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula”.” (Ibid., 71-72).

Beginning from 1998 South Korea started to implement Sunshine policy (introduced by new South Korean president Kim Dae Jung) towards North Korea, which led to increase of cooperation between two Koreas. Until March Berlin declaration in 2000 North Korea was trying to criticize South Korea on the ideological grounds but in the same time was trying to intake as much as possible different economic benefits from South Korea. Later in June 2000 Pyongyang made a huge step forward to the dialogue and held inter-Korean summit (Ibid., 72-73). Before 2001 relations of Koreas had more or less positive dynamics of development, but after George W. Bush was elected as president of the US, North Korea was claimed by the USA as part of “axis of evil” (Levin & Han, 2002: 120-121), political position of the US pressed on South Korean administration (Olsen, 2005: 160-161) and as a result crucial question for inner-Korean relations became a nuclear issue. Inner-Korean relations worsened more and more after different military incidents like missile tests and provocations by North Korea. So called “Sunshine policy”63 lasted until 2008, and despite economical achievement, like increase of trade (Kim, 2007: 77) and establishment of Keasong Industrial Complex64 (Kim & Kang, 2009: 161-

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63 Official South Korean policies towards North Korea oriented on betterment of relations
64 Kaesŏng Industrial Park is complex in North Korea which is being operated as a collaborative economic development with South Korea
163) the “Sunshine Policy” was acknowledged by South Korean government as failure (Narayana, 2010).

As a result of such instability in relations and periodical complications due to provocations attitude of South Korean towards North Korea changed very much. For example before inner-Korean summit in Pyongyang in 2000, most of population were expressing strong support of Sunshine policy, and as time has passed this support declined a lot (Levin & Han, 2002: 86), for example “shortly after the summit, according to a typical poll, only 4,6 percent of the general public said they viewed North Korea as an enemy. In contrast, nearly half (49.8 percent) saw the North as an equal cooperation partner to South Korea and another 44 percent said they considered North Korea a partner that South Koreans should help. By the end of January 2001, the numbers had changed significantly: Nearly five times as many respondents (22.1 percent) indicated they viewed North Korea as an enemy (an increase of 17.5 percent since the August poll). In contrast, the number of respondents who said they considered North Korea an equal cooperation partner to South Korea declined from 50 percent to 43.4 percent, while those who saw the North as a partner that South Korea should help decreased by 11.3 percent to 32.7 percent.”(Ibid., 105-106).

Another important issue is lack of common opinion among South Koreans on the question if in reunified Korea should be included aspects of North Korean Communist system (Ibid., 86). South Korean society is mainly divided into two points of view, some people believe that reunification should be based on South Korean model; some believe that it should include some aspects of communist system.

After abolishment of Sunshine policy there appeared and increased tendency in perception of unification by South Koreans which encloses opinion that reunification is an issue not of a paramount importance. Reunification can be postponed until better time (Lankov, 2011e). The surveys conducted in 2010 by East Asian Institute show that among South Koreans is getting more and more popular opinion that South Korea should stick to hard line policies towards North Korea (42.7% vs 55.2% who are favoring reconciliation and cooperation) and the aid should be minimized or abolished (56.9% vs 40.5% who are favoring increase or maintain of aid to North Korea) (Lee & Jeong, 2010: 6).

Survey which was taken in 2011 by The Asan Institute for Policy Studies showed that “the issue of reunification is an important one in South Korea. Nevertheless, the degree of interest in reunification is declining. About 30% of respondents expressed no interest in the issue of reunification. This suggests that the reunification agenda, relying on ethnic nationalism, has lost its importance in the recent past. The fact that South Koreans have much less brotherly sentiment toward North Koreans is also depicted in the survey results. Only 21% of South Koreans
perceive North Korea as one of “us” (That is, these respondents perceived North Korea and South Korea to share a deeper bond than just neighbors. They view the two nations as one ethnic group.), 26% perceive the North as a “neighbor”, and 22% perceive it as the “enemy”. This sentiment toward North Korea by the South Korean public is also reflected in the opinion of how reunification should take place. While 57.1% of the public believes that reunification should take place under the South’s system, as high as 41.5% believe that reunification should take place by creating a federation. This clearly hints at the fact that a considerable number of South Koreans do not object to the idea of co-existing as two separate polities.”(Kim & Friedhoff, 2011: 4-5).

It is also necessary to mention that authors of both surveys highlight importance of North Korean provocations and military accidents such as sinking of South Korean Cheonan ship in March of 201165, and bombardment of Yeonpyeong in November of 201066. These accidents worsened image of North Korea in South Korean vision.

Perceived:

Perception of North Koreans through the prism of DPRK is very diverse. First of all it is important to underline that South Koreans deal with very opposing terms towards North Korea; DPRK can be perceived in the same time as “enemy” or “cooperation partner”. Secondly, South Korean society is undecided if North Korean system is bad or good, and which system should be base for unification. Finally it is possible to indicate tendency to lowering of interest to North Korea among South Koreans. Declining interest of South Koreans in North could be explained by lack of interest among new generation (who was born after 1990), for whom North Korea is irrelevant and “it is just another country whose population happens to speak the same language” (Lankov, 2012b).

Defectors from North

Another source of how can South Koreans make their opinion of North Koreans is a meeting of a defectors from North Korea. For better understanding of the situation it is necessary to portray in brief history of migration of North Koreans to the South. Scholars define that mid-90s as the time when North Koreans defectors started to flee to South Korea massively. Before that time

65 On 26 March 2010, it broke in two and sank near the sea border with North Korea. An investigation conducted by an international team of experts from South Korea, United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and Sweden concluded that Cheonan was sunk by a torpedo launched by a North Korean Yeono class miniature submarine.
66 an artillery engagement between the North Korean military and South Korean forces stationed on Yeonpyeong Island on November 23, 2010
defectors were mostly highly ranked and came from privileged societies (Lankov, 2006:111), whereas from mid-90s far less privileged Koreans started to flee. Before 1994 average number of defectors who entered South Korea annually was about 6-9 persons per year, since 1994 this number started to grow, thus for example in 1994 there were 52 defectors, in 2000 – 312, in 2003 – 1,281, etc. (Ko, Chung & Oh, 2004: 69); as a result in 2011 about 21,000 of defectors were residing in ROK (Lankov, 2011f). Moreover it is also expected that about 2,500-3,000 of defectors will arrive annually (International Crisis Group, 2011:1).

All defectors who arrive to South Korea are supported by government, the receive subsidized place to live and governmental and non-governmental aid, in total it is “less than 1,000,000 won (about $1,066)” while average monthly income for South Korean is approximately 1,400,000 won (about 1,500 $) (Kim & Jang, 2007: 9). Total population of the ROK is more than 50 million people, so 20,000 of defectors from North is not that huge figure. But it is also necessary to remember that besides financial aid government of the ROK tries to urge integration of North Koreans in South Korean society. These efforts are implemented in a field of employment: government pays up to 500,000 won of month salary for the first year of employment and 700,000 for the second (International Crisis Group, 2011:15). Furthermore, government spent in 2008 more than $3.6 million for job training and in 2009 more than $3.7 million (Ibid.). In addition to it, ROK government provides different programs that can help North Korean to adapt, like classes of social sciences, English and Korean languages, or additional financial bonuses etc (Ibid., 22-23). But despite attempts of government’s attempts to integrate North Koreans, the rate of unemployment among defectors is quite high (Kim & Jang, 2007: 10).

**Image of defector**

In spite of number of North Korean defectors in South Korea is quite small with respect to population of the ROK there was created particular image of North Korean defector and it became a stereotype for South Koreans. South Koreans call North Korean defectors – saeteomin (which means new settlers) (Kim & Jang, 2007: 5).

According to surveys the biggest part of North Koreans fled to South Korea because of economic difficulties, and most of defectors found themselves satisfied with settlement in South Koreas (60% vs 6 % of unsatisfied), for all that most of defectors considered themselves as lower class (57%) or living in poverty (27%) (Ibid., 7-8).

The image of saeteomin is based mainly on the features which peculiar to this group. One of the main features is based on the fact that the unemployment among defectors in South Koreas is
very high. According to statistics the unemployment is about 20-45% while unemployment among South Koreans is about 3-4% (Ibid., 10). Furthermore it is necessary to notice that the main reason of unemployment among defectors is “their unwillingness to find work, particularly low-paying manufacturing jobs” (Ibid., 11), meanwhile it’s fair to highlight the fact that North Koreans are unable to take jobs which demand high-qualifications because academic and professional trainings received by defectors in the DPRK are useless and obsolete in the ROK due to technological underdevelopment of the North (Lankov, 2006: 122).

Cultural and linguistic barriers highlight differences between South Koreans and saeteomins. Due to globalization of South Korean economy language adopted many English words, while North Korean reformation of language led to adoption of Russian words and extermination of Sino-rooted words. As a result defectors find themselves in difficult position when they have to renovate mother-tongue in order to integrate, and until this renovation done South Koreans have problems in communication with Northerners (International Crisis Group, 2011:18), consequently Northerners have to chose jobs where they don’t need too much to communicate, for example, with South Korean clients (Kim & Jang, 2007: 13).

Another factor which contributes in creation of saeteomin image is the crime involvement. According to studies average rate of crime involvement of North Koreans is on the average higher than involvement of South Koreans (28 cases per 1000 persons vs 17 cases per 1000 persons), on the other hand “21.5 percent of saeteomin have been subjected to fraud by South Koreans. This fraud rate is forty-three times higher than the South Korean average (0.5 percent)” (Ibid., 20).

As it is reported by official sources more and more children arrive to South as defectors, as a result they enroll schools, and statistics about children’s achievements in schools are quite aggrieving. In comparison to South Korean pupils, drop-out of pupils who came from DPRK is higher (in 2003 and 04 it was 14%, 12% in 2006, 18% in 2007, 11% in 2008, 9% in 2009, while average drop-out rate for South Korean students is 2%) (International Crisis Group, 2011:22). Government provides financial aid for North Korean defectors who enroll universities, but the problem is that families of defectors are not ready to hire private tutors for child, while these tutors are necessary for gaining a place in the university, because South Korean public school education system doesn’t cover entire education (International Crisis Group, 2011:22). As a result defectors don’t go to universities; don’t gain networks, which are essential in receiving job places (Lankov, 2006: 122).

In addition to aspects that contribute in creation of saeteomin image there is one more aspect. One of the stereotypes is that North Korean defectors are “heavy drinkers”, however defectors

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67 South Korean language contains many words and number of characters that originally came from China
are complaining that South Korean have such stereotype about defectors some studies showed that more than half of North Korean male defectors and quarter of North Korean female defectors experience dependency on alcohol (International Crisis Group, 2011:20).

Perceived:

By accumulation different aspects that describe situation of saeteomins I can delineate main features of saeteomin’s image. First of all defectors are seen like “lazy” and “uneducated/undereducated” (because of attitude to work and skills). Secondly, socialistic past left a trace in North Korean consciousness in a sense that North Korean tend to work as a collective and not on the individualistic basis. Consequently, South Koreans see them as “passive” (International Crisis Group, 2011:16) and “socialists who are dependent” (Suh, 2002: 81). Thirdly, involvement of saeteomins in crime adds feature of mistrust. Furthermore, image of “undereducated” saeteomins is promoted by problems of children of defectors in gaining higher education. In addition to it defector children often face difficulties in integration at school, and as a result they “respond with outbursts or violence. This reinforces South Korean stereotypes that defectors are irrational, untrustworthy or violent” (International Crisis Group, 2011:21).

So if we gather all pieces of puzzle, South Koreans endow saeteomins with such features as 1) passiveness, 2) lack of education, 3) laziness, 4) dependency, 5) lack of individualism, 6) untrustworthiness, and 7) alcoholism.

How do defectors perceive themselves?

Studies which examined problems of adaptation of defectors from North Korea showed number of interesting results which could shed a light on complicated situation with perception of North Koreans. First of all scholars highlight suspiciousness of North Korean defectors which sometimes hampers relations with other North Korean defectors (there is a fear that someone could an agent from DPRK), in addition to it defectors believe that cultural differences, low economic status, and lack of assurance that they will be accepted impede relations with South Koreans. As a result two thirds of defectors recognize themselves as lonesome. Furthermore, most of North Korean defectors who were offered to join sponsors’ family didn’t accept this offer because of different reasons, and this fact definitely complicates process of integration into South Korean society (Jeon, 2000: 365).

According to defectors the different way of thinking is also a problem for adaptation: for example, they have different perception of money and they don’t want to become “slave to
money” (Ibid., 366), also they have difficulties with perception of different opinions because consciousness shaping in DPRK make them look at “any compromise as an act of cowardice” (Ibid.).

Finally North Korean defectors stated that one of the biggest hinder for adaptation is that South Koreans have prejudices about North Koreans. It is interesting that saeteomins stressed attention on that South Koreans despise them because they (who defected alone) abandoned own families and “will not pay much attention to their family” (Ibid.). Another prejudice that defectors believe South Koreans have against them is that those who defected should be extremely anti-communist or extremely communist (Ibid., 367). Few more prejudices concern that North Koreans have “high aptitude for collective behaviour” (Ibid.). Also it is believed by defectors that South Koreans see them as those who have lack of education or skills and as a result totally dependent on sponsors support (Ibid.). However in the same time defectors believe that South Koreans have too high expectations about defectors’ abilities to adapt because they belong to same ethnic group and have common language (Ibid.).

On the basis of this research it would be fair to say that defectors perceive themselves on the one hand as victims who needs help for easier adaptation, but on the other hand they state that they came to ROK68 in order to make money (Kim & Jang, 2007: 8).

On the basis of interviews (14 respondents)

According to results of interviews image of DPRK69 among respondents is quite solid and defined. Besides the fact that majority of respondents associate country with communism70, furthermore other popular associations are mostly negative like “aggressive”, “militant”, “poor”, “backward”, “distrustful”, “problematic” etc. Quite small number of respondents associated DPRK with positive words (only one respondent believes that DPRK is “friendly”, “good”, “rich”, “kind”, “cooperative”).

Concerning the image of North Koreans it is necessary to underline that only half of respondents associate North Koreans with Communism, and such associations like “militant” and “aggressive” are not very popular (1 and 2 respectively while 5 of 14 respondents associated DPRK with these two words). But nevertheless it is necessary to notice that majority of respondents associate North Koreans with word “poor”71. Also North Koreans are associated

\[^{68}\text{ROK – Republic of Korea, South Korea}\]
\[^{69}\text{Democratic People’s Republic of Korea}\]
\[^{70}\text{10 of 14}\]
\[^{71}\text{11 of 14}\]
with such negative words like “weak”\(^{72}\), “backward”\(^{73}\), “unhappy”\(^{74}\), “undereducated”\(^{75}\). One of
the most popular positive association is “hard-working” (4 of 14 respondents chose it).

Concerning the image of Saeteomin it is interesting that major results are very similar to results
of previous question, and main differences concern the less respondents associate Sateomins
with Communism (7 vs 5), less respondents associate Saeteomins with “unhappy” (5 vs 3), less
respondents associate Saeteomin with “backward” (4 vs 2), but in the same time half of
respondents associate Saeteomins with “undereducated” (the same number with North Koreans),
only one respondent associate Saeteomins with “hard-working” (while 4 respondents associated
North Koreans with “hard-working” (1 vs 4). In addition to it I would like to mention that
according to statistics North Koreans are more associated with “selfish”, “disciplined”, “sober”,
“corrupted”, “average”, “good” than Saeteomins, while Saeteomins are more associated with
“individualist”, “problematic”, “strange” and “criminal”.

\textit{Perceived}

On the basis of analysis of statistics I would like to highlight that results of interviews partly
complement to findings that were received through analysis of previously done researches.
On the one hand North Koreans and Saeteomins are associated with the state of DPRK, and it
leads to presence of some negative associations towards them, but on the other hand North
Koreans are seen more as victims that need help because they are poor, weak, unhappy and
undereducated like Saeteomins. Furthermore, quite high number of those who cannot say if
stereotypes are justified demonstrates that South Koreans have doubts about stereotypes that
are popularized by media. According to results of interviews it is probably fair to say that
North Koreans are mostly seen by South Koreans as distinct group of people and some
stereotypes are justified and some are not, but nevertheless it necessary to understand that
media played huge role in creation of images of North Koreans/Saeteomins.

\textbf{How do these stereotypes become apparent in relations?}

Perception of North Koreans by South Koreans in a specific way leads to particular relations.
Today there are number of studies which demonstrate specific attitude of South Koreans towards
North Koreans in fields like employment and marriage.

\(^{72}\) 8 of 14  
\(^{73}\) 4 of 14  
\(^{74}\) 5 of 14  
\(^{75}\) 7 of 14
According to studies South Koreans recognized that marriage of saeteomin with South Korean would promote integration of North Koreans, however, only 24% of South Koreans said that marriage of them or their children to North Koreans would be possible. As a result of perception the marriage between South Koreans and saeteomins is not very practical (Kim & Jang, 2007: 20) due to cultural differences, and consequently saeteomins prefer to marry saeteomins76 (Suh, 2002: 81).

Another important area of relations is employment. As it was stated by officials in January of 2011 the unemployment rate among defectors was about 50% (International Crisis Group, 2011:14). There’re could be announced number of reasons of such high unemployment rate: first of all the South Korean society prone to clannish (Ibid., 12) and distribution of jobs first of all is processed via systems of informal connections (alumni connections and regional connections), as a result North Koreans became excluded (Lankov, 2006:123). Second reason of unemployment is that North Koreans qualifications gained in universities are insufficient and useless in South Korea (Kim & Jang, 2007: 12; Lankov, 2006: 123). As a result most of North Korean defectors are offered 3-D jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult), but North Koreans who prefer white-collar jobs try to shun 3-D jobs or try to quit them on impulse – this is a one more reason of unemployment (Suh, 2002: 76). Reason of unemployment number four is that some North Koreans are afraid of lose class I medical assistance from the ROK. Medical assistance of this class covers almost all occasions (International Crisis Group, 2011:14). However, studies which analyzed opinions of saeteomins on reasons of difficulties in finding jobs found out that more than half of North Korean defectors claimed that South Korean prejudices about defectors were the reason of unemployment, and moreover it was also found that “that there are numerous cases where South Korean employers simply do not hire North Korean defectors” (Kim & Jang, 2007: 13).

Outcome

As we can see from the studies relations between North Koreans and South Koreans are complicated, this reflects on how South Koreans perceive North Koreans. Perception of North Koreans by South Koreans is ambiguous. Perception stems from two sources: first one is how North Koreans are perceived through the prism of DPRK (i.e. how South Koreans perceive North Koreans that live in DPRK), and the second one it how South Koreans perceive North

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76 It is highlighted in the study that women from North Korea can adapt to South Korean society easier, than male saeteomins; this happens also with a help of marriages, women reported that they married in order to survive. Some women during their travel to South Korea (usually) via China declared that they married once, twice or even thrice (International Crisis Group, 2011:20).
Koreans that escaped from DPRK and settled in South Korea. So from the one standpoint of view South Korea provides DPRK with aid, and this is seen by South Koreans as necessary thing to do. This fact could be interpreted that South Koreans see North Koreans as people who are of the same or related kinship and who became victims of obstacles mainly that occurred due to political regime in DPRK. Consequently via inter-governmental level (inner-Korean relations) North Koreans are treated like those who need support and who need to be taught in order to overcome for example technological backwardness. But in the same time such kind of treatment is complicated by the fact that this inter-governmental level demands from South Korea recognize North Koreans as equal counterparties, and South Korean official standpoint cannot afford to define all citizens of DPRK as victims of the regime. As a result South Koreans are made to see North Koreans more as formal cooperators.

Another source for shaping of stereotypes is “saeteomins”. From this dimension we can say that North Koreans are considered as victims, they receive medical help, financial help, assistance in education and settling. But this support again is provided through government. Saeteomins perceived in a different way by South Koreans in everyday life. This perception emanates from the personal interactions of North Koreans and South Koreans. But it is necessary to highlight that many South Koreans have never met North Koreans but the image of saeteomins and beliefs about them are popularized via media (this image for some South Koreans is questionable). So the image of saeteomin which was cultivated by media is quite negative and saeteomins are perceived as lazy, passive, heavy-drinking, untrustworthy, undereducated, capable for 3-D works, dangerous. Consequently on the one hand saeteomins are patronized but on the other hand they are not very welcome in the society where many aspects are regulated and determined by origin and networks. As a result they are treated in a very complex way when saeteomins declare that they feel themselves as underclass citizens while South Koreans don’t intend to make saeteomins feel so.
Final Discussion

This research is based on two theories. First one is the constructivist approach of Cornell and Hartmann which allows understanding of ways of ethnicity construction and allows understanding of constructivist, pirmordialist and circumstantialist factors that played role in creation of North Korean and East German identities. Stereotype theory allows us understanding of stereotypes which occurred in West Germany and South Korea about their counterparts. As a result it is possible to see how mind shapes of North Koreans and East Germans are/were constructed and how this mind shapes affected West German and South Korean stereotypes about East Germans and North Koreans, respectively.

Historical process led to number of factors which influenced on division of countries and which predetermined countries’ development for decades. Domination of Soviet Union and the United States of America on international area during Cold War promoted particular processes within Koreas and Germanies. As far as struggle between the USSR and the USA was also a struggle of ideologies, it influenced on Koreas’ and Germanies’ decisions about copying ideologies and governing systems. German Democratic Republic and Democratic People’s Republic of Korea copied, implemented and developed Soviet’s governing system and ideology. These two countries became socialist/communist, while Federal Republic of Germany and Republic of Korea inherited from the US capitalist models of development. GDR and DPRK were opposing FRG and ROK, respectively due to ideological concurrence. This situation led to necessity for GDR\(^77\) and DPRK\(^78\) to create ideologically correct socialist men and women (Grix & Cooke, 2002:17).

Governing system of GDR and DPRK was copied from USSR\(^79\), as a result instruments which were used in order to create these socialist citizens were also copied. Education, censorship, penalties, historical interpretations and other instruments were used by ruling parties of GDR and DPRK in order to shape consciousness of own citizens. SED\(^80\) and WPK\(^81\) promoted socialist image and socialist values among citizens of German Democratic Republic and Democratic People’s Republic of Korea respectively. Comparison of socialist conscious shapings allows to state that systems were very similar, and effects which occurred due to conscious shaping were in general similar in two countries. But nevertheless it is necessary to highlight that these countries experienced couple of different historical conditions (like DPRK’s political balance

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\(^{77}\) German Democratic Republic  
\(^{78}\) Democratic People’s Republic of Korea  
\(^{79}\) Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
\(^{80}\) The Socialist Unity Party of Germany  
\(^{81}\) Worker’s Party of Korea
between China and Soviet Union; special policy towards East Germany by Willy Brande who was a Chancellor of West Germany; time of existence of countries), ideologies also developed during time (today DPRK has Juche as a state ideology), efficiency of implemented measures to shape conscious also differed in East Germany and North Korea (for example penalties and censorship in North Korean were harder than in East Germany).

Conscious shaping led to the situation when citizens of East Germany and North Korea were made to think in a socialist way, citizens of these republics had different values in comparison to representatives of West Germany and South Korea. Socialist way of thinking led to special models of behavior.

After unification of Germany West Germans and former East German citizens found that their values differ, their perception of everyday life differ, they act and behave differently. This situation led to creation, establishment and popularization of stereotypes about each other (West Germans about East Germans, and East Germans about West Germans). In this research West German stereotypes about East Germans are analyzed. On the basis of done research it’s seems relevant to state that West German stereotype about East Germans is quite complicated. It is complicated because of number of reasons: first of all, today’s image of East German among West Germans is ambiguous (one hand East Germans can be seen as victims of the socialist regime, on the other hand East Germans can be seen as ungrateful and complaining citizens, or as socialist-minded “Ossis”); secondly, it is necessary to understand that after 20 years since reunification of Germany many stereotypes became less justified (if they were), and as West Germans indicated only part of stereotypes are justified; thirdly, it is also believed by West Germans that problems which occur due to stereotypes (prejudices for example) are consequences of East Germans’ self-representation and self-perception for example as “second-class citizens”. Nevertheless, it is fair to state that today’s image of East German contains features that can be seen as “socialist legacy” (for example East Germans can be seen as poor, because they are victims of socialist regime, or they can be seen as passive and collectivist because during GDR existence they were taught to be so, and not to be individualistic), some features can be seen as consequences/reactions on West German integration policies towards East Germans during unification and post-unification period (for example feature “complaining” was chosen by West Germans as a description of East Germans, because East Germans’ attitude towards integration policies of the government). Another important aspect of stereotype’s creation is the role of media: media played huge role in creation, establishment and popularization of stereotype among West Germans, thus many West Germans made their impression about East Germans on the basis of media materials and not on the basis of own experience of communication.
Stereotypes about North Koreans are also complicated thing to discuss. On the basis of the research it is reasonable to state that South Korean image of North Koreans also contains number different features. These features can be linked to North Koreans’ relation to Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (like “communist” because of the regime of the state, or “undereducated” because of belief that North Korean education level is much lower than South Korean), furthermore by certain degree North Koreans are seen as victims of the regime. On the other hand there is tendency according to which North Koreans are associated with saeteomins’ activities and deeds (for example some part of South Koreans associates saeteomins with “crime”). Important aspect that should be highlighted is the role of media in creation of image of North Koreans: as far as quantity of saeteomins in South Korea is quite small (approx. 25.000 in 50 million South Korea), an opportunity to meet North Korean is minimal, thus media (first of all TV and Internet) has a monopoly in this field – it’s fair to say that most of South Korean stereotypes about North Koreans are based on information which was received via media. As a result of such situation some part of South Koreans has doubts about correctness of stereotypes and if stereotypes are justified.

If we compare existing stereotypes about East Germans and North Koreans we will be able to find out number of similarities and differences. On the basis of the research it is reasonable to say that stereotypes about East Germans and stereotypes about North Koreans have similar features. These similar features are by certain degree related to the belonging of East Germans and North Koreans to socialist/communist states. West Germans and South Koreans, who live their lives in capitalist states, are used to associate East Germans and North Koreans with the GDR and DPRK, respectively. Some of associations for East Germans and North Koreans are related to the West Germans’ and South Koreans’ perception of the socialist states. As result East Germans and North Koreans can be seen as victims. Another number of associations towards these two groups are based on their behavior/reflections towards integration programmes implemented by Federal Republic of Germany and Republic of South Korea. These programmes, for example, are oriented on overcoming of lacks of education or difficulties with adaptation to new lifestyles. So these programmes are dealing with “socialist way of thinking” which was inherited by East Germans and North Koreans (saeteomins) from their past lives in socialist states.

Differences between perceptions of North Koreans by South Koreans and of East Germans by West Germans can be reasoned by number of factors. First of all it is necessary to remember that there were differences in development of DPRK and GDR (North Korea still exists while GDR doesn’t exist anymore; North Korea and South Korea fought against each other in a war while GDR and FRG didn’t fight). Secondly, it is necessary to understand efficacy of conscious
shaping measures of GDR and DPRK was different and lasted for different period of time. Thirdly, after more than 20 years since reunification of Germany stereotypes about East Germans could change (there appeared new features, interpretation of belonging to East Germany could change), while South Korean stereotypes about North Koreans could develop in a particular way, for example, because of isolationist policies of DPRK (it is hard to meet North Korean in South Korea, and main source of information is media).

Results of the research allows to state that people of South Korea and West Germany understand that they belong to the same nation with North Koreans and East Germans respectively, but in the same time there exists a difference, mainly in consciousness/in a way of thinking. This research could be a good illustration for a constructivist approach which mainly states that ethnicity could be constructed.

This research opens door for further researches in this field. First of all, this research could be supported by researches which could be based on in-depth interviews and maybe some interesting details could be found. Furthermore it would be interesting to find researches which will describe and compare North Korean stereotypes about South Koreans and East German stereotypes about West Germans. Finally there is a huge room for research of stereotypes which occur due to socialist conscious shaping (for example American stereotypes about Russians or Russian immigrants, or Romanian stereotypes about Moldovans or Transnistrians), in addition to it there could be done research which will analyze stereotypes of North Vietnamese about South Vietnamese and South Vietnamese about North Vietnamese.
Appendix 1. Map of Europe (Burns, 2012)
Appendix 2. Divided Germany map (Burns, 2012)
Appendix 3. Divided Korea map (Burns, 2012)

Appendix 4: Questionnaire for West Germans

Age:
Please indicate your age
16-20
21-25
26-30
31-40
41-50
50+

Sex:
Please indicate your gender
Female
Male

Education:
Please indicate your level of education
High school
University (bachelor, master, magister or equivalent)
Post-graduate (doctor, Ph.D., post-doc or equivalent)

Sample Question 1. Associations:
Among listed words, please, choose words which you associate with German Democratic Republic more (Please choose 3-5 words)

Sample Question 2. Associations:
Among listed words, please, choose words which you associate with East Germans more than others (Please choose 5-8 variants)

Sample Question 3. Associations:
Among listed words, please, choose words which you associate with the notion "Ossi" more than others (Please choose 5-8 variants)

Sample Question 4. Sources:
Please indicate 1-3 main ways of getting information about East Germans which you use
TV
Radio
Internet
Newspapers
Meeting in person with East Germans
Books
Lectures
Talks with colleagues, family members, friends
Other: write down your own answer

Sample Question 5. Notions:
Please choose continuation of the phrase "East German and Ossi are synonymous notions"
have different meanings"
are two different names for one group of people"
Other: *write down your own answer*

**Sample Question 6. Recognition:**
Please choose continuation of the phrase "I can recognize that person is from East Germany by
person's accent/dialect"
specific lexicon that person uses"
person's physical/facial features"
special temperamental features"
special behavioural features"
person's dressing"
not aplicable/can't say
Other: *write down your own answer*

**Sample Question 7. Stereotypes:**
Please indicate how justified are stereotypes about East Germans
They are justified
They are not justified
They are partly justified
I don't know
Other: *write down your own answer*

**Sample Question 8. Comments:**
If you want to leave any comments concerning questionnaire you can do it here
Appendix 5: Questionnaire for South Koreans

Age:
Please indicate your age
16-20
21-25
26-30
31-40
41-50
50+

Sex:
Please indicate your gender
Female
Male

Education:
Please indicate your level of education
High school
University (bachelor, master, magister or equivalent)
Post-graduate (doctor, Ph.D., post-doc or equivalent)

Sample Question 1. Associations:
Among listed words, please, choose words which you associate with Democratic People’s Republic of Korea more (Please choose 3-5 words)

Sample Question 2. Associations:
Among listed words, please, choose words which you associate with North Koreans more than others (Please choose 5-8 variants)
Sample Question 3. Associations:
Among listed words, please, choose words which you associate with Saeteomin (새터민, lit. "people of new land") more than others (Please choose 5-8 variants)

Sample Question 4. Sources:
Please indicate 1-3 main ways that you use to get information about North Koreans and Saeteomins (새터민, lit. "people of new land")
TV
Radio
Internet
Newspapers
Meeting in person with East Germans
Books
Lectures
Talks with colleagues, family members, friends
Other: write down your own answer

Sample Question 5. Recognition:
Please choose continuation of the phrase "I can recognize that person is from North Korea by\nperson's accent/dialect"\nspecific lexicon that person uses"\nperson's physical/facial features"\nspecial temperamental features"\nspecial behavioural features"\nperson's dressing"\nnot applicable/can't say\nOther: write down your own answer

Sample Question 6. Stereotypes:
Please indicate how justified are stereotypes about North Koreans
They are justified
They are not justified
They are partly justified
I don't know
Other: write down your own answer

Sample Question 7. Stereotypes:
Please indicate how justified are stereotypes about Saeteoms (새터민, lit. "people of new land")
They are justified
They are not justified
They are partly justified
I don't know
Other: write down your own answer

Sample Question 8. Comments:
If you want to leave any comments concerning questionnaire you can do it here
References


