

A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY ON THE ROLE OF JUCHE, MILITARISM, AND
HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE EDUCATIONAL LIFE EXPERIENCES OF NORTH KOREAN
DEFECTORS

by

Andrea Rakushin Lee

Liberty University

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Education

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ABSTRACT

This transcendental phenomenological study describes the essence of the premigration, transmigration, and postmigration educational life experiences of 15 North Korean defectors in South Korea in light of their exposure to Juche, militarism, and human rights violations. The literature review includes a theoretical framework rooted in the transformative learning theory and pertinent themes related to the educational experiences of North Korean defectors. Data was collected through a demographic survey; a timeline of primary life events; standardized, open-ended interviews; and journal entries. The central research question examined primary themes from the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. Data analysis procedures included finding significant statements, synthesizing a field journal, and creating textural and structural descriptions which led to the essence of the overall experience. Premigration themes that emerged include the importance of social status, poverty and extreme hardship, Kim family indoctrination, regular participation in saenghwal chonghwa, a variety of behaviors and interactions in the classroom, the importance of Juche and militarism, and unbalanced education. Transmigration themes primarily center on a lack of education. Postmigration themes predominately highlight adaptation problems and the participants' present views of Juche, militarism, and human rights. Finally, future themes include education as a key to success and reunification dreams.

Keywords: North Korean defectors, North Korean refugees, Juche, militarism, human rights, modern underground railroad

Dedication

This study is dedicated to the people of North Korea. I genuinely hope that all North Korean people will one day soon experience freedom and be given an education that is based on the truth and promotes personal development and success. I feel blessed to have heard the inspirational stories of hope and perseverance of many North Korean defectors. Viktor Frankl (2006) clearly articulated the power of humans to overcome adversity when he stated,

We must never forget that we may also find meaning in life even when confronted with a hopeless situation, when facing a fate that cannot be changed. For what then matters is which is to transform a personal tragedy into triumph, to turn one's predicament into a human achievement. (p. 112)

The testimonies of North Korean people need to be shared with the world. I am grateful that I had the opportunity to be in their presence and to learn from them. They are my teachers and will forever hold a special place in my heart. I am also profoundly inspired by the heroes of the modern underground railroad who have risked their lives to save North Korean refugees. Finally, I gained a lot of insight from passionate and dedicated unsung heroes around the world who champion human rights and have devoted so much time and energy to this cause.

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List of Abbreviations

Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS)

Korean (North Korean) Worker's Party (KWP)

National Intelligence Service (NIS)

North Korean Intellectuals Solidarity (NKIS)

People for Successful Corean Reunification (PSCORE)

Korean Language

There are only 270 Korean surnames (Breen, 2012). The surname Kim, Lee, and Park represent approximately 40% of the South Korean population (Oberdorfer, 2001). In addition, 25% of Koreans have the surname Kim, and another 25% have the surname Lee, Park, Choi, or Chung (Breen, 2012). I have used initials of first and middle names in citations to prevent confusion of authors who have the same surname. Some authors have the same surname and first initial. In these cases, the authors' full names are written (with the Korean surname listed last in the westernized form).

Koreans write their surname first. References made to Koreans are listed with the surname first (e.g. Kim Il Sung), with the exception of citations which include authors with the same surname and first initial as mentioned above. For example, Kim is the surname, and Il Sung is the given name. There are also many variations in the spelling of Korean words in North and South Korea. Hyphenations of two syllable, given names is common in South Korea but not North Korea. North Korea officially uses a version of the McCune-Reischauer System. The Revised Romanization System is more common in South Korea.

Using a uniform system of spelling for all Korean words or names may flow better and have more visual appeal; however, using the common spelling of words is more practical for future literature reviews. Authors' names are spelled according to what is listed on the publication. There may be variations in the spelling of Korean names (e.g. Park, Pak, Paik, and Baek are all the same last name in the Korean language), and some authors hyphenate their names (e. g. Minsoo, Minsu, Min-soo, Min-Soo, Min-Su, or Min-su).

I respect the authors' choice of how they spell their names. Korean words or names used in direct quotes may not follow the same spelling standard used throughout the study. The use of

terms related to North Koreans also differs across studies. The term “North Korean refugee” is sometimes used in studies to describe North Korean defectors in South Korea. Furthermore, Korean terms such as *saetomin* and *talbukja* are occasionally used in English studies.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

North Korea is regarded as one of the most oppressive and isolated countries in the world. It is commonly accepted that brainwashing and excessive propaganda techniques are used to control the North Korean people (Gause, 2011; Kang, D., 2012; Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012; Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010). Many of the people are known to believe the exaggerated stories and lies of the regime (Lee, S. O., 1999). However, there is also normalcy in the daily lives of North Koreans. According to Lankov (2013), a Russian who studied in North Korea during the 1980s and an expert on North Korea, “People in Kim Il Sung’s North Korea were mainly concerned about much the same things people in other societies focused on” (p. 62). In addition, Myers (2011) stated that the propaganda is “not nearly as outlandish as the uninitiated think” (p. 7). North Korean defectors provide a significant amount of insight into the realities of North Korean life.

The division of Korea at the end of World War II resulted in the creation of two vastly different countries. North Korea developed into a communist country that heavily advocated collectivism. It is also a far-right state that encourages excessive nationalism (Myers, 2011). According to Myers (2011), “The worst thing would be for the outside world to continue misperceiving North Korea as a failed communist state that will become less confrontational as its economy liberalizes” (p. 21). North Korea established different practices and policies throughout its history including a system of national self-reliance called *Juche* and a military-first policy known as *Songun* which still play a vital role in society. Furthermore, the North Korean people experience a wide range of human rights violations and economic deprivations on a regular basis (Kang, D., 2012).

South Korea became a capitalist, competitive nation that has transformed rapidly into a global leader. From the end of the Korean War in 1953 until the early 1990s, there were fewer than 10 defections per year in both North and South Korea (Breen, 1998). Since the early 1990s, which also marked the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the number of North Koreans who have defected to South Korea has significantly increased (Breen, 1998; Lankov, 2006; Park, H. S., 2003). Beginning in 1998, there was a more steady flow of North Korean defectors entering South Korea (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). Approximately 3,000 North Korean defectors arrive in South Korea on an annual basis (Williamson, 2011). As of late 2013, the number of North Korean defectors in South Korea had surpassed 26,000 (“N. Korean Defectors Jobless Rate,” 2014). This study will examine the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors who live in South Korea.

Background

North Korean citizens learn about the outside world from information that seeps into the country (Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010). The vast majority of North Korean defectors begin their odyssey on the modern “underground railroad.” This term was first used in the late 1990s to describe the work of Christian missionaries assisting North Korean refugees in China (Olasky, 2012). It is similar to the Underground Railroad of the United States during the antebellum period (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The modern underground railroad includes secret operations, safe houses, and is operated by humanitarian organizations, religious groups, and brokers (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Activists of the modern underground railroad consider their cause to be just as significant as the antebellum Underground Railroad (Powell, 2006). Some critics have argued that stories about the modern underground railroad have been exaggerated to promote an agenda

or to gain publicity. Myers (2011) believes that half of North Korean migrants in China return to North Korea. However, even if many North Korean refugees or “migrants” return to North Korea, there are also thousands who go to South Korea and other free countries. The modern underground railroad provides a passageway to a new life.

The modern underground railroad begins on the 1,416 km border of North Korea and China (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The most commonly transited countries on the modern underground railroad include China, Mongolia, Thailand, Myanmar, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (Mike Kim, 2008; Kirkpatrick, 2012; Park, K. A., 2010). China is a transit country for some North Korean refugees, but many live in China indefinitely or until they are caught (Kirkpatrick, 2012). North Korean refugees in China try to hide or blend into the local population to prevent *refoulement* (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, its 1967 Protocol, and Article 3 of the 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, define *refoulement* as the repatriation of refugees to their home country or a hostile or threatening environment.

In China, North Korean refugees are frequently reminded of the reality of repatriation, which can result in torture, execution, or a brutal sentence in a prison camp (Chan & Schloenhardt, 2007). As a result, they hide and secretly move to avoid unwanted attention or arrest (Park, J. U., 2012). North Korean refugees on the modern underground railroad quickly become immersed in a dangerous life of uncertainties and challenges (Chan & Schloenhardt, 2007). Some decide to live in China despite dangers and threats (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

North Korean refugees are sometimes able to gain asylum from the South Korean government through embassies and consulates on the modern underground railroad. South Korea does not actively encourage the defection of North Koreans (Demick, 2010). However,

the South Korean government assists defectors and grants them citizenship and other benefits (Song, G. H., 2012, Tanaka, 2008). The integration process into South Korean society is full of many new challenges and obstacles (Chung, B. H., 2009; Chung, S., & Seo, 2007; Fuqua, 2011; Kim, H. K., & Lee, O. J., 2009; Lee, C. K., 2012). According to Sheena Choi (2011), “In spite of 1,500 years of history as a unified country, shared ethnicity, language, and culture, sixty years of living apart in a different political and economic system has created a gulf between the two Koreas” (p. 51). The two Koreas have developed vastly dissimilar social systems, and the people lead exceedingly disparate lifestyles (Min, S. K., 2008). In addition, both countries have used education to promote their own ideologies and value systems and deny the legitimacy of the other’s (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). According to Fuqua (2011), “Education is the foundation for assimilation of North Korean youth into the South Korean educational system and ultimately its labor force” (p. 79). North Korean defectors are not prepared to properly assimilate into South Korean society (Fuqua, 2011).

On the Underground Railroad in American history, Harriet Tubman stated, “I was free; but there was no one to welcome me to the land of freedom. I was a stranger in a strange land” (as cited in Moses, 1869, para. 6). North Korean defectors must transition from an isolated, nationalistic, communist system to South Korean society which praises ultracompetitiveness, globalization, and technological advancements. They are surprised by the modernization and wealth of South Korea (Min, S. K., 2008). According to Fuqua (2011), North Korea is “a displaced enigma time-warped from another decade into the contemporary global community of nations” (p. 5). In addition, North Korean defectors often experience a wide range of physical and psychological complications in South Korea (Choi, S. K., Park, S. M., & Joung, 2010; Lee, C. K., 2012; Lee, Y. H., et al., 2012). They frequently deal with issues related to jobs, education,

crime, and social adjustment during their initial transition into South Korean society and throughout their lives (Lankov, 2006).

For many North Koreans, their optimism and determination to thrive in South Korea is ephemeral. Moreover, South Koreans do not always welcome North Koreans into society (Suh, J. J., 2002), and government policies are sometimes problematic (Bidet, 2009). Social inclusion of North Korean defectors in South Korean society is imperative for health improvement and better integration (Park, K., Cho, Y., & Yoon, I. J., 2009), but it may be difficult if South Korean society is inhospitable and uninviting.

Definitions

Premigration

Premigration is defined as life in North Korea. During premigration, the specific term used to define participants is “North Korean citizen.”

Transmigration

Transmigration is the period when North Korean refugees are on the modern underground railroad. During transmigration, the specific term used to describe participants is “North Korean refugee.” The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defines refugees as any person who,

owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. (para. 11)

South Korea and China (as well as Cambodia, which is a nation on the modern underground railroad) are parties to the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol; however, North Korea and

several countries on the modern underground railroad including Laos, Vietnam, Myanmar, Thailand, and Mongolia are not (Margesson, Chanlett-Avery, & Bruno, 2007). It is important to stress that China repatriates North Korean refugees, and Thailand and Mongolia play an important role in protecting North Korean refugees and allowing them safe transfer to South Korea.

North Korean refugees could also be defined as refugees *sur place* (Cohen, 2012). Refugees *sur place* are people who have left their country and obtain refugee status because of the potential for persecution if they return to their country of origin (Human Rights Watch, 2002). If North Korean refugees return to their home country, they will likely be persecuted (Cohen, 2012).

Postmigration

Postmigration is the period when North Korean defectors enter South Korea. During postmigration, the specific term used to describe participants is “North Korean defector.” Other English and Korean words can be used to describe the participants but the term “North Korean defector” is frequently used in research studies, the media, and other sources. The term defector was first used after World War II to identify former Soviet soldiers who lived in the West (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Based on this definition of defector, it is not the most appropriate word to describe North Koreans who have fled their country (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Many North Korean “defectors” in South Korea do not like to be identified by the Korean terms which translate to defector or escapee (Kim, Y. Y., 2009). However, the term defector is commonly used to identify North Koreans living in South Korea and will be used in this study for consistency in future literature reviews. There are other Korean words used to identify North Koreans living in South Korea that are presently used or were used in the past. The South Korean terms include

saeteomin (“those who settle in a new place”), *wollamja* (“those who came to South Korea”), *kwisunja* (“defectors”), *kwisunyongsa* (“defecting heroes”), *bukhan it'al chumin* (“people or residents from North Korea”), *kwisunpukhantongp'o* (“brothers of the same ethnicity from North Korea” or “defected North Korean brethren”), and talbukja (defectors, people who fled the North, or “escapee”; Kim, Y. Y., 2009, p. 7; Lee, H. J., 2012, p. 82).

General Term

The term “North Koreans” will be used to generally define North Korean citizens, refugees, or defectors during any period of migration.

Situation to Self

I currently live in the United States, and I lived in South Korea for 6 years (2006-2012). My husband spent most of his life in South Korea. My husband majored in educational pedagogy and North Korean studies in South Korea. In my Master of Public Administration program (2005-2006), I became interested in American and North Korean relations.

Since 2006, I have learned more about the challenges of North Korean defectors in South Korea. In 2008, I went to the Koryo Tours office and museum in Beijing, China and learned more about North Korean historiography for classes in my Master of Arts in History program. I also traveled to Kaesong, North Korea the same year. Since 1953, fewer than 2,500 American citizens have visited North Korea (Anderson, 2010). However, since 2010 there have been fewer travel restrictions for Americans (Anderson, 2010). There are also more cultural programs and tours open to Americans. Even though I was on a strictly controlled tour with North Korean “mindes,” I got to see many aspects of society.

In 2010, I became inspired by a North Korean defector who was in one of my English language classes. He taught me about many characteristics of North Korean life and the modern

underground railroad. At that time, I also became more actively involved in volunteer work. Since 2010, I have contacted NGO officials, North Korean defectors, South Korean citizens, experts on North Korea, and North Korean defectors for advice and guidance about my research interests and volunteer projects. I have also attended human rights conferences, organized forums and events to raise awareness of the plight of North Koreans, and have written letters to government officials urging their support in protecting North Korean refugees in China. In addition, I met several leaders of the modern underground railroad as well as many passionate volunteers and human rights activists. These individuals inspired me to become more involved in humanitarian projects and to continue researching North Korean issues.

According to Howard (2008), “Our work is to make another’s world accessible and understandable by respecting the particulars and locating the recurring themes of that world. . . . we need to acknowledge that our interpretations are culturally constructed and our knowledge is partial, positioned, and incomplete” (p. 171). As an American citizen, my knowledge and understanding of North Korea is limited, and my perspectives of the country may be biased. Myers (2011) stated that a major problem in understanding North Korea is “the projection of Western or South Korean values and common sense onto the North Koreans” (p. 8). It is essential to know as much as possible about North Korean defectors throughout their lives to have a better understanding of their present and future lives.

Problem Statement

North Korea is an academic black hole that is incomprehensible and bewildering to many outsiders. Educational research does not adequately address the distinct role of Juche, militarism, and human rights in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. The North Korean education system

focuses heavily on Juche ideology (Fuqua, 2011). Extreme indoctrination can lead to numerous problems for defectors trying to adapt to the globalized, competitive education system of capitalist South Korea (O, 2011). Militarism is also strongly advocated in the North Korean education system (Lankov, 2007). Children are required to participate in a wide range of militaristic activities in their schools and communities. Textbooks include passages which highlight brutal scenes of war against the American and Japanese government. The North Korean education system is heavily influenced by militaristic propaganda. Finally, human rights violations have a colossal impact on the North Korean education system. When North Koreans escape and begin their journey on the modern underground railroad, they are also subjected to human rights violations. It is important to learn about the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights violations in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors to help promote better integration in South Korean society.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this transcendental phenomenological study was to describe the essence of the premigration, transmigration, and postmigration educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea in light of their exposure to Juche, militarism, and human rights violations. The goal of this research was to more thoroughly understand the role that these concepts play as North Korean defectors adapt to South Korean society in the era of globalization.

Significance of the Study

This study focuses on the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors. It is important to critically examine the influence of Juche on North Korean defectors throughout each migration period so that they can effectively

integrate into South Korean society. North Korean citizens are subjected to a government controlled system of education which revolves around Juche. Excessive militarism encompasses many aspects of North Korean society and the education system. There are widespread reports of human rights violations which have a profound impact on education. Administrators and educators in South Korea and other countries where North Korean refugees reside should have a greater understanding of the issues surrounding integration to develop better strategies, curricula, and educational practices. They should know about distinct differences, themes, and issues including the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights violations in the lives of North Korean defectors.

The purpose of the North Korean media is to create ideological messages to educate the people (Ryang, 2012), and all media is controlled by the government (Freedom House, 2012). During the Cold War, citizens of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had a wealth of information about the outside world in comparison to the people of North Korea (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Only about 5% to 15% of the population has access to computers, and these individuals must receive authorization (Hassig & Oh, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2012). They are limited to the government operated Intranet (Cha, 2012; Kirkpatrick, 2012). Televisions and radios are altered to only play state channels (Freedom House, 2012).

There are only roughly 1.1 million phone lines, which is fewer than five lines for every 100 people (Noland, 2009). In addition, approximately 90% of these lines are controlled by government agencies, collective farms, and state-owned enterprises (Noland, 2009). Cell phones are becoming more popular in North Korea especially in Pyongyang (Laurence, 2011). Cell phones cannot dial outside of North Korea, and people outside of the country cannot dial into the country (Laurence, 2011). In 2009, there were only about 70,000 cell phone users, but this

number skyrocketed to one million in 2011 (Laurence, 2011). Advances are taking place in North Korea, but they do not even slightly compare to the constantly evolving technological innovations of South Korea that are sweeping the world.

North Korean defectors often have difficulties trying to adapt to life in South Korea. It is likely that they had only minimal exposure to foreign influence while in North Korea. This could be extremely problematic for North Korean defectors trying to assimilate into South Korean society in the age of globalization. This study will provide more information about their past and present experiences and consider changes that can be made in the future to better assist them.

This study can be valuable to educators and administrators in South Korea. It can also be beneficial to aid workers, missionaries, and humanitarian organizations on the modern underground railroad. This study specifically focuses on the integration of North Korean defectors in South Korean society which is becoming a major issue as a large number of young North Koreans escape to South Korea and other free countries (Bidet, 2009). The general public also needs to be more cognizant of the challenges facing North Korean defectors (Chung, B. H., 2009). Furthermore, defectors generally experience a wide range of serious problems throughout their lives (Harden, 2009). It is difficult for South Koreans to understand the complex and unique challenges of individual North Koreans (Harden, 2009). This study can also help citizens and foreign residents of South Korea provide better educational services and programs for North Korean defectors. I met a lot of foreigners in South Korea who were interested in learning about North Korean defectors and wanted to participate in volunteer activities, especially English tutoring. Many studies on North Korean defectors are only written in Korean. This study can

provide valuable insight to stakeholders, aid organizations, educators, administrators, and individuals who assist North Korean defectors and refugees.

Some countries provide asylum to North Korean refugees. North Korean refugees live in Japan, Russia, the Philippines, Singapore, the United States, Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom, and other European countries (International Crisis Group, 2006; Lee, C. K., 2012; Tanaka, 2008). Common choices are the United Kingdom, (“N. Korean Defectors Seek Refuge,” 2011) Germany, and Canada (“Competition,” 2012). C. K. Lee (2012) stated, “Little is known currently about the North Korean refugee experience that would help host nations better understand and therefore better accommodate the educational adaptation needs of North Koreans” (p. 39). These countries can benefit from research on the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors. The experiences of North Korean refugees may be similar to other refugee populations; however, there are also significant differences.

This research addresses many issues related to educational life experiences of North Korean defectors. The information obtained from this research can be used as a resource in future studies and the development of reunification curricula. According to Lankov (2007), “Sooner or later the North Koreans will become citizens of a unified Korea, and their virulent nationalism will flow into mainstream Korean culture” (p. 48). Education is vital in helping to address the divide between North Koreans and South Koreans and prepare for future reunification (Kang, S. J., 1998). Learning about North Korean defectors provides more insight into Korean reunification if and when it occurs (“Strangers at Home,” 2011; Yoo, Y. O., 2001). The life stories of North Korean defectors provide “persistent and deep distinctions between the peoples of the two Koreas” (Lankov, 2006, p. 131). The experiences of North Korean defectors can serve as a model for the future reunification possibility (Fuqua, 2011).

Research Questions

Creswell (2007) recommends that researchers have a primary research question and several subquestions. The central question represents “the broadest question” related to the research (Creswell, 2007, p. 108).

Central Question: What primary themes emerge from the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration?

North Korean defectors have escaped from one of the most hermetic places in the world (Park, H. J., 2011). It is often difficult to conduct research or obtain credible evidence originating inside of North Korea (Lee, C. K., 2012; Park, H. J., 2011). According to Kwon and Chung (2012), North Korea is incredibly “sheltered and jealously [*sic*] guarded in the contemporary world; it is also an intensely proud political society and invests heavily in preventing outsiders from seeing anything that might make a negative impression” (p. 9). Researchers often rely on North Korean refugees and defectors to learn about life in North Korea (Lee, C. K., 2012).

Additional studies need to be conducted on the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors (Lee, C. K., 2012; Yoo, E. H., 2012). Conducting research on North Korean defectors provides valuable insight into North Korean life (Armstrong, 2011; Mikyoung Kim, 2012). North Korean defectors may have a wide array of experiences that are related to their education. These experiences may be similar to those of other North Korean defectors, and in some cases they may be immeasurably different. Even if studies have been conducted on the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors, it is important to learn more about their educational experiences in North Korea, the modern underground railroad, and in South Korea. The following subquestions will be used to guide the study:

1. How did Juche, militarism, and human rights violations influence the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors during the premigration period?

There are numerous themes and situations that connect the defectors' individual lives with educational challenges and problems (Hyangkue Lee, 2001). It is important to learn more about the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights as they relate to educational life experiences because the information obtained provides more depth and understanding of the unique challenges of North Korean defectors. Research (Ha, 2008; Kim, Y. Y., 2009; Yoo, E. H., 2012) has been conducted on Juche but it is important to learn more about the role of Juche in education and its influence in North Korean society which may differ depending on a wide range of factors. Militarism has a tremendous impact on North Korean society and the education system. North Korea is notorious for human rights abuses which also have a profound impact on the education system.

2. How did human rights violations affect North Korean refugees' educational life experiences during the transmigration period?

North Korean refugees are exposed to a wide range of human rights abuses on the modern underground railroad. In China, North Korean refugees cannot legally attend school (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Hyun (2003) studied the hardships of North Korean refugees in China based on the concept of social suffering. Research (Kim, E., Yun, Park, M., & Williams, 2009; Min, S. K., 2008; Yu & Jeon, 2008) has also been conducted on psychological disorders of North Korean refugees in China. These psychological and social problems may also be connected to human rights violations. It is important to learn more about the impact of human rights violations on education during the transmigration period on the modern underground railroad.

3. During the postmigration period, what are the perspectives of North Korean defectors regarding Juche, militarism, and human rights violations in North Korea (after obtaining a more balanced formal or informal education in South Korea and being exposed to ample factual information)?

It is important to understand the present views of North Korean defectors regarding Juche, militarism, and human rights violations in North Korea. According to C. K. Lee (2012), “Education is understood as a process of enculturation, the gradual acquisition and acceptance of the ideas, beliefs, roles, motives and thought patterns of a particular culture, whether through formal or non-formal systems” (p. 45). North Korean defectors receive a formal education when they initially arrive in South Korea. North Korean defectors may have completed other formal education programs (degree programs, high school, community classes, etc.) in South Korea or participated in some type of informal learning. They also have widespread access to factual information. North Korean defectors may be able to provide a better understanding of Juche, militarism, and human rights violations in North Korea through knowledge obtained in South Korea.

4. How do North Korean defectors perceive the future role of education in their lives in South Korea?

It is essential to conduct more research on the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors and gain a better understanding of their integration into the South Korean education system (Chung, Y. J., 2010). North Korean defectors must adapt to a capitalist, competitive, and technologically advanced country. Research (Choi, C. M. H., 2007; Chung, S. & Seo, 2007; Jeon, 2000; Kim, Y. Y., 2009; Min, S. K., 2008; Park, K., et al., 2009) was conducted on the social adaptation of North Korean defectors in South Korean society. Other studies (Choi, S. K.,

Min, S. J., Cho, M. S., Joung, & Park, S. M., 2011; Jeon, Yu, Cho, Y. A., & Eom, 2008; Kim, D. S., Cho, Y., & Moon, 2007; Kim, H. H., et al., 2011; Kim, H. K., & Lee, O. J., 2009; Lee, Y. H., et al., 2012; Song, B.A., et al., 2011) have focused on psychological problems affecting North Korean defectors in South Korea. Many North Korean defectors lack important skills and the educational background needed to become successful in South Korean society. The participants may have future educational goals to help achieve social, professional, or financial success. These educational goals may include informal and formal types of learning. Past educational life experiences and predominant themes that emerge in the study may also have a profound impact on how the participants perceive the future role of education in their lives.

Delimitations

This study was delimited to North Korean defectors between the ages of 19 (the legal age of adulthood in South Korea) and 35. The participants lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years. In addition, this study was delimited to North Korean defectors who attended at least 1 semester of English speaking or conversation at a university or at least 6 months of an English program, tutoring sessions, or another formal method of English language acquisition.

Research Plan

This research is qualitative and focuses on the lived experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea. Qualitative research is important for understanding personal stories and valuable details (Creswell, 2007). It also provides “detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions, and observed behaviors; direct quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts; and excerpts or entire passages from documents, correspondence, records, and case histories” (Patton, 1980, p. 22). There are also various ways

to interpret each experience (McMillan, 2008). According to McMillan (2008), “Qualitative research stresses a phenomenological model in which multiple realities are rooted in the subjects’ perceptions. A focus on understanding and meaning is based on verbal narratives and observations rather than numbers” (p. 11). In addition, qualitative research is used to empower the participants by giving them a voice (Creswell, 2007). North Korean defectors have unique and diverse experiences which cannot be adequately understood through statistical data.

A transcendental phenomenological approach was used in this study. Phenomenological research is most appropriate for this study because I want to learn about the shared educational life experiences of North Korean defectors. According to Moustakas (1994), “Phenomenology is concerned with wholeness, with examining entities from many sides, angles, and perspectives until a unified vision of the essences of a phenomenon or experience is achieved” (p. 58). This type of design focuses on lived experiences of a specific phenomenon for different individuals (Creswell, 2007). North Korean defectors living in South Korea have experienced premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. Their educational life experiences may be similar or different depending on numerous factors including but not limited to specific events, social status, location, finances, timing, personal connections, professional affiliations, as well as personal ambitions and goals.

A transcendental design was chosen because it is important to learn more about participants’ views of their experiences. It would be nearly impossible for me to base this research solely on my interpretations of the participants’ experiences and views. Even though I have traveled to North Korea, read many books and articles on the country, spent numerous hours with North Korean defectors and modern underground railroad workers, I absolutely and unequivocally cannot begin to fathom what they have experienced. Through the *epoche* process,

I separated my experiences from the research and examined the participants' stories as objectively as possible (Moustakas, 1994).

Participants were selected through criterion, purposive, and snowball sampling. The participants include North Korean defectors who lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years and are between the ages of 19 and 35. Four types of data were collected for qualitative analysis including a demographic survey; a timeline of primary life events; standardized, open-ended interviews; and journal entries.

Trustworthiness was attained by focusing on credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability throughout the research process (Creswell, 2007). Data analysis procedures included checking for descriptions of educational life experiences, finding significant statements, developing clusters of meaning, synthesizing a field journal, and finally creating textural and structural descriptions which led to the comprehensive essence of the educational life experiences of the North Korean defectors.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

North and South Korea have a shared history of thousands of years as well as similar cultural traditions; however, immense differences have developed since 1945. It is important to recognize how these differences affect North Korean defectors throughout the integration process in South Korea. It is essential to have a broader understanding of many complex issues that may have an impact on the educational life experiences of North Koreans during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. This literature review covers significant aspects of life in North Korea, the modern underground railroad, and South Korea that are related to education, Juche, militarism, and human rights violations.

This study focuses on the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea. However, it is also vital to at least briefly explain a wider range of issues and events during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration that may not directly relate to Juche, militarism, and human rights. The studies discussed in this literature review may provide clues or answers to underlying themes or more pronounced issues that have an impact on the educational life experiences of North Koreans. The studies may also help identify complex feelings or multifaceted experiences of North Koreans throughout each stage of migration that would not be identified by only studying Juche, militarism, and human rights as isolated topics that have no connection to other aspects of life.

Theoretical Framework: Transformative Learning Theory

According to Anfara and Mertz (2006), “We see the role of theory in qualitative research as basic, central, and foundational, whether consciously recognized or even identified. It influences the way the researcher approaches the study and pervades almost all aspects of the

study” (p. 189). The transformative learning theory is grounded in the work of Kuhn (1962), Freire (1970), and Habermas (1971) and has been further developed and critiqued in the last 2 decades by other scholars (Taylor & Cranton, 2013). Mezirow’s (1975, 1978) early works first discussed the concept of transformative learning (Cranton & Roy, 2003). Mezirow’s *Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood* (1990) explained useful techniques for developing transformative learning and *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning* (1991) provided a holistic explanation of transformative learning theory (Cranton & Taylor, 2012). Mezirow’s works draw on principles and practices from psychology, psychotherapy, sociology, and philosophy (Cranton & Taylor, 2012).

Development from other Theories

Transformative learning theory is rooted in constructivism, humanism, and the critical social theory (Cranton & Taylor, 2012). Mezirow (1991) discussed the role of constructivism in transformative learning theory. Constructivism is based on the work of Dewey (1938) and Piaget (1952; Taylor & Cranton, 2013). Constructivism emphasizes the development of meaning from experience (Taylor & Cranton, 2013). According to Cranton and Taylor (2012), “Transformative learning theory is based on the notion that we interpret our experiences in our own way, and that how we see the world is a result of our perceptions of our experiences” (p. 5). Humanism revolves around the concepts of “freedom and autonomy” (Cranton & Taylor, 2012, p. 6). Humanist psychologists including Maslow (1970) and Rogers (1962) had a profound impact on the field of adult education and also influenced Mezirow’s development of transformative learning theory (Cranton & Taylor, 2012). Critical social theory emerged in the Frankfurt School of Critical Social Theory and was further advanced by Max Horkheimer (Cranton & Taylor, 2012). The primary objective of critical social theory is to assess society and generate

transformation (Cranton & Taylor, 2012). The prevalent beliefs, attitudes, and views of society are defined as the “dominant ideology” (Cranton & Taylor, 2012, p. 7). According to Cranton and Taylor (2012), “We adopt the dominant ideology as the normal and natural way to think and act. When we are able to recognize that these beliefs are oppressive and not in our best interests, we can enter into a transformative learning process” (p. 7). Constructivism, humanism, and the critical social theory had a significant impact on the development of transformative learning theory (Cranton & Taylor, 2012).

Experience and the Process of Learning

Experience, especially past experience, is the “primary medium” of transformation (Taylor & Cranton, 2013, p. 35). According to Mezirow (1996), “Learning is understood as the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one’s experience to guide future action” (p. 162). The process of transformation involves feelings that are triggered by a negative or traumatic event or events (Taylor & Cranton, 2013) which can include war, sickness, death, divorce, moving, as well as other factors (Mezirow, 1990).

The process of transformative learning involves the meaning of experiences and how our perspectives can transform our lives and how other people and situations are perceived (Erichsen, 2011). According to Mezirow (2003), transformative learning is defined as “learning that transforms problematic frames of reference- sets of fixed assumptions and expectations (habits of mind, meaning perspectives, mindsets)- to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, reflective, and emotionally able to change” (p. 58). Transformative learning has been applied to numerous fields and disciplines (Taylor & Snyder, 2012).

Frames of Reference and Meaning Structure

Mezirow (1997) believed that independent thinking is necessary for democratic functioning and to maintain morality in an era of instantaneous change in society. According to Mezirow (1997), “To facilitate transformative learning, educators must help learners become aware and critical of their own and others’ assumptions. Learners need practice in recognizing frames of reference and using their imaginations to redefine problems from a different perspective” (p. 10). Frames of reference are changed through “critical reflection on the assumptions” of which our perspectives and beliefs are founded (Mezirow, 1997, p. 7). A frame of reference includes cognitive, conative, and emotional components and has two dimensions: meaning schemes (point of view) and meaning perspectives (habits of mind; Mezirow, 1997). Meaning schemes are composed of “specific knowledge, beliefs, value judgments, and feelings that constitute interpretations of experience” (Mezirow, 1991, pp. 5-6) and can also change frequently (Taylor, 1994). Meaning perspectives include “criteria for judging or evaluating right and wrong, bad and good, beautiful and ugly, true and false, appropriate and inappropriate” (Mezirow, 1991, p. 44). The meaning of experiences is organized through meaning perspectives (Taylor, 1994).

Learning Process

Mezirow (1997) also defined four processes of learning. The first process of learning involves further developing a current perspective and searching for facts to “support our initial bias regarding a group and expand the range or intensity of our point of view” (p. 7). The second process of learning is to create fresh perspectives by meeting new people and developing “negative meaning schemes” by emphasizing their problems and inadequacies (p. 7). The third process of learning is to “transform our point of view” (p. 7). New cultural experiences may

result in changes of personal critical reflections which can lead individuals to become more acceptant of others (Mezirow, 1997). Similar encounters that repeatedly occur can result in transformation (Mezirow, 1997). The final process of learning is to “transform our ethnocentric habit of mind by becoming aware and critically reflective of our generalized bias in the way we view groups other than our own” (Mezirow, 1997, p. 7).

Critical Reflection

Critical reflection is central to transformative learning theory (Cranton & Roy, 2003). Mezirow (1997) stated that, “In communicative learning, it becomes essential for learners to become critically reflective of the assumptions underlying intentions, values, beliefs, and feelings” (p. 6). Critical reflections can occur through reading, listening to others’ opinions, finding solutions to problems, and evaluating personal views and ideas (Mezirow, 1997). Critical reflection is less likely in countries or cultures which enforce strict control over the people through religion or governmental authority (Mezirow, 1998). According to Taylor (1994), “For strangers to develop a broader world view, they must not only become aware of their long-standing and taken-for-granted meaning perspective (cultural and personal constructs) but must question its very validity through critical reflection” (p. 402). Frames of reference change as a result of critical reflection of an individual’s views and beliefs or those of other’s (Cranton & Roy, 2003). Reflection does not necessarily lead to transformation, but when it does the frame of reference becomes more warranted (Cranton & Roy, 2003). The goal of the process is not to quickly change views or adopt the correct point of view but to create more clarity and openness (Cranton & Roy, 2003).

Reflective Discourse and Transformation

Discourse is defined as, “dialogue involving the assessment of beliefs, feelings, and values” (Mezirow, 2003, p. 59). Through critical reflection, an individual can progress through the stages of transformation, but critical reflection in isolation does not result in transformation (Taylor, 1994). Critical reflection necessitates proper action and discourse (Taylor, 1994). Mezirow (1997) stated that transformative learning theory “holds that moral values are legitimized by agreement through discourse. The universality of such values as truth, justice, and freedom is based on the claim that they have been found to result in more beneficial action than their alternatives” (p. 9). Individuals who are experiencing famine, homelessness, illness, and other grave problems cannot adequately participate in discourse (Mezirow, 2003). Mezirow (1991) identified 10 stages of the transformative process in a study of women who returned to college after a long absence. These stages include:

1. A disorienting dilemma
2. Self-examination
3. Critically assessing assumptions
4. Recognizing a connection between the transformative process and one’s discontent
5. Exploring opportunities for new roles, relationships, and actions
6. Planning a course of action
7. Acquiring knowledge and skills to implement one’s plan
8. Developing confidence in new roles and relationships
9. Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships
10. Reintegrating into one’s life on the foundation of conditions which are dictated by one’s new perspective

According to Taylor (1994), the transformative process “seems to provide understanding into how a person makes meaning of new cultural experiences and at the same time integrates the new learning into a more inclusive and discriminating world view” (p. 400). Taylor (1994) found that there is a meaningful relationship between the transformative process and intercultural awareness of foreigners in a new environment. Transformative learning can be beneficial to individuals, including refugees, who have experienced trauma and other hardships in their lives and may have had limited access to formal education (Billet & Onsando, 2009). According to Billet and Onsando (2009),

For many students from refugee backgrounds, perhaps for the first time in their lives, they have real opportunities to choose and embark on life pathways that empower them through education. Therefore, for these students engaging in learning activities also doubles as a way of transforming themselves from parts of their past with which they wish to disassociate, into new productive ways of living. (p. 89)

Negative experiences of the past can be a catalyst for transformative learning (Mezirow, 1981). According to Taylor and Cranton (2013), “The phases of transformation involve pain, discontent, guilt and shame” (p. 40). Transformative learning can provide positive life changes to individuals regardless of the quality or level of their education (Wright, Cranton, & Quigley, 2007).

Historical Background of North Korea

This literature review primarily centers on North Korean history and education because the dissertation research focuses on the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors. It is important to discuss North Korean history because many events of the past have had a significant impact on modern, North Korean society and the education system. Korea became a

Japanese protectorate in 1905 and was colonized by Japan from 1910 until the end of World War II in 1945. American Secretary of War (later President) William Howard Taft, secretly met with the Japanese foreign minister and agreed with the Japanese occupation of Korea as long as Japan would not “challenge U.S. colonial domination in the Philippines” (Oberdorfer, 2001, p. 5). The Japanese occupation is a critical period in Korean history which led to opposition and the formation of early communist organizations (Koo & Nahm, 2010). The Japanese government had taken control of many aspects of Korean society including the education system (Cumings, 2005; Koo & Nahm, 2010). According to Cumings (2005), the Koreans “saw the Japanese as snatching away the ancien régime, Korea’s sovereignty and independence, its indigenous if incipient modernization, and above all, its national dignity” (p. 141). During World War II, Korean communists in China and Manchuria assisted Chinese communist troops in battle against the Japanese (Koo & Nahm, 2010).

Korea was divided at the 38th parallel after the Japanese surrendered at the end of World War II. The Korean bifurcation resulted from agreements between Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill. The United States primarily developed the plan to split the two countries at the 38th parallel, and the Soviet Union had agreed to prevent military confrontation (David-West, 2007). The plan had been devised by two relatively young military officers, Colonels Dean Rusk and Charles Bonesteel, who were under tremendous pressure and had little background knowledge of what was happening in Korea (Oberdorfer, 2001). The officers used a *National Geographic* magazine map as a reference in making the decision to divide the country (Oberdorfer, 2001). The U.S. government did not receive guidance from Koreans or other nations which had a stake in the future of Korea (Cumings, 2005). Many years later Rusk stated that he and Bonesteel did not know that at the turn of the 20th century, the Russians and Japanese had discussed dividing

Korea at the 38th parallel (Oberdorfer, 2001). Had they known this, they would have chosen another line (Oberdorfer, 2001).

The U.S. military decided that the area north of the 38th parallel would be controlled by the Soviet Union, and the United States would control the area to the south. On August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea, also known as South Korea, was officially established. On September 9, 1948, the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea which is more commonly called North Korea was officially established. Kim Il Sung became the leader of North Korea and ruled until his death in 1994. Since that time, each country has rejected the other's ideological views (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). North and South Koreans share a long history, traditions, and cultural traits; however, vast differences emerged after the country was divided in 1945. South Korea was heavily influenced by the United States and democratic principles, whereas North Korea was supported by the former Soviet Union and was subjected to communist ideals (Park, H. J., 2011).

Post-World War II (1945-1950)

From 1945-1946, people's committees played an important role in North Korea (Cumings, 2005). The Soviet Union began to have more influence in 1946 (Cumings, 2005). This signified the beginning of government control over private business, transportation, financial and industrial organizations, land ownership, and people's daily lives (Nahm, 1993). Kim Il Sung started to obtain support from the Soviet Union at the end of World War II (Ha, 2008). He eliminated other communist leaders so that he could assume power (Nahm, 1993). He used his experiences as an anti-Japanese combatant in China during the 1930s to gain approval from the people (Ha, 2008).

Kim Il Sung was the first secretary of the North Korean Bureau of the Korean Communist Party. He created local communist parties throughout North Korea and eliminated

nationalist influences (Ha, 2008). He also established the Korean Communist Party in North Korea (Ha, 2008). The Communist Party had already been created in South Korea, but it lacked power due to the U.S. occupation (Ha, 2008). The North Korean Communist Party disbanded from the South Korean Communist Party (Ha, 2008). In 1946, Kim Il Sung became the chairman of the North Korean Provisional People's Committee. In 1948, the constitution of North Korea was ratified, North Korea officially became recognized as a country, and Kim Il Sung became the first leader.

The Korean War (1950-1953)

There had been precursors to the Korean War including border skirmishes, sea battles, and guerrilla warfare which created an ominous possibility of a conventional war. Kim Il Sung formulated a plan to invade South Korea. Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong agreed to provide aid. Kim Il Sung believed that the United States would not assist South Korea (Koo & Nahm, 2010). According to Halberstam (2007), "Kim believed that if he struck with a blitzkrieg-like armored assault, the people of the South would rise up to welcome his troops and the war would effectively be over in a few days" (p. 48). North Korea invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950 with the support of Soviet materiel.

The South Koreans were not prepared and adequately equipped to defend themselves (Halberstam, 2007; Koo & Nahm, 2010). The United States did not provide weapons to South Korea because it feared that the South would quickly invade North Korea if it did (Halberstam, 2007). Theoretically, it is possible that either side could have started the Korean War, but the North was at an advantage (Armstrong, 2003). The North Korean troops had experience fighting in the Chinese Civil War (Armstrong, 2003; David-West, 2007). Within 3 days of the invasion, the South Korean capital city, Seoul, had been sieged, forcing the South Koreans to retreat to the

southern port city of Pusan. Nearly all of South Korea had been captured. The American-led United Nations Command, which consisted of 16 member countries, supported South Korea militarily. United Nations forces began a counteroffensive at the port city Incheon, and had recaptured the capital city, Seoul. In October of 1950, the United Nations forces pushed to the capital city, Pyongyang in North Korea. When the United Nations troops had reached the Chinese border of North Korea at the Yalu River, they met a formidable enemy -- the Chinese military. China sent troops to aid North Korea until the end of the war in 1953. United Nations forces retreated to the South. Seoul was captured again by the enemy and was soon regained by United Nations troops.

In the end, the territorial division of the two countries was nearly the same as the start of the war, and several million people had perished. About 678,000 bombs had been dropped (Kohn & Harahan, 1988), and 7.8 million gallons of napalm were used against the North Koreans (Park, P. 2001). According to David-West (2007),

The North Korean leaders and people have not yet overcome the deep sociopsychological trauma and hardened, militant nationalism that resulted from this experience, which apparently reinforced all the more nationalist and patriotic sentiments that were already formed and encrusted under the tragedy and terror of Imperial Japanese fascist barbarism in the 1930s and 1940s. (p. 137)

Approximately five million people became war refugees (Oberdorfer, 2001). The armistice ending the Korean War was signed on July 27, 1953 in Panmunjum, Korea. As a result of the armistice, the DMZ was created and stretched across the 38th parallel which separated the two Koreas (Koo & Nahm, 2010). Between 1945 and 1953, about 10% of the North Korean population migrated to the South (Tanaka, 2008). There were about 456,000 to 829,000

defections to South Korea prior to the Korean War and 400,000 to 650,000 defections during the Korean War (Lankov, 2006). The number of North Koreans who defected after the Korean War drastically dropped (Lankov, 2006). The economic conditions of North Korea were initially better than the South's (Lankov, 2006). About 80,000 South Koreans were forced to go to the North during the Korean War, and it is believed that about 600 of these prisoners of war are still there (Tanaka, 2008). A peace treaty was never signed which means that the two Koreas are technically still at war (Cumings, 2004; Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010; Ryang, 2012; Tanaka, 2008).

The Kim Il Sung Administration (1948-1994)

During the early stages of the North Korean government, emphasis was placed on control, militarism, economic and social development, as well as ideological education (Nahm, 1993). The primary ideology in the 1948 constitution was Marxism-Leninism (Suh, D. S., 1992). As a result of Soviet influence after World War II, Marxism-Leninism took the center stage in North Korea during the early 1950s (Ch'oe, 1981). Juche was first publicly announced by Kim Il Sung in a 1955 speech (Cumings, 2005; David-West, 2011; Foley, 2011; Hale, 2002; Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005) and became official in 1965. It excluded Marxism-Leninism and became a "recipe for independence" (Person, 2013, p. 239). Economically though, North Korea still relied heavily on the Soviet Union, China, and other communist countries (Person, 2013).

The speech did not mention the external influences of Mao Zedong and Joseph Stalin even though they had a profound impact on Kim Il Sung and North Korean society (David-West, 2011). This was also the period of de-Stalinisation in the Soviet Union, so it was an opportune time to advance the Juche ideology ("North Korean Succession," 2012). In 1956, significant

measures were taken to reduce Soviet cultural and domestic influences (Lankov, 1999).

According to the North Korean government,

The Juche idea is, in a nutshell, an idea that the masses are the masters of revolution and construction and the driving force that propels the revolution and construction. In other words, it is the philosophy that man is the master of his own destiny and he is powerful enough to carve out his own destiny. (Jo & Gang, 2002, p. 141)

Hwang Jang-Yop, who studied in the Soviet Union and later escaped from North Korea, is credited outside of North Korea as the architect of Juche (Hale, 2002; “Hwang Jang Yop,” 2011) although Kim Il Sung is recognized within the country (Myers, 2011). Hwang defected to South Korea in 1997 because the North Korean government “had distorted his original ideology – which viewed human beings as the leaders and creators of history – and used it as a tool of dictatorship” (“Hwang Jang Yop,” 2011, para. 5). Kim Jong Il stated that Juche had originated in the 1930s while Kim Il Sung was a guerilla fighter in the Chinese Communist army in Manchuria (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005; Suh, D. S., 1992).

In “Some Problems of Education in the Juche Idea,” Kim Jong Il (1995b) stated that his father had created Juche and “thus created a new period of prosperity for our people, and shown mankind the direct road to independence” (p. 13). In “Giving Priority to Ideological Work is Essential for Accomplishing Socialism,” Kim Jong Il (1995a) stated that the Juche philosophy was superior to past ideologies. According to Hwang, Stalinism was rooted in Marxism and dictated that the leader of the country was responsible for serving the country, but in North Korea, “The Great Leader does not live for the people. It is the people who live for the Great Leader” (as cited in Martin, 2006, p. 259). North Korean propagandists were responsible for

developing false and exaggerated tales about Kim's life (Martin, 2006). Kim Il Sung approved of the lies and distortions because he knew that the people would admire him (Martin, 2006).

In 1958, Kim Il Sung created a classification system known as *songbun* which organized North Koreans into three primary groups (Demick, 2010) and is based on family background (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009; Kim, Yong & Kim, Suk-Young, 2009). The *songbun* system became official in 1966. The three primary groups of individuals include *haeksim* ("core class"), *dongyo* ("wavering class"), and *choktae* ("hostile class") (Collins, 2012, pp. 6-7). The *haeksim* class is considered the most loyal and receives incentives (Collins, 2012). Approximately 28% of the population is in the *haeksim* class (Weatherley & Song, 2008). The *dongyo* class consists of questionable people who can help the regime through proper economic and political performance (Collins, 2012). About 45% of the population belongs to the *dongyo* class (Weatherley & Song, 2008). The *choktae* class is comprised of "impure elements" and "anti-party and anti-revolutionary forces" (Collins, 2012, p. 7). About 27% of the population belongs to the *choktae* class (Weatherley & Song, 2008). There are also approximately 50 subclassifications within the system (Collins, 2012).

The *songbun* system is still used in modern society. According to Collins (2012), "The *songbun* system of classification is by its very nature a violation of human rights. Grounded in inequality and discrimination, its purpose is to institutionalize one group's dominance over others and to ensure the Kim regime's control" (p. 86). Every person has had eight background checks which also includes the backgrounds of other family members (Demick, 2010). The most powerful method for controlling the people is through *songbun* classification (Collins, 2012). North Koreans are not officially aware of their *songbun* (Demick, 2010). The *songbun* system has become electronically recorded so that the North Korean government can analyze social,

legal, criminal, and political data (Collins, 2012). It is difficult for individuals to improve their songbun classification, especially if family members committed sins against the nation (Hunter, 1999).

During the 1960s, the nationalistic concept of Juche began to overshadow Marxism-Leninism. According to Kim Jong Il (1990),

We appraise the historical achievements of Marxism-Leninism as it proved the inevitability of the fall of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and clarified the idea and theory on building a classless ideal society free of exploitation and oppression, but we do not see it as a perfect communist revolutionary theory of the working class. (p. 2)

Kim Jong Il (1990; 1996) recognized the benefits of Marxism-Leninism but also stated that it had limitations and could not be adequately applied to modern society. He also declared that Marxism-Leninism would be adapted based on the needs of North Korean society (Kim, J. I., 1983). Kim Il Sung developed a strategy to incorporate Marxist-Leninist theory into a distinctly Korean ideology (An, 1983). According to Kim Jong Il (1990),

The era required that the position and role of man as the master of his own destiny be correctly defined in the field of philosophy. The Juche philosophy, reflecting this requirement, newly presented the position and role of man in the world as the fundamental question of philosophy. Needless to say, the Juche philosophy includes the necessary principles of the dialectical materialism of Marxism. However, it is an original philosophy in that it presented, to start with, a new fundamental question of philosophy and systematized its structural system and content. (p. 3)

In 1972, the North Korean constitution was amended and Juche replaced Marxism-Leninism as the primary ideology (Suh, D. S., 1992). Kim Jong Il (1995b) stated that “The Juche idea serves

as the sole guide to all the activities of our Party. In our Party there cannot and need not be any other idea but the Juche idea” (p. 7). Juche has had a profound impact on North Korean society in general as well as more specific areas including economics and politics (Lee, H. Y., & Gerber, 2009).

Until the mid-1960s, the North Korean economy was more advanced than South Korea’s (Cumings, 2004; Koo & Nahm, 2010). The economic growth rate of North Korea was over 20% after the Korean War and during the 1960s (Howe & Kim, K. U., 2011). However, during the mid-1960s, North Korea started to receive less aid from China and the Soviet Union (Koo & Nahm, 2010). In the 1970s and 1980s, the economic growth rate dropped to around 5% (Howe & Kim, K. U., 2011). Many North Korean defectors remember this as a prosperous period when there was ample food, energy, and clothing (Myers, 2011). In the 1980s, economic conditions deteriorated rapidly (Koo & Nahm, 2010). North Korea had suffered from major domestic and international problems including the loss of aid from the Soviet Union in 1987 (Lee, C. K., 2012).

During the 1990s, the North Korean economy began to experience severe problems. After communism had collapsed in Eastern Europe, North Korea no longer had access to cheap raw materials and was therefore not able to produce and export (Demick, 2010). The military budget was considerably high, and the government had spent a substantial amount of money on weapons (Kang, J. W., 2012). In addition, there were trade agreement problems with the Soviet Union and China and dire economic conditions in Eastern Europe which had a tremendous impact on the North Korean economy (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009; Haggard & Noland, 2005). Fuel imports declined, and electricity was shut off (Demick, 2010).

Medical technology became outdated or had broken (Demick, 2010). Devastating economic problems continued throughout the 1990s.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991, it was expected that North Korea would weaken (Cumings, 2007). In the 1990s, famines had decimated a large percentage of the North Korean population. The famines were also caused by governmental organizational problems and natural disasters (Goodkind & West, 2001). Between 1992 and 1993, the North Korean government began a campaign to encourage people to only eat two meals per day (Lankov, 2007; Myers, 2011). It is estimated that 600,000 to one million people (Haggard & Noland, 2009) died in the famines of the 1990s, but other figures range from as high as two to three million (Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012). It is impossible to obtain an accurate number because the North Korean regime restricts data that are released (Haggard & Noland, 2005; Natsios, 2001). Kim Il Sung died in 1994 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Kim Jong Il.

The Kim Jong Il Administration (1994-2011)

Even though Kim Il Sung is deceased, he is still the eternal leader of the country and is worshipped by the people (Ha, 2008; Myers, 2011). Kim Jong Il lived a life of opulence and cupidity while the majority of North Koreans suffered (Becker, 2005). He was notorious for having a lavish lifestyle that revolved around expensive goods (Mike Kim, 2008). At one point, he was the largest customer of Hennessy's Paradis Cognac in the world (Breen, 2004). He paid \$15 million (U.S. dollars) for the American Wrestling Federation to visit North Korea for his personal entertainment (Becker, 2005). In 1998, he spent \$2.6 million (U.S. dollars) on imported Swiss watches and in 2001, he spent \$20 million (U.S. dollars) on 200 of the best Mercedes as rewards for those directly involved in the successful test-firing of long-range missiles over Japan (Becker, 2005).

The famines of the 1990s worsened as a result of cataclysmic flooding and natural disasters (Lee, C. K., 2012). People became emaciated and used their energy to search for food (Demick, 2010). They resorted to eating tree bark, seaweed, corn husks, and grass (Mike Kim, 2008). Some of these foods caused sicknesses and disease (Mike Kim, 2008). People were still issued rations, but many stores and distribution centers had no food, especially in rural areas (Lankov, 2007). Another survival method included bartering and buying food at developing private markets (Haggard & Noland, 2011). These black markets helped people obtain food and there was also illegal trading with networks in China (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009; Freedom House, 2012). North Korea has received food aid from official and private entities since 1995 but it is uncertain as to how the food has been distributed (Haggard & Noland, 2011). The North Korean government does little to inform outsiders of how aid is distributed, and there is also evidence that the aid is given to the military first rather than those in dire need (Goodkind & West, 2001).

The 1990s was not just a period of famine but also a time of mass exodus (Lankov, 2007; Lim, H. & Chung, Y. C., 2006). The famines resulted in hundreds of thousands of North Koreans fleeing to China (Chan & Schloenhardt, 2007; Lee, C. K., 2012). Many children became orphans and suffered from malnutrition which resulted in physical and psychological problems (Human Rights Watch, 2008). It is estimated that from 1998 to 1999, when the famine was at its worst, the number of North Korean refugees in China was estimated to be around 200,000 (Lankov, 2006). The Chinese economy had improved in the 1980s as a result of reforms and became far more prosperous than North Korea (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

The government of North Korea made excuses for the food shortages and blamed natural disasters (Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012). There were natural disasters during this period, but

the government's failed policies are largely to blame (Goodkind & West, 2001). Kim Jong Il focused on power and the Songun (military-first) policy during the late 1990s (Kang, J. W., 2012). During this period, Songun was emphasized to help the regime to survive despite domestic and international policy problems (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). According to Armstrong (2011), "Songun was the logical next step in the evolution of *juche* as an ideology of militant nationalism" (p. 12). Songun helped to increase military power and provided military support for economic projects ("North Korean Succession," 2012). Songun is also used excessively in propaganda and unifies the military and the people (Lim, J. C., 2009). Military families are praised in society (Lim, J. C., 2009). It also has an impact on education, culture, lifestyle, and other aspects of North Korean society (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). In the 21st century, there have still been widespread reports of human rights violations and famine (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009). North Korean refugees in China have reported that the North Korean government does not provide enough rations for basic sustenance, and people have to rely on black markets (Green, 2011).

The Kim Jong Eun Administration (2011-Present)

Kim Jong Il died on December 17, 2011 and was succeeded by his youngest son Kim Jong Eun, who is believed to have attended school at the International School of Berne, Switzerland (Gause, 2011). Like his predecessors, Kim Jong Eun's policies have been highly militaristic ("North Korean Succession," 2012). During the succession period, the military practiced a song which described Kim Jong Eun as *daejang* or general (Ahn, 2012). It is difficult to evaluate the impact of Kim Jong Eun since he recently assumed power. The North Korean media has reported that the leader is more modern than his predecessors and that there have been some minor agricultural reforms that allow farmers to keep some crops and sell a small

percentage in private markets (Harlan, 2012). Black markets are needed for survival (Choi, E., 2010). Professor Yang Moon-Soo of the University of North Korean Studies stated that North Koreans use markets for at least 50% of their needs (as cited in “N. Koreans Rely,” 2013). Women play a major role as entrepreneurs in the markets (Choi, E., 2010). There are a wide range of businesses and bartering activities including food sales, prostitution, wood delivery, bicycle repair, and hair cutting (Choi, E., 2010, Haggard & Noland, 2007).

Kim Jong Eun also publicly criticized officials for their traditional thinking (as cited in Harlan, 2012). However, it is likely that conditions in North Korea will remain the same, and security along the border of China appears to have gotten tighter (Gause, 2011). Under the new leadership, border guards have been ordered to kill fellow North Koreans who are illegally crossing into China (“World Report,” 2013). It is expected that the number of North Korean defectors in South Korea will drop as a result of tightened security (Kim, J. C., 2012).

In 2012, North Korea purchased 16,420 closed-circuit surveillance cameras from China to more closely monitor its people (Ryall, 2013). North Korean agents in China have orders to find North Koreans and send them back to their country (Kang, S. W., 2013). North Korean border guards have also been given strict orders to prevent defections (Kang, S. W., 2013). There are still widespread human rights violations, and there are no signs of change (Amnesty International, 2012). The regime continues to sustain itself through ideology (Cha, 2011). Kim Jong Eun appears to be focusing on ideological lessons of the past in what Cha (2011) calls “neojuche revivalism” (p. 292). Kim Jong Eun also promotes the Songun policy of the past (Cha, 2011). In April of 2012, the North Korean regime beefed up its nuclear warfare rhetoric which is similar to many other periods in the past.

Education in North Korea

Historical Overview of the Education System (1910-Present)

Korea (unified North and South Korea) was occupied by Japan from 1910 until 1945. Prior to the Japanese occupation, Western missionaries set up a parochial system in Korea which was designed to teach Christianity (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). Private schools had also been created to promote independence and patriotism (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). Japan had a strong impact on the education system of Korea (Lee, J. H., 2012). During the Japanese colonial period, Koreans were forced to abandon many traditional practices (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). The Japanese tried to eliminate the Korean language and required Koreans to have a Japanese name (Ness & Lin, 2013a). Koreans received a basic education that generally included low-level tasks (Seth, 2002). Confucian texts were replaced with Japanese ones (Cumings, 2005). The objective of the Educational Ordinance of 1911 was to make Koreans loyal to the imperial government, teach them skills that could be used to benefit Japan, and reduce opportunities for Koreans to attend high school and college (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). In 1938, the government pushed for Japanese culture to be emphasized in education, and in 1943 a mandate required that students only speak Japanese and participate in the war effort by building roads and making supplies as well as materiel (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005).

At the end of World War II when Korea was divided, the Soviet Union played a major role in the North Korean education system (Lankov, 2002). There are four primary periods in the history of North Korean education: the early period which emphasized Marxism-Leninism, the period of instilling communist education in the people, the period of Juche implementation, and the period of promoting and furthering the tenets of Juche (Koo & Nahm, 2010).

During the first period, the North Korean education system was strongly influenced by the Soviet Union (Lee, D. B., 2010) and had a 5-3-3-4 system (5 years of primary school, 3 years of middle school, 3 years of high school, and 4 years of college; Lankov, 2002; Yoo, Y. O., 2001). However, at this time the Soviet Union had a 4-3-3-5 system (Lankov, 2002). In 1953, the North Korean system changed to 4-3-3-5 (Lankov, 2002). From 1945-1955, the Soviet system had a particularly strong influence on North Korean education, especially in higher education and through the incorporation of ideology into education (Lankov, 2002). In 1950, about 600 North Korean students were studying at Soviet universities and other higher education institutes (Lankov, 2002). North Korean society stressed the importance of education (Lankov, 2007) and political indoctrination (Armstrong, 2003).

The North Korean government, under the direction of Kim Il Sung, implemented an education system rooted in Marxism-Leninism (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). The Marxist-Leninist system was also influenced by Engels (Kim, H. C., 1969). Marx and Engels had written about their revolutionary perspectives in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848. According to Gutek (2004), “The driving goal of a Marxist-inspired education is to bring about fundamental economic change and restructuring so that ownership of the means and modes of production passes to dispossessed groups” (p. 225). The Soviet Union and Marxist-Leninist theories dominated the education system during this period (Lankov, 2007).

The post-World War II curricula of North Korea were comprised of Soviet texts that had been translated into Korean (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). During this period, there were three primary educational objectives: spreading communist beliefs, eliminating remnants of the Japanese education system (Koo & Nahm, 2010), and promoting literacy (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). The government forcefully pushed for the achievement of nationwide literacy in 1947 (Yoo, Y. O.,

2001). Kim Il Sung University was established during this period as well as several colleges (Nahm, 1993). In addition, all private schools in North Korea were closed (Nahm, 1993).

During the Korean War, about 50% of students helped the war effort or joined the military (Kim, H. C., 1969). Patriotism and anti-imperialism became primary themes in curricula (Kim, H. C., 1969). Prior to the Korean War, anti-imperialistic lessons focused on Japan but during the war, they targeted America (Kim, H. C., 1969). Anti-American sentiment was fueled, and the people were pressured to idolize Kim Il Sung (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). After the Korean War ended in 1953, education emphasized agricultural and industrial development (Koo & Nahm, 2010).

There were several changes and distinct themes in the second major educational period in North Korean history. Between 1950 and 1960 educational policy revolved around the increase of technology, labor, and ideological education (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). In 1957, a formalized educational system was established, and 4 years of primary school became compulsory (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). By 1958, 7 years of education became mandatory, including the addition of 3 years of middle school (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). North Korean and Soviet curricula were quite similar until the early 1960s (Lankov, 2002).

During the third major period, the concept of Juche began to emerge in North Korean education. Juche was introduced during the mid-1950s but became more pronounced during the 1960s (Lankov, 2002). According to H. C. Kim and D. K. Kim (2005), Juche promoted “national identity in ideology, independence or autonomy in politics, self-reliance in national economy, and self-defense in national security” (p. 97). In the 1960s, new educational initiatives were developed. Popular education slogans of the 1960s included “General Nine-year Curriculum for Mandatory Education”, “Enforcement of Centralized Power”, “Cultivation of

Class”, “Cultivation of Communists,” and “Cultivation of Work Spirit” (Yoo, Y. O., 2001, p. 114). The life and teachings of Kim Il Sung were highlighted in the curricula and played a role in the resistance against the Japanese during the colonial occupation (Koo & Nahm, 2010). The role of Marxism-Leninism began to decline (Koo & Nahm, 2010). The North Korean government tried to remove Soviet influence from education and adjust some components to create a distinctly Korean system (Lankov, 2002). From the early 1960s until the early 1990s, North Koreans had to participate in meetings and study groups about North Korean propaganda (Lankov, 2007). Some of the study sessions lasted 4 hours (Lankov, 2007). Between the late 1960s until 1980, the primary educational theme was “Unique Ideology in the World” which stressed Juche indoctrination (Yoo, Y. O., 2001, p. 114).

The final period of education extends to the present. This period focuses on the role of Juche in education. The ideological training of young North Koreans is based on Juche (Koo & Nahm, 2010). According to Kim Hyung-Chan (1969), “The ultimate goal of the ideological campaign expressed in *Juch’e*, therefore, was to inculcate North Korean students with the spirit of self-reliance, pride, and national cultural identity” (p. 840). Marxist-Leninist principles have been completely replaced by Juche (Koo & Nahm, 2010). However, many North Korean textbooks still seem distinctly Soviet (Lankov, 2002). In addition, the higher education system mirrors the Soviet model, but primary and middle schools are more traditional and similar to the Japanese colonial model (Lankov, 2002).

In 1977, Kim Il Sung’s “Theses on the Socialist Education” was released and is acclaimed in North Korea as the greatest educational guide ever created (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). Kim Il Sung discussed ideological education and appropriate rearing of children in North Korean society. Kim Jong Il’s “On the Juche Ideology” and “On Further Developing the

Educational Work” also expanded on the educational goals of society which included pedagogical and ideological training, educational organization, student evaluation, and curricula (Kim, H. C., & Kim, D. K., 2005). Additional lessons related to Juche were developed at the primary level and youth programs centered on revolutionary upbringing (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). The primary objective of education in the late 1970s and 1980s was the proper development of humans in order for North Korea to successfully transition from the rule of Kim Il Sung to Kim Jong Il (Yoo, Y. O., 2001).

Since the late 1980s, there have been significant problems with the education system in North Korea (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). After Kim Il Sung’s death in 1994, the public distribution system began to fail which had an impact on the education system (Lee, J. H., 2012). When Kim Jong Il took power there were more ideological lessons (Lee, D. B., 2010) and compulsory labor activities in the education system (Lee, C. K., 2012). In the 1990’s during the massive famine, many teachers and students stopped going to school (Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012). Typical problems included student absences and tardiness, inadequate classroom supplies, a lack of textbooks, and frigid school buildings in the winters (Lee, J. H., 2012). Parents had to help provide resources for schools (Kim, Yong & Kim, Suk-Young, 2009). Students from elite backgrounds had priority in the education system because their family could afford bribes (Lee, C. K., 2012). These bribes resulted in higher test scores and provided a greater chance for university admission (Chang, 2011). In addition, students from affluent families could avoid military conscription (Lee, C. K., 2012). In the 2000s, students continued missing school, and many teachers lost the desire to encourage attendance (Min, C. H., 2010). Students who attended school were often required to help with national projects and collect money for the military, construction sites, and coal mines (Min, C. H., 2010).

The Present Education System

The North Korean education system is controlled by the Chosun Labor Party. The Department of Education is responsible for creating educational policy, and the Ministry of Education of the Cabinet ensures adherence to educational policy and oversees administration (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). There is also a Department of Higher Education and Normal Education within the Education Ministry of the North Korean government (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). The Department of Higher Education is responsible for tertiary education, and the Department of Normal Education manages primary school and lower and upper middle school (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). North Korea has national curriculum which is managed by the Korean Workers' Party (Lee, J. H., 2007).

Education in North Korea is universal and free. However, defectors have stated that they were required to donate money to the North Korean Army and pay for firewood and school repairs (Kang, M. J., 2011b). In addition, bribes are essential for entering higher education (Kang, M. J., 2011b). Students also have had to pay for textbooks, uniforms, and materials needed for school (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). The current system mandates 11 years of education which includes 1 year of kindergarten, 4 years of primary school, 3 years of lower middle school, and 3 years of upper middle school (Kang, M. J., 2012c). In 2012, a proposal was made to extend compulsory education to 12 years (Kim, K. J., 2012). The new system will include a mandatory 1 year of kindergarten (some writers refer to this as preschool with kindergarten being added to primary school), 5 years of primary school, 3 years of lower middle school, and 3 years of upper middle school (So Yeol Kim, 2012; "North Korean Papers," 2012). The higher level of middle school will include an academic track, and a vocational track,

but the grade-level curricula of primary school and lower middle school will be the same for all students (Kim, K. J., 2012).

According to the North Korean government, the purpose of the changes is to function in the information technology era (as cited in “North Korean Report,” 2012) and eliminate an education system that emphasizes rote memorization (Kim, M. S., 2007). The new system’s objective is to promote logical thinking, mathematics, and analytical skills (Kim, M. S., 2007). The official English version of a North Korean news report stated, “The new education system will help students firmly equip themselves with the revolutionary outlook on the world, learn secondary general knowledge and modern basic technological knowledge useful in practice and acquire creative ability for conducting independent activities” (as cited in “North Korean Papers,” 2012, para. 7). As of early 2014, the North Korean government is planning to begin implementing these changes in April of 2014, with complete modifications occurring by 2017 (as cited in “Changes Made,” 2014).

According to Y. O. Yoo (2001), “Overall, North Korea attaches great importance to education. The government insists upon the importance of education for the establishment of Juche ideology throughout society and trains educators who will form the next generation of Juche-style revolutionaries” (p. 183). In “Let us Enhance the Sense of Responsibility and Role of Teachers in the Universal Eleven-Year Compulsory Education” (1973) the North Korean government stated that teachers are responsible for educating the children about Juche and communist development. Teachers are trained at either a teachers’ institute for 3 years or a pedagogical institute for 4 years (Lankov, 2002). In addition, every 3 to 5 years, North Korean teachers must receive training for 3 months (Kim, M. S., 2007). A proposal was made in 2012 to change the educational qualifications needed due to a shortage of teachers (Kang, M. J., 2012b).

Early Childhood Education

Under the new educational reforms, 2 years of early education will soon be compulsory. Nurseries are divided into four classes which include newborn babies, 1-year-olds, 2-year-olds, and 3-year-olds (UNESCO, 2003). There are monthly, weekly, and daily nurseries, but daily ones are the most frequently used (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). The process of indoctrination begins through singing, walking, and other activities (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). Nurseries were created to meet the needs of working women (UNESCO, 2003). Inspired by the works of Friedrich Engels, Kim Il Sung did not want parents to have an influence on their children (Martin, 2006). Infants often spend an immense amount of time in nurseries and therefore receive less care from their mothers (Martin, 2006). Between the ages of 1 and 2, children are inundated with classroom education which revolves around the idolization of Kim Il Sung (Yoo, Y. O., 2001).

Kindergarten was created to teach young children about Juche and to also provide women with the opportunity to work (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). In addition, kindergartens teach children about revolutionary ideals (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005; Yoo, Y. O., 2001). There are monthly, weekly, and daily kindergartens (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). Kindergarten curricula consists of lessons on the childhood of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, Korean language, mathematics, music and dance, art, physical education, playing, and observation (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005).

Primary School

Primary school is 4 years and begins after the completion of kindergarten (UNESCO, 2003). Kindergarten is sometimes listed as a component of primary school, and other times it is described as a completely separate part of education. Primary school attendance is compulsory

and begins at the age of 6 (UNESCO, 2003). Primary school is generally an average of 5 hours per day (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Curricula includes lessons on the childhood of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, political education, national defense, science and technology, Korean language, foreign language, mathematics, history, nature, physical education, music and art (Institute for Unification Education, 2012; Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). Students receive specialized lessons in music, dance, and art (Kang, S. J., 1998). Social studies education in primary school is based on historical revisionism and promotes nationalism and understanding of politics (Kim, H. C., 1971). Some key topics in geography education include patriotic devotion to the community and country, map skills, and basic geographic terms (Kim, H. C., 1971).

Lower and Upper Middle School

Middle school is divided into two levels which are 3 years each (UNESCO, 2003). Lower level middle school is usually an average of 6 hours per day, and upper level middle school is generally an average of 7 hours per day (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Middle school education is based on the promotion of Juche and the development of technological skills (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). Middle school curricula includes lessons on the history and revolutionary activities of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, communist morals, policies of the Korean Workers' Party, Korean language and literature, Chinese characters, foreign languages, history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, astronomy, physical education, music, drawing, drafting, and electronics (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). Most middle schools have English classes (Institute for Unification Education, 2012) which include ideological themes (Song, J. J., 2002). Individual classes, including mathematics, have ideological and political messages (Lee, J. H., 2012). Social studies education highlights the values of communism, revolutionary lessons, the struggles of the people, and morality in

everyday life (Kim, H. C., 1971). The objective of Korean history classes is to promote the Worker's Party and ideology, emphasize the supremacy of socialism and its benefits, and teach students to be dedicated to reunification and liberating South Korea (Kim, H. C., 1971).

According to a middle school textbook, South Korea is a "den of reactionaries where fascist governing agencies of the US imperialist aggressors and the South Korean puppet clique are concentrated. It is becoming a citadel of colonial rule. The US imperialists maintain their local governing organizations in Seoul" (as cited in "North Korean Textbooks," 2010, para. 4). The objective of world history classes includes the condemnation of imperialism and America (Kim, H. C., 1971). Korean geography lessons include topics such as climate, natural resources, the environment, having adoration for the Korean land, and how socialism allows people to appreciate the land (Kim, H. C., 1971). World geography lessons include topics such as people of other continents, political systems, natural resources, and geographic variations of countries (Kim, H. C., 1971).

When students are in upper middle school, they register with the local Mobilization Depot which is run by the Ministry of Defense (Lankov, 2007). Students who want to further their education must apply through a local board of education, but only a small percentage of applicants are approved (Lankov, 2002). These students need exceptional grades to enter higher education and money to pay for textbooks, uniforms, school maintenance costs, room and board, and sometimes even bribes (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Students with a bad songbun are not likely to continue their education (Lankov, 2002). Songbun has a powerful impact on education (Collins, 2012). Students with a good songbun receive better treatment in school and have easier access to higher education, which generally leads to better jobs (Collins, 2012).

Higher Education

After upper middle school, students get a job or begin tertiary education (Lankov, 2002). North Korea has a variety of types of higher education including industrial, agricultural, medical, science and engineering, technological, foreign languages, arts, music, physical education, military academies, teachers' colleges, and general colleges and universities (Kang, S. J., 1998; UNESCO, 2003). The most elite university in North Korea is Kim Il Sung University which was founded in 1946 (Lankov, 2002). Other well-known universities include Kim Chaek University of Technology, Pyongyang University of Foreign Studies, and Kim Hyong Kik University. There are relatively new higher education programs in North Korea. The Pyongyang University of Science and Technology opened in 2008 and is operated and funded by Christian organizations in other countries. The Chosun Exchange is a nonprofit organization created by graduate students at Harvard, Yale, Wharton School, and institutions in Singapore. The program has consulting and training classes in business, economics, and finance at Kim Il Sung University as well as the State Development Bank.

The typical length of a college program is 4 years, whereas, university studies can last 4.5 to 7 years (Lankov, 2007). Specialized higher education programs are usually 2 to 3 years (UNESCO, 2003). There are also master's and doctoral programs (UNESCO, 2003). Juche is studied in greater depth and is integrated into economics, literature, and other courses (Hassig & Oh, 2009). In college, approximately 25% of teaching is related to political indoctrination (Lankov, 2007). During the spring and fall semesters, students are required to participate in labor activities in the countryside (Lankov, 2007). In the spring, the students must plant rice or corn seeds, and in the fall they harvest the plants (Lankov, 2007). According to S. J. Kang (1998), the purpose of higher education in North Korea involves the "development of skilled

party executives in the area of economy, politics, culture, and creation of an army of learning and working individuals” (p. 74). University life is highly regimented (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Colleges and universities operate in a militaristic style (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). The local committees of the Kimilsungist Communist Youth Union are responsible for managing college life (Lankov, 2007). Colleges or universities are similar to brigades, schools are similar to battalions, departments are similar to companies, and classes operate like platoons (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). At the beginning of college and university, students participate in 6 months of training in a paramilitary organization called the College Training Unit (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Male and female students are required to participate in military training prior to graduation (Institute for Unification Education, 2012).

Issues in North Korean Education

Juche

In North Korean society, Juche revolves around the concept of self-reliance and independence (David-West, 2011; Hale, 2002; Koo & Nahm, 2010; Monday, 2011). Lankov (2013) stated that more accurate terms are “self-importance” or “self-significance” (p. 67). Juche is the ideological foundation of North Korean society. Gutek (2004) defines ideology as “the belief (idea) and value system of a group, especially in relation to politics, society, economics, and education” (p. 142). Juche is a complex and abstract term and has no clear definition. Juche consists of two Chinese characters, *zhu* (“owner, lord or master”) and *ti* (“body”) or “ju che” (“main body” or “main part”) in Korean (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005, p. 10). The literal definition of Juche is “subject” or “principal body” (Hale, 2002, p. 301). Juche can also be defined as “self-identity, self-reliance, autonomy, subjectivity, or independence” (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005, p. 10). In addition, Juche encourages “extreme nationalism,

xenophobia, and the use of state terror” (Freedom House, 2012, para. 3). Similar terms have been used in North Korea including *chajusong* (“self-reliance”), *minjok tongnip* (“national or ethnic independence”), and *charip kyongje* (“independent economy”; Cumings, 2005, p. 413). The opposite of Juche could be described as *sadaejuu* (“serving and relying upon foreign power”; Cumings, 2005, p. 413). Juche has deeper meanings that are embedded in North Korean propaganda and everyday life (Oberdorfer, 2001). North Korea depends on international aid but through Juche it still has “economic autonomy” and “political autonomy” (Hale, 2002, p. 294).

Juche was appealing to North Korean people especially initially since they had been occupied by Japan from 1910 until 1945 (Cumings, 2004). North Korean nationalism developed as a result of the Japanese occupation which left devastating scars on the country (Cha, 2012). Juche was created to help maintain Korea’s distinct culture and identity (Cha, 2012). Korea is a small country surrounded by large, powerful countries; therefore, Juche was also developed as a tool to protect the nation from invaders (Cha, 2012). After World War II, America took control of South Korea. The Korean peninsula had once again been occupied by foreign forces (Cha, 2012). The North Korean government stressed the importance of combatting foreign invaders and included the American occupation of South Korea as a prime example (Cha, 2012). In the 1950s, North Korea was more economically prosperous than South Korea which further increased the legitimacy of Juche (Cha, 2012). Ironically, Juche emphasized self-reliance, but North Korea relied heavily on aid from the Soviet Union and China (Cha, 2012; Demick, 2010).

The development of Juche was based on Marxism-Leninism and Confucianism (Foley, 2011) but is more similar to Confucianism (Cumings, 2005). Martin (2006) compares Kim Il Sung to God the Father, Kim Jong Il to Jesus Christ (the son), and Juche to the Holy Spirit. According to Lankov (2007), “North Korea is run as if it is a cult, and portraits of the Kim

family are icons of this religion. The special care of these icons is prescribed by the so-called ten rules of the unified ideological system, a sort of North Korean *Ten Commandments*” (p. 27). The regime strives to spread the tenets of Juche throughout all aspects of society (Lee, C. K., 2012).

The primary themes of North Korean education relate to socialism and revolutionary development (Kim, H. C., 1973; Yoo, Y. O., 2001). According to H. C. Kim and D. K. Kim (2005), “North Korean ideologues have stressed the preeminent role of Juche ideology in schools for remolding students into loyal and obedient communists” (p. 5). The main goals of education include promoting the benefits of communism, the elimination of individual and selfish pursuits, and passion for labor through nationalism and self-reliance (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). Nationalism (Hart, 1999) and collectivism are heavily indoctrinated through the education system (Lee, C. K., 2012). Diane Sawyer (2006), an American journalist who visited a North Korean school stated,

If you ask them about their country, they can’t say enough. It’s the most beautiful country in the world, they say. They are the happiest children anywhere. It is the most wonderful place to live under the leadership of Kim Jong Il. (para. 4)

In addition, the education system strives to deify the Kim family (Ha, 2008). Educational goals also stress loyalty to the Party and the leader (Yoo, Y. O., 2001).

Juche is emphasized in education to create a worldview based on revolutionary thinking that shuns foreign influence (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). North Korean defectors estimate that between 40% and 80% of school lessons relate to ideology (Hassig & Oh, 2009). According to Kim Jong Il (1983), “The main task confronting us today in implementing the ideological revolution is to educate and remould all members of society thoroughly into communist revolutionaries of the Juche type” (p. 14). The regime uses education to maintain the Party and the working class (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). Kim Jong Il (1995b) also stated that education should be based on the tenets

of Juche. The regime believes that education and revolutionary actions should be used together to heighten the influence of communism and that through appropriate education, socialism can be achieved (Yoo, Y. O., 2001).

Militarism

About 1.19 million North Koreans serve actively in the military and another 7.7 million in the reserve forces which include Reserve Military Training Units, the Worker-Peasant Red Army, Red Youth Guards, and paramilitary units (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Nearly all men and women have had some form of direct or auxiliary military experience (Cumings, 2004). North Korea is notorious for its nuclear weapons program and militaristic provocations which often overshadow the widespread human rights abuses. The country is extremely belligerent and has a massive military of approximately 9,495,000 active duty, reserve, and special forces personnel which is quite astonishing considering the total population (as of July 2012) is approximately 24,589,122 million (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013a). Males are required to serve in the military from the ages of 17 to 30 (Lankov, 2007; Ness & Lin, 2013a). Everard (2012) stated that “DPRK citizens are required to maintain military preparedness throughout their lives” (p. 78). Conscription is not required of women, but they comprise about 10% of the military and serve until the age of 26 (Lankov, 2007). North Korea has a significant amount of outdated military equipment and limited electronic warfare capabilities, but military operations still cause devastation and have killed South Koreans in recent years (Lister, 2013). In 2010, North Korea sank the South Korean naval vessel Cheonan and also fired artillery on Yeonpyeong Island, South Korea. Moreover, North Korea has weapons of mass destruction which has led to international security problems (“North Korean Succession,” 2012). In March of 2014, North Korean artillery was fired on South Korean territory near the maritime border of

North and South Korea in the Yellow Sea. North Korea has about 600 short-range Scud missiles that can target all of South Korea and 200 Nodong intermediate-range missiles that can hit Japan (Roehrig, 2012).

Militaristic propaganda is used extensively throughout North Korea. Militarism and the concept of Songun encompass many aspects of life in North Korea including the education system. According to Roehrig (2012), “All in the DPRK are asked to follow the model of the military: sacrifice for the sake of security and demonstrate loyalty to the leadership, the revolution, and the state” (p. 62). Many members of society wear uniforms including the military, police, subway and railway workers, miners, and some construction and factory workers (Lankov, 2007). The uniforms are intended to create an image of order and control in society (Lankov, 2007). There is also a massive amount of militaristic propaganda in communities (Everard, 2012). Militaristic propaganda can also be found at elaborate museums including the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War (the Korean War) Museum (Everard, 2012).

A 1966 article entitled “On Improving Guidance of Children’s Union Work,” stated that “Children are flowerbuds of the country and the future of the revolution. The destiny of the country and the nation together with the future of the revolution depends largely on how the younger generation is trained” (p. 2). Between the ages of 9 and 13, children join the Korea Children’s Union (Hassig & Oh, 2009) called *sonyondan* or the Pioneer Corp (Institute for Unification Education, 2012; Lankov, 2002). Sonyondan is “a deliberately ritualistic organization which skillfully exploits children’s love of rituals, oaths, and parades. The sonyondan induction ceremony is an especially important event in North Korean school life” (Lankov, 2007, p. 203). The children wear red neckties, patrol the neighborhood, and inform the police of any strange activities (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Sonyondan uses military terms for

ordering students into ranks and formations (Lankov, 2007). It is also responsible for operating summer camps for students which encourage militaristic activities such as shooting, trench digging, grenade throwing, emergency operations, and survival tactics (Lankov, 2007). The students are subjected to stories which have anti-American and anti-Japanese themes (Lankov, 2007).

Older students join the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League which supports involvement in “production, construction, and military service” (Gause, 2011, p. 51). Membership is open to individuals between the ages of 14 and 30 (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005; “North Korean Succession,” 2012). Membership is almost automatic (Lankov, Kwak, & Cho, C. B., 2012). The applicants must pass the admissions requirements; however, North Korean defectors have reported that they never heard of a rejection (Lankov et al., 2012). Kim Jong Il (1983) declared that,

The youths are a mighty force in the building of a new society and the successors to the revolution. So only by preparing them well politically, ideologically and morally, can the revolution and construction be stepped up vigorously and the eternal prosperity of the nation and the ultimate victory of the revolution be firmly guaranteed. (p. 1)

The Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League also stresses ideological lessons and monitors changes in its’ members views of society (Gause, 2011). The special youth organizations continue throughout life, and students are required to march, dance, and sing songs in honor of the Kim family (Lee, C. K., 2012). They also wear a Youth League button (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Once students become members of the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League they also join the Red Youth Guard which is a school organization that requires military training (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Both the sonyondan and the Kim Il Sung Socialist

Youth League have the power to reprimand students outside of the classroom (Institute for Unification Education, 2012).

Some special schools including Mankyungdae Revolutionary School, GangBanSuk Revolutionary School, Nampo Revolutionary Institute, and the Saenal Revolutionary Institute are designated for the children of Party officials and families who lost relatives during the Korean War (Institute for Unification Education, 2012; Yoo, Y. O., 2001). In early 2012, Kim Jong Eun visited Mankyungdae Revolutionary School and proclaimed that the students are, “Valuable treasures of the revolution, who will take in and model their lives on the Party’s military-first revolutionary leadership” (as cited in Kang, M. J., 2012a, para. 3). The students of the Revolutionary School are given training and education in a militaristic style (Kim, Yong & Kim, Suk-Young, 2009). The children of the elite are able to avoid conscription because North Korean law exempts college and university students (Lankov, 2007). The students instead attend a reserve officer training course which is not as brutal as regular military service (Lankov, 2007).

There are negative themes related to Americans, the Japanese, and South Koreans in North Korean textbooks (Lee, D. B., 2010). According to Cumings (2010),

A state narrative runs from the early days of anti-Japanese insurgency down to the present, and it is drummed into the brains of everyone in the country by an elderly elite that believes anyone younger than they cannot possibly know what it meant to fight Japan in the 1930s or the United States in the 1950s (allied with Japan and utilizing bases all over Japan)- and, more or less, ever since. (p. 45)

America is considered the chief enemy in North Korea (Lee, D. B., 2010). Americans are portrayed as evil monsters, and children are exposed to horrific stories of American brutality from an early age (Lankov, 2013). Until the 1990s, textbooks described South Korea as an

American colony and stated that the people suffered from widespread poverty (Lankov, 2013). The books described South Koreans living in filth and eating garbage near American military bases (Lankov, 2013). According to H. C. Kim and D. K. Kim (2005), “Through indoctrination in class ideology children are taught to hate the enemies of North Korea’s revolution, including Japanese military and police, American military, and South Koreans working for Americans” (p. 216). North Koreans are taught that the Korean War was officially started by the United States and that North Korea defeated the American imperialists (Everard, 2012). North Korean history is filled with stories of glory and victory (Petrov, 2001). Furthermore, North Korea recreates history based on political agendas (Lankov, 2007). According to a North Korean book entitled *The US Imperialists Started the Korean War*,

The war policy followed by the US imperialists since World War II was connected with their policy of world domination. The aggressive war unleashed by them in Korea was the first adventure of the US ruling circles to carry out their world domination scheme. (Ho, J. H., Kang, & Pak, T. H., 1993, p. 4)

The book also states that, “Due to the ever-intensified aggressive and war machinations of the US imperialists, Korea is now in a state of grave danger where a war can break out again at any moment” (Ho, J. H., et al., p. 251). American hatred is strongly encouraged in North Korean society (Kang, J. W., 2012).

The *Ryeoksa Sajeon* (Dictionary of History) describes a wide range of American people, organizations, and issues negatively and unscrupulously including Douglas MacArthur, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Peace Corps, and presidents (Yook, 2010). North Korea places a strong emphasis on anti-American themes in education (Hart, 1999; Kang, J. W., 2012; Lankov, 2007; Yoo, Y. O., 2001). According to a 53-year-old North Korean defector, Americans

are portrayed as the devil (as cited in Kang, J. W., 2012). North Koreans are taught that Americans and the Japanese are wicked and barbaric (Myers, 2011).

Children's stories include lessons on Korean (North and South Korean) civilians who had been tortured, burned, stabbed, and had acid thrown on them by enemies including Christian missionaries, the Americans, and the Japanese (Demick, 2010). The children learn the Korean letters by reading about a North Korean tank that combats the American forces (Kang, J. W., 2011). Children even play aggressive, anti-American games (Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012). Students in kindergarten and primary school play a game in which they hit American scarecrows with a stick (Kang, J. W., 2012). Anti-American themes are incorporated into math, science, reading, music, and art (Demick, 2010). Hassig and Oh (2009) discussed a drawing in a North Korean classroom of young children in military uniforms attacking a decapitated American. The media, teachers, and even comic strips teach the people to loathe the Americans, Japanese, and traitors (Kang, J. W., 2012).

Russian was the most prevalent foreign language in North Korea, but as the Soviet Union began to collapse, it became English (Lee, J. H., 2007). Russian was important in North Korea because the Soviet Union initially supervised government and military operations (Song, J. J., 2002). English was taught for a few years immediately following World War II, but during the Korean War it was removed from curricula until 1964 when the North Korean government began to encourage foreign language learning (Song, J. J., 2002). The primary reason for the initial use of English was to gain a better understanding of scientific and technical information in order to compete with South Korea (Song, J. J., 2002). In addition, English language curricula was used to advance the principles of Juche (Song, J. J., 2002). In the 1970s, 50% of students studied English, and 50% studied Russian (Song, J. J., 2002). English began to gain more popularity in

secondary education (Song, J. J., 2002). After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russian was no longer taught in the North Korean school system (as cited in Song, J. J., 2002).

English education in North Korea is lacking in textbooks, materials, and native English speakers with the exception of a few programs in Pyongyang (Haerim Kim, 2012). There is a high demand for English textbooks in North Korea, but the supply cannot keep up with the demand (Kang, M. J., 2013). Students sometimes gather money together and transcribe the books by hand (Kang, M. J., 2013).

English lessons in North Korean schools generally include topics such as Juche, the Kim family, and revolution (Song, J. J., 2002). An excerpt from a middle school English textbook (Park et al., 2001) in North Korea states,

Teacher: Now close your books everybody. Han Il Nam, how do you spell the word 'revolution'?

Student A: R-e-v-o-l-u-t-i-o-n

Teacher: Very good, thank you. Sit down. Ri Chol Su. What's the Korean [word] for 'revolution'?

Student B: Hyekmyeng

Teacher: Fine, thank you. Have you any questions?

Student C: No questions.

Teacher: Well, Kim In Su, what do you learn English for?

Student D: For our revolution.

Teacher: That's right. It's true we learn English for our revolution.

(as cited in Song, J. J., 2002)

The use of English in North Korea is generally limited to the classroom, and textbooks are produced by the North Korean government and do not include foreign, cultural lessons (Song, J. J., 2002). English language education has a militaristic objective (Song, J. J., 2002). Kim Il Sung told the North Korean people that learning English would lead to a greater chance of victory in a war against the United States (as cited in Song, J. J., 2002). Students have learned phrases including “drop your weapons”, “hands up,” and “surrender or you will die” (as cited in Song, J. J., 2002, p. 49).

Human Rights Violations

North Korea is a totalitarian regime with one of the worst human rights records in the world (*North Korea: A Case to Answer*, 2007). Basic human freedoms that are taken for granted in many western countries, do not exist in North Korea. According to Weatherley and Song (2008), “Rights are the property of the virtuous leader which he bestows on the people as a type of ‘gift’ or ‘grant’ to those who are deemed loyal to his leadership and his government” (p. 281). The lack of fundamental human rights has exacerbated the conditions in North Korea, and the government often does not provide basic life necessities (Kim, K. J., 2011). North Korea is a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966); the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (1979); and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). North Korea’s reports to the United Nations are given at random times, are late, lack data, and do not provide specific examples of human rights violations (Goedde, 2010).

Severe educational problems. There are cases of citizens who have been denied access to compulsory education and higher education (Database Center for North Korean Human Rights, 2010). There are three primary problems related to the North Korean education system:

the study of the Kim Dynasty has dominated academia, isolation has resulted in a lack of knowledge about foreign countries, and abysmal economic policies have led to poor nutrition and health (Hassig & Oh, 2009). The North Korean education system also has a deficiency of skilled graduates with technical knowledge (Everard, 2012), and most people do not know how to use computers, since only 5% to 15% of the population have access to them (Hassig & Oh, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2012). It is difficult to learn about innumerable challenges and complexities within the North Korean education system, because the North Korean government does not regularly report educational data (Fuqua, 2011).

During vacation periods, students must work in rural areas (Lankov, 2002). Students gather medicinal herbs in the summer (Kang, M. J., 2011a). They are also required to collect other things including rabbit fur, scrap iron, and complete their homework (Kang, M. J., 2011a). Children from poor families must spend time gathering items while more affluent parents can buy these things from markets (Kang, M. J., 2011b). North Korean defectors have reported that they did not have time to study in North Korea because they had to use their free time to work (“Young N. Koreans Find Adapting,” 2009). Many North Koreans search for food during the school day and work to provide for their families (Kim, S. A., et al., 2012). Teachers also have to work on various government projects which include farming, building railroads, and planting trees (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Many teachers have to find illegal jobs, and some teachers form small groups and search for food during class time, while other teachers take on extra classes (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Teachers have accepted bribes and changed grade reports, helped students cheat on exams, and provided private tutoring which are all prohibited (Institute for Unification Education, 2012). Parents are often expected to give money to teachers on their birthday and to pay for school events (Kim, S. A., et al., 2012).

Parents have offered gasoline, rice, and other foods to teachers (Kim, S. A., et al., 2012). Even impoverished families are expected to meet the demands of teachers and schools (Kim, S. A., et al., 2012).

Ideological lessons. North Koreans must participate in *hakseup* (“education”) sessions, which are basically mandatory ideology lessons (Mike Kim, 2008). The people meet in small groups and memorize important ideological propaganda such as speeches, literature, and historical events (Mike Kim, 2008). They are also required to participate in self-criticism sessions (Lankov, 2007). These sessions are called *saenghwal chonghwa* and generally occur at the end of every day, week, month, or other major period of time (Ryang, 2012). The average chonghwa session is usually once per week (Gause, 2011). Self-criticism sessions and political meetings usually occur before and after work (Hassig & Oh, 2009).

The purpose of saenghwal chonghwa is to reflect upon one’s mistakes publicly and gratefully receive criticism from others (Ryang, 2012). Typically the people do not mention many mistakes (Lankov et al., 2012). This generally lasts 1 to 2 minutes per person (Lankov et al., 2012). In addition, “individuals are supposed to feel the presence of the sacred being in order to reveal to this great entity every shortcoming that they happen to possess, so as to attain self-improvement” (Ryang, 2012, p. 185). The most important relationship in North Korean society is between the individual and the deceased former leader, Kim Il Sung whose spirit apparently lives on in the hearts and minds of the people (Ryang, 2012). The people must prepare for the sessions by writing down all of their mistakes from the week in a book (Lankov, 2007). Some examples of mistakes include soldiers not cleaning their weapons properly, students not completing their homework up to par, and housewives not cleaning the streets with enough enthusiasm (Lankov, 2007).

Propaganda. North Koreans are told that they live in the greatest country in the world. Culture, propaganda, and education are bonded together in Marxist-Leninist countries (Armstrong, 2003). The government controls the media (Freedom House, 2012). The people are heavily indoctrinated in ideological worship of Kim Il Sung (Breen, 2012). According to Breen (2012),

At train stations, hymns about Him waft from loudspeakers, insinuating their way into the homesick traveler's emotions. Unity around Him makes us a world power, they think. One day He will free the poor children of South Korea. And when they take the otherworldly journey through His former palace till finally He is lying there before them, they feel unworthy. (p. 8)

He (with a capital "H") is Kim Il Sung. According to Everard (2012), the North Korean government tries to force its citizens to believe the strange myths that are forced through propaganda. There is no place on Earth where people are "required to believe in the infallibility of their leaders on pain of the most hideous punishments" (Everard, 2012, p. 163). Pictures of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il can be found in numerous places in North Korea (Cumings, 2005). The pictures are displayed in buildings, schools, and even bedrooms (Cumings, 2007). North Koreans must also wear lapel pins with a picture of the dear leader (Person, 2013). In the front of every North Korean classroom, hangs a picture of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il (Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012). When the children enter the classroom, they bow to the pictures (Hassig & Oh, 2009). The Kim family controls North Korea and is the primary core of society (Monday, 2011). Monuments of the leaders are also found throughout the country (Cumings, 2004). According to Myers (2011), North Koreans have just as much pride in these national monuments

as “Americans feel at the sight of the Lincoln Memorial” (p. 79). There is even a Juche Tower in Pyongyang. The propaganda also accentuates the strength of the military (Myers, 2011).

Healthcare and famine. Education may not be a priority for North Koreans because many are malnourished and lack basic life necessities including access to healthcare. The North Korean economy is centrally planned and has severe management problems (Freedom House, 2012). There are a wide range of problems such as natural disasters and a lack of resources that contribute to North Korea’s economic burdens, but the government’s culpable negligence has intensified the severity of the crisis (Howe & Kim, K. U., 2011). The country has poor infrastructure, high foreign debt, and inadequate energy and raw materials (Freedom House, 2012). The medical equipment is rudimentary and outdated (Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010). Many hospitals do not even have heat in the winter (Shin, S. S., & Choi, R. Y., 2013). North Korea does not have an adequate supply of basic medications (Kim, S. A., et al., 2012; Shin, S. S., & Choi, R. Y., 2013). People must rely on traditional remedies or expensive medicine in black markets (Shin, S. S., & Choi, R. Y., 2013). Individuals with physical or mental handicaps, the blind, and the mute are treated with disrespect and are viewed as having no value to society (Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012).

Famine and malnutrition are interminable problems in North Korea (Schwekendiek, 2007) that have resulted in stunted growth (Mike Kim, 2008). Education is not a priority for many families because of dire poverty (Mike Kim, 2008). There is little value in education when people are destitute and famished (Mike Kim, 2008). Many children have difficulties studying because they are starving, and their family members may discourage them from going to school so that they can use their time to earn money (Mike Kim, 2008). It is common for the young and elderly to be the first victims to perish (Becker, 2005). Widespread hunger caused people to turn

against one another for survival (Becker, 2005). North Korean defectors have also reported cases of cannibalism (as cited in Breen 2012; as cited in Myers, 2011). Many North Korean people do not receive food aid provided by other countries and international organizations (Havel, Bondevik, & Wiesel, 2008). In addition, international food aid is often sent to the military rather than the general public (*North Korea: A Case to Answer*, 2007).

International and Technological Influences on North Koreans

The North Korean people are often portrayed as robotic, government controlled subjects, but they still have individuality and are aware of more than most outsiders think (Lankov, 2007). According to Hassig and Oh (2009),

It is difficult to predict what would happen if North Koreans gained unfettered access to information about their regime and the outside world. Such information might empower them to restructure their society to their own benefit, but they would need more than information to free them from the grip of thousands of years of autocratic rule. (p.169)

The North Korean people have been exposed to more ideas in recent years through technology (Lankov, 2007). As a result, they have more knowledge of the outside world and in some cases information about escaping.

China

The North Korean government tries to eliminate access to foreign broadcasts (Lankov, 2007). In the past, inspectors checked personal television sets on a regular basis to ensure that no one was watching foreign television shows, but they have been more lax in recent years (Lankov, 2007). Many radio sets that have not been adjusted by the North Korean government have been smuggled in from China (Lankov, 2007). These free tuning radios allow North Koreans to listen to South Korean broadcasts (Lankov, 2007). The North Korean people also

learn about the thriving economy in China (Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010). Cross-border traders also bring in small televisions that can receive Chinese reception in the border areas (Haggard & Noland, 2011). North Koreans also buy smuggled video CDs and transistor radios (Harden, 2012). VCD and VCR technology is becoming outdated in China and has been replaced by DVD players (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The older VCD and VCR systems are smuggled and sold in North Korea (Kirkpatrick, 2012). DVDs are also smuggled into North Korea (Lankov, 2009; “North Korean Succession,” 2012). North Korean refugees in China have also reported that Chinese language materials and electronic dictionaries from South Korea are being smuggled into North Korea (Green, 2011). Information has also leaked into North Korea through workers who traded in China (Everard, 2012).

South Korea

Some young North Koreans are influenced by illegal South Korean movies, television shows, and songs (Cho, J. I., 2011; Green, 2011; Hassig & Oh, 2009; Mike Kim, 2008). South Korean actors and actresses are becoming just as popular in North Korea as they are in South Korea (Lee, W. Y. & Seo, 2012). North Koreans watch and record South Korean television shows and smuggle them into North Korea at a minimal price (Harden, 2012). Through these television shows and movies, North Koreans can understand the tremendous economic gap between North and South Korea (Fitzpatrick, 2013) even if they may not fully believe what they are seeing. While Everard (2012) was working at the British Embassy in North Korea, he found that many of his contacts in Pyongyang had access to South Korean DVDs that had been smuggled from China and were inexpensive and easy to acquire. Some North Koreans buy illegal memory cards and MP4 players in black markets (Park, I. H., 2010). It is estimated that seven out of 10 North Koreans have had access to some type of visual media from South Korea,

and about 25% of people regularly try to access it (Cho, J. I., 2011). South Korean t-shirts became popular when defectors had clothes smuggled into North Korea, and now these shirts are being sold on the black market for almost double the price of Chinese shirts (Kang, M. J., 2012c). A survey of 90 North Korean defectors showed that 71.5% stated that yes, South Korean dramas influenced their decision to leave, and 13.2% stated yes, very much (Lee, W. Y. & Seo, 2012).

Other Methods

According to Lankov (2007), “Once upon a time, North Korean authorities managed to cut their people off from the outside world. But one cannot keep a country sealed forever- at least, not in the 21st century” (p. 52). Various South Korean groups fly balloons near the DMZ which are filled with anti-regime leaflets, small Bibles, small radios, food, clothing, cash, and medication (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Some balloons have GPS systems for specific destinations and carry DVDs, CDs, USB drives, and reading material (Kirkpatrick, 2012). It is illegal for North Koreans to touch or use these things which fall from the sky, but some do regardless of the consequences (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

North Korean Intellectuals Solidarity (NKIS), an organization started by North Korean defector intellectuals in South Korea, hopes to influence the scholarly professionals, students, and the highly educated of North Korea (Kirkpatrick, 2012). NKIS uses USB drives which appear to be empty but actually include anti-regime videos to target elite members of North Korean society (Kirkpatrick, 2012). This same method is used with DVDs which include anti-regime videos that play partway through a movie or television program (Kirkpatrick, 2012). NKIS sends information into North Korea through Chinese traders and couriers who think they are carrying blank USB drives or regular DVDs (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Computers must be

registered, and North Korean officials have checked hard drives for illegal videos and information (Lankov, 2013).

North Koreans can also learn about other countries through occasional conversations with tourists, although it would be rare for the average North Korean to meet a foreigner (Hassig & Oh, 2009). In addition, some foreigners living in Pyongyang are able to have conversations with North Koreans (Everard, 2012). Everard (2012) found that most North Koreans that he spoke with viewed South Korea with a “mix of fascination, jealousy, resentment- and longing” (p. 113).

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991, connectivity became a vital tool as communism officially declined (Friedman, 2007). Friedman (2007) stated that,

This level of connectivity surely helped to put the nail in the coffin of communism, because the very tools that were being used to improve productivity in the West (PCs, faxes, modems), even though much scarcer than in the East, vastly improved horizontal person-to-person communication there, to the detriment of top-down Communist systems. (pp. 58-59)

The North Korean government tries desperately to cut its people off from interaction with other countries. According to Lankov (2007), “For decades, North Koreans have been told that their country is a beacon to a world whose inhabitants are envious of the North Koreans’ prosperity and success” (Lankov, 2007, p. 190). Even other communist countries were not as successful in sealing their borders from “unwanted and unauthorized knowledge about the world” (Lankov, 2007, p. 190). Information is flowing into North Korea at a rapid rate through technology nonetheless (Lankov, 2008). North Korean people are also more aware of South Korea’s economic superiority (Lankov, 2013). However, North Koreans may not be aware of just how wide the economic gap is (Lankov, 2013). The North Korean government tries to portray South

Korea as an “unhappy” place that has been destroyed as a result of American influence (Lankov, 2013, p. 105). In addition, ethnic Koreans living in the border areas of China have helped propel change within North Korea (Harden, 2012).

Reasons for Escaping

Prior to the famines of the 1990s, most North Koreans escaped for political (Bidet, 2009; Sheena Choi, 2011; Lankov, 2006) and personal reasons (Soon-Yang Kim, 2010). The majority of North Korean defectors during the Cold War were North Korean soldiers (Soon-Yang Kim, 2010), air force pilots, and high ranking officials (“Strangers at Home,” 2011). In the early 1990s, the population of North Korean defectors in South Korea included diplomats, students studying abroad, and elite members of society who were aware of the fall of communism in Eastern Europe (Soon-Yang Kim, 2010). These early defectors were given a significant amount of money and a wide range of benefits in South Korea because of the valuable information that they had provided (Lankov, 2006; “Strangers at Home,” 2011; Tanaka, 2008). Conditions in North Korea changed after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994, and food shortages and flooding of the 1990s that resulted in major famines (Bidet, 2009).

Since that period, the primary reasons for escape have been famine and economic problems (Chung, B. H., 2009; *North Korea: A Case to Answer*, 2007; Soon-Yang Kim., 2010). Some North Koreans have escaped due to discrimination, violations of basic human liberties, and to reunite with family members who had already left (*North Korea: A Case to Answer*, 2007). Most North Koreans that escape are from North Hamgyong Province (as cited in Lankov, 2006) which is mountainous and lacks sufficient food (Tanaka, 2008). Furthermore, North Koreans with a low songbun classification and those who live closer to the border of China may be more likely to escape (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009).

The Modern Underground Railroad

The period of transmigration begins on the modern underground railroad when North Koreans escape. It is technically possible to cross the DMZ into South Korea, but it is incredibly dangerous (Hassig & Oh, 2009). The DMZ is full of land mines and is heavily fortified. There are some cases of North Korean soldiers who defect through the DMZ (Kirkpatrick, 2012). It is far less risky to cross into China or Russia (Hassig & Oh, 2009). The border between North Korea and China is easier to cross (Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010); however, there are many border guards (Tanaka, 2008). The Chinese government built concrete walls and fences along primary defection routes (Choi, E., 2010). According to the International Crisis Group (2006), “Those who leave their homes embark on an uncertain journey along a fragile underground railway that can last anywhere from five days to five years or more, depending on their money, connections and luck” (p. 1). Very few North Koreans receive aid during the escape process (Kirkpatrick, 2012). North Korean refugees reported learning about China through personal stories, books, media, and videos prior to their escape (Haggard & Noland, 2011). Most have to pay bribes to guards (Chung, B. H., 2003; Hassig & Oh, 2009), but it is risky (Tanaka, 2008). In 2005, the average bribe was between \$25 and \$50 (U.S. dollars; Tanaka, 2008) which is a significant amount to most North Koreans.

Helping North Koreans escape is a business (Lankov, 2007), and brokers are used (“Strangers at Home,” 2011; Suh, B. H., 2007). Fee estimates range from \$1,250 to \$19,950 (U.S. dollars; “North Koreans Escape,” 2005; “Strangers at Home,” 2011; Tanaka, 2008). These fees are incredibly expensive to North Koreans, so they must rely on assistance from outside of North Korea (Lankov, 2006). It is common for North Korean defectors in South Korea to send money to brokers who assist their relatives in escaping from North Korea (Lankov, 2007). Many

North Korean defectors seek aid under the auspices of South Korean religious groups and NGOs that operate in China (Hassig & Oh, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2012; Tanaka, 2008). North Koreans sometimes hear that they should visit buildings with crosses in China to get assistance (Haggard & Noland, 2011). The activities of these organizations are illegal under Chinese law (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The refugees are sometimes also assisted by other North Korean refugees, Chinese citizens of Korean descent (*Chosunjok*), and North Koreans who are still inside of North Korea (Suh, B. H., 2007).

The Kim Jong Eun regime began to tighten security along the Sino-North Korean border in 2011 (Gause, 2011). There are reportedly more shoot-to-kill orders and signs stating that possession of Chinese cellphones and foreign money will result in execution (Cha, 2012). Some refugees are shot by North Korean snipers while trying to escape (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The border between China and North Korea is 1,416 km. The Yalu (Amnok River in Korean) and Tumen Rivers separate China and North Korea. Crossing the Tumen River is generally less perilous than the Yalu River which has a lot of strong currents (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009). The Yalu River is 790 km and is deep and wide, but some parts of the river can be crossed without a boat (International Crisis Group, 2006). The Tumen River stretches across 546 km and can be easily crossed in shallow areas (International Crisis Group, 2006). The bodies of refugees can sometimes be found floating on the water (Mike Kim, 2008). Many North Koreans cross when the water is frozen, but this is also treacherous (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009). North Koreans who are captured are taken to a detention center or prison camp (Kirkpatrick, 2012). North Korea also borders Russia; however, the 17 km border is located on the Tumen River Delta which is more dangerous due to strong currents (International Crisis Group, 2006).

China repatriates North Korean refugees. The Chinese and North Korean governments define North Korean refugees as illegal economic migrants (Cammara, Crace, Worly, & Zaltzman, 2007; Han, J. H. J., 2013, "World Report," 2013, p. 2) which is based on Article 4 of the 1986 Mutual Cooperation Protocol for the Work of Maintaining National Security and Social Order in the Border Areas between China and North Korea (Human Rights Watch, 2002; Lim, H. & Chung, Y. C., 2006; Tanaka, 2008). There are a wide range of estimates of the number of North Korean refugees in China. Some estimates are as low as 30,000 to 50,000 (*North Korea: A Case to Answer*, 2007; Tanaka, 2008). Haggard and Noland (2011) estimate the number to be around 100,000. Some humanitarian organizations believe there are as many as 300,000 North Korean refugees living in China (Mikyong Kim, 2012). The Chinese government estimates that there are 10,000 North Korean refugees living in China, while the South Korean government approximates the number is between 10,000 and 30,000 (Mikyong Kim, 2012). Since many refugees are in hiding, it is difficult to calculate the number of North Korean refugees living in China (Mike Kim, 2008). In addition, some North Koreans routinely cross the border into China to bring money and food back to their family members (Haggard & Noland, 2011).

China worries that an influx of North Korean refugees will result in the decline of the North Korean regime (Becker, 2005; Cohen, 2012; Park, K. A., 2010). In 2001, the Chinese government began to strictly enforce repatriation and sought aid workers who assisted refugees (Margesson et al., 2007). Humanitarian workers must secretly assist North Korean refugees (Choi, E., 2010). The Chinese government has more vigilantly searched for North Korean refugees in hiding (Becker, 2005; Suh, B. H., 2007). In addition, North Korean agents have killed humanitarian workers in China (Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 2012). The Chinese government fines missionaries and NGO workers up to \$3,600 (U.S. dollars) for

trying to aid North Korean refugees (Park, K. A., 2010; Tanaka, 2008). Proselytization is illegal in China, and religious organizations must have government authorization to operate (Han, J. H. J., 2013). Some brokers pretend to be missionaries to gain the trust of North Korean refugees (Han, J. H. J., 2013). According to J. H. J. Han (2013), “Missionaries actively purchased children and women from brokers, reminded them of the price of the rescue, and used the threat of exposure and abandonment to discipline the North Korean migrants in their custody” (p. 556).

Chinese citizens are becoming less likely to help North Korean refugees due to increased threats from the Chinese government which prohibits its citizens from helping North Korean refugees (Mike Kim, 2008). Some Chinese people have also been harmed by North Korean refugees and refuse to continue assisting them (Choi, E., 2010). According to E. Choi (2010), some of the people “are scared of the violent and immoral images of undocumented North Korean migrants that circulate around them and, at the same time, undocumented North Koreans are too scared of the Chinese’s accusations and the threat of the deportation” (p. 178). Chinese locals can also be given a reward of \$400 to \$630 (U.S. dollars) for turning in North Korean refugees (Tanaka, 2008). There is also a significant population of Chosunjok (Han, J. H. J., 2013) who still speak Korean (Kwon, Y. I., 2008). In the past, the Chosunjok living in the border areas often assisted North Korean refugees, but they are more fearful now (Choi, E., 2010). However, many North Korean citizens have family members living in China (Han, J. H. J., 2013) who may assist them.

The Chinese government is obligated to follow Article 33 (Tanaka, 2008) of the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol, and the UN Convention against Torture (*North Korea: A Case to Answer*, 2007). The UNHCR office in China has no legal authority to assist North Korean refugees (Kirkpatrick, 2012; *North Korea: A Case to Answer*,

2007; Park, K. A., 2010). Under Chinese law, North Korean refugees cannot legally seek asylum in other countries' embassies and consulates (*North Korea: A Case to Answer*, 2007). China refuses to classify these North Koreans as refugees; therefore it is in violation of the 1951 Convention on Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, to which it is a signatory (Mike Kim, 2008).

Chinese police arrest North Korean defectors and take them to local police stations where they face preliminary interrogation (Hassig & Oh, 2009). The Chinese government has built new border patrol stations to aid in the repatriation process of North Korean refugees (Haggard & Noland, 2011). North Korean refugees are taken to larger police stations where their valuables are taken as well as any objects that can aid in a suicide attempt (Hassig & Oh, 2009). The refugees are sometimes beaten and interrogated about what they did in China and who they met (Hassig & Oh, 2009). In one location, witness testimonies indicate that 150 to 300 North Korean refugees are deported every week (as cited in International Crisis Group, 2006). Aid relief organizations have reported witnessing Chinese police buses and vans taking the refugees back to North Korea (Hawk, 2012).

Once repatriated, the refugees face cruel and excessive interrogation (Kirkpatrick, 2012). They are asked questions about their activities and who they had contact with (Kirkpatrick, 2012). If they state that they met Americans, South Koreans, or Christians, they are identified as traitors and are sent to prison camps (Kirkpatrick, 2012). They are also asked if they had access to South Korean media, propaganda, movies, and music (Haggard & Noland, 2011). If officials believe that the North Koreans were trying to escape permanently, they face severe punishment (Hyun, 2003). Punishments include imprisonment, torture, forced labor, prison camp sentences, and execution (Margesson et al., 2007). Pregnant North Korean women who are repatriated from China are forced to have abortions, and young infants of suspected Chinese fathers are killed

(Choi, E., 2010; *North Korea: A Case to Answer*, 2007). If a North Korean is found guilty of escaping for political reasons, the sentence is severe (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009).

Problems on the Modern Underground Railroad

Life in China. Many North Korean refugees hide in China and try to live a regular life, but for others China is a transit country (Kirkpatrick, 2012). North Koreans can generally be identified in China by their ragged clothing and telltale signs of malnutrition (Chung, B. H., 2003). Some North Koreans stay in China for only a short period of time to meet family members, find a temporary job, get food or medical care, and find things to sell in North Korea (International Crisis Group, 2006). North Korean defectors in South Korea reported feeling shocked when they discovered the more economically privileged life in China (Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012). North Koreans generally have little knowledge about China and living conditions before escaping (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009).

North Korean refugees in China have reported feeling surprised by the choices and freedom that they have (Green, 2011). Kang Hyok reported that after watching videos in China with other North Korean refugees, they felt embarrassed by all of the things they had learned and believed in North Korea (as cited in Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012). North Korean refugees experience anxiety and depression because they feel uncertain about their future and may lose contact with friends and family in North Korea (Haggard & Noland, 2011). Furthermore, general refugee populations often experience posttraumatic stress disorder, anxiety, insomnia, fatigue, memory problems, and nightmares (Demirdjian, 2012). North Korean female refugees in China also experience meaningfully higher rates of anxiety, depression, and schizophrenia in comparison to male refugees (Yu & Jeon, 2008).

The overwhelming majority of North Korean refugees stay in China and do not move to a safer country (Mike Kim, 2008). A survey conducted by the US Committee for Human Rights in North Korea found that 83% of defectors stayed in China for a minimum of 2 years (Tanaka, 2008). Some North Korean defectors have family members and children which makes it challenging for them to leave China (Tanaka, 2008). Many North Korean refugees know that it is possible to go to South Korea or a country which accepts North Korean refugees; however, many do not have the information or resources needed to leave China (International Crisis Group, 2006). Most North Korean refugees who are able to leave have support from NGOs or family members in South Korea (International Crisis Group, 2006).

Human trafficking. Human trafficking is a grave problem for North Koreans trying to escape (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009; Mike Kim, 2008; Margesson, et al., 2007). Traffickers represent different nationalities and ethnicities including North Korean, Chinese, and Korean-Chinese (Kim, E., et al., 2009). The traffickers are mostly men who live in border areas (Kim, E., et al., 2009). Some traffickers are neighbors, friends, and family members of the women (Kim, E., et al., 2009). Many women have become victims of the highly profitable human trafficking industry (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009; Mike Kim, 2008; O, 2011; Tanaka, 2008; “World Report,” 2013), with some estimates as high as 80% to 90% (Margesson et al., 2007).

The trafficking operations have extensive networks which are connected to organized crime groups (Kim, E., et al., 2009). Trafficking has extended to the interior of China (Kim, E., et al., 2009). Many North Korean refugee women are sold to men in the Chinese countryside (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009; Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010; O, 2011). The women are often betrayed (Kim, E., et al., 2009). Many of the new husbands have physical

and psychological problems (Hyun, 2003). However, some women voluntarily marry Chinese men because this lifestyle may be better than living in North Korea or as a wandering refugee in China (Hyun, 2003).

The Chinese government does not recognize the marriage of North Korean women to Chinese men (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009; Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010). Sometimes the women are sold to other men, leaving children who may not be cared for by their fathers (Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010). They become orphans who are not recognized under Chinese law (Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010), and therefore do not have access to national healthcare and education. The children are also not recognized under North Korean law (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009). Testimonies indicate that some women are also forced to work in karaoke bars, brothels (as cited in “Strangers at Home,” 2011), the cybersex industry (Kim, E., et al., 2009), bathhouses, beauty salons, and nightclubs (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009). It is not uncommon for women to be sold several times (Kim, E., et al., 2009).

Employment. In China, North Korean refugees are not able to legally work without a *hukou* (Chinese resident permit) and *shenfenzheng* (Chinese ID card; Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009; Haggard & Noland, 2011). The *hukou* includes the following information: gender, family relations, birth date, place of birth, ethnicity, current and former addresses, national identification number, height, blood type, education level, job, and work location (Human Rights Watch, 2008). A low quality forged identification card can cost between \$10 to \$25 (U.S. dollars) and hukou prices start at around \$1,260 (U.S. dollars; International Crisis Group, 2006). North Korean refugees often have to accept low quality, hazardous jobs (Haggard & Noland, 2011). They do not have adequate job skills and cannot speak Chinese

proficiently (Tanaka, 2008). Most have to perform manual labor to support themselves (Hyun, 2003). Chinese employers often fail to compensate North Korean refugees and report them to the police (Hyun, 2003). The refugees who are paid generally make much less than Chinese citizens (Hyun, 2003; Lim, H. & Chung, Y. C., 2006). Some refugees work for room and board instead of payment (Lim, H. & Chung, Y. C., 2006).

Education. Some North Korean refugee women unofficially marry Chinese men and have children (Hawk, 2012). These North Korean women and their children have no legal rights or access to education in China (Hawk, 2012). They are not listed on the official hukou and do not have a shenfenzheng (Haggard & Noland, 2011). A child born in China with only one parent who is a Chinese citizen can obtain citizenship; however, this would put the North Korean mother at risk (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Medical care and schooling cannot be accessed without a hukou (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

In some cases, school officials are bribed to provide these children with access to formal education; yet, these children do not have official records which will eventually prevent them from attending secondary school (Kirkpatrick, 2012). In addition, the children are not able to get textbooks (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009). Some parents have purchased the hukou of another child with legal Chinese citizenship (Kirkpatrick, 2012). There are also fake hukou which can be purchased (Kirkpatrick, 2012). These methods are costly and risky (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Some officials have accepted bribes of \$125 to \$378 (U.S. dollars) to have children put on the family registry (International Crisis Group, 2006). A lot of North Korean refugee children in China are orphans, and other refugee children hope to support their family members who are in North Korea (Chung, B. H., 2003).

Many aid workers believe it is easier to aid these children in China rather than try to help them escape on the modern underground railroad (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Some humanitarian and religious organizations have developed educational programs to help them (Hyun, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2012). The organizations often lack adequate funding to properly assist the refugees (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The children live a dull lifestyle inside of the shelters and have to be careful so they are not exposed (Hyun, 2003). The children cannot go outside and interact like typical children (Hyun, 2003). In one home, refugees were not allowed to go outside until they could speak Chinese well and blend into the regular population (Han, J. H. J., 2013). The shelters sometimes pay for textbooks, school supplies, uniforms, and other educational expenses (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The organizations also set up foster homes for these children (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Many of the parents have very little formal education and only have the ability to assist the children with basic subjects (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Some children run away in hopes of finding freedom or to plead for money from South Korean tourists to help support family members in North Korea (Chung, B. H., 2003; Hyun, 2003).

It is imperative to learn more about the educational life experiences of North Korean refugees on the modern underground railroad. Some refugees may spend only a relatively short period of time on the modern underground railroad, and others may live in one country or several countries for years. During the transmigration period, North Korean refugees are generally hiding or moving secretly to another location. The educational life experiences of individual North Korean refugees could be vastly different, but it is likely that many do not attend school due to their status as illegal migrants under Chinese law. It is possible to pay bribes and obtain official documentation needed for schooling in China (Kirkpatrick, 2012). However, during the transmigration period, most North Korean refugees do not have access to formal education

(Sheena Choi, 2011). If the refugees have access to education during transmigration, it is probably through aid organizations, churches, volunteers, or supporters. It is important to learn about the educational life experiences of North Korean refugees during transmigration. Research provides critical information about their experiences which is not officially known because the refugees are not legally documented in China.

Common Routes on the Modern Underground Railroad

Southeast Asia. The governments of Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam have diplomatic relations with North and South Korea. Many North Korean refugees travel across China by rail or bus until they get to the border of Laos, Vietnam, (Kim, M. O., & Jaffe, 2010) Cambodia, and sometimes Myanmar (Human Rights Watch, 2002; International Crisis Group, 2006). Cambodia is a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its Protocol. The Golden Triangle, an area dominated by mountainous jungles and criminal activity, is a popular route (International Crisis Group, 2006). Vietnam is a popular choice, but the border guards can sometimes cause problems for the refugees (Tanaka, 2008). Vietnam and Laos are communist countries and generally do not want to assist North Korean refugees (Margesson et al., 2007). However, Vietnam has developed a strong economic alliance with South Korea (International Crisis Group, 2006). South Korea has invested in projects in Vietnam, and South Korean businesses have opened there (Jiyoung Song, 2013). Vietnam has been very strict with its border controls though since 2004 when 468 North Korean refugees were flown to South Korea (International Crisis Group, 2006). This became a major political problem, and the North Korean ambassador returned home (Jiyoung Song, 2013). Vietnam is still used as a transit country (International Crisis Group, 2006). Some sources indicate that North Korean refugees have transited through Myanmar, but they face a year in jail if caught (as cited in International

Crisis Group, 2006). If the refugees can make it to the South Korean embassy in Yangon (Rangoon), the authorities allow them to be transferred to South Korea (Jiyoung Song, 2013). North Korean refugees cross into Myanmar through regions controlled by the United Wa State Army (which is known for trafficking and illicit drug production) rather than government controlled checkpoint areas (as cited in International Crisis Group, 2006). Laos is also a transit country (International Crisis Group, 2006). Vientiane, the capital of Laos, has had some embassy incursions, but most North Koreans on this route go to Thailand since it is just a river crossing away (International Crisis Group, 2006). Laos is a communist country, but government control is not strict, and local mafia groups have significant power (International Crisis Group, 2006). Before 2009, the Laotian government allowed about 50 North Korean refugees to be sent to South Korea annually (Jiyoung Song, 2013). In May of 2013, the Laotian government repatriated nine North Korean refugees; however, in June of 2013, a group of 20 North Korean refugees was sent to South Korea.

North Korean refugees must carefully move into Thailand by ordinarily paying bribes along the way (Kim, M. O., & Jaffe, 2010). Thailand is a common choice for North Korean refugees because its border controls are not very strict, and they can get access to the UNHCR (Tanaka, 2008). Thailand is considered a safe country on the modern underground railroad (International Crisis Group, 2006). Once North Korean refugees enter Thailand, they are generally arrested by Thai police and have to pay a fine of about \$300 (U.S. dollars) or spend a month in jail and can then receive an exit visa (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Thai jails are uncomfortable, but the North Korean refugees prefer 1 month of these conditions rather than having to face repatriation (Hassig & Oh, 2009). After imprisonment, the North Korean refugees are sent to the immigration removal center in Bangkok for about 2 weeks (Jiyoung Song, 2013).

Some North Korean refugees are able to avoid arrest and go directly to South Korean mission organizations and wait 3 months to receive resettlement authorization to live in South Korea (International Crisis Group, 2006). Once North Korean refugees have access to the South Korean embassy, they get a background check and have an interview with UNHCR and South Korean officials (International Crisis Group, 2006). This generally takes 2 or 3 months, but the process can be expedited for children, disabled individuals, or people who have valuable intelligence information (International Crisis Group, 2006). Thailand does not want to encourage an influx of North Korean refugees, but it also considers the humanitarian issues involved (International Crisis Group, 2006).

Mongolia. Another popular route is through Mongolia (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Mongolia has a good relationship with North and South Korea (International Crisis Group, 2006). It does not have a UNHCR office, but the Mongolian government still aids North Korean refugees and “quietly passes North Koreans on to the South” (International Crisis Group, 2006, p. 19). It is geographically closer to North Korea than Southeast Asia. Smugglers are sometimes paid to take refugees a few kilometers to the border, and they then walk to the closest Mongolian town (Kim, M. O., & Jaffe, 2010). However, Mongolia is considered a very dangerous escape route (International Crisis Group, 2006). It can be extremely hot, there is little protective natural cover for hiding (International Crisis Group, 2006), and the Gobi desert can be treacherous (Li, 2013). In addition, Chinese officials are posted up to 50 km on both sides of the border (as cited in International Crisis Group, 2006).

Russia. North Korea shares a border with Russia, but the Tumen River separating the two countries has a very strong current (International Crisis Group, 2006). Most North Korean refugees who enter Russia first go through China (International Crisis Group, 2006). In addition,

some North Korean citizens work in Russia legally as loggers and construction workers (International Crisis Group, 2006). Russia is a signatory to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and there is a UNHCR office in Moscow (International Crisis Group, 2006). However, many local officials arrest North Koreans and send them back to China and North Korea (International Crisis Group, 2006).

Diplomatic offices. North Korean refugees sometimes seek asylum through South Korean embassies and consulates and other nations' embassies and consulates in foreign countries (Mikyong Kim, 2012). North Korean refugees have been able to gain entry to French, Swedish, German, Japanese, Canadian, South Korean, and American diplomatic offices (Human Rights Watch, 2002; International Crisis Group, 2006; Lim, H. & Chung, Y. C., 2006). This method can be risky though and requires strategic planning (Lankov, 2006). Sources indicate that many North Korean refugees are turned away by diplomatic offices (as cited in Lankov, 2006). This is the most common method of gaining entry to South Korea though (Kirkpatrick, 2012). There are also many cases of diplomatic intervention throughout China and Southeast Asia which have not been publicized (as cited in International Crisis Group, 2006). Some North Korean refugees have hidden on Chinese boats that were en route to South Korea (Lankov, 2006). There are also more rare forms of escapes (Kirkpatrick, 2012) including soldiers who escaped through the DMZ (Brumfield & Kwon, 2012) and boats that landed in Japan and South Korea (Amnesty International, 2012; Ryall, 2011).

Initial Transition in South Korea

Overview of South Korean Society

South Korea has made remarkable transformations since the reconstruction period of the Korean War. Since 1963, the South Korean economy has had a 7% real growth increase every

year (Ito, Iwata, McKenzie, Noland, & Urata, 2012). The South Korean Global Economic Development Index was 40% in the 1970s, 75% in the 1980s, and 84% in the 1990s (Estrada & Park, D., 2008). South Korea today has the 13th largest economy in the world based on purchasing power parity and is ranked as the 12th largest economy overall (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013b). The population of South Korea (as of July 2013) is 48,955,203 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013b). Approximately 31.6% of South Koreans are Christians (Protestant 24%, Catholic 7.6%), and 24.2% are Buddhist (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013b). The life expectancy in South Korea is 79.3 years (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013b) which is roughly 10 years higher (some estimates are closer to 15 years) than that of North Korea (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013a). In addition, 83% of the population lives in urban areas (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013b). South Korea also has a wide range of industries including electronics, telecommunications, automobile production, chemicals, shipbuilding, and steel (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013b).

South Korea does not actively encourage the defection of North Koreans (Demick, 2010; Lim, H. & Chung, Y. C., 2006). However, the South Korean government assists defectors and provides them with citizenship (Lim, H. & Chung, Y. C., 2006), but these valuable benefits do not always equate to acceptance and integration into society (O, 2011). The South Korean Constitution states that all people living on the Korean peninsula and its islands are entitled to South Korean citizenship (Lim, H. & Chung, Y. C., 2006). This constitutional provision does not coincide with international laws though (Lim, H. & Chung, Y. C., 2006).

Education plays a tremendous role in South Korean society. Education is a tool for obtaining social status and maintaining family honor (Ness & Lin, 2013b). South Korea requires 6 years of primary school and 3 years of middle school. High school is 3 years but is not

mandatory, and families must pay for tuition (Ness & Lin, 2013b). However, even though high school is not compulsory, 98% of the population graduates (Lee, R., 2011). Kindergarten is not mandatory in South Korea, but about 41% of children attend (Ness & Lin, 2013b). There are about 4,500 national kindergartens and 3,887 private kindergartens (Ness & Lin, 2013b). Some kindergartens have English immersion programs (Ness & Lin, 2013b). The majority of students receive private tutoring and supplemental classes in academies called *hagwons* (Ness & Lin, 2013b).

There are four types of tertiary education in South Korea including colleges and universities, junior colleges, teachers' colleges, and theological colleges (Ness & Lin, 2013b). Entrance into university, especially elite universities, is incredibly competitive (Ness & Lin, 2013b). High school students take the *sooneung* test (college entrance examination test) which includes Korean, mathematics, English, social studies, science, and a foreign language besides English (such as Chinese characters; Ness & Lin, 2013b). South Korea was the first country to provide Internet access to all elementary, middle, and high schools (Ness & Lin, 2013b).

Interrogation

North Korean defectors initially face National Intelligence Service (NIS) interrogation when they arrive in South Korea (Hassig & Oh, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2012; Lankov, 2006). This period can last from 1 week to a few months (Hassig & Oh, 2009). The defectors must write out detailed stories about their lives (Hassig & Oh, 2009). The government determines the accuracy of the defectors' stories, ensures that they are not spies, gains intelligence about North Korea, (Hassig & Oh, 2009) and confirms that they are not Chinese-Koreans (Oh, 2010). In addition, some Chinese citizens who speak Korean pose as North Korean defectors to obtain benefits from the South Korean government (Demick, 2010).

Hanawon

North Korean defectors begin their transition to life in South Korea at Hanawon which was established in 1998. A new Hanawon was built in 2012 to prepare for an increasing number of North Korean defectors (Shin, H. H., 2012). Hanawon means “house of unity” (Fuqua, 2011, p. 85). The original Hanawon is located in a secluded, rural location in Anseong, Gyeonggi Province and is guarded by a fence and barbed wire (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The new Hanawon is located in Hwacheon, Gangwon Province. The new Hanawon has specialized programs for male defectors, while the original Hanawon focuses on women and children (Shin, H. H., 2012). Approximately 70% of defectors are female (Shin, H. H., 2012).

In 2009, the Hanawon program was extended from 8 weeks to 12 weeks to improve the defectors’ psychological and physical wellbeing (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). Hana Clinic was established at Hanawon and has healthcare experts in the following fields: internal medicine, dentistry, oriental medicine, obstetrics and gynecology, and psychiatrics (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). The defectors are divided into groups based on gender and age (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). Specific programs are tailored to the defectors’ needs (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b).

Adaptation Problems

Initially many North Koreans at Hanawon refuse to believe that multitudes of North Korean stories are actually fallacies (Harden, 2012). There are also reports of violence among students, and some staff members have been assaulted (Lankov, 2007). According to Harden (2012),

Questions from South Korean bank tellers, whom they meet on field trips to open bank accounts, often terrify defectors. They doubt the motives of nearly all people in positions

of authority. They feel guilty about those they left behind. They fret, sometimes to the point of panic, about their educational and financial inferiority to South Koreans. They are ashamed of the way they dress, talk, and even wear their hair. (p. 162)

They are traumatized by many past and present events. According to Kim Yong and Kim Suk-Young (2009), “The haunting memories of their families dragged them back to the abyss of the past, which loomed dark in the face of the present, entirely eclipsing visions of the future ahead of them” (p. 158). North Korean defectors have horrific memories about escaping and the family members that they had left behind (Kim, Yong & Kim, Suk-Young, 2009). They feel guilty and yet appreciative of what they have in South Korea (Mikyong Kim, 2013).

Adult Education

The Hanawon curricula includes 420 hours of course work, 80 hours of vocational classes at other locations, and 386 hours of electives (Kirkpatrick, 2012). History, political science, and economics classes are mandatory (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The defectors also learn about culture, technology, and cooking (Tanaka, 2008). They spend a significant amount of time relearning what they learned in North Korea and discovering fact from fiction (Kirkpatrick, 2012). They become angry when they discover that many of the stories they learned throughout their lives are not true (Mikyong Kim, 2013). They also learn the South Korean language, slang, and English words that are commonly used (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Chinese characters are often used in South Korea, but they are not used in North Korea (Min, S. K., 2008). The only foreign words used in North Korea are some technical Russian terms that are not used in South Korea (Min, S. K., 2008).

Vocational training prepares the defectors for future jobs as cooks, hairdressers, factory work, and nursing assistants (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Specific gender classes have been created as a

result of the large number of female defectors (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). The most popular elective course is computer training which provides defectors with the skills needed to adapt to the high-speed, technologically advanced lifestyle in South Korea (Kirkpatrick, 2012). There are also classes to help obtain a driver's license (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). One of the most valuable lessons that the defectors learn is the importance of hard work for survival (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

Near the end of the program, the defectors participate in field activities (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). They study the laws of South Korea and go on trips to gain practical knowledge and skills to effectively assimilate into society (Harden, 2012). They learn how to use ATMs, credit cards, and home appliances (Kirkpatrick, 2012). They also visit grocery stores, subway stations, and banks (Kirkpatrick, 2012). In addition, they are taught about people who may try to manipulate them and learn how to properly manage money (Harden, 2009). Many North Korean defectors report that they did not learn enough at Hanawon to successfully transition into South Korean society (Lankov, 2006).

Education for Children and Youth

Students between the ages of 7 and 15 attend Muntok Primary School which is a regular public school that South Korean students attend. Hangyoreh is a specialized middle and high school for North Korean defectors located near Hanawon. It is a government supported school that was built in 2006. The students and teachers live on campus, and there is heightened security ("S. Korean School," 2008). Many of the students struggle with elementary reading and math (Harden, 2012). Even some of the most advanced students have rudimentary knowledge of world history (Harden, 2012).

A large percentage of the students do not have parents and have to live with memories of painful past experiences which include public executions and the starvation of family members (McCurry, 2010). In addition, many students have lost one or both parents (“S. Korean School,” 2008). Principal Gwak Jong-Moon remarked that when the students lived in North Korea and China, many of them were too hungry to go to school, and they believed that it was common to eat tree bark (as cited in Harden, 2012). When the students go on field trips to the movies, they are terrified that someone will kidnap them (Harden, 2012). Western foods that South Korean teenagers love such as pizza, hot dogs, and hamburgers, make them feel sick (Harden, 2012). One girl accidentally drank liquid fabric softener because she thought it was mouthwash, and another thought that laundry detergent was flour (Harden, 2012). Psychological counseling and medical treatment are available to the students (“S. Korean School,” 2008). The South Korean government also provides support to 10 other institutes, protective programs, and alternative schools for adolescent defectors (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b).

Integration into South Korean Society

South Korean society emphasizes “capitalism, globalization, and individualism” (Yoo, E. H., 2012, p. 28). North Korean defectors often feel shocked by the freedom of expression in South Korean society (Mikyong Kim, 2012). The first year in South Korea is especially difficult, and many defectors experience depression, anxiety, and have a lot of suspicion (Oh, 2010). If the media reports negative stories about North Korea, the defectors may feel guilty (Oh, 2010). They also feel lonely because they have difficulties establishing relationships (Oh, 2010). According to Demick (2010),

North Korean defectors often find it hard to settle down. It is not easy for somebody who’s escaped a totalitarian country to live in the free world. Defectors have to

rediscover who they are in a world that offers endless possibilities. Choosing where to live, what to do, even which clothes to put on in the morning is tough enough for those of us accustomed to making choices; it can be utterly paralyzing for people who've had decisions made for them by the state their entire lives. (pp. 283-284)

They become immersed in a new lifestyle that generally requires a good family background, social class, and university degrees and connections to have better opportunities (O, 2011). The defectors expect to become middle-class members of society but soon discover a wide range of social and economic barriers (Chung, B. H., 2009).

After Hanawon, defectors receive assistance from the Korean Red Cross for 1 year to assist with paperwork and starting life independently (as cited in "Strangers at Home," 2011). They also receive aid from settlement assistants, support officers, the Association of Supporters for North Korean Refugees, Regional Adaptation Centers (Hana Centers), the regional council of support for North Korean refugees, and NGOs (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). The settlement assistants teach defectors about the local community, communicate about problems, and provide general help for 1 year (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). Support officers are set up by local governments and perform administrative work to help defectors with residency paperwork, social security services, getting medical care, and obtaining certifications (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b).

Regional councils are responsible for networking with support officers, regional welfare centers, NGOs, and they also obtain data about refugee integration and determine solutions to problems (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). Regional welfare centers and religious and civic organizations play a major role in assisting defectors during the integration process (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). Regional Adaptation Centers provide early

integration assistance and career support and counseling (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). A year after completion of Hanawon, defectors participate in a 3 week education program conducted through a Regional Adaptation Center (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). As of 2010, there were 30 centers in 16 urban locations (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b).

North Korean defectors receive settlement money (“Strangers at Home,” 2011) and support for education, employment, medical care (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b), and housing (Kirkpatrick, 2012). They can receive a financial bonus if they complete 500 hours of job training and maintain employment for at least 6 months (Kirkpatrick, 2012). There are also employment support offices and employment subsidy bonuses (Song, G. H., 2012). The government provides subsidies to employers who hire North Korean defectors (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). The South Korean Ministry of Employment also has programs to train defectors as welders, machine operators, textile workers, and computer programming testers (Yi, 2012). They also receive free education from elementary to high school (Song, G. H., 2012). For undergraduate studies, they do not have to pay tuition at public colleges and universities, and at private universities the government and the university share the tuition cost (Song, G. H., 2012).

North Korean defectors in South Korea have access to NGOs and government organizations that can provide some assistance (Min, S. K., 2008; “Strangers at Home,” 2011). NGOs have played a major role in the implementation of policies to benefit North Korean defectors (Jungin Kim, 2010). Defectors sometimes receive aid from churches and nonprofit organizations in the form of services, English classes, job search assistance, and counseling (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Many NGO workers have complained that there is not enough

communication between NGOs and the government which results in waste and inefficiency (“Strangers at Home,” 2011).

Social Problems

There are key factors in determining the adaptation success of North Korean defectors including age, education level, the amount of time spent in China, and the location of relatives (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The number of foreigners in South Korea is still relatively low (“Strangers at Home,” 2011). However, South Korea is developing as a multicultural nation, but North Korean defectors and other foreigners living in Korea still experience discrimination. Furthermore, traditional notions of homogeneity remain engrained in society (Kim, S. H., 2011). According to Kim, Y. Y. (2009), “When North Korean immigrants compare the degrees of wealth and technological development between North and South Korea, they begin to suspect that their beliefs, values in the past were an illusion” (p. 220). In North Korea the government makes decisions about food, jobs, and education (“Strangers at Home,” 2011).

Unfortunately, many South Koreans, especially the younger generation, are unaware of the brutality of the North Korean regime and the plight of North Korean defectors (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Many do know about the myriad issues that inhibit defectors from properly integrating into society (Oh, 2010). South Koreans are also sometimes shocked by the routine and normal aspects of North Koreans’ everyday lives (Cumings, 2004). According to Kang Chol-Hwan (Kang, C. H. & Rigoulot, 2001), a North Korean defector who escaped from the notorious Yodok Prison Camp and now works as a journalist,

The citizens of South Korean should realize they have an important role to play in welcoming refugees. They aren’t just people who have fled something; they are people

who have a hard time adapting and a hard time forgetting what they have endured. (p. 230)

Some South Koreans view North Korean defectors as enemies; therefore it is difficult to establish trust (Suh, J. J., 2002). In addition, there are often stereotypes that label North Korean defectors as “dependent, passive, lazy, and selfish” (Suh, J. J., 2002, p. 81). Some South Koreans feel “unease and disappointment” in situations with North Koreans (Lankov, 2006, p. 124). They may have negative views about life in North Korea and the human rights violations, but they still may lack sympathy for North Korean defectors (“Strangers at Home,” 2011). It is also difficult for North Korean defectors to establish relationships with South Koreans (Lee, H. J., 2012). North Korean defectors have problems determining who can be trusted in South Korea (Lee, H. J., 2012). In addition, during the Cold War, North Korean defectors were viewed as a benefit to the South Korean government, but now they are often perceived as an economic burden (Park, K. A., 2010).

Some North Korean defectors feel alienated and disillusioned and choose to emigrate (“Competition,” 2012). Every North Korean defector has an assigned police officer for protection, but this can also seem as if the defectors are a “potential threat to society” (Lee, H. J., 2012, p. 29). Many North Korean defectors in South Korea experience severe discrimination (Fuqua, 2011; “Strangers at Home,” 2011). Moreover, competitiveness is exceptionally intense in South Korea (“Competition,” 2012). The defectors expect abundant opportunities in South Korea, but instead many become distraught and often experience difficulties and failures (Suh, B. H., 2007).

Employment Problems

Personal finance is often a colossal issue for North Korean defectors. They are frequently tricked and conned into various schemes (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Many hope to become successful entrepreneurs but discover that there are a wide array of challenges that they never anticipated (Hassig & Oh, 2009) and have to accept low wage jobs (Chung, B. H., 2009). Even defectors from an elite background in North Korea, lack the skills needed to perform in the South Korean workplace (Chung, B. H., 2009; Lankov, 2013). However, the more successful and entrepreneurial defectors in South Korean society tend to come from the North Korean elite (Lankov, 2006). Most defectors do not have background knowledge of English, Chinese characters, and technology which are important in South Korean society (Suh, B. H., 2007). North Korean defectors typically earn less money than their South Koreans counterparts (Kirkpatrick, 2012). The average salary of a North Korean defector in South Korea is approximately 1.27 million won (\$1,170 U.S. dollars), which is about half of what the average South Korean makes (Lankov, 2013). They also have a higher unemployment rate (Kirkpatrick, 2012; Tanaka, 2008) which is about four times greater than that of South Koreans (Lim, L. 2010). Furthermore, a large number send their money to family members who are still in North Korea (Chung, B. H., 2009; Mikiyoung Kim, 2012; Park, K. A., 2010). Most use brokers to send money to their families in North Korea (Lankov, 2013). This system is generally efficient and quick (Lankov, 2013). The brokers usually charge between 25% to 30% for their services (Lankov, 2013).

Language Problems

North Koreans must adjust to language and dialect differences (Hassig & Oh, 2009; Lankov, 2006; “Strangers at Home,” 2011; “Young North Koreans,” 2009). They are not

familiar with terms such as *budongsan* (real estate) and *boheom* (insurance) which are unique to capitalist countries (O, 2011). The South Korean language uses many words from other languages, especially English words which do not exist in North Korea (Chung, B. H., 2009; Hassig & Oh, 2009; Lankov, 2006; O, 2011; “Strangers at Home,” 2011; Yoo, E. H, 2012). Some young defectors can only speak Chinese (Kim, H. J., 2012). Academic vocabulary, especially mathematical, is often different in the two countries (Kim, H. J., 2012). In addition, older South Koreans can read several thousand Chinese characters which are sometimes included in magazines and books, but these characters are not used in North Korea (Hassig & Oh, 2009).

The majority of North Korean defectors attending university drop out (Lankov, 2013). The university dropout rate of North Korean defectors is 28.4% which is considerably higher than the South Korean rate of 4.5% (“Language Barrier,” 2010). As of July 2011, there were 1,183 North Korean defectors studying in higher education, but 400 had taken a leave of absence (as cited in Haerim Kim, 2012). North Korean defectors studying at Sogang University were interviewed about their educational problems. Some of the major issues that they discussed were grades, English, and having part-time jobs, and they emphasized that the stress they experienced in these areas was much higher than the level experienced by South Koreans (“Hopes and Fears,” 2008). North Korean defectors often need part-time jobs which makes it difficult to study (Lankov, 2013). They must study hard in order to attain the same educational level as South Korean students, but working takes away from their studying time (Song, G. H., 2012).

Many North Korean defectors who take a leave of absence from university do so because of English problems (“Language Barrier,” 2010). They suffer in university because of a lack of fundamental English knowledge which makes it difficult to compete with South Korean students who generally have had far more exposure to English throughout their lives (Haerim Kim, 2012).

Haerim Kim (2012) observed a class of 11 South Korean students who were mostly proficient in English and one North Korean defector student. The defector was constantly looking up vocabulary words during the class and could not focus on the teacher (Haerim Kim, 2012). She could only understand about 30% of the class (Haerim Kim, 2012). Less than half of the participants in Haerim Kim's (2012) study had learned English in North Korea (Haerim Kim, 2012). E. H. Yoo (2012) found that most of her participants had difficulties learning English in South Korea. They could not understand the English words or sentences that were frequently used by professors in South Korea (Yoo, E. H., 2012).

Medical and Psychological Problems

North Korean defectors experience more psychological and emotional problems than South Koreans (Jeon et al., 2008; Kirkpatrick, 2012; "Strangers at Home," 2011), and have many general health problems (Lee, Y. H., et al., 2012). North Korean defectors may have to deal with a wide range of problems including capture, refoulement, living in another country, family separation (Song, B.A., et al., 2011), adapting to cultural and language differences, competing in a new society, and building trust with South Koreans (Kim, H. K., & Lee, O. J., 2009). North Korean defectors had statistically meaningful results on depression, somatization, (Kim, H. H., et al., 2011) mania, and schizophrenia tests (Jeon et al., 2008). North Korean defectors are often shocked by the vast differences in society and experience tremendous stress during the adaptation process (Kim, H. K., & Lee, O. J., 2009). Adolescents, young adults, and newly arrived defectors experience high rates of anxiety and depression (Choi, S. K., et al., 2011). In addition, health status was negatively reported among North Korean defectors who entered South Korea within a year of leaving North Korea (Kim, D. S., et al., 2007).

Young North Korean defectors often experience psychological problems resulting from adaptation problems and school bullying (UNESCO, 2007). The children sometimes do not get help from parents because they too are having difficulties, and many young defectors came alone (“Young N. Korean Defectors,” 2012). Young North Koreans also have developmental problems which resulted from malnutrition (Fackler, 2012). Former North Korean orphans experience many emotional problems (Kim, H. J., 2012). C. M. H. Choi (2007) studied the psychological impact of the Modified Caring at Columbia Music Therapy Program on refugee youth from North Korea and found that many of the participants experienced avoidance, distrust, loneliness, loss, and fear. In addition, C. M. H. Choi (2007) discussed numerous integration issues in South Korean society which had led to problems with “self-image, self-confidence, academic progress, interpersonal relationships, and view of their future” (p. 157).

Many North Korean defectors have smaller body frames (“Strangers at Home,” 2011) and generally weigh less than the comparable South Korean populace (Choi, S. K., et al., 2010). Schwekendiek (2009) found height and weight variations to be 12.7 cm and 7.3 kg for North and South Korean boys and 12.4 cm and 6.4 kg for girls under the age of 7. Pak (2010) found height and weight variations for boys to be 6.0 cm and 3.3 kg and 1.4 cm and 0.9 kg for girls in the same age group.

North Korean defectors often experience difficulties with social networking (Chung, S. & Seo, 2007). Discrimination and a dearth of social networks are related to perceptions of negative national identity among North Korean defectors (Yu, Eom, & Jeon, 2012). A large number of North Korean defectors have reported abusing alcohol or drugs, and many become involved in crime (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Even the North Korean defectors who do become successful in South Korea are faced with myriad problems especially since they can never forget their family

members who are still in North Korea (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Additionally, North Korean defectors are cautious about taking photos and using their real name because they have to protect their family members who are still in North Korea (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

Educational Problems

North Korean defectors often experience a wide range of problems while assimilating into South Korean society (O, 2011). They frequently feel betrayed and deceived by the North Korean government for teaching lies and distorted ideologies (Kim, Y. Y., 2009). In comparison to North Korea, the South Korean education system focuses more on creative methods and practical skills and knowledge (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). The curriculum has also been adapted recently to include more experiential activities (Ness & Lin, 2013b). Primary school curriculum includes Korean, social studies, math, science, physical education, arts and music, and English (Ness & Lin, 2013b). Middle school curriculum includes Korean, math, social studies, science and technology, home economics, physical education, arts and music, and English. There are a wide range of elective courses such as Chinese characters, environmental science, design, religion, vocational skills, and other foreign languages (Ness & Lin, 2013b). High school curriculum also includes academic classes and a wide range of electives (Ness & Lin, 2013b). South Korean education is also more individualized and emphasizes the development of democratic people and humanism (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). In addition, the education system values insight from educational institutions in other countries (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). Educational policy in South Korea addresses topics including positive human development, peaceful unification, national security and anti-communism, and the improvement of economic and social development (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). South Korean education policy endorses peaceful unification and condemns North Korea's belligerent unification plans and virulent national policies (Yoo, Y.

O., 2001). In many ways, the South Korean and North Korean education systems, policies, and practices are polar opposites. It is difficult for South Korean officials, educators, administrators, and the general public to assist North Korean defectors and clearly understand the complexities of the defectors' individual circumstances and backgrounds (Harden, 2009).

South Korea is swiftly advancing as a global leader, especially in the field of technology. Technological advancements in society have drastically changed the world (Friedman, 2007). According to V. Stewart (2012), in the 21st century, students are competing on an international level. It is therefore imperative that educational institutions prepare students to “*compete, connect, and cooperate* on a global scale” (Stewart, V., 2012, p. 136). In addition, science, technology, and innovation are essential components of expanding economies (Stewart, V., 2012). Students need more awareness of the world in to compete on a global scale (Stewart, V., 2012). Classes and educational programs in South Korea may incorporate innovative and modern themes and topics that are needed to flourish in a competitive world. South Korean society clings to accelerated development and state of the art technology. North Korean defectors may not have had access or had very limited access to computers and modern technology prior to defecting.

North Korean defectors frequently change schools on a regular basis as a result of innumerable issues and academic challenges (Yoon, J. W., 2010). They have significant problems in mathematics, English, and Korean classes because they do not have the prerequisite knowledge needed to progress in the courses (Yoon, J. W., 2010). Furthermore, North Korean defectors must focus on exam preparation, and they may not develop the vital skills needed to assimilate into society (Yoon, J. W., 2010). Many suffer from a wide range of problems including developmental issues that resulted from malnutrition and famine (Chung, B. H., 2009).

In addition, the majority of defectors did not have access to formal education on the modern underground railroad (Chung, B. H., 2009).

Education is the most important tool in attaining higher social status in South Korea (Breen, 1998). Education is highly revered in the South Korean education system (Kim-Renaud, 1991), and there is fierce competition (Paik, 2001). Credentials are often essential for employment (Hyangkue Lee, 2001) and networking (“Strangers at Home,” 2011). Moreover, there is a large percentage of highly educated citizens in South Korea with university degrees, but there are not enough jobs for even well qualified individuals (Strother, 2011). About 80% of South Korean students attend university, whereas only a small number do in North Korea (“Strangers at Home,” 2011). According to Shin Hyo-Sook an educational specialist at the North Korean Refugees Foundation, “These children are simply not equipped for South Korea’s fiercely competitive society” (as cited in Fackler, 2012). There is intense competition in the South Korean education system, and families invest heavily in their children’s education (Breen, 1998; Kim, M. O. & Jaffe, 2010).

South Korean society places a tremendous emphasis on family, and parents play a major role in their children’s education (Paik, 2001). It is estimated that South Korean families spend about 495,664 won (\$452.04 U.S. dollars) per month on their children’s education, which is about 16.9% of average household income (“South Korea: Koreans Spend More,” 2013). Some North Korean parents are shocked that not all of their children’s education is paid for by the government in South Korea (“Strangers at Home,” 2011). In some cases, North Korean mothers did not help their children prepare for school in South Korea because in North Korea, the government provided everything, and they did not understand the South Korean education system (Kim, Y. Y., 2009). Affluent parents in South Korea may send their children to English

preschools or pay for private tutoring (Kim, M. O., & Jaffe, 2010). In addition, some wealthy parents send their children to study in English speaking countries (Breen, 1998).

Educational competitiveness begins before elementary school (Breen, 1998). Some kindergartens operate only in English (Breen, 1998). English education is emphasized at an early age (Kim, M. O., & Jaffe, 2010). Many students in South Korea attend academies and private classes which are expensive (Breen, 1998). Youth often attend numerous extra classes in piano, math, ballet, and other subjects and may not finish studying until late into the night (Breen, 1998). In North Korea, private lessons are rare (Institute for Unification Education, 2012; Lee, J. H., 2007), but they are an integral part of South Korean education (“Strangers at Home,” 2011). South Korean students are notorious for studying late at night and getting very little sleep (Breen, 1998). Finally, adolescent suicide, which is a major problem in South Korea, has been attributed to the ultracompetitiveness (Ness & Lin, 2013b; Sisteck, 2013).

Education about North Korea in South Korea

From the 1950s until the early 1990s, South Korean textbooks portrayed North Koreans in a very brutal, violent manner in order to paint a negative picture of communism (Hart, 1999). History textbooks described North Koreans as “monstrous, or hideous red-eyes monsters carrying deadly weapons that South Koreans cannot reconcile with. Textbooks color the North Korean territory in red while South Korean territory is blue” (Y. J. Chung, 2010, p. 29). Anti-communist education technically ended in the 1990s (Lee, H. J., 2012). Beginning in 2001, anti-communist curriculum was banned in schools (Y. J. Chung, 2010).

The South Korean government has planned to include more information about North Korean human rights violations in public school education (“Schoolchildren to Learn,” 2011). The curriculum will consist of information about North Korean defectors, South Korean citizens

who were kidnapped by North Korea, South Korean prisoners of war, and families that were separated as a result of the Korean War (“Schoolchildren to Learn,” 2011). At the university level, there are programs in North Korean studies, but South Korean graduates are struggling to find jobs with this type of major (Lee, E. S., 2011). In 1992, South Korea began developing educational policies to prepare for possible reunification (Kim, Y. Y., 2009).

Y. J. Chung’s (2010) study found that South Korean teenagers’ awareness of history and reunification were “incomplete at best” and that “negative attitudes towards North Koreans persist” (p. 1). Other studies have found that South Korean youth are not interested in reunification (Oh, 2009). Y. J. Chung (2010) stated, “To these teenagers who, by many accounts, seem to care more about their academic achievements or plastic surgeries than history or their nation’s future, what would Korean reunification mean?” (p. 2). Anti-communist movements and laws have largely prevented South Korean society from clearly understanding their neighbors to the north (Chung, Y. J., 2010).

The Institute for Unification Education (2010) provides a wide range of resources to teach the South Korean public about reunification and issues related to North Korean defectors. There are specialized classes designed for social groups, schools, government workers, leaders, public speakers, and people who want to visit North Korea (Institute for Unification Education, 2010a). There is also a special education committee, education centers, an education council, and exhibition halls (Institute for Unification Education, 2010a). Educational videos and an e-magazine have been used to provide more insight into relevant reunification issues and information on life in North Korea (Institute for Unification Education, 2010a). There are classes for teachers, government workers, and visitors to North Korea (Institute for Unification Education, 2010a). The website includes information about educational programs, useful

materials, a discussion board, and libraries (Institute for Unification Education, 2010a). In 2009, the South Korean government started a campaign to teach the public about the resettlement programs for North Korean defectors (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). The campaign included a concert, contests, videos, and publicized stories of positive resettlement (Institute for Unification Education, 2010b). It is important for South Koreans to learn about the plight of North Koreans through education (Kang, S. J., 1998).

Summary

When Korea was divided at the end of World War II, major differences emerged in what would become North and South Korea. North Korea became a communist country and was strongly influenced by the Soviet Union initially. As the course of the latter half of the 20th century progressed, North Korea developed its own ideological system called Juche which has a powerful impact on society and many aspects of the education system. Militarism has played a vital role in the survival of the North Korean regime. Militaristic practices encompass many facets of North Korean life as well as educational practices, teaching, and curricula. North Korea is a totalitarian regime which is notorious for widespread human rights abuses which also have a direct impact on the education of North Korean citizens. Some North Korean citizens have chosen to escape and begin an arduous journey on the modern underground railroad in East Asia. Many of these refugees experience innumerable problems during this transmigration period. Some North Korean refugees are able to gain asylum in embassies and consulates and migrate to South Korea. During the postmigration period in South Korea, defectors may experience significant problems throughout the integration process due to extreme societal differences which they are not accustomed to. Finally, this study is grounded in the transformative learning theory which is based on using a previous perspective of an experience to develop a changed

understanding of the meaning of an experience which leads to a transformed interpretation or action in the future (Mezirow, 1996).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this transcendental phenomenological study was to describe the essence of the premigration, transmigration, and postmigration educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea in light of their exposure to Juche, militarism, and human rights violations. North Korean citizens are subjected to a government controlled system of education which revolves around Juche. Militarism is embedded in many aspects of life and education. North Korea is notorious for human rights violations which result in numerous problems in the education system as well as society as a whole. North Korean refugees may also experience appalling human rights abuses on the modern underground railroad. North Korean defectors in South Korea have many integration problems which may be further intensified by their exposure to Juche, excessive militarism, and human rights violations. It is important to learn more about the past and present educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in light of their exposure to Juche, militarism, and human rights violations.

Design

A qualitative approach was used because it is important to learn about the participants' meaning and understanding of a human issue (Creswell, 2007). According to McMillan (2008), "Researchers using a qualitative approach believe that there are multiple realities represented in participant perspectives, and that context is critical in providing an understanding of the phenomenon being investigated" (p. 271). The participants may have different views on their educational life experiences during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. Many aspects of North Korean life are mysterious to outsiders. The experiences of North Korean defectors during each period of migration, especially premigration and transmigration, are also complex and unique. According to Eisner (1991), a qualitative study can add more depth about a

“situation that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing” (p. 58). It is also essential to evaluate multiple sources of data related to the educational life experiences of the participants (McMillan, 2008).

North Korean defectors often have unique experiences and challenges that may not always be revealed through quantitative research. In addition, North Korean defectors are generally asked to complete a lot of surveys (Ha, 2008). Sometimes they have difficulties understanding the questions or their purpose (Ha, 2008). It is important to study their human experiences which may be unique and full of details that a quantitative study would not cover. I learned details from the participants’ experiences through interviews, timelines, and journal entries.

Phenomenology is rooted in the philosophies of Kant and Hegel (Moustakas, 1994). Phenomenological research is most beneficial for this study because it is important to learn about the shared educational life experiences of North Korean defectors. There are numerous ways to interpret the same experience (McMillan, 2008). In addition, “the meaning of the experience to each participant is what constitutes reality” (McMillan, 2008, p. 291). North Korean defectors may interpret their experiences differently.

Furthermore, transcendental phenomenology was used because as a researcher, I wanted to strive to eliminate my personal biases and opinions that could influence or skew the research process. Husserl further developed the concept of phenomenology and emphasized the value of “meanings and essences of experiences” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 21). According to Husserl, “If the transcendental relativity of every possible world demands an all-embracing bracketing, it also postulates the bracketing of pure psyches and the pure phenomenological psychology related to them. Through this bracketing they are transformed into transcendental phenomena” (as cited in

Welton, 1999, p. 331). During the epoche process, I examined my views and biases which could have affected various stages of the research process (Moustakas, 1994).

Research Questions

Central Question: What primary themes emerge from the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration?

Subquestions:

1. How did Juche, militarism, and human rights violations influence the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors during the premigration period?
2. How did human rights violations affect North Korean refugees' educational life experiences during the transmigration period?
3. During the postmigration period, what are the perspectives of North Korean defectors regarding Juche, militarism, and human rights violations in North Korea (after obtaining a more balanced formal or informal education in South Korea and being exposed to ample factual information)?
4. How do North Korean defectors perceive the future role of education in their lives in South Korea?

Participants

The 15 participants (including the pilot participant) in this study are North Korean defectors between the ages of 19 (the legal age of adulthood in South Korea) and 35. The participants lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years. Having lived in North Korea for at least 10 years, the participants had a wide range of memories of their home country and were able to provide more details about their experiences. Three years is an adequate period of time to begin the adjustment process in South Korea. North Korean

defectors who have recently arrived may experience a vast array of emotions about their new home and may not be able to form balanced views, because they have not had enough exposure to South Korean society and the education system.

The participants attended at least 1 semester of English speaking or conversation at a college or university or at least 6 months of an English program, tutoring sessions, or another formal method of English language acquisition. The participants may have felt more comfortable during the data collection process if they had at least a minimal level of exposure to foreign teachers, western culture, and the English language.

Three types of sampling procedures were used including criterion, purposive, and snowballing (McMillan, 2008). Criterion sampling is valuable because all of the participants must have experienced the phenomenon, and it also provides “quality assurance” (Creswell, 2007, p. 127). Purposive sampling is used to locate participants who will be “particularly informative about the topic” (McMillan, 2008, p. 119). In addition, the participants and sites that were chosen for the study “can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study” (Creswell, 2007, p. 125).

Interpreter and Translator

An interpreter (who also served as a translator) was used for the interview process and data collection and analysis. The interpreter should not have influence over the participants and can clearly restate the participants’ accurate and complete information to the researcher (Hicks & Simmerling, 2011). The interpreter speaks Korean and English fluently. He completed the Human Subject Protection Certificate course through the National Institutes for Health. He assisted in an ethical and professional manner. The interpreter majored in North Korean studies and educational pedagogy in South Korea. He also assisted me with humanitarian and

educational projects to benefit North Korean defectors. The interpreter has extensive knowledge and experiences which were incredibly valuable throughout the research process.

Setting

The research was carried out using Skype™ primarily, Facebook™, email, and a popular South Korean cellphone program called KakaoTalk™ which is free. I had not planned to use Facebook, but several participants were recommended through Facebook. I live in the United States, and the participants live in South Korea. Most of the participants live in the Seoul-Metropolitan region. KakaoTalk, Facebook, and email were used to connect to potential participants. The interviews were conducted online through Skype. Documents were attached and sent through email.

I strove to consider local and cultural differences throughout the research process (Hicks & Simmerling, 2011). I tried to be aware of any unique challenges or differences of the research population. According to Hicks and Simmerling (2011), “Wherever research is conducted, it must be carried out in a way that honors the autonomy and dignity of all persons and embodies the principles of respect for persons, beneficence, and justice” (p. 1). My research only involves individuals and not foreign organizations or institutions. I reviewed the American Anthropological Association’s guidelines for international research as well as the standards used by other researchers who conducted studies on North Korean defectors. I conducted research in an ethical manner and learned as much as possible about North Korean defectors and their lifestyles. Written consent was obtained in Korean.

Procedures

The research proposal was submitted to the Liberty University Institutional Review Board. The Institutional Review Board approval form is in Appendix A. Snowball sampling

began with a North Korean defector named “Cheol Su” who I met in South Korea in 2010. A recruitment letter (Appendix B) which provides an overview of the study was given to Cheol Su. Other potential participants were given this recruitment letter so that they could determine if they were interested in the study before reading the informed consent form.

Through snowball sampling, I asked participants if they knew any potential participants who meet the requirements of the study (McMillan, 2008). A snowball sampling recruitment letter (Appendix C) was given to participants so they could provide basic study information to potential participants. It can be very difficult to gain access to North Korean defectors, and they are sometimes apprehensive about stating their views and providing demographic information because it could put their families in North Korea in danger (Song, G. H., 2012). Moreover, some defectors believe that they are being closely watched by the NIS in South Korea (Song, G. H., 2012). The English and Korean versions of the informed consent forms can be found in Appendix D and E respectively.

Gaining access and rapport was not a problem initially because I knew the first participant. I also knew three other participants including Min Sik, Su Jung, and Yoon Cheol. According to Patton (1980), “Rapport is built on the ability to convey empathy and understanding without judgment” (p. 231). It was not difficult to find participants who met the basic qualifications of the study. However, many did not want to participate in a qualitative study because too much personal information could be released. Some feared that their identity would be exposed which could cause harm to family members who are still in North Korea. Several potential participants were willing to complete surveys but did not want to participate in a time consuming qualitative study. Also, some were busy preparing for certification exams and studying for the upcoming semester in college or university. Many North Korean defectors have

numerous priorities that have to be juggled. I was not told this, but some may not want to relive their past experiences or maybe they just want to concentrate on the present and future. It is also possible that some defectors do not want to be disturbed. I can completely empathize with North Korean defectors who feel burdened by research studies. As a foreigner living in South Korea, I participated in about five to 10 studies each year. Sometimes I felt like I was being targeted and identified because I was either a foreigner or a native English speaker.

After contacting potential participants, I emailed the informed consent form to those who were interested in participating. Initially, 16 participants completed the informed consent form, but one participant became very busy preparing for the next semester of university. He did not complete any of the research activities. The participants were instructed to send the informed consent form to me within 3 days, but I allowed a time extension for three participants who did not return it prior to the deadline. They typed their name and the date at the bottom of the form. They also checked a box if they agreed to be audiorecorded during the interview. The participants were told about their right to voluntarily participate, the purpose and procedures of the research, risks and benefits, identity protection, confidentiality, and their right to stop participating in the study (Bailey, 1996; Kvale, 1996). This information helped build rapport (Creswell, 2007). The informed consent form included contact information about Hana Centers (support centers for North Korean defectors) which could provide assistance or counseling. Upon completion of the research activities, participants were given a 30,000 won (\$28 U.S. dollars) online gift card for Gmarket (an online shopping mall).

The demographic survey, the primary life events timeline instructions, and journal writing instructions and topics were given to the participants through email. The participants emailed the completed forms and activities to me once they had finished. The standardized,

open-ended interviews were conducted through Skype. Data was stored electronically on my personal computer and through a paper filing system in my filing cabinet at home which was locked (Creswell, 2007). All relevant electronic documents were placed in a password protected folder. The electronic file folder was copied to a password protected USB to ensure that the information was duplicated in the event of a system crash or computer problem. I only kept printed documents and my handwritten notes unsecured when I was reviewing them.

The data collection process continued until thematic saturation was reached (Creswell, 2007). I had anticipated that the number of participants would be between 10 and 25. Creswell (2007) and Polkinghorne (1989) recommend between five and 25 participants and Morse (1994) recommends at least six participants in phenomenological studies. Thematic saturation was reached with 15 participants, including the pilot participant. This was an adequate number of participants, and I was able to gain depth and clarity from their answers.

The Researcher's Role

I want to tell the stories of North Korean defectors who may not otherwise be given an opportunity to share their experiences and hopes and dreams for the future. I used the *epoche* process to consider my personal opinions and biases which may influence the research process. According to Moustakas (1994), "*Epoche* is a Greek word meaning to refrain from judgment, to abstain from or stay away from the everyday, ordinary way of perceiving things" (p. 33). I strove to view various aspects of the data collection and analysis process in a new light. I used self-reflection and considered how my views and beliefs may have influenced the research process.

I tried to be the human instrument of this study, and I consider myself to be a voice for the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I align my research perspectives with three

philosophical assumptions which include ontological, epistemological, and axiological. The ontological assumption is rooted in the nature of reality (Creswell, 2007). I used various specific words which described the views of the participants (Creswell, 2007). It is also important that I realize that reality is based on the perspectives of the participants (Creswell, 2007). I endeavored to find the essence of the experience for the participants. The epistemological assumption focuses on the relationship between the researcher and participants (Creswell, 2007). My goal was to become closer to the North Korean defector populace in South Korea and learn as much as possible about the participants through collaboration and frequent communication. Finally, the axiological assumption helped me to recognize my personal biases and values that may have an impact on the research process (Creswell, 2007).

My values and experiences have molded my personal research perspectives. My research is not completely free of biases, but I tried to accurately and objectively convey the views of the participants. I am an American who lived in South Korea for 6 years. My travel experience in North Korea had a lasting impression on me. I am an educator who spent 6 years teaching South Korean students. I also taught North Korean defectors. I have a humanitarian interest in the welfare of North Korean people. My experiences and beliefs obviously influence my research interests and may also have had an impact on the data collection and analysis process. I tried to reduce my biases and perspectives which could result in an unbalanced or inaccurate portrayal of the defectors' stories and experiences.

My worldview shapes the research process. Social constructivism focuses on individuals understanding their world (Creswell, 2007). The objective of research is to learn about the participants' perspectives of their experiences (Creswell, 2007). I listened attentively and actively took notes and made observations of the participants (Creswell, 2007). In addition, I

considered how my individual, cultural, and past life experiences may have influenced the research process (Creswell, 2007). I carefully interpreted the life experiences of the participants and their views of the world (Creswell, 2007).

My educational philosophy is largely influenced by critical theory. According to Gutek (2004), critical theory is defined as a “complex set of working assumptions about society, education, and schooling that question and analyze educational aims, institutions, curricula, instruction, and relationships to raise consciousness and bring about transformative change in society and education” (p. 309). North Korean defectors can become empowered and overcome obstacles that have inhibited their development and personal fulfillment. I examined past and present experiences of participants which included conflict, oppression, human rights abuses, and an amalgamation of other significant problems (Creswell, 2007). According to Gutek (2004), “As women and men, we are not simply determined by facts and events . . . we are subject to genetic, cultural, social, class, sexual, and historical conditionings that mark us profoundly and that constitute for us a center of reference” (p. 153). The participants were given an opportunity to discuss their views of South Korean society which were sometimes critical in nature. They were also asked about their perspectives of the future.

Liberation pedagogy also influences my educational philosophy. Liberation pedagogy emphasizes freedom from oppression (Gutek, 2004). Education is necessary to overcome many of the widespread problems around the world. Knowledge can destroy many of the barriers which have fueled ignorance, intolerance, and injustice. Education can provide people with abundant perspectives and be a positive force in communities throughout the world. Pervasive human rights violations can be eliminated through education. Knowledge is liberation and provides people with a source of enlightenment. Knowledge can empower the people living in

North Korea and those who have escaped. Knowledge and awareness of the plight of North Koreans can also have a remarkable impact on individuals, organizations, and government agencies. It will never be possible to eradicate all of the injustices of the world; nevertheless, individuals have the power to educate and empower others.

Data Collection

Four types of data were collected including a demographic survey; a timeline of primary life events; standardized, open-ended interviews; and journal entries. Participants were instructed to use their assigned pseudonym for each research activity. I used a field journal to record notes, summaries, ideas, or comments during the entire data collection process (Davis & Parker, 1997). Gaining access and rapport was not a problem initially. A pilot test was conducted with Cheol Su in a quiet location with computer and internet access. Snowball sampling was used to find more participants. Cheol Su recommended two other participants. The data collection process took about 7 weeks.

Even though some potential participants were very busy during the research period, it seems to have been an ideal time to collect data. The Korean winter vacation extends from the middle of December until the end of February. Perhaps it would have been far more difficult to find willing participants during the regular semester (roughly late February to mid-June and late August to mid-December, but semesters vary depending on the university).

Demographic Survey

A demographic survey was used to supplement the qualitative data. After receiving the informed consent form, the introductory week began, and I emailed the participants a demographic survey in Korean. The demographic survey includes 24 questions pertaining to gender, birth year, educational background and experiences, general locations or countries of

residence, length of time spent in general locations or countries of residence, hobbies and interests, jobs, military experience, marital status, religion, community activities, and social involvement. Each question contains only one idea to prevent confusion (Patton, 1980). The participants had 3 days to complete the survey, but most returned it immediately. Two participants returned the survey a few days late. All of the participants completed the demographic survey, but some participants did not answer all of the questions. This is why some of the participant profiles do not have as many details.

I did not want to ask the participants for additional information because it may have made them feel uncomfortable or suspicious. One participant asked me, “How do I know you will not give this information to the North Korean government?” The participants’ safety and comfort are of utmost importance. The demographic information in this research is valuable but not essential. I asked several of the participants at the beginning of the study how long it took to complete the demographic survey. They stated about 15 minutes.

All of the demographic surveys were completed in Korean except for one that was written in English. The Korean demographic surveys were translated into English. The participants probably felt more at ease writing in their native language, and some may not have been proficient enough to complete the activities in English. Young Cheol wrote his demographic survey in English. He may have wanted to challenge himself and practice using English since he has been studying it a lot. Most of the demographic information is included in the participant summary and participant profile sections. Some participants wrote additional details that are included in the research question results’ section. The information gathered was used to learn basic information about the participants and was cross-checked with other data.

The English version of the demographic survey is in Appendix F, and the Korean version is in Appendix G.

Timeline of Primary Life Events

The Korean instructions for the timeline of primary life events were emailed to the participants after I received the demographic survey results. The participants created a timeline of primary life events during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. The participants were asked to include memorable events and major educational experiences and events in their lives. All of the timelines were completed in Korean and were translated into English. The participants were given 4 days to complete the timeline, but most returned it promptly. Five of the participants, Seon Young, Yoon Cheol, Yoon Su, Young Cheol, and Young Su did not want to complete the timeline because they were fearful of exposing too much personal information. However, some of these participants provided a lot of depth in the journal entries and interviews. Ten of the participants completed the timelines.

Some timelines were very short with just a few brief details. Other timelines were several pages that included long biographies in narrative form. The amount of time it took to complete the timelines depended primarily on the length. Cheol Su and several other participants spent about 1 hour because they wrote out long narratives with their timelines, whereas other participants just wrote a few key events from their lives which took between 15 to 30 minutes. Timeline information is integrated into the themes that developed in the results section. Details from the timelines were also cross-checked with other information. All of the timelines were written in Korean and were translated. The English and Korean instructions for the timeline are provided in Appendix H.

Standardized, Open-Ended Interviews

Phenomenological studies generally use in-depth interviews (McCracken, 1988). Standardized, open-ended interviews were conducted. According to Patton (1980), “The standardized open-ended interview consists of a set of questions carefully worded and arranged with the intention of taking each respondent through the same sequence and asking each respondent the same questions with essentially the same words” (p. 198). The standardized, open-ended interview was chosen because it is important for each participant to be asked the same questions to uncover the essence of the shared experiences among North Korean defectors. The standardized, open-ended interview was most beneficial for this study because an interpreter conducted the interviews. It is important to maintain consistency throughout the interview process. Patton (1990) stated, “By controlling and standardizing the open-ended interview the evaluator obtains data that are systematic and thorough for each respondent” (p. 198). The participants were encouraged to give lengthy, detailed responses if they felt comfortable.

The interview questions were carefully constructed (Patton, 1990) after a comprehensive review of the literature and through the advice of friends who assist North Korean defectors and individuals who are knowledgeable about North Korea, the modern underground railroad, and the integration of North Korean defectors in South Korea. The interview began with an opening statement which described the purpose of the interview (Patton, 1990). The purpose statement is concise, clear, and easy to understand (Patton, 1990). The interview then progressed to a light icebreaker question and later delved deeper into more complex and personal questions. Patton (1980) recommends beginning interviews with “noncontroversial present behaviors, activities, and experiences” (p. 210). In addition, participants generally have an easier time answering questions about the present (Patton, 1990). Questions about present life in South Korea were

asked first, followed by questions about the past, and finally the future. Patton (1990) recommends that questions about the future be asked last. Interview questions were divided into categories which include education in South Korea, education on the modern underground railroad, and education in North Korea. Specific questions related to Juche, militarism, and human rights are included in these categories, especially during premigration. I did not want to limit the participants to only narrow questions which may not have uncovered complexities, deeper meanings, or valuable insight that broader and less restrictive questions may have revealed.

Participants completed the standardized, open-ended interview via Skype. A pilot test was conducted with Cheol Su. Sampson (2004) recommends having a pilot test to ensure the reliability of research equipment, determine researcher bias, refine questions, obtain background data, and change research methods if needed. There were no problems during the pilot test. The interviews took place early in the morning (between 4 a.m.-7 a.m. PST) and late at night (10 p.m.-12 a.m. PST) except for a few that were in the afternoon (2 p.m.-4 p.m. PST). Pacific Standard Time is 17 hours (not the period of daylight savings time) behind South Korean time. The participants told me several possible times that they were available for the interview. We chose interview times that were suitable for everyone, including the interpreter. None of the interviews were rescheduled, but a few participants were late. Establishing rapport is somewhat difficult in an online environment. Some of the participants became my “friends” on Facebook. Through snowball sampling, I interviewed participants as more were referred and agreed to participate. The initial snowball sampling process was slow, but suddenly as the Korean college (or university) semester ended near the middle of December, more participants were referred.

The researcher and the interpreter knew the exact questions that were asked, which decreased the possibility that the research would later be criticized for questions that were omitted or phrased incorrectly (Patton, 1980). Since an interpreter was used, it was important that all of the questions asked were the same. Each participant was asked the same questions to ensure consistency during the research process. Asking the same questions also helped to focus on the shared experiences of the participants. Probes were used to help gain more clarity (Patton, 1980). Participant's responses are sometimes not detailed enough, and the researcher or interpreter may desire further elaboration (Patton, 1980).

Ten of the participants agreed to be audio recorded during the interview. The interviews were recorded using Audacity. Jeon (2000) found that North Korean defectors were not willing to be recorded. However, a significant amount of time has passed since Jeon's (2000) study. On the informed consent form, participants marked a box if they agreed to be recorded during the interview. In addition, oral consent was obtained prior to the interview. Two of the participants did not want to be recorded. The interpreter took notes, and the participants reviewed the notes through member checking and added additional details. Three of the participants did not want to do an interview but agreed to write out responses to the interview questions. These three participants seemed worried about protecting their identity. I asked two of them if they could include more details after I received the interview responses. Some of their initial answers were vague. I did not want the participants to write their interview responses, since they would also write journal articles, but it made them feel more comfortable to write instead of speak. Perhaps they thought that during an interview, they might accidentally say something that they would regret or did not want to share.

I tried to keep each initial interview to a maximum of 1 hour (Creswell, 2007). Participants can lose focus or become tired if the interview is long. Some interviews lasted about 1 hour and 10 minutes. The shortest interview was about 50 minutes. I strove to be compassionate and understanding of the participants (Creswell, 2007). According to Patton (1980), “The interviewer has a responsibility to communicate clearly what information is desired, why that information is important, and to let the interviewee know how the interview is progressing” (p. 240). Feedback and reinforcement were used throughout the interviews as needed while focusing on efficiency to prevent unnecessary or irrelevant responses (Patton, 1990). Some polite interruptions were needed to keep the interview process focused (Patton, 1990).

All of the interviews were conducted in Korean. I do not think that any of the participants felt comfortable or confident enough with their English level to be able to do the interview in English. Also, if the interviews had been conducted in English, critical details, feelings, and opinions may not have been clearly expressed which would have weakened the reliability of the research. Some of the participants could clearly communicate in English, and others barely know survival English. I briefly spoke to the participants in English to quickly assess their English levels. Some of the participants were incredibly eager to speak English, and others seemed shy or uncomfortable to even say “hello.”

An interpreter assisted with all of the interviews. Many North Korean defectors adapt to the South Korean way of speaking. However, the interpreter is familiar with some North Korean dialects and colloquialisms. The interviews were transcribed in Korean and translated into English. The information was reviewed and rechecked for accuracy. Records of interviews were physically locked and password protected. The interview results were cross-checked with the

other data. Follow-up interviews were not needed. I had a few additional questions after the interviews. I emailed the participants instead of scheduling follow-up interviews.

Member checks were used after the transcription process to confirm the validity of the interview transcriptions. Member checks were used to improve credibility. Six participants assisted with member checking. I emailed the participants a copy of the transcribed interviews in Korean. I could have also sent English transcriptions, but I think this would have caused stress for the participants. If they were intermediate or advanced level English students, I would have sent English transcriptions as well. The participants were asked to provide feedback and to ensure that the interview transcriptions were correct. The participants who responded said that the information was accurate, but they wanted to add additional details for clarification. Some of the participants did not want to be contacted again. They were not rude but just seemed to already have very demanding schedules, and maybe they just felt annoyed because they have participated in many studies. I already asked a lot of the participants and did not want to interfere in their lives by continuously contacting them.

I made an interview and observational protocol in my field journal during the interview process. The field journal included an interview protocol. This protocol gave me more flexibility in organizing my thoughts about the participants' responses (Creswell, 2007). The protocol also enabled me to organize responses with headings and included introduction and conclusion messages for the participants as well as new ideas that emerged during the interview (Creswell, 2007). The observational protocol included notes about the activities of the interview sessions (Creswell, 2007). I also included notes related to the interview process, reflections of the interviews, and ideas for the future (Creswell, 2007). The English interview instructions, script, and questions are in Appendix I, and the Korean version is in Appendix J.

Journal Entries

Journal entry instructions and questions were given to the participants during the initial interview. Participants completed eight written journal entries. All of the participants completed the journal entries. The participants were given 2 weeks to complete the journal entries, but most finished almost immediately or within a few days. None of the participants needed a time extension. Journal entries were used to describe educational experiences of the participants during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. Thematic journal entries addressed Juche, militarism, and human rights. The participants could choose to write the journal entries in Korean or English. All of the entries were written in Korean, but some participants wrote a few expressions in English. This is probably because their English is not proficient enough or they feel more comfortable using their native language because they can express themselves completely.

Some questions were answered with myriad descriptions and details. The questions related to militarism generally had the least amount of details. The question about the future role of education also did not elicit a lot of details. The participants only wrote a few sentences about their hopes for the future. Most of them had very specific plans or dreams, but not a lot of details were written. The journal entries were translated into English. Journal entry results were cross-checked with the demographic surveys, timelines, and interview results. The English and Korean journal entry instructions are provided in Appendix K and L respectively.

Data Analysis

Data analysis procedures included checking for descriptions of educational life experiences, finding significant statements, developing clusters of meaning, synthesizing a field journal, and finally creating textural and structural descriptions which led to the comprehensive

essence of the educational life experiences of the North Korean defectors (Moustakas, 1994). Only the English translations of data were used for analysis.

I examined notes, summaries, and new ideas in a field journal throughout the data analysis process. The field journal included a list of daily activities related to the research process, a personal log, and a methodological log (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The list of daily activities also included the date and time of day (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The personal log included reflections, my feelings during the research process, biases, and possible future ideas and activities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The methodological log included specific details of how the research was carried out (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

According to Patton (1980), “Data interpretation and analysis involve making sense out of what people have said, looking for patterns, putting together what is said in one place with what is said in another place, and integrating what different people have said” (p. 246). I also used the epoche and bracketing process to help reflect on my ideas, beliefs, and biases which may have influenced the research process and made notes of new concepts or themes that emerged. Moustakas (1994) describes this as what is “texturally described from many sides, angles, and views, until a sense of fulfillment is reached” (p. 79). I reflected on the field journal throughout the research process.

First, I reviewed and analyzed demographic surveys and timelines. Later, I checked these again and cross-checked the information with other data. I synthesized the results in a meaningful way which added to the depth of the qualitative data. The participants’ perspectives and experiences related to predefined themes including Juche, militarism, and human rights were first synthesized. In addition, the overall results were categorized based on important, recurring themes that emerged. I explained the experiences and views of the participants that pertained to

these themes. I also included key descriptions, quotes, and other valuable details that related to the essence of the participants' shared experiences. The Korean data was first translated into English. I also used the data to cross-check details provided in the interviews and journal entries. Next, I carefully reviewed and analyzed the interview transcriptions. Finally, the journal entries were carefully reviewed and analyzed.

I first checked statements for descriptions of the educational life experiences (Moustakas, 1994) and more specifically statements about the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights. In the next step, I recorded important statements and eliminated repeated statements (Moustakas, 1994). Significant statements and horizontalization were used to find important meaningful units which were categorized based on theme and could then be clustered (Moustakas, 1994). Structural and textural descriptions then developed (Moustakas, 1994) and led to the overall essence of the educational life experiences as well as the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights educational life experiences. This process was used for all of the data collected. The demographic surveys and the timeline also provided critical details and valuable information. Throughout the entire process, I rechecked data, compared notes, and checked and wrote in the field journal.

The research question results include a representative sample of the participants' responses. Some participants provided a lot of depth, especially in the journal entries and interviews. Since research on North Korean people is limited in comparison to other populations, it is important to share many details of the participants' stories. A study on a more researched population may not include so many details about daily life and common experiences.

I had many additional questions that I wanted to ask the participants throughout the research process. However, I have to respect the participants and consider their needs. When

studying such an exclusive population, it is very natural to be curious about many facets of their lives, but I had to just focus on key themes in the research. At times, there were new questions that I wanted to ask that directly related to their education, but I did not want to become too intrusive.

There are so many fascinating and valuable stories that North Korean defectors can share that could fill volumes of books. However, those stories belong to them, and as a researcher I have to know where to draw the line. Many North Korean defectors that I know hope to one day write autobiographies. I would never want them to feel that I am taking or stealing their stories for my research. I want to give the participants a voice through their stories. My research is just recording what belongs to them. I am grateful to all of the participants who shared so many personal memories from their lives.

Since this population is incredibly unique, and there is still a lot to learn about the lives of North Koreans, I have decided to provide numerous quotes, which often include rich details. According to Patton (1980), “Direct quotes are a fundamental type of qualitative data, revealing respondents’ level of emotion, the way in which they have organized their world, their thoughts about what is happening, their experiences, and their basic perceptions” (p. 28). Some of the participants provided vague and short descriptions about different periods of their lives, while others included pages of details. I knew four of the participants- Cheol Su, Min Sik, Su Jung, and Yoon Cheol. Three participants, Cheol Su, Min Sik, and Su Jung, wrote extra narratives about their lives even though I did not ask for this. I was amazed by all of the details that they were willing to share. Since I already knew these three participants, they may have felt comfortable revealing more about their lives. I have included some of these longer stories as

well. Had this been a study on a well-researched or mainstream population, I probably would not have done that.

North Korean defectors are a very unique population and can provide significant insight into the lives of North Korean people during each stage of migration. When answering some questions, a few participants stated that they could not remember completely. It is also possible that they may have repressed memories, or they actually just do not want to answer some questions. The questions may not seem intrusive, but they could uncover memories that the participants do not want to share.

Determining major themes was not an easy process. There were many similarities that emerged among the participants though. I reviewed the data multiple times and frequently cross-checked information to determine if any other key themes or issues could be extrapolated. I reviewed notes, summaries, and new ideas from my field journal. I checked the interview and observational protocol in the field journal. I also reviewed my epoche notes. In addition, I often consulted the interpreter during the data analysis process.

I had initially planned to only use traditional methods to interpret the results as a human researcher. I created posters that I put on my walls that were categorized based on theme. I wrote out statements and ideas related to these themes on the posters. I also used a data analysis form for the demographic surveys, timelines, interview transcriptions, and journal entries to narrow down the themes. In addition, I used computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Through Atlas.ti, a type of CAQDAS, I was able to find commonalities among the participants and more easily group quotations based on codes. The following codes were used:

- Juche: postmigration
- Human rights: postmigration

- Militarism: postmigration
- Juche: premigration
- Human rights: premigration
- Militarism: premigration
- Education: premigration
- General life: premigration
- Education: transmigration
- General life: transmigration
- Human rights: transmigration
- Education: postmigration
- General life: postmigration
- Adaptation: postmigration
- Recommendations: postmigration
- Future
- Miscellaneous

According to Moustakas (1994), “Every statement initially is treated as having equal value” (p., 97). This is referred to as horizontalization or horizontalization. Through horizontalization, I was able to organize statements that were related to the research questions. I highlighted key quotations with different colors on the data analysis forms that I had printed, and I also used a similar method on Atlas.ti. However, I did not want the choices to be too selective, so I still reserved quotations that did not completely relate to the research questions due to the dearth of research on this population. After the process of horizontalization, quotations or statements were categorized into the codes listed above. I created posters for each code so I

could write out ideas and notes related to each theme. I also used Atlas.ti to organize, sort, and merge the themes.

The codes transformed into more specific themes that are discussed in the research question results. Clusters of meaning were created from the significant statements. Textural descriptions describing what the participants experienced were determined through quotations. Structural descriptions were created to describe the context and setting during each period of migration. Composite descriptions leading to the essence of the experience developed and provided depth in answering the central research question and subquestions.

Trustworthiness

Various methods were used to increase trustworthiness. My bias was reduced through the epoche process. Triangulation was also used to ensure consistency. Trustworthy friends assisted with peer review, external auditing, and translation checks. Three participants, Cheol Su, Min Sik, and Su Jung, were asked to review the final primary phrases and themes for accuracy. They agreed with these themes but did not clearly understand the purpose of phenomenology and wanted to highlight individual life events. Cross-checking the data helped to establish validity. Credibility was attained through triangulation, prolonged online interviews, peer review, and member checking. For transferability, I created rich descriptions of the research procedures, observations, and findings. An audit trail and external auditing helped to increase dependability and confirmability.

Through the initial epoche process, my researcher bias should have been reduced. Triangulation was used in this study. This technique is important because it utilizes a wide variety of sources to build consistency and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), “No single item of information (unless coming from an elite and

unimpeachable source) should ever be given serious consideration unless it can be triangulated” (p. 283). Validity is also established through the various types of data that were collected and cross-checked.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) discussed four terms related to research validation which include credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility was increased through triangulation, prolonged online interviews and observations, peer review, and member checks. I took notes and made careful observations during interviews. Member checks are also important because the participants are knowledgeable about their own lives and the experiences of other North Korean defectors. The participants can ensure that the data are correct and that relevant information is reported (Gall & Gall, 2010). Thick, descriptive details of procedures, observations, and findings are discussed to ensure transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). An audit trail and external auditing were used to ensure dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

External Auditing, Peer Reviewing, and Translation Checks

Two of my friends assisted with translation checks, external auditing, and peer reviewing. I wanted to initially send my research files to a trustworthy friend in South Korea who could serve as a peer reviewer. However, I did not feel comfortable sending files with pages of personal information into cyberspace. Releasing some of the information could potentially cause harm to the participants. Even if the participants are comfortable sharing this information and do not mind having it published, they could change their mind in the future. My friends (a Korean-American and a Korean citizen who later obtained American citizenship) assisted with auditing, peer reviewing, and translation checks at my home. I felt more comfortable going through the research process and materials at my home. Through the auditing and peer review process, the

translator/interpreter was able to compare his own notes with theirs'. The issue of North Korea is a sensitive topic among Koreans, so it was important to compare notes regarding the research process to make sure that the translator/interpreter did not have bias. The Korean-American did not appear very emotionally connected to this topic. He is very knowledgeable about Korea; however, he seems to be more influenced by American culture. My friend who is a South Korean citizen and later obtained American citizenship had spent most of his life in South Korea. He has lived in America for several years and generally has a balanced understanding of the issues discussed in this dissertation. Their insight and review of the results, translations, and research process were incredibly helpful in improving trustworthiness.

Ethical Considerations

It is vital for the researcher to fully address the following issues: confidentiality of participants, explaining the benefits of research to participants over risks, and carefully discussing sensitive and emotional issues. To maintain confidentiality of participants, all information was placed in a locked filing cabinet in my home. Computer files were protected with passwords and other security features. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of the participants. The participants were given a Korean pseudonym. I did not disclose personal details, real names, identifying information, or specific locations that may have revealed the identities of the participants. North Korean intelligence could pose a risk if private information is disclosed. In addition, many North Korean defectors do not want South Koreans to know their true identity.

Risks and benefits associated with this study are discussed on the informed consent. The participants were told that this study is extremely important because the general public, educators, students, government officials, NGOs, churches, and other groups and individuals

need to understand the experiences and challenges of North Korean defectors in greater depth. The participants were also told that they have the right to ask the researcher about any part of the dissertation that pertains to them.

I carefully constructed interview questions that would not cause emotional or psychological harm. It is vital to consider the emotional and psychological wellbeing of North Korean defectors who have suffered tremendously (Lee, C. K., 2012). If the participants felt uncomfortable, I had planned to change topics or think of another activity based on observations and the overall atmosphere. However, this was not necessary. The participants seemed confident and comfortable throughout the interviews. I also had contact information for counselors who could assist North Korean defectors in the event of an emergency. This information was provided in the informed consent. North Korean defectors have experienced a wide range of traumatic events throughout their lives. According to Hyun (2003),

Interviewing the refugees was emotionally draining. They had so many tragic stories to tell about what they had undergone as dislocated people: bereavement, separation, abuse, violence, rape, exploitation, and so on. Not just a few times did I resent having to open painful scars by interviewing them. Yet, the more I did, the more I realized that they desperately needed people who would listen to their stories, for the weight of their personal tragedies was too heavy to shoulder alone. (p. 214)

Many female defectors have been victims of human trafficking and sex crimes. This was not disclosed by any of the participants in this study; however, many women in the general population do not report this information. It is important to be sensitive and recognize that participants may not disclose painful memories of their past. I tried to be incredibly careful to not cause emotional distress or discomfort to the participants.

Specific names were not mentioned by the participants. However, some information was exposed which could potentially be problematic. In these cases, I wrote the data in a vague way which did not include details about the events. I maintained a relationship of trust and confidentiality. I tried to not become too attached and subjective as a result of humanitarian thinking. I strove to maintain a research mindset. Finally, I focused on eliminating researcher bias. I had to be cognizant of my personal beliefs and actions throughout the research process (Lee, C. K., 2012). I used the epoche process initially to write out my own beliefs and biases and continued using a reflective notebook throughout the research process.

Epoche

Prior to beginning the research, I brainstormed and wrote out my personal biases that could have an impact on the research. Through the epoche process, “we are challenged to create new ideas, new feelings, new awareness and understandings” (Moustakas, 1994). I began this process while I was awaiting IRB approval. I wrote in a reflective notebook throughout this period. According to Moustakas (1994), “Epoche requires a new way of looking at things, a way that requires that we learn *to see* what stands before our eyes, what we can distinguish and describe” (p. 33). I brainstormed and reflected on my biases and views throughout the research process. My bias was also reduced through field notes and interview observations. I have included a sample of my notes:

- I lived in the United States for most of my life. I may be influenced by Americentrism. It is possible that I could evaluate the experiences of the participants based on an insular and limited perspective rooted in prevalent cultural practices and beliefs of my nationality.

- I am an ardent supporter of human rights. I may naturally feel sympathetic toward the participants. I think this problem will be reduced though since the interpreter will have the most direct contact with participants. Although I am the main researcher and will listen attentively during the interviews, I will not have the connection that develops through natural communication. If I have more direct communication with the participants, I may feel more sympathetic of their experiences.
- I am far more critical of North Korea, but I recognize that America has faults. America is often perceived as a violator of human rights by foreigners (and some Americans). Even in modern society, I do not believe that America has a clean human rights record. Many Americans view this country as a shining example of freedom and democracy, yet America is often criticized for its indiscriminate drone campaigns, a flawed criminal justice system, and cruel and unusual punishment (to name a few examples). There is no perfect country in the world. There are a lot of things that I value about America, but it should also improve its human rights record.
- I lived in South Korea for 6 years. I was exposed to “red complex” on several occasions. I understand that many South Koreans do not want to associate with things related to the North Korean government, but it is difficult for me to grasp why defectors are often blamed or treated with hostility as a result of the regime’s actions.
- Militarism is also incredibly prevalent in America. I live in a community which is predominately composed of U.S. Army and Air Force families. There is a lot of patriotism and perhaps even nationalism in my community. There are rows of American flags and yellow ribbons dotting the landscape around me. Perhaps I have been influenced by American militarism.

- I grew up immersed in different Christian cultures. Most of my father's family is Russian Orthodox and Catholic, and most of my mother's family is Protestant. Many defectors' stories are connected to Christianity.
- North Korean defectors generally have negative views about North Korea, but I have met some who wanted to return to North Korea if they would not be punished.
- North Korean defectors will have mixed feelings about living in South Korea.
- North Korean defectors may be hesitant to write negative things about South Korea.
- Even if the participants can use English, they will choose to use Korean because they will feel more comfortable.
- North Korean defectors may feel embarrassed about some events and periods of their lives and will not include a lot of details.
- North Korean defectors may have different feelings depending on their age, where they lived in North Korea, and the government administration (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il, and Kim Jong Eun) that they lived under.
- North Korean defectors may have mixed opinions about North Korea.

Minimizing Bias

Through the epoche process, I described my biases which could have an impact on the research process and the results. I continuously assessed how my preconceived views of the research topic could skew the research process and the results. A reflective notebook was also used to write my biases and views throughout the research process to ensure that my thoughts could be clearly understood and evaluated by others. According to Creswell (2007), reflexivity “means that the writer is conscious of the biases, values, and experiences that her or she brings to a qualitative study” (p. 243). The reflective notebook included new ideas that developed during

the research process, an observational protocol with notes from interview sessions, and reflections from interviews. I also wrote general field notes which listed the date and time and the daily research activities. The field notes included a personal log with reflections, my feelings during the research process, biases, and possible ideas and activities for the future. In addition, a methodological log detailed the specific research activities that were carried out.

I reviewed my notes throughout the research process and continued to assess my thoughts as I analyzed the data. I more specifically focused on my biases that related to the data that had emerged. Humans are naturally influenced by preconceived views, so it was vital that other people assess my notes and analyses. The interpreter also served as a research consultant throughout the research process, including the data analysis period. The interpreter, peer reviewers, and external auditors reviewed my reflective journal notes and data analyses. They made comments about my analyses, and as a group we ensured that my analyses were accurate and balanced based on the data that had been collected. In addition, it was helpful to use member checking, even though not all of the participants assisted, to ensure that the findings were presented accurately. Finally, the same questions were asked to all of the participants during the standardized, open-ended interviews even though probes were sometimes used to gain clarity. This also helps to reduce bias, because the researcher may be more inclined to focus on specific topics or issues that could skew the research process in an unstructured or semi-structured interview.

While reviewing my notes and biases, I discovered some issues that could have altered my analyses and results. For example, several participants stated that they spent a considerable amount of time learning about the Bible and Christianity during the transmigration period. Some comments were critical, and one participant said that Christian indoctrination could be a human

rights violation. Based on my personal beliefs and the values of my university, I had to carefully consider how to address Christianity. I could not just ignore the participants' comments, but I struggled to write about their exposure to Christianity in a critical way. I tried to maintain neutrality and write their opinions without my personal views influencing the analyses.

I also recognize that participants tended to write about North Korea in a negative light. Some positive aspects of North Korean life were described, but generally the responses were negative. I thought that maybe my biases resulted in an analysis that emphasized this; however, the participants had very similar responses to questions, especially during interviews and in the journal entries. I did not specifically focus on human rights violations except when I was considering research questions pertaining to human rights. Negative topics were frequently discussed by the participants, but I tried to incorporate nearly all neutral and positive aspects of life that emerged into the analyses. For example, one participant said that the South Korean education system could benefit from a physical education program similar to North Korea's. It may have been beneficial to ask specific questions related to positive aspects of the North Korean education system. I asked the participants if they had any special memories of their education or school days in North Korea. However, this question generally did not elicit positive responses. My research questions may seem biased, because I did not ask about positive aspects of North Korean education. However, I also did not ask about positive views of the South Korean education system.

I am critical of North Korea, and I am influenced by American and South Korean culture. I strove to envision myself as a citizen of a more neutral country while I assessed the data. At times, I also tried to imagine being a North Korean citizen, refugee, and defector. I tried to understand North Korean citizens' views of Juche, militarism, and human rights. I wanted to

understand the views of the participants. I also realized that their present views may be influenced by mainstream South Korean perspectives. In addition, the majority of participants are Christians and may be influenced by what they have been taught in church. I recognized that I had initially used critical terms which are commonly used in other studies to describe the North Korean education system. Based on the participants' responses, these terms may have not been the most accurate terms to describe their perspectives. I examined my notes and thoughts and tried to write about these topics (in the data analysis section and researcher recommendations) in a balanced way that was not influenced by my biases and prior knowledge. The interpreter and peer reviewers helped me to reflect on my analyses and suggestions that were related to these topics.

Pilot Data

Cheol Su was the pilot participant. I have known him since 2010. He was a student in one of my English as Second Language classes when I was an instructor in South Korea. I have stayed in contact with Cheol Su since 2010. We email each other once every 3 to 4 months, and we are also "friends" on Facebook. Cheol Su was chosen to be the pilot participant because he spoke at North Korean human rights awareness events with me. He is very outgoing and is willing to share his past experiences with other people. Several years ago, Cheol Su said that he wanted to help me if I decided to write my dissertation on North Korean defectors.

Cheol Su was first contacted to participate in the study. He emailed his signed informed consent form to me. Once I received his informed consent form, I emailed him the demographic survey. After receiving the demographic survey, I sent him the instructions for completing the timeline. When he completed the timeline, I gave him information about setting up a Skype account and scheduling the interview. He gave me several possible interview times. His

interview took place at 5 a.m. PST on a Saturday. The interview was 55 minutes. Finally, Cheol Su was given the instructions for completing the journal entries. After I received the journal entries, I thanked Cheol Su for participating in the study, sent his virtual gift card, and asked him if he knew any additional participants. He recommended two other participants.

There were no problems during the pilot study. I asked Cheol Su if he had any recommendations or if he thought that any adjustments needed to be made. He said that he doubted that the participants would complete activities in English. He also recommended that I give the participants the interview questions in advance so that the participants had time to think about what they wanted to say. I took his advice, and I think it was very helpful for the participants because many of the questions require critical thinking. After I received the timelines, I sent the interview questions with the interview instructions. Cheol Su recommended that the KakaoTalk telephone function be used for the interviews. However, the Internet speed at my location in the United States was not fast enough. The interpreter and I tested out a conversation with a friend in South Korea, and we had to reconnect four times during a 30 minute period.

Participant Summary

There were 15 participants, including the pilot participant. Of the participants, 11 were male and four were female. The participants in this study were all North Korean defectors who live in South Korea and are between the ages of 19 and 35. Figure 1 is a map of North Korean provinces. Of the participants, 13 are from Hamgyeongbukdo (listed as North Hamgyong-bukto on Figure 1), and one is from Ryanggangdo (listed as Yanggang-do on Figure 1). The findings cannot be generalized to all locations in North Korea. These provinces are located in the northeastern part of North Korea. One participant did not state her province. Figure 2 is a map

of Asia which provides a visual of the transmigration routes of the participants. The participants all attended at least 1 semester of English classes at a South Korean college or university or at least 6 months of an English program (tutoring, community classes, etc.). In addition, all of the participants lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years. Appendix M includes the length of time during each period of migration. Appendix N includes locations and age during each period of migration. Finally, Appendix O includes education obtained during each period of migration.

All of the participants are current college or university students except for one who will begin his first semester of university during the spring semester of 2014. In terms of tertiary education, one participant is attending a cyber university, and two participants are attending 2-year colleges. All of the other participants are attending traditional, 4-year universities. Although I collected specific information about the participants, I have decided to not include all of this information because it could be connected to other details about the participants which could potentially reveal their identity. Protecting the participants is my top priority. Participants between the ages of 20 to 24 are classified as in their “early twenties,” and participants between the ages of 25 to 29 are classified as in their “late twenties.” None of the participants are 19, and none are between the ages of 30 to 35. One of the participants did not list her age, but it can be implied that she is in her twenties.

The participants are not married. All except for two participants indicated that they are Christians. One participant stated that he does not have a religion, and another did not answer the question. One participant learned about Christianity from his aunt when he was a child in North Korea but did not become a Christian until the postmigration period. All of the participants listed their job as student except for one who listed a part-time job as an intern in an

office. Of the participants, 13 were not members of the North Korean military, and two did not answer the question. In addition, the participants were asked if they had a job in North Korea. Eight participants did not have a job in North Korea, and two did not answer the question. Five participants had a job in North Korea. These jobs included electronic engineer and photographer, civil defense guard unit member, a military unit water pipe worker, a library worker, and a document writer (similar to a typist job or transcriptionist).



Figure 1. Map of North Korea (This image is in the public domain)

Democratic People's Republic of Korea [Map]. (2005). Retrieved from http://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/470_1282719825_korea-north-admin-2005.jpg
 Note: The Sea of Japan is also referred to as the Korean East Sea.

East Asia



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Figure 2. Map of Asia (This image is in the public domain)

Asia [Map]. (2014). Retrieved from http://www.worldofmaps.net/uploads/pics/karte_ost-asien.jpg

Note: The Sea of Japan is also referred to as the Korean East Sea.

Participant Profiles

Cheol Su - Pilot Participant

Cheol Su is in his late twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. He only attended 2 years of primary school in North Korea. That was his only education in North Korea. Cheol Su did not receive an education during the transmigration period. His transmigration route included China and Mongolia. In South Korea, he completed primary, middle, and high school courses and is now studying economics in university. He has participated in computer classes and English tutoring. Cheol Su is also involved in church activities and is a volunteer church secretary. He enjoys driving and spending time with friends.

Hee Cheol

Hee Cheol is in his late twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. He only attended primary school in North Korea and could not go to school regularly. Hee Cheol did not receive an education during the transmigration period. His transmigration route included China and Thailand (other transit countries were not identified). Hee Cheol has taken middle school and high school courses in South Korea. He is majoring in Chinese language in university. Hee Cheol has taken English classes for North Korean defectors. He does not have enough free time to participate in activities and clubs. He enjoys playing sports.

Hyeon Su

Hyeon Su is in his early twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. He attended primary school for 4 years in North Korea. This is the only education that he received in North Korea. Hyeon Su did not receive an education during the transmigration period. His transmigration route included China, Laos, and Thailand. He has taken middle school and high school courses in South Korea. He is now majoring in Korean language and literature in university. Hyeon Su

has also taken English classes for North Korean defectors. He is a member of a soccer team and enjoys exercising and watching television in his free time.

Kyoung Hee

Kyoung Hee is in her late twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. She attended primary school for 4 years, lower middle school for 3 years, and upper middle school for 3 years in North Korea. Kyoung Hee did not attend college or university and any other classes or programs in North Korea. Kyoung Hee did not receive an education during the transmigration period. Her transmigration route included China, Laos, and Thailand. She has taken middle school and high school courses in South Korea. She is studying Chinese in university. She has also taken English classes at a program for North Korean defectors. Kyoung Hee participates in a Christian Bible study group and enjoys reading in her free time.

Kyu Hyeon

Kyu Hyeon is in his early twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. Kyu Hyeon went to primary school in North Korea, but he could not attend school regularly. This is the only education that he had in North Korea. During the transmigration period, he attended a Chinese school for Chosunjok. His transmigration route included China and Mongolia. He did not discuss the specific levels of education that he received in South Korea. However, he did state that he is in university but did not indicate his major. Kyu Hyeon has not taken any extra classes in South Korea, but he hopes to study in America. He currently does not participate in any activities or belong to clubs. In his free time he enjoys playing basketball.

Min Sik

Min Sik is in his late twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. He went to primary school but not regularly in North Korea. This is the only education that he had in North Korea.

During the transmigration period, he attended a Chinese school for 2 years. His transmigration route included China, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. He completed middle school and high school courses in South Korea. He also attended a Christian school for North Korean defectors and is now majoring in Korean language and culture in university. He has taken English classes for North Korean defectors. He does not currently belong to any clubs or organizations. Min Sik enjoys spending time with his friends.

Min Su

Min Su is in his early twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. He went to primary school for 4 years in North Korea. This is the only education that he received in North Korea. Min Su did not receive an education during the transmigration period. His transmigration route included China and Thailand (other transit country/countries were not identified). Min Su took middle school and high school courses in South Korea. He is now majoring in social education in university. He has participated in several activities for North Korean defectors and went on a trip to Jeju Island (South Korea). Min Su has also taken English and Chinese classes. He is not involved in any clubs or organizations. In his free time, he enjoys watching basketball and soccer.

Seon Young

Seon Young is in her late twenties. She did not state her hometown or province in North Korea. She went to primary school for 4 years, lower middle school for 3 years, and upper middle school for 3 years in North Korea. She did not attend college or university nor did she have any other type of education in North Korea. Seon Young did not receive an education during the transmigration period. Her transmigration route included China and Thailand (other transit country/countries were not identified). She is currently attending a 2-year college and

wants to transfer to a university. She has taken English classes at the British Culture Center in South Korea. Seon Young does not currently belong to any clubs or organizations. She also enjoys traveling.

Seong Cheol

Seong Cheol is in his early twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. He went to primary school for 3 years in North Korea. This is the only education that he received in North Korea. During the transmigration period, he did not receive an education. His transmigration route included China, Vietnam, and Laos. In South Korea, he took middle school and high school courses and is currently studying at a 2-year college. He is majoring in physical therapy. He has been involved in many special education programs for North Korean defectors. He participated in a program with students from 25 Asian countries as a group leader. In this program, students discussed the art and culture of their countries. He is not involved in any clubs or activities. He enjoys playing soccer and taking pictures in his free time.

Su Jung

Su Jung is in her late twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. She attended primary school for 4 years, lower middle school for 3 years, and upper middle school for 3 years in North Korea. She did not attend college or university in North Korea. She took flute lessons in North Korea, but the instrument was very old and her teacher was not very knowledgeable about the flute. Su Jung did not receive an education during the transmigration period. Her transmigration route included China, Vietnam, and Cambodia. She is studying management in university. She has taken English classes at the British Culture Center and PSCORE (People for Successful Corean Reunification). She has also taken a variety of academic classes at Jayoutuh School (for North Korean defectors) and has had career and vocational training. She is involved in church

activities and a Bible study group. She enjoys studying English in her free time and exercising. Su Jung hopes to have more conversations with foreigners and travel. Su Jung has also traveled to the United States.

Yoon Cheol

Yoon Cheol is in his late twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. Yoon Cheol attended primary school for about 2 years, lower middle school for 3 years, and upper middle school for 3 years in North Korea. He did not attend college or university or any other classes or programs in North Korea. During the transmigration period, he did not receive an education. His transmigration route included China, Laos, and Thailand. Yoon Cheol had 1 year of high school classes in South Korea and is in his second year of university. He has not participated in any special education programs in South Korea. Yoon Cheol is studying social welfare in university. He belongs to a university social welfare club and enjoys playing ping pong and soccer.

Yoon Hee

Yoon Hee is in her early twenties and is from Ryanggangdo. She attended primary school for 4 years in North Korea. This is the only education that she had in North Korea. Yoon Hee had some formal education at a Chinese school during the transmigration period. Her transmigration route included China and Thailand (other transit country/countries were not identified). Yoon Hee completed middle school and high school courses in South Korea. She is majoring in Chinese in university. Yoon Hee belongs to a Chinese study group made by North Korean defectors at her university. She enjoys reading books in her free time.

Yoon Su

Yoon Su is in his late twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. He went to primary school for 4 years in North Korea. He also attended 3 years of lower middle school and 3 years

of upper middle school in North Korea. He did not respond to the question about college and university and other classes or formal education in North Korea. Yoon Su did not receive an education during the transmigration period. His transmigration route included China, Laos, and Thailand. He is currently in university but did not indicate his major. Yoon Su has taken English classes for North Korean defectors. He is also a member of a prayer group and enjoys playing sports in his free time.

Young Cheol

Young Cheol is in his late twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. He attended 4 years of primary school, 3 years of lower middle school, and 3 years of upper middle school in North Korea. In middle school, he skipped many classes because he thought his education was not important, and this was a period of extreme suffering in North Korea. He could not go to university in North Korea. He had a dream of going to university but could not because one of his ancestors was a pastor in Pyongyang. Young Cheol did not take any other types of classes in North Korea. He did not receive an education during the transmigration period. His transmigration route included China and Thailand (other transit countries were not identified). Young Cheol will begin university in the spring of 2014 and will major in electronic engineering. He attended a current events class in South Korea several times, but it was in English and was very difficult. He also attended the Jayoutuh School (for North Korean defectors) and has taken English, writing, and math classes. He currently belongs to a Christian group that many North Korean defectors participate in. He enjoys photography, reading books, and listening to music. He also enjoys fixing things. Young Cheol has not had a lot of free time recently. He is very eager to study because he did not have opportunities to study when he was growing up.

Young Su

Young Su is in his early twenties and is from Hamgyeongbukdo. He attended 4 years of primary school in North Korea, 3 years of lower middle school, and 3 years of upper middle school. He did not attend college or university and did not have any other type of education in North Korea. Young Su did not receive an education during the transmigration period. His transmigration route included China, Laos, and Thailand. In South Korea, he attended a Christian school for 1 year. He is studying management and will soon begin his second semester of university. He did not answer the question about involvement in clubs and organizations. Young Su enjoys traveling and hiking in his free time.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

The purpose of this transcendental phenomenological study was to describe the essence of the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea in relation to their exposure to Juche, militarism, and human rights violations. It is imperative to understand the participants' perspectives of their educational experiences which add more depth to current research. A transcendental phenomenological design was chosen because it is important to understand the shared experiences of North Korean defectors during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. Fifteen participants (including the pilot participant) were selected through purposive, criterion, and snowball sampling. In this chapter, the results of the demographic survey; timelines of primary life events; standardized, open-ended interviews; and journal entries are discussed.

Textural and structural descriptions emerged through horizontalization. Textural analyses developed through quotations and important statements, while the structural analyses centered on setting and the context of the participants' experiences. Finally, the composite analysis leading to the essence of the educational experience is described. The individuals in this study all had unique and personal stories, yet there were many similarities among the participants. The central research question revolves around the general educational experiences of North Korean defectors during each stage of migration. The subquestions focus on more specific topics pertaining to education during different periods of migration. Although many dissertations present findings in the order of the research questions, in this study it is more logical to group the findings based on the period of migration. Thirteen participants are from Hamgyeongbukdo, one is from Ryanggangdo, and one participant did not state her province.

Research Questions

Central Question: What primary themes emerge from the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration?

Subquestions:

1. How did Juche, militarism, and human rights violations influence the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors during the premigration period?
2. How did human rights violations affect North Korean refugees' educational life experiences during the transmigration period?
3. During the postmigration period, what are the perspectives of North Korean defectors regarding Juche, militarism, and human rights violations in North Korea (after obtaining a more balanced formal or informal education in South Korea and being exposed to ample factual information)?
4. How do North Korean defectors perceive the future role of education in their lives in South Korea?

Research Question Results

Premigration Themes

Premigration themes emerged from the first subquestion and the central research question. The premigration period was emphasized the most among all of the migration periods. Perhaps the participants thought that I was more interested in this period and thus included extra details about this period. The predominant themes of this period include the importance of social status, poverty and extreme hardship, Kim family indoctrination, regular participation in saenghwal chonghwa, a variety of behaviors and interactions in the classroom, Juche as the core philosophy of life and education, military first in education and society, and unbalanced

education. The essence of the premigration educational experience revolves around these themes and how they impacted the lives of the participants.

The importance of social status. The importance of social status or songbun is a predominant theme that often overlaps with other major themes. There are three primary songbun groups including the core class, wavering class, and hostile class (Collins, 2012). It is very difficult to improve songbun status (Hunter, 1999). The people are not officially aware of their songbun (Demick, 2010); however, they likely have awareness of their general social status or standing in society. Having a good social status results in a better education and greater access to tertiary education (Collins, 2012). In addition, North Korean citizens with a low social status are more likely to escape (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009).

Every participant, except for Min Su (based on only his personal situation), stated that social status plays an important role in the North Korean education system. Most participants remarked that it plays a “very” important role. Seong Cheol said that money is also essential in school for paying bribes and buying things from markets that the schools or teachers demand. Students who do not have a good social status are often deprecatated and experience alienation among peers. Teachers generally give assistance and pay more attention to students with a higher social status. Four themes related to social status emerged including bullying, class leaders, family background, and classroom segregation.

Bullying. Seong Cheol remembers being bullied so many times in kindergarten because he did not have a father. Other students fought with him. He said, “The first time I went to school I did not have any problems, but soon stories started to spread about my parents and my bad songbun.” His parents had escaped from North Korea so he could hear from other children that he had “bad songbun.” Other children even cursed at him to his face. Seong Cheol stressed

that social status is very unfair in North Korea. The emphasis on social status created an aversion to schooling and socializing with peers. Seong Cheol did not want to attend school because he was bullied for his social status which he had no control over.

Class leaders. Seon Young and Kyoung Hee said that the class leader or grade leader position is chosen based on parents' social status. Kyoung Hee complained about this system. She said, "If someone wants a high position in society or if someone wants to go to a very good school, he needs very powerful parents." Hyeon Su emphasized the importance of social status in the classroom. He said, "Even those who have good leadership skills and study very hard cannot be a classroom leader if they do not have money or if their parents are not officials." This type of system can create complacency among students. If students with a poor or average social status cannot challenge themselves or take on leadership roles, it inhibits personal and academic development.

Family background. Having powerful parents with wealth or a high social status is incredibly important in the lives of North Korean students. Seon Young said that there is a priority list based on parents' social status for which students can go to special activities in Pyongyang. Min Sik stated, "If one parent is a member of the party, their children's school life is very good. The school agrees that the student is always good and teachers think carefully about them." These students usually have more money and are envied by other students. Other more detailed descriptions of the relationship between family background and social status are provided.

According to Cheol Su,

The North Korean education system follows the families' social status. If my father is a fisher, I will follow this way. If my father is a farmer, I will follow this way. Even

though someone has a lot of talent, if their social status is low, they cannot achieve their dreams or go to a good school. A person with a low social status who is very talented, cannot go to university, but a person who does not study or work hard but has a good family background, can go to university. That person can then graduate and get a high position in the KWP (Korean Workers' Party).

Yoon Su provided a similar example,

For example, if a father is a police officer, there is a 90% chance his child can become a police officer. Like this, social status is connected to the child's life. Also, if a child has a family member who was connected to the South Korean government or military during the Korean War or a bourgeois family from the past, he will have a very bad life.

Young Cheol noted that students who have rich parents or official parents (KWP) do not have to study a lot. He said, "They can be leaders of the classroom and the teachers are very interested in them. The teachers respect them more than regular students and teach them better." Family background plays a significant role in the lives of North Koreans. It also plays an important role in other countries, but in North Korea family background usually determines one's future. Students may not take the initiative to study and excel academically, because their efforts may not be rewarded unless they have a good social status.

Classroom segregation. Su Jung shared stories about her school where students were segregated based on social status. According to Su Jung,

The high level students' classroom is in one place, and the poor students' classroom is another place. In the high level classroom, students go to school every day. Also, in the poor students' classroom, the teacher changed frequently. One time, my classroom and the high level classroom mixed. The poor students went to the good classroom and made

so many problems. They fought and argued with each other. I was very annoyed and quit school.

Su Jung was in the lower class based on social status. She became frustrated and quit school. Perhaps if she had a higher social status she would have remained in school. Classroom segregation based on social status was not discussed among other participants. This may not be common in other schools, but this example highlights the importance of social status in the education system.

Poverty and extreme hardship. Poverty and extreme hardship are common themes that developed during the premigration period. Students generally have to work in agriculture (Lankov, 2002) and collect items to take to school (Kang, M. J., 2011a). North Koreans generally do not have ample time to study because they have to work in their free time (Kang, M. J., 2011b). The North Korean economy experiences a wide range of management problems and is centrally planned (Freedom House, 2012). Access to medical care is limited, and the equipment is usually old or broken (Laura Ling & Lisa Ling, 2010). Famine and malnutrition are widespread problems that affect many people (Schwekendiek, 2007). This has also led to stunted growth (Mike Kim, 2008).

Several participants stated that their early life was not too difficult because they were more affluent by North Korean standards, but family conditions changed and they soon experienced poverty. All participants discussed poverty and extreme hardship. The participants may not have experienced poverty and extreme hardship during the entire premigration period. However, most seem to indicate that they experienced poverty and extreme hardship for most if not all of their lives. Several participants described situations in which they toiled in the mountains and fields in order to have enough food for sustenance. Survival took precedence

over education. Many of the participants also mentioned that they could not always attend school because they needed to fulfill their basic human needs. Seong Cheol said, “When I was in North Korea, I could not think about human rights violations but only survival. There is no guarantee of basic living necessities. The students need to survive, so they cannot think about studying.” Several themes emerged in this section including hunger and survival and decline in the education system.

Hunger and survival. Most participants stated that hunger prevented them from attending school at different periods of their lives. Many of their responses are similar, but this highlights the essence of their educational experience which was disrupted by hunger and the need to survive. Kyoung Hee said that she could not attend primary school regularly because her family had to eat. It was too difficult to think about studying with an empty stomach. Kyu Hyeon could not go to primary school because his family lived in poverty. Min Su did not attend primary school until he was 12 because his family was very poor. He did not learn *Hangeul* (the Korean alphabet) until that time. Min Sik said that he could only go to primary school until the third grade because his home situation was really poor, so he went to the fields, mountains, and farms to find food. Cheol Su stated that, “North Korean students do not want to go to school because they are so hungry. Also, the teachers cannot teach exactly. The education system is broken. Everyone needs to survive.” These comments tell an important story about their shared experiences of hardship and poverty. It is possible that some of their stories have been exaggerated. However, if conditions were suitable for them to live in North Korea, why did so many risk their lives to leave?

If students attended school, they had to collect different materials to help support the military. This may also have discouraged them from attending school. School is technically not

free. Students must collect materials, and parents are known to pay bribes and give “gifts” to teachers who demand things. In addition, students must participate in various agricultural work projects, especially in the spring and autumn.

Food is a basic life necessity. Without proper nourishment, there is little value in studying. Hunger not only affected students but also teachers. Students had to find food for themselves and their family members for survival. Teachers had to do the same. Furthermore, education is not a priority when people lack basic life necessities including food. Proper nourishment and healthcare are especially crucial in the early formative years of human development. Many of the participants were young children during the widespread famines of the 1990s. This period marked the collapse of the Soviet Union, and North Korea did not have access to sufficient resources (Demick, 2010). In addition, there were also many natural disasters (Goodkind & West, 2001). During this period, it is estimated that 600,000 (Haggard & Noland, 2009) to as many as two to three million people died (Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012). This period of extreme poverty may have had a major impact on their development. Other participants highlighted the role of poverty and hunger in more depth. Hyeon Su recalled that he often felt hungry. He said,

The hunger was so hard at times. I did not want to do anything. Imagine not eating anything for even just a day. It is not easy to study. Imagine not eating for several days or eating just some scraps. Hunger is difficult. Education is not important when you have to survive.

Min Sik provided a detailed account of his life.

I can remember when I was young, my mom said if we could eat three meals in one day, we could do anything. Even when I still have hard times, I remember what she told me

and try to appreciate my situation and be happy. I was born in Pyongyang to a wealthy family. We were rich and had happiness for a short period of time. Then in front of me, there were a lot of hard times and unhappiness. My family was forced to leave Pyongyang. My family was sent to a remote location. My father was an alcoholic and had a lot of debt. He left. My mother worked very hard on a farm and only got one bowl of potatoes and one pack of flour. When we got food, the people who my father owed money to, came to the house and took our food. We were always hungry, so we went to the mountains to find something to eat- plants or fruit. We had a small garden in the summer. Someone had stolen all of our vegetables. We took whatever scraps were still left. In the winter, there was not enough food, so we dried potato peels and made a powder. We made a soup from them. We could not eat enough. This type of hard time was experienced by many people. In just one day, so many people died. I could see an entire family that had died. Hunger made me learn how to use a weeding hoe to find food. Studying was not important.

Hyeon Su and Min Sik described how hunger prevented them from getting an education. Min Sik was born into a wealthy family in Pyongyang. However, his life was turned upside down when his family was forced to leave the capital. One of his family members got in trouble, so his family was sent to a remote area in the northeastern part of the country. He experienced many hardships and often struggled to find food. His hunger became so intense that he left North Korea on his own in hopes of finding enough food and a better life in China.

Decline in the education system. Young Cheol addressed the past education system in North Korea. Young Cheol attended all of primary school and lower and upper middle school in North Korea. In addition, he left North Korea in 2011, which is the latest defection among the

participants. Young Cheol's parents' generation and previous generations studied very hard in school. He said,

At the end of the 1990s, the education system began to get worse. I started to skip middle school. I thought that I did not need to study. Many people died during the arduous march (the period of massive famine in the 1990s) because they were starving. They did not have enough food and could not go to school. Even teachers did not go to school. The government could not maintain the schools exactly. I just felt like I needed to survive. I went to middle school to show my face. Other students went to the mountains to eat plants and did not go to school. In my school, there were only a few people who could go to university because they did not have enough money, even though they had good grades and recommendations. University was a luxury for only rich people. When I was in school, no one had a dream after graduating from upper middle school. There were no dreams about the future. It did not matter if someone studied very hard. After graduating, the government did not care about them and just assigned them to work on a farm or mine. There is no way to make your dreams come true. North Korea's education system is almost paralyzed. Even if students go to school, they do not listen to their teachers' classes, and the teachers' cannot teach the students. They do not feel that it is necessary to teach the students. In the afternoon, teachers had to go to a farm and work very hard. They had to get logs from the mountains. They had to do this type of physical work. Even when I was in North Korea, I could feel that the education system was getting worse.

Yoon Su also discussed the decline in the economy during the 1990s. This period is referred to as the arduous march. The government began a campaign for people to eat only two meals a

day, and many people perished (Lankov, 2007). Yoon Su added that students could not study regularly during this period. They just wanted to survive. “I could not learn during this period. Even if I went to school, I had to help with agriculture projects.” The 1990s marked a period of economic decline in North Korea. The country lost support after the fall of the Soviet Union (Demick, 2010). Major natural disasters added to the failures of government management (Goodkind & West, 2001). Students, teachers, and the majority of society did not have enough food to eat. Young Cheol, who left North Korea in early 2011 (the most recent participant to defect), stated that the education system in North Korea is still declining and described it as being “paralyzed.” Hassig and Oh (2009) state that the educational system primarily failed due to the following reasons: the emphasis on the Kim family, isolationism which does not provide enough awareness of other countries, and economic policies that have resulted in malnutrition and famine. The education system failed tremendously between 1994 and 1997 because many children were forced to search for food (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). It is difficult to assess the extent of the educational problems that occurred (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). North Korean society also lacks skilled workers who are knowledgeable about technology (Everard, 2012), which is important in a globalized world. Furthermore, many students must work in agriculture and collect supplies for school, and they do not have enough time to study (Kang, M. J., 2011a).

Kim family indoctrination. Specific research questions about the Kim family were not asked. However, the Kim family was frequently discussed among the participants. All of the participants included responses about the Kim family throughout the research activities. The Kim family was mentioned in response to questions about Juche, militarism, and human rights violations as well as various other questions. The Kim family includes Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong

Il, Kim Jong Suk, and Kim Jong Eun. Kim Jong Eun is the current leader of North Korea and is the son of Kim Jong Il. Kim Jong Eun has been the leader of North Korea since his father's death in 2011. Kim Jong Il, the son of Kim Il Sung, was the leader of North Korea from 1994 to 2011. Kim Il Sung, is considered the great leader of North Korea and reigned from 1948 until his death in 1994. Kim Jong Suk was Kim Il Sung's first wife and is the mother of Kim Jong Il. The august family lineage, in death and life, has played a tremendous role in the lives of the North Korean people. Kim Il Sung especially, has long been revered, and many North Korean citizens attribute the "successes" of the country to him.

Kim family indoctrination is prevalent in society as well as the education system. North Koreans are exposed to the Kim family in society and at school. Students must bow to pictures of the leaders in their classrooms (Hassig & Oh, 2009). This can be a type of ideological worship (Breen, 2012). The Revolutionary History class places a tremendous emphasis on the Kim family. The Kim family is also discussed in other classes. Primary school curriculum includes music, art, nature, history, math, communist morals, and Korean language (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). Specific classes are taught about the childhood of the leaders (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). In addition, lessons and examples connected to the leaders are used in other core classes (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005). In middle school, there are a greater variety of classes including the Revolutionary History of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il and the Revolutionary Activities of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. Themes that emerged in this section are the Revolutionary History class, memorizing facts about the leaders, early education, and all education revolves around the Kim family.

Revolutionary History class. Young Cheol discussed the importance of the Revolutionary History class. He said, "If someone is a genius and studies very hard, if he cannot

get a high score in Revolutionary History, he is just a loser.” Yoon Su recalled his education about the Kim family. In the Revolutionary History class, he got five points (the highest number of points- similar to an A+ in the US or South Korea) in the subject of the history of the leaders. Seon Young remembered the Revolutionary History class about Kim Jong Il, Kim Il Sung, and Kim Jong Suk. In middle school, the Revolutionary History class and the Revolutionary Activities classes discuss the lives of the leaders in greater depth. In early education and primary school the students learn about the leaders, but the information presented is more detailed in middle school. Some of the participants who left North Korea at a younger age and those who did not attend middle school or did not attend regularly may not have taken the Revolutionary History and Revolutionary Activities classes.

Memorizing facts about the leaders. Several participants recalled having to memorize many facts about the Kim family. Min Sik remembered having to repeat creeds as a child that he had memorized about Kim Il Sung. He said that he was scolded by the teacher if he did not recite these properly and could not go home until he could memorize them completely. Cheol Su said that he was forced to memorize Kim Il Sung’s creed about his life facts when he was in kindergarten. He also remembered learning facts about Kim Il Sung before he even learned Hangeul (the Korean alphabet). Several of the participants can still recite this information. This type of indoctrination is prevalent in North Korean society. The people are expected to live for the leaders.

Early education. Kim family indoctrination is discussed frequently in early childhood education. However, the early period of education may be emphasized more because many of the participants left North Korea prior to lower and upper middle school. As a child, Kyoung Hee and Yoon Hee recalled hearing and reading many stories that praised Kim Il Sung and Kim

Jong Il. Kyu Hyeon did not remember a lot about North Korea because he went to China when he was 10, but he recalled Kim Il Sung's birthday. He said,

On Kim Il Sung's birthday, I got a gift in kindergarten. After that, I went home and bowed to Kim Il Sung's picture. When I was in kindergarten, I learned some songs about 'General Kim Il Sung.' I learned that I must say 'General.' It is not a military general though. It is just his title. I went to Kim Il Sung's tombstone many times.

Indoctrination begins at an early age in North Korea and continues throughout life. Participants seem to vividly remember many details of the stories that they learned about the Kim family at an early age.

All education revolves around the Kim family. Seong Cheol stressed that all education is connected to the Kim family. Many classes, even math and science, include indoctrination lessons. Indoctrination occurs through propaganda in society and is formally used in the education system. Early education classes emphasize the childhood of the leaders, and the class topics become more advanced as the students progress through primary school, middle school, and for some, tertiary education. None of the participants in this study stated that they had attended college or university in North Korea though. Yoon Cheol said that, "All people have a dream, but the education courses are all focused on the Kim family. The studying is too forced, especially ideological education." Ideological education is extensively used in the North Korean education system to promote dedication to the country and leaders.

Regular participation in saenghwal chonghwa. All participants stated that they participated in saenghwal chonghwa or criticism sessions. Saenghwal chonghwa is a type of ideological education. The average criticism session is about once per week (Gause, 2011), but in some cases there may be more or less (Ryang, 2012). People prepare for this time by writing

down their mistakes (Lankov, 2007). This criticism period is designed for North Koreans to reveal their faults and become closer to Kim Il Sung (Ryang, 2012, p. 185). The examples given by the participants were very similar. The participants all mentioned that they had to say negative things about other people or themselves. Sometimes the saenghwal chonghwa comments were not very serious, but in other examples there was more derision. Two themes that emerged included complaining about classmates and telling lies.

Complaining about classmates. Many of the participants stated that they complained about other classmates. Yoon Cheol remembered having saenghwal chonghwa once per week. It was forced. He said, “Students made a plan with other students about what they would say.” Min Sik made an example of saenghwal chonghwa. He stated, “If one comrade left and did not do her cleaning duties and other students were working hard, I would complain about that.” Young Su complained about people who were not friendly to him. He added, “Everyone complained about one person, so the teacher made a rule that a maximum of three people could complain about one person.” Young Cheol started saenghwal chonghwa for the first time at the beginning of primary school. He said, “It is once per week and people talk about their mistakes- what they did wrong that week. It needs to be long.” The students focus on other students who do not study hard or do not participate in school activities.

Telling lies. Su Jung had saenghwal chonghwa once per week. It was 2 to 3 hours at a time, and she really hated that time because it was all based on lies. She said, “If there were three students, A student would complain about B student, B student would complain about C, and C would complain about A. We made a plan, and the teacher already knew this in advance.” Hee Cheol said that saenghwal chonghwa is very annoying. He added, “People had to prepare

what they would say before that time. Sometimes we lied about mistakes. People complained about people that they did not like.”

Saenghwal chonghwa is a form of ideological education used to keep people dedicated to fulfilling their communist and nationalist duties. Saenghwal chonghwa is viewed in a negative light because the participants had to complain about other people and tell lies. This can create hostility among students even if they make an agreement together about what they would tell the teacher. This can seem like a form of bullying. One student may be the target of many students. Su Jung’s teacher limited the number of complaints that a student could make about one student. This may not be the norm in all or most classrooms though. It is important to reflect on mistakes in life to help assess future goals; however, this type of systematic complaining can be detrimental to people, especially children who already have many insecurities.

A variety of behaviors and interactions in the classroom. Participant responses included a broader spectrum of views about the behaviors and interactions of the North Korean classroom. With the exception of Seong Cheol’s response about rigid and strict classrooms, most participants stated that there were diverse behaviors and interactions in the classroom, or that classrooms are similar to those of South Korea. The themes that developed are diverse behaviors and interactions and similarities to the South Korean education system.

Diverse behaviors and interactions. Five of the participants described a mixture of behaviors and interactions in the classroom. Seong Cheol is the only participant who described the classroom as rigid and strict. He said that the teacher is like a king in school, and the students’ attitudes seem very serious. Kyu Hyeon asserted that most students did not take their studies seriously, but some did. Su Jung said, “Naughty children do bad things and there are also very strict teachers.” Young Cheol noted that students did not study very hard and just chatted

with people around them. They drew pictures, played with things, and slept. The teachers did not say anything even if the students were not listening. Yoon Su explained that North Korean students are often passive about learning. He said, “Many students do not have parents and often fight with other students. Some act like wild animals and do not care about other people.” These students without parents are *kotjebi* (orphans). Yoon Su’s opinion about orphans may seem judgmental and critical. Many suffer from malnutrition and also experience physical and psychological problems (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Without the support of parents, they must find ways to survive on their own.

In addition, students may act uncivilized because they are not concerned about education, and their teachers may also have other priorities. There may also be more freedom and flexibility because there is less pressure to conform to the rigid standards commonly seen in videos or pictures of schools in Pyongyang. The North Korean government does not want outsiders to see a different view of North Korea. When I visited North Korea, I was not allowed to take photos of people doing normal, everyday things like walking down a street. The outsider view of what happens inside of North Korea may be based on what is shown in the media, which may not always reflect reality, especially in locations outside of Pyongyang.

Similarities to the South Korean education system. Ten participants stated that the attitudes and behaviors of students in North Korean classrooms are similar to the attitudes and behaviors of the students in South Korean classrooms. South Korean classrooms are generally viewed as being strict, but it depends on the teacher and the type of lesson being taught. Some classrooms may have less discipline, and students may not be focusing on the lesson. In addition, some students are very motivated and eager to learn, and others are not. Hyeon Su remarked that behaviors in the North Korean classroom are very similar to those in South Korean

classrooms. He said, “It really depends on the teacher and the students. Some teachers and students are very serious. Some are not.” Seon Young said that the North Korean classroom is almost the same as the South Korean classroom. “Some students play so much and do not want to study, and others are very diligent and study hard. It depends on each student.” There are some students who talk a lot and do not pay attention and there are some who study very hard.

There are many contradictory statements about attitudes and behaviors in North Korean classrooms. This could be the result of numerous factors. Even in South Korean and other foreign classrooms, there are some teachers who prefer a very strict and rigid class environment and some who prefer interactive and talkative classes. There are some teachers who can manage classroom discipline and others who have no control over their classes. This could be the result of different teaching styles and teaching abilities. The varied responses about North Korean attitudes and behaviors in the classroom do not align with common perceptions of what occurs in North Korean classes.

Juche as the core philosophy of life and education. All of the participants indicated that Juche plays a tremendous role in the lives of North Korean citizens. Juche can be loosely defined as self-reliance (David-West, 2011; Hale, 2002; Koo & Nahm, 2010; Monday, 2011), but can also be referred to as “self-importance” or “self-significance” (Lankov, 2013, p. 67). The participants had different perspectives about the role of Juche in their lives, but they all agreed that Juche is a significant component of the North Korean education system. Juche is prevalent in the North Korean education system which tries to eliminate foreign influence (Yoo, Y. O., 2001). Approximately 40 to 80% of school lessons revolve around ideology (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Some of the participants created analogies to describe Juche. Although many of the descriptions are distinct, all of the participants described the importance of Juche in education

and regular life in North Korea. Four themes emerged in this section including religious descriptions of Juche, Juche isolates North Koreans, Juche is an educational tool, and Juche is everywhere.

Religious descriptions of Juche. Seong Cheol remembered first learning about Juche as a young child. He compared it to a baptism. “First, there is the pouring of knowledge over the people, like water in a baptism.” Juche ideology in education is similar to “a needle and thread.” Min Su said that Juche revolves around Kim Jong Il and Kim Il Sung. “Juche ideology leads North Korea. It is like a religion of the Kim family.” Religious descriptions of Juche and the Kim family are frequently discussed in literature. It is difficult to determine if the participants developed these descriptions based on their own observations or if they learned this in South Korea or through religious organizations.

Juche isolates North Koreans. Kyoung Hee learned about Juche in the Revolutionary Activities class. “Juche is used to isolate the North Korean people. They cannot have a real education about the world because they are sealed off from the world.” Kyoung Hee’s description of Juche is based on a literal definition of Juche which is described as self-sufficiency. North Korean people generally have an insular understanding of the world because the government tries to prevent them from learning about other countries.

Juche is an educational tool. Yoon Cheol said that, “Juche is a tool in education.” Min Sik remembered learning about Juche before he went to primary school. He said, “Our parents and grandparents teach us about Juche. I also remember morality textbooks that had stories about Juche ideology. We had to memorize these stories.” Juche is obviously incorporated into teaching and curriculum both directly and indirectly. Juche is an ideological tool in society and the educational system.

Juche is everywhere. Seon Young stated, “Juche is connected to everything in North Korea. We could see it everywhere in our life. People believe in Juche, and everything is connected by the people.” Hee Cheol stated that Juche is everywhere in North Korea. He said, “I do not exactly remember when I first learned about Juche, but it is everywhere. Juche was in propaganda. Juche was in education. Juche was in the media. Juche was in our homes.” Ideological education is not limited to classrooms. Ideological brainwashing occurs in the home, schools, the military, places of employment, and society as a whole. Propaganda is played on loud speakers. The media is controlled by the state. Ideological education is fused into many aspects of society.

Military first in education and society. All of the participants stated that militarism played a significant role in the education of North Korean citizens. Militarism is also a major component of daily life in North Korea. Most men and women have some type of direct or indirect military experience in their lives (Cumings, 2004). Children join the Pioneer Corp between the ages of 9 and 13, which operates in a militaristic style (Lankov, 2002). Older students participate in the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League between the ages of 14 and 30 (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005).

Some of the participants, especially females, did not provide a lot of details about questions related to militarism in education. Six participants mentioned having to take things to school that were given to the military. Several themes related to militarism emerged including militarism leads education, collections for the military at school, and militarism as an ideological tool in education.

Militarism leads education. Seong Cheol said that the military “leads education” in North Korea. Kyu Hyeon stated, “Militarism makes students think that their military is the best,

kind of an illusion.” Min Sik explained that the military is the dream and goal of so many students. Some schools advertise a lot about the military. Seon Young remembered working very hard in the Pioneer Youth League and wearing her red ribbon. It is obvious that the military is a priority in North Korean society and the education system. Students have dreams of joining the military. This is also true in many countries, but the emphasis on militarism is incredibly strong in North Korea. Yoon Cheol stated, “When I was in North Korea, the military always came first, and we wanted to make the military stronger so that other countries would not invade us. So we thought that the military should be first. This militarism makes students very hostile.” Militarism plays a major role in the education system. Students participate in militaristic activities, and they learn about the heroism of military personnel. Many students dream of having a future career in the military.

Collections for the military at school. Several participants stated that they had to collect things to take to school for the military. Seong Cheol said, “Technically the North Korean education system is free, but actually the students had to take things to school for the military. People who are not rich, cannot go to school exactly.” Seong Cheol had to take rice to school which was given to the military. He did not have enough rice to eat, yet he had to give his rice to the military. Cheol Su remembers having to take rabbit fur, paper, and things that could be recycled to school for the military. His family also gave up its television which was taken to his school. The television was given to the military. He said, “It is a free education, but we paid so much by giving away so many things. We had to survive. I could not go to school every day because I did not have enough things to give.” Although education is technically free in North Korea, students had to work to gather things to take to school for the military. If students could not find these things, parents had to buy them. The participants already struggled with poverty

and finding enough food to eat. If they could not gather things for the military, they stopped going to school.

Militarism as an ideological tool in education. Young Su described militarism as an ideological tool in education. He remembered a teacher that he had who was retired from the military. The teacher was very strict and carried himself as a soldier. He also recalled going to boot camp in middle school with other boys and girls. Young Cheol said that mostly in Korean language classes, they teach students to join the military and become war heroes who fight the Americans and defend and protect the country. He participated in a month long military training program as do other students in middle school. He added, “Children idolize soldiers. Schools teach children from an early age to go to the military and become a pilot, tank driver, or scout. Be a very courageous soldier who kills Americans.” Militaristic topics are incorporated into class lessons. Students also participate in militaristic activities which promote nationalism and collective pride.

Unbalanced education. The participants described unbalanced information in the North Korean education system. The topics that emerged in this section include history and social sciences and unbalanced and limited information about other countries. An unbalanced education becomes problematic in the South Korean education system when adult defectors must learn many new things beginning at the elementary level. Participants often “unlearn” what they have been taught in order to develop a more accurate and balanced understanding of history and social sciences which include curriculum and information about other countries. History and social science curriculum is rooted in historical revisionism and emphasizes national pride among the people (Kim, H. C., 1971). It also includes lessons on communism, revolutionary

ideals, and the working people (Kim, H. C., 1971). There are also stories which portray America, Japan, and South Korea in a negative light (Lee, D. B., 2010).

History and social sciences. Participants discussed the distortions and inaccuracies in North Korean education, specifically in history and social science classes. Seon Young mentioned that there are many distorted parts of education in North Korea which weaken the quality of education. Kyoung Hee said that history classes are extremely different in North and South Korea. She said, “There are so many differences. We have to erase our knowledge of history.” Min Su stated that North Korean people “have no real understanding of other countries.” When North Korean defectors study history in South Korea, they must “unlearn” much of what was taught in North Korea which is revisionist history. Social science classes in North Korea are based on ideology and only provide a limited or false understanding of the world. North Korean defectors can obtain a more balanced education in South Korea and have access to credible, factual sources.

Unbalanced and limited information about other countries. All of the participants stated that they learned unbalanced information about South Korea, the United States, and Japan in school. They were generally taught about China and Russia in a positive or neutral way. In addition, the information provided about other countries was generally limited. Bias is common in teaching and curriculum, but in North Korea topics related to history and social sciences, including the study of other countries, are unbalanced and can be distorted. Most of the participants had very similar answers. However, there were some more detailed and distinct responses. All of the participants, except for Kyu Hyeon, described negative things about South Korea. Young Cheol is the only participant who described South Korea as an “enemy.” South

Korea was either taught as being bad or poor. Hee Cheol said, “America is the main enemy, but Japan is also the enemy. South Korea was described as very poor and just followed America.”

All of the participants commented that China and Russia are considered allies and friends of North Korea and that America and Japan are enemies. Kyu Hyeon stated, “I learned that during the Korean War, Kim Il Sung was sleeping and the American Yankees came to him and he suddenly woke up and shouted, and the American Yankees ran away.” He added,

When I was young, I thought that America, China, North Korea, and South Korea were the only countries in the world. Juche ideology made me feel like a frog in a well. I could only have a small view. All television shows are about North Korea. The news is about North Korea, not about other countries. The children need to see many perspectives and get a well-rounded education, but they can only hear and see Kim Jong Il and Kim Il Sung. They know only Kim Jong Il and Kim Il Sung.

Young Cheol emphasized that in North Korea,

America is the worst enemy. People learn that America invaded the Korean peninsula, especially North Korea. Teachers tell students that American people are very bad. South Korea also wants to invade North Korea, so it is our enemy. Japan occupied the Korean peninsula, so in school, the teachers taught about the occupation history and that the Japanese made North Korean people slaves so they are considered bad invaders.

Many of the participants’ responses can be expected based on what is commonly taught in North Korean society and in the education system.

Yoon Cheol made an important point. He said, “A lot of DVDs from other countries are being watched in North Korea these days so many people know that other countries are not bad.” Approximately 70% of North Korean people have accessed South Korean visual media (Cho, J.

I., 2011). A survey of 90 North Korean defectors revealed that the vast majority chose to escape and go to South Korea as a result of watching South Korean television shows (Lee, W. Y. & Seo, 2012). North Korean people are exposed to more information about the outside world from DVDs, CDs, and USBs that are smuggled into the country (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Movies and television shows can teach about other countries even though the stories are fictionalized and sensationalized and may not represent reality for most people. South Korean organizations also send balloons to North Korea near the DMZ which can reach North Korean people (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Some North Korean citizens have also been able to speak with foreigners (Everard, 2012). In addition, many North Korean citizens have crossed into China temporarily and returned (Myers, 2011). North Korean citizens now have more opportunities to learn about the outside world.

Transmigration Themes

The transmigration period is defined as the period when North Koreans escape and begin their journey on the modern underground railroad. The primary themes that emerged during this period include lack of education, factors inhibiting access to education, limited education, and breaking the mold. The essence of the transmigration period is a lack of education among the participants. The results of this section are derived from the central research question and the second subquestion.

Lack of education. This section is not supported with rich details and quotations of transmigration educational experiences, because most participants did not receive an education during this period. Twelve participants stated that they did not receive a formal education during this period. Since most of the participants did not receive an education during the transmigration period or only had a limited education that did not last the entire transmigration period, this

represents the essence of the transmigrational educational experience. It is important to address a lack of education rather than only focus on the educational experiences of those who obtained an education.

Factors inhibiting access to education. The participants discussed two factors which could inhibit their ability to have access to formal education. These factors include hiding in fear and who can I trust. The desire to obtain an education is a predominant theme among the participants; however, many of the participants were not able to get a formal education due to numerous barriers and legal problems which prevent North Korean refugees from obtaining a formal education. North Korean refugees may be able to get access to Chinese schools if someone can pay bribes to get a hukou and shenfenzheng. The majority of participants in this study did not receive a formal education. The participants who were able to get a formal education did not want to discuss how they were able to. The participants who attended school still had to conceal their identity and faced tremendous risks.

Even for those who may have been fortunate enough to have a financial sponsor needed to gain access to Chinese schools, it may not have been worth the risk of exposure and possible refoulement. In addition, those who did attend school were probably not able to for the entire duration of the transmigration period. One participant, Kyu Hyeon did not discuss the length of his formal education during the transmigration period. His total transmigration period was 6 years, and he moved several times. It is likely that he did not attend school for the entire duration of the transmigration period. Yoon Hee's transmigration period was 5 years, but she only went to school for 4 years. Min Sik did not state the length of time during each migration period, but based on details provided it can be inferred that he did not attend school for the entire transmigration period.

Hiding in fear. The Chinese government repatriates North Korean refugees. Repatriated refugees often experience torture and interrogation (Kirkpatrick, 2012). There are a wide range of punishments including forced labor, being sent to a prison camp, and execution (Margesson et al., 2007). Chinese citizens can be given \$400 to \$630 (U.S. dollars) for reporting North Korean refugees (Tanaka, 2008). It is estimated that between 80 and 90% of North Korean female refugees are trafficked (Margesson, et al., 2007). Seven of the participants, Seong Cheol, Kyoung Hee, Yoon Cheol, Hyeon Su, Min Sik, Su Jung, and Young Cheol, stated that they could remember hiding in China to prevent refoulement. Seong Cheol was captured by a police officer who demanded he pay a bribe. He could not go anywhere and “felt like a hostage in his home.” Kyoung Hee, Hyeon Su, and Young Cheol stated that they were fearful of being captured in China, so they lived their life in hiding. This theme may not directly connect to education. However, if the participants were forced to hide, then obviously it would be very difficult for them to have access to formal education with the exception of learning activities that occurred in their safe houses.

Min Sik remembered that while he was in China, he thought that if he was captured by the Chinese or North Korean officials, he would be forced to go back to North Korea, so he always hid. “If they knew I was a refugee, I would be treated worse than a dog or pig.” While he was in China, he was an orphan. “I had to worry about people watching me. I escaped from the Chinese police. I ran away and survived.” Getting a formal education can be incredibly risky during the transmigration period. The importance of education has been highlighted among all of the participants; however, during this period survival took precedence. Yoon Cheol recalled similar experiences. He stated, “While I was escaping from North Korea, it was very difficult. I had to avoid the Chinese police.” He also crossed the border from China to Laos and

was worried about being captured. He knew that if he was caught he would be sent back to North Korea. Education has been described as an important goal in the lives of the participants, but during this period they were deprived of a formal education because of legal issues and tremendous risks that could result in repatriation. In addition, the penalty for escaping from North Korea could be execution or a prison camp sentence.

Who can I trust? North Korean refugees often rely on the assistance of individuals and organizations to protect them throughout the transmigration period. However, they must carefully determine who to trust, because there are many people who exploit North Korean refugees. Although brokers, human trafficking, and police or agents, may not directly relate to the educational experiences of North Korean refugees, they still had an impact on their lives which also affected their education. Once again, survival was more important than education. A formal education has little value when basic life necessities are not met. Safety is a basic human need. The participants had to live in hiding because they were “wanted” by many people. North Korean refugees had to pay brokers to help them throughout the transmigration process. Brokers sometimes threaten refugees during the transmigration period and continue to threaten them in South Korea until full payment is made for services. Women especially are vulnerable to human trafficking and sex crimes during this period. Chinese police, North Korean agents, and even Chinese citizens, pose a threat to the safety of North Korean refugees. Rewards are given to people who report North Korean refugees. Receiving an education, even an informal education, is nearly impossible with so many potential threats to safety.

Seong Cheol escaped from police officers in China. While he was in Laos, he was captured by a Laotian police officer who demanded money. His broker told the Laotian police officer about him. It was planned because both demanded more money. Seong Cheol was

imprisoned for 6 months in Laos and was going to be handed over to a North Korean official. However, a South Korean diplomat was able to get him released. Kyoung Hee stated that the entire transmigration process is a human rights violation. It is incredibly difficult to get an education in such a dangerous environment in which refugees are being hunted and exploited.

Min Sik escaped from the Chinese police. He had been captured three times. The first and second time he was caught it was not a major problem because he was very young, but the third time was different. He stated, "I was forced to go back to North Korea. I was kicked and beaten with a stick. That period lasted for about 1.5 months. Then I was sent to a camp for orphans." While he was going to the camp, he escaped from the train and went back to China. Min Sik was repatriated three times. During his final escape, he was incredibly cautious of his surroundings, and his primary goal was survival. Min Sik was able to obtain a formal education for 2 years in China, but he was worried about getting caught.

Limited education. The essence of the transmigration educational experience is a lack of education. However, three participants received a formal education in Chinese schools. In addition, other participants discussed Christian education in their safe houses and informal education. Even though some participants were able to get a formal education, it does not necessarily mean that this education prepared them for the challenges that they would later encounter in South Korea. However, this education was probably beneficial in the adaptation process in South Korea. The difficulty and competitiveness may not have been as extreme for these individuals who received an education during the transmigration period. Two themes emerged in this section including Chinese schooling and Christian education and informal study.

Chinese schooling. Only three of the participants, Yoon Hee, Min Sik, and Kyu Hyeon received a formal education during the transmigration period. Yoon Hee went to a Chinese

school for 4 years and learned Chinese. Min Sik attended a Chinese middle school for 2 years. He said, “I cannot exactly remember what I learned. I met good people in school. It was very hard to catch up with the level of the students there, because I did not go to school often in North Korea.” He also stated that it was a good opportunity for him and that he studied very hard. Kyu Hyeon was also able to go to a high quality primary school (he did not want to indicate the length of time) for Chosunjok (ethnic Koreans with Chinese citizenship). He said, “The Chinese system and South Korea’s old education system are similar. Now, South Korean children go to hagwons when they are in primary school- not just one but several hagwons.” He learned Chinese and his language improved a lot. In primary school in China he also learned Korean, Japanese, English, music, exercise, mathematics, and other subjects. He took many tests. Kyu Hyeon added,

In music class, I played Arirang (a traditional Korean song) on a recorder. In English class, we practiced speaking. In Chinese class, I memorized pages of Chinese books. All of these extra classes are taught in the schools in China, so hagwons are not needed. He could not go home from school until he finished all of his assignments. There were also Taekwondo and soccer clubs at my school.

Of the three participants who received a formal education during this period, Kyu Hyeon discussed the most and seemed to have more vivid memories. Kyu Hyeon generally described his education in China in a positive light. He also stated that his education in China helped him to more effectively assimilate into the South Korean education system in comparison to other North Korean defectors who did not receive a formal education during transmigration.

Christian education and informal study. Three participants discussed informal lessons related to Christianity, and a few participants mentioned independent study. Many of the safe

houses during the transmigration period are operated by Christian organizations and missionaries. Yoon Su discussed her informal education and exposure to Christianity. She stated,

After escaping from North Korea, it is impossible to get an official education. It is impossible to have education. I educated myself. Be strong. Do not fall down. You must survive. These thoughts made me cheerful. When I was in Thailand, I learned about Jesus. Jesus is the only way. When I heard about Jesus the first time, it was like hearing about Kim Il Sung in North Korea- like a sweet sound. That is how I thought about it.

Perhaps Yoon Su and other North Korean defectors had immensely different experiences during the transmigration period in comparison to the three participants who were able to gain access to Chinese schools. Yoon Su believes that getting an official education is impossible. She likely did not have a sponsor who could help her obtain a formal education, or she was too worried about the risks of attending school. In addition, she describes the first time she learned about Christianity in Thailand. It seemed comforting to her. She became influenced by the teachings of Christianity and still follows this path. Religious teaching can be a source of knowledge and enlightenment.

Kyu Hyeon moved several times when he was in China and lived with a few missionary families. He often studied the Bible. He read the entire Bible at least 10 times. He also went to small church services early in the morning. Cheol Su did not learn anything formally during this period, but he talked to other North Korean refugees who learned from South Korean missionaries. Compared to most participants, Cheol Su's transmigration period was considerably short, only 7 months. In addition, he is one of only two participants who escaped

from China to Mongolia. All of the other participants used Southeast Asian routes. Su Jung did not get an official education but said that she learned about Christianity when she was in Cambodia. She studied the Bible and prayed nearly all day for 4 months in a safe house. She added, “I was locked inside of an apartment run by a South Korean church. So many religious people want to help North Korean people, but this can also be a human rights problem.” Although religious education can be inspiring and desirable among some North Korean refugees, it can also be excessive and perceived as another form of ideological education .

Breaking the mold. Although the transition to life in China was full of many challenges and fears, it was also a period of hope and an opportunity for a new life. Experiencing a new life is also a part of the transformational education process. The transformative learning process is rooted in a traumatic event or adverse situation (Taylor & Cranton, 2013). The refugees then develop awareness and understanding of new experiences in a “more inclusive and discriminating world view” (Taylor & Cranton, 2013, p. 41). North Korean refugees have stated that they felt shocked by the freedom that they experienced in China (Green, 2011). Through transformative learning, North Korean refugees view the world in a new light. North Korean refugees stated that they were embarrassed by many of the things that they had previously thought were true (Kang, H., & Grangereau, 2012). Prior to escaping, many do not know a lot about China (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009). This informal learning experience taught the participants about new experiences and the world around them.

Even though the participants were usually in hiding, they still had some opportunities to experience and understand the world around them. They could learn more about the world that they would probably not be able to learn in North Korea. Their tenacity and optimism guided them on a new journey in life. This new experience was not directly explained by all of the

participants, but several discussed their feelings about this new life experience in depth. Kyoung Hee, Min Sik, Cheol Su, Hee Cheol, Su Jung, and Yoon Hee explicitly described this process of experiencing a new life. Although only six participants explained this new life experience, which is not a majority in this study, it is still important to describe their views. Specific questions about new life experiences during the transmigration period were not asked, yet six participants discussed this.

Hee Cheol said that living in China sometimes felt strange, but it was also good to think about a new future. “Many people did not want to help me, and I had to be careful of my surroundings. I met some very kind people in China that I will never forget though. Being in China gave me some hope.” Kyoung Hee recalled that although she was very fearful about being in China, she was amazed by the new life that she had. “In China, there was enough to eat. I never worried about starving. People seemed happy. I missed my country, but I knew that my life was going to become better.” Min Sik said,

I went to China to survive, leaving behind my hometown and family. When I crossed the Tumen River, I could see a Chinese town. I was afraid, because if I crossed the river, I would betray my country. If I was captured, I would go to jail. I had not eaten anything for several days so I needed some food. I crossed the river, and then I kept running and did not look back. When I went to China, I could see corn fields first. I went to the field and hid. I was looking around. There were no guards. I started eating a corn cob. It was very interesting because no one was watching the corn field, and I could see vegetables growing everywhere. I had never seen this kind of world. Before that time, I thought that North Korea was the best. There was enough to eat in China.

Min Sik learned many things about his new life in China. These were transformational learning experiences that were rooted in a negative experience. Desperation led him to leave North Korea. Min Sik reflected on his past life and how his life was changing. He learned from new experiences in China. He experienced more freedom and was able to reflect on his past life. He added, “Before coming to South Korea, I had to pass through China, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. During the processing time, I was very excited. There is a new world. There is no hunger and there is freedom. I can make my new life.”

While in China, Cheol Su’s mother told him that she wanted him to have a new life. “My mom said to go to South Korea. I was surprised to know that. My mom said that she had thought about this many times. She told me not to give up easily in life.” It was his mom’s only wish. She told him that she felt very sorry because he could not go to primary school. She told him about this for 3 days. He decided to go to South Korea. He found out that his mother could not go. It shocked him. He asked her why she could not go. She said that one of his brothers was still in North Korea, and she did not know what happened to him. She had to go to North Korea to help his other brothers. Cheol Su had to accept this and went to Mongolia and eventually made it to South Korea. Perhaps for Cheol Su and many of the participants, this new experience was a major transformational learning period. They learned about the world around them and experienced new challenges. This transformational learning period included positive and negative learning experiences. The participants had hopes and dreams of a better future, yet many obstacles prevented them from achieving their goals and experiencing the freedom that they desired.

Postmigration Themes

Three primary themes emerged during the postmigration period including adaptation problems in South Korea, positive aspects of South Korean adaptation, and language problems in South Korea. These themes emerged primarily from the central research question which addresses general educational experiences rather than more specific themes that emerged through subquestions. Various adaptation problems represent the essence of the postmigration period.

Adaptation problems in South Korea. All of the participants have had difficulties adapting to the South Korean education system. The adaptation problems have generally been overwhelming. North Korean defectors must adapt to a vastly different society. What might seem like a minor adjustment to regular immigrants can seem like an insurmountable obstacle to North Korean defectors. This adaptation process is a new learning experience, and they must adapt to a new education system, government system, cultural and social practices, and a wide array of other differences. Although they were hopeful about the future, they still felt extreme frustration and disappointment. Many had illusory dreams of South Korea, but soon become wary of their strange surroundings. Some participants have struggled more than others. They were skeptical when they entered South Korea, and some had problems distinguishing fact from fiction. The “facts” that they had learned about the Kim family were refuted. Some of the participants made positive comments about South Korean society, but still said that they had experienced a lot of challenges. The university dropout rate of North Korean defectors is 28.4% which is high in comparison to the South Korean rate of 4.5% (“Language Barrier,” 2010). Yoon Cheol said that South Korean education “is very liberal and free,” but it is difficult to transition from the North Korean education system to the South Korean education system. The

themes that emerged in this section are ultracompetitive education, education gap, age problems, and lack of rudimentary knowledge.

Ultracompetitive education. Education is incredibly important in South Korea. Approximately 98% of the population graduates from high school (Lee, R., 2011). Many students take extra lessons at hagwons (Ness & Lin, 2013b). Participants described the South Korean education system as being incredibly competitive. Even South Korean students often feel overwhelmed by the challenging and ultracompetitive education system. This ultracompetitive environment can be extremely daunting to North Korean defectors who often lack rudimentary knowledge. Seong Cheol remarked that “the South Korean education system is so fast like a machine.” He needed to relearn all of the basic things and “fix” his “wrong” North Korean mind. He had to learn so quickly and take tests and “continue, continue, continue.” Hyeon Su said that no matter how hard he tries, it will never be good enough for South Korean standards. He knows that South Korean students work very hard, but in university, North Korean defectors have to work much harder just to pass their classes. He thinks that he will have to constantly compete for the rest of his life. Min Sik explained the struggles he has endured. He said that South Koreans focus too much on studying. He added, “I could not learn a lot when I was in North Korea so I do not have basic knowledge, but I am expected to know what South Korean people know at the same age.” Even South Korean students complain about the competitiveness of the education system. High school students are notorious for studying late at night and cramming for the college entrance exam. In addition, a significant amount of time and money is invested in hagwons. Education can be incredibly competitive for South Korean students. North Korean defectors must transition to this drastically different lifestyle which they are not accustomed to.

Cheol Su said, “The situation around me was not very easy. I felt so much stress from studying. I was being pushed. People looked at me in a very strange way. I hate that feeling.” He thought it made him a very negative person, but he realized that he could only understand through a limited view. When Cheol Su went to South Korea, he struggled a lot. For 1.5 years he tried to think clearly about his goals and future plans. He worked at a part-time job but saw no results. He said, “I thought to myself about why I came to South Korea. I remembered that it was my mother’s dream. My mother told me to graduate from university.” North Korean defectors have different reasons for pushing through the rigorous competition in South Korean society.

Education gap. Hee Cheol said that the gap between North Korean defectors and South Korean people is too wide, and it is difficult for South Korean people to understand this. Min Su recalled, “It was very hard at first. I had to study very hard. Everything was hard, especially understanding the culture. I could not really study in North Korea which made studying in South Korea very difficult.” He also stated that students often go to hagwons, but he could not afford to go. He needed to go to get caught up in his classes. There are some hagwons that provide free assistance to North Korean defectors. However, it would be difficult for most North Korean defectors to achieve the same academic levels as South Korean students. Many South Korean students often attend hagwons to excel academically and likely already have the rudimentary knowledge that many North Korean defectors lack.

Cheol Su said “Maybe there are not many differences in Science, English, and math, but subjects such as history and ideology have no value in South Korea.” Yoon Su explained some of the pros and cons of the South Korean education system. He said, “North Korean education is about Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il, Kim Jong Suk and now, Kim Jong Eun. English, math, and

other subjects are taught in a very different way in North Korea.” North Korean history has been significantly revised to promote ideological indoctrination. North Korean defectors must “unlearn” much of what was taught in social science classes. Yoon Su also stated that North Korean defectors are adapted to the North Korean education style, so it is very difficult to adapt to the South Korean system.

Age problems. Many North Korean defectors have to take primary, middle, and high school courses even though they are adults. This can be especially problematic in South Korean society because age is incredibly important in the traditional, Confucian hierarchy. Min Sik added that his peers are younger than him in university, so it is difficult to develop friendships. In addition, he went to a school for North Korean defectors. He originally wanted to go to a regular school, but his level was not high enough, and he was in his twenties. While he was studying middle school curriculum, he decided to quit and just focus on his social life. He soon realized that he needed to study hard. He eventually graduated from high school and is now studying in university. Cheol Su also said that he could not go to regular school (primary, middle, and high school) in South Korea because he was in his twenties. He had to study independently so that he could go to university. Many study at specialized schools for North Korean defectors that can meet their unique needs. Christian organizations play a major role in developing and maintaining these schools.

Lack of rudimentary knowledge. Cheol Su said that he often had to study on his own in South Korea. He had to take primary, middle, and high school courses for the first 6 months. He could not understand what he was studying. He did not have the basic foundation knowledge needed. Young Cheol stated, “The South Korean education system pushes students and makes them learn the fundamental classes. The fundamental classes are very strong.” Even though he

graduated from high school (upper middle school) in North Korea, his basic knowledge was too low, so it was very hard to adapt and catch up to everyone else. The fundamental classes include Korean, science, math, social studies, and English. The participants completed varying levels of education in North Korea. However, the level may not be comparable to the South Korean level. In addition, ideological lessons are incorporated into a wide range of subjects including math and science (Kim, H. C. & Kim, D. K., 2005; Lee, J. H., 2007).

Positive aspects of South Korean adaptation. Kyu Hyeon, Kyoung Hee, Seon Young, and Su Jung discussed positive aspects of South Korean adaptation even though they were not directly asked about this. Although only four participants described the positive characteristics of South Korean adaptation, and these findings may not reflect the views of others, it is still important to share their views. Questions were not asked about positive aspects of South Korean adaptation. Perhaps if questions had been asked about positive points about the South Korean education system, there would be additional examples. The themes that developed in this section include new opportunities and initiative and already exposed to South Korean language and culture.

New opportunities and initiative. Kyoung Hee mentioned that North Korean defectors have many good opportunities in South Korea. Seon Young noted in South Korea, “I take the initiative to learn. I have some control over my future if I study hard.” Although life in South Korea can be very competitive, society provides freedoms which give North Korean defectors opportunities. In South Korea, North Korean defectors have more control over their future and can have careers that are not determined by the government. This may motivate them to take initiative to go to school, join clubs, learn new hobbies, and meet new people.

Already exposed to South Korean language and culture. Su Jung did not have a lot of problems adapting to life in South Korea because she watched many South Korean movies and dramas in North Korea. Approximately 70% of North Korean people have accessed South Korean visual media (Cho, J. I., 2011). Technology has provided North Korean citizens with more information about the outside world (Lankov, 2007). North Koreans purchase smuggled video CDs, transistor radios, VCDs, and VCRs that come from China (Kirkpatrick, 2012). This may become more of a trend as South Korean television shows and movies gain popularity in North Korea. The people are able to learn more about the differences in lifestyle and wealth between North and South Koreans (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Su Jung learned a lot of words and expressions from the DVDs that she watched. However, even though she learned about the language, she had difficulties in understanding everyday life in South Korea.

Language problems in South Korea. Language problems are a major barrier for North Korean defectors (Hassig & Oh, 2009; Lankov, 2006; “Strangers at Home,” 2011; “Young North Koreans,” 2009). Twelve participants indicated that language was a major obstacle in the adaptation process. North Korean defectors must learn many new things about society, and even though they speak Korean, it is different from the Korean that they are accustomed to. The themes that emerged in this section include South Korean language differences, English language, TOEIC testing, and speaking with a North Korean dialect.

South Korean language differences. Cheol Su said that the first problem he experienced was language. Even though it was Korean, it was still very different. There are dialect differences throughout North Korea and South Korea. In addition, the South Korean language uses many words from other languages, especially English. Min Su stated, “South Korean people use foreign languages a lot.” Foreign words are generally not used in North Korea with

the exception of some technical, Russian phrases (Song, J. J., 2002). The English language can be a major problem for North Korean defectors. There are many free tutoring programs that they can participate in. However, many South Korean students have been exposed to English from an early age. It would be quite difficult for North Korean defectors to reach the same level of proficiency as South Korean students.

English language. Kyu Hyeon emphasized that learning English was very difficult. He said, “South Korean students study English when they are in primary school. I cannot catch up with them.” Hee Cheol stressed that English education is pushed too much in South Korea. He added, “It is also unfair because South Korean people start learning English when they are young. Some North Korean defectors never studied English.” Young Cheol stated, “The importance of English is too high. People think English is very important. I want to study something, but I must know English even if the subject does not relate to English.” The English language is incredibly important in South Korea, especially in the education system. English proficiency is required for many university programs. Furthermore, English proficiency is often a requirement for many jobs.

Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC testing). Kyoung Hee has had English tutoring and often studies for the TOEIC exam but still struggles a lot. “I really worry that my TOEIC score will not be high enough. Even if I am good at my major and other things, it means nothing if my English scores are low.” Cheol Su is in his final year of university, but he will not be able to graduate because his TOEIC score is not high enough. He will take 1 to 2 years off to prepare for the TOEIC exam. “If I did not do my best, I could accept my TOEIC problem, but I tried very hard.” TOEIC testing is connected to the dominance of English in South Korean society. Many universities and jobs require a minimum TOEIC score.

Speaking with a North Korean dialect. Several participants were accustomed to the vernacular of their province and sometimes speak in their North Korean dialect. Su Jung still speaks with her North Korean dialect sometimes even though she tries not to. Many defectors try to conceal their North Korean, provincial accents so that they can blend into South Korean society more effectively.

Postmigration Perspectives of North Korea

Subquestion three examined the participants' current views of Juche, militarism, and human rights violations now that they live in South Korea (and have obtained a more balanced formal or informal education and were exposed to ample factual information). Six primary themes developed including Juche maintains the regime, Juche as an ideological tool, militarism maintains the regime, North Korean people do now know human rights, lack of foreign awareness about North Korean human rights violations, and severity of North Korean human rights violations. These primary themes do not directly address educational experiences but rather how the participants presently perceive Juche, militarism, and human rights violations as a result of learning new information in South Korea. This may have occurred through formal or informal education. Their present views may be influenced by mainstream perspectives of these issues in South Korea. The participants may have also been exposed to new knowledge through the Internet or foreign sources.

Juche maintains the regime. Seven of the participants, Kyu Hyeon, Seong Cheol, Kyoung Hee, Min Su, Cheol Su, Young Cheol, and Yoon Su, stated that Juche maintains the North Korean regime. The participants addressed different issues in their responses, but the overarching theme in this section is that the Kim family uses Juche for its own power. Some

responses also connect with the next theme related to Juche as an ideological tool. However, the predominant theme revolves around Juche's role in regime survival.

Seong Cheol remarked, "Juche ideology is for Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il and their staff. They want to eat more and become richer, so they made that ideology. They took the people's food and belongings. Regular students cannot even eat or go to school." Average citizens struggle to obtain basic life necessities while the regime indulges in luxuries. Kyoung Hee stated, "Without Juche, the dictatorship would not survive. Juche keeps the people devoted to the leader. That is why there is no revolution to overthrow the government." Perhaps without such incessant propaganda, the people would be more likely to resist or escape. However, societal controls and militarism can prevent this. Young Cheol asserted,

Juche has no benefit and brings no happiness to the people. It is only for one person- the dictator. Juche is cruel. It is inhumane, brutal, and degrading. If people think Juche is positive, then they do not understand North Korea exactly. North Korea brainwashes the people from the time they are born and treat them as less than animals and control them. Juche plays a tremendous role in maintaining the Kim family regime. In addition, Juche is often portrayed negatively because it is used for the power of the country's elite while the vast majority of the population lacks basic life necessities and human rights.

Juche as an ideological tool. The majority of participants indicated that Juche is used as an ideological tool. Some of the participants' quotes in the previous section also highlight this theme. Two themes developed in this section: The term "Juche" can be positive and Juche controls the people.

The term "Juche" can be positive. Several participants stated that the meaning of Juche is actually not negative, but the regime has distorted and misconstrued the meaning. Yoon Su

said that the term Juche is not bad, but the problem is that it is used for power. Hyeon Su said, “Juche does not have a bad meaning, but the North Korean regime made Juche into an ideological tool to force the people to follow only the leaders.” Seon Young stated, “Juche ideology means, ‘My destination by myself.’ I am a pioneer. When I was in North Korea, I thought this point was the right point.” Seon Young added that Juche ideology can be perceived differently to different people. Some people see it as a positive thing and others negative. She added, “Juche ideology by itself is not bad, but with militarism and human rights violations, they connect to Juche in a bad way.” These participants state that the meaning of Juche is not bad, but the regime distorts the meaning for its own benefit.

Juche controls the people. Min Sik noted, “Juche makes humans as a god. It is very wrong thinking. I realized this after I came to South Korea. Juche ideology is similar to the Bible. The North Korean government uses that word to manipulate the people.” Hee Cheol stated, “Juche ideology keeps North Korean people as prisoners in their homes and country. They cannot move freely. They do not even know about the world around them.” Juche ideology keeps the people focused on devotion to the country and leaders. Through this control, the regime is able to maintain itself.

Militarism maintains the regime. Most of the participants stated that militarism maintains the regime’s survival. Compared to other questions in the journal entries and on the interview, the responses related to militarism were generally vague and were typically shorter than other answers. Seong Cheol said, “Militarism is North Korea’s life because if the Kim family does not have the military, it cannot be in control.” Three themes developed in this section including regime power, fear of the military, and militarism reduces the potential of young adults.

Regime power. Kyoung Hee, Yoon Cheol, Min Su, Hyeon Su, Hee Cheol, Yoon Hee, and Yoon Su stated that in North Korea, they thought militarism was good, but now believe its purpose is to support the regime. Su Jung said that the military is only for the power of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. She said, “It is for their happiness and power.” Young Cheol noted, “If there was no militarism, North Korea would already be broken. It is a tool which supports Juche because the people should think that the military is important.” Military power is crucial in every country, but the North Korean military is also used to control the people within the country and maintain the power of the regime.

Fear of the military. Min Sik said that he was afraid of the military because he was captured several times while trying to escape. He also believes that people in North Korea are afraid of the military, so they do not voice their opinion. The military and security agencies control the people so that they obey the law, and they prevent people from rebelling against the government and escaping.

Militarism reduces the potential of young adults. Seon Young stated that militarism has taken away the potential of many young adults in North Korea. “So many North Korean people give their young adulthood to the government. The result is that young people are not very intelligent and lose their potential.” Therefore, North Korean society cannot use their intelligence. Conscription can reduce the human capital potential of society since many young adults must work in laborious positions in the military that do not require creativity, innovation, and critical thinking.

North Korean people do not know human rights. Seven of the participants, Kyu Hyeon, Kyoung Hee, Yoon Cheol, Hyeon Su, Cheol Su, Hee Cheol, and Young Cheol, stated that North Korean people do not understand the concept of human rights. Kyu Hyeon and

Hyeon Su believe that after reunification, the North Korean people will finally learn the real meaning of human rights. Yoon Cheol said that there is no word for “human rights” in North Korea. He said, “Now I realize there are no human rights in North Korea. For example, if a student does not do his homework, the teacher beats him. They are sometimes severely beaten. There is no respect for humans.” People are just “guilty” and are treated as animals for crimes that they did not commit. Cheol Su thinks that human rights allow people to speak their opinions. He added, “North Korean people do not know human rights, and they do not know the standard of what is considered a human right.” Young Cheol stated,

North Korean people do not know the word ‘human rights.’ They are pushed by the dictatorship power and cannot speak their opinion. Their lives are already stolen. They are just living as slaves. They are not guilty, but they are accused of a crime. They always feel victimized. Twenty-four million people are in that situation. North Korean human rights violations are the worst in the world. I am waiting for the day when there are human rights in North Korea. I hope it is as soon as possible. These days in North Korea, the government is doing anything to maintain the power of the family and system, even if they kill a family member - Jang Song Taek (Kim Jong Eun’s uncle).

Without a basic understanding of human rights, the people of North Korea may not realize the extent of human rights violations. The people may be exposed to information from the outside world through smuggled DVDs, USBs, and CDs which may provide a different picture of what life is like in other countries. However, they may be uncertain of what is reality. North Korean defectors are pioneers who can have a voice to educate family and friends in North Korea about the reality of life in South Korea.

Lack of foreign awareness about North Korean human rights violations. Three of the participants, Seong Cheol, Min Su, and Yoon Su, think that the outside world has very little understanding of human rights violations in North Korea and on the modern underground railroad. Although only three participants discussed this, specific questions in the study did not directly address this. It is important to discuss these findings even if only a few participants mentioned this. Foreigners should be educated more about North Korea's appalling human rights record. Seong Cheol said, "Foreigners cannot imagine human rights violations in North Korea. The purpose of human rights violations is to maintain power." In addition, Min Su commented that "Human rights violations in North Korea are so severe and more serious than people outside of North Korea can know." Yoon Su stated that a major problem is that many people in the world do not know about the human rights violations in North Korea. Other countries and people have a responsibility to learn about the realities of life in North Korea which can be tainted by the mainstream media's focus on the country's nuclear weapons.

Severity of North Korean human rights violations. Kyoung Hee, Hyeon Su, Min Sik, Su Jung, Yoon Hee, and Yoon Su described human rights violations as severe. Once again, even though this is not a majority of participants, it is important to report these findings. Kyoung Hee said that human rights violations are very severe and only teach respect for the Kim family. Hyeon Su and Min Sik said that they feel very sorry for North Korean people because they do not have human rights. Min Sik said,

North Korean people are treated as less than dogs or pigs. Everywhere, so many people are dying. In China, many female refugees were sold for just a little money to old guys who could not get married. They were afraid that the women would run away, so they

would beat and make the women feel like they were in prison. I was captured and sent back to North Korea. I was treated as less than an animal.

Su Jung stressed that the North Korean government is lying to the people. She added,

The government makes people respect the Kim family power, which is a human rights violation. People think that the Kim family members are great leaders. It is all just brainwashing. Most people believe it. This is a human rights violation. Also, there are obvious human rights violations such as labor camps, but forced ideological education is also a human rights violation.

Yoon Hee asserted that there are so many human rights violations in North Korea. “Powerful people often commit human rights violations. North Korean people do not know that they are experiencing human rights violations.” Perhaps the participants did not address the severity of human rights violations in their own lives because these experiences may have seemed relatively normal to them.

The Future

The future is a major theme that emerged among the participants which is based on the final subquestion. Two themes emerged in this category which include education as a key to success and reunification dreams. Hope represents the essence of the future.

Education as a key to success. All of the participants described education as an important part of their lives. The participants did not provide ample details about their goals, but many seemed to have a very clear vision of what they hoped to do in the future. Education is a source of change for a better future. The participants are all college or university students (one will begin in the spring semester of 2014). The participants hope that their education will help them to achieve other goals. Obtaining a quality education represents the apex of many of their

lives. Six of the participants hope to get a graduate degree, and three participants want to study or work in another country.

- Cheol Su wants to finish his bachelor's degree. He also wants to get a PhD and study in another country.
- Hee Cheol wants to get his master's degree. He is unsure about his future occupation, but he wants to help other people.
- Hyeon Su wants to become a writer and a university professor. He also wants to tell other people about his experiences and use his story to bring North and South Korean people together.
- Kyoung Hee wants to become a Chinese teacher in Korea.
- Kyu Hyeon wants to get certification to become a physical therapist. After that, he wants to work in a hospital for a year and get his bachelor's degree and master's degree. Once he has enough money (maybe around the age of 35), he wants to get a PhD. He hopes that Korea is reunified then.
- Min Sik wants to finish his degree and become a writer.
- Min Su hopes to become a teacher after graduating.
- Seon Young hopes to study fashion in a foreign country.
- Seong Cheol said, "I should study my entire life in South Korea because I could not learn much in North Korea." He also wants to graduate and work for a good company.
- Su Jung wants to get her bachelor's degree and become a florist. Since she was a child, she has loved flowers. There are a lot of jobs that she could technically do, but she wants a job that she is passionate about. Su Jung also said, "I am going to make my dreams come true. Everything seems strange and unique in South Korea, the different culture. It

is hard for North Korean defectors to figure out their life dream or way.” She added, “I know my goal. I do not know the exact way to achieve my goal, but I will do my best.”

- Yoon Cheol wants to finish his bachelor’s degree.
- Yoon Hee wants to study Chinese more and get a job in a trading company.
- Yoon Su wants to finish his bachelor’s degree.
- Young Cheol has wanted to become a scientist since he was a child, but his social status was very low and people mistreated him in North Korea. He could not go to university because his family was considered political criminals. He wants to study hard and work in the IT industry. After graduating from university, he hopes to go to America and get a master’s degree in electronic engineering and also experience American culture.
- Young Su wants to graduate from an MBA program in a foreign country and work on Wall Street.

Reunification dreams. Eleven of the participants described the importance of reunification in their lives. They provided altruistic examples of how they hope to create a more prosperous future for their unified country. One participant, Young Su, is not concerned about reunification now because he needs to concentrate on studying and his future job. Most of the responses about reunification include ways in which the participants want to connect North and South Korean people or develop ways to assist North Korean people in the adaptation process.

- Cheol Su wants to build a school for North Korean children in the future after reunification. This has been his dream for a while.
- Hee Cheol wants to teach South Korean people about reunification and the similarities of North and South Korean people. “We are actually more similar than different. We are all people and do many of the same things every day. We all have the same feelings.”

- Kyoung Hee wants to go back to North Korea if it is possible in the future. She also wants to go back to China if it is not dangerous for her. She hopes that reunification happens soon. She wants to meet her friends again.
- Kyu Hyeon wants to build his own college after reunification and teach the North Korean people about medicine since the North Korean healthcare system is very poor.
- Min Sik wants to write a book about North Korean defectors' lives after they come to South Korea. He wants to assist new North Korean defectors and to be a bridge for North and South Korean people so that they can get to know each other. He also said that he has experience living under different government systems, which is useful in bringing the people together. "When North and South Korea reunify, I want to help link the countries together."
- Min Su wants to help support reunification in the future through his teaching. "I want to work to help close the education gap between North and South Korea."
- Seon Young hopes to have her own fashion show in Pyongyang after reunification.
- Seong Cheol stated, "One day when reunification happens, I want people to know that North Korean defectors did not make a bad choice in coming here."
- Yoon Cheol wants to help North Korean people in the future. He wants to go back to his hometown after reunification and help the people there.
- Yoon Su stated that he wants to live in a reunified Korea. "I do not want to my children to hear that they are in a defector family."
- Young Cheol said that he wants to make more people interested in reunification. He wants to help future North Korean defectors adapt well. He has a dutiful mind about reunifying Korea and preparing for the future. "Everything will be better."

Summary

This chapter examined educational experiences of 15 North Korean defectors in light of their exposure to Juche, militarism, and human rights violations. It explored educational themes that emerged during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. The results of demographic surveys; timelines of primary life events; standardized, open-ended interviews; and journal entries were analyzed. The following data analysis procedures were used: checking for descriptions of educational life experiences, finding significant statements, developing clusters of meaning, synthesizing a field journal, and finally creating textural and structural descriptions which led to the comprehensive essence of the educational life experiences of the North Korean defectors. Data was analyzed through traditional methods, because as a researcher, I wanted to be more connected to the participants. I used Atlas.ti to supplement my analyses.

The premigration themes emerged from the central research question and the first subquestion. The premigration themes include the importance of social status, poverty and extreme hardship, Kim family indoctrination, regular participation in saenghwal chonghwa, a variety of behaviors and interactions in the classroom, Juche as the core philosophy of life and education, military first in education and society, and unbalanced education. The essence of the premigration period centers on how these themes affected the lives of the participants.

Transmigration themes developed from the central research question and the second subquestion. These themes include lack of education, factors inhibiting access to education, limited education, and breaking the mold. The essence of the transmigration period is a lack of education among the participants. Postmigration themes emerged from the central research question. These themes include adaptation problems in South Korea, positive aspects of South Korean adaptation, and language problems in South Korea. Adaptation problems represent the essence

of the postmigration period. Postmigration themes related to the participants' present views of Juche, militarism, and human rights developed through the third subquestion. These themes include Juche maintains the regime, Juche as an ideological tool, militarism maintains the regime, North Korean people do not know human rights, lack of foreign awareness about North Korean human rights violations, and severity of North Korean human rights violations. Finally, two themes pertaining to the future developed through the fourth subquestion. These themes include education as a key to success and reunification dreams. The essence of the future experience revolves around hope for a better life and reunification.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Summary

North Korean defectors have a wide range of educational experiences throughout premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. The amalgamation of stories leads to commonalities and a shared essence of the overall experience. Juche, militarism, and human rights violations have played a major role in the past educational experiences of North Korean defectors. Fifteen participants were selected through criterion, purposive, and snowball sampling. Four types of data were analyzed including demographic surveys; timeline of primary life events; standardized, open-ended interviews; and journal entries. This chapter includes a discussion of the findings, theoretical implications, participant recommendations, researcher recommendations, limitations, suggestions for future research, and a conclusion of the major themes of this study. The purpose of this transcendental, phenomenological study was to uncover the essence of the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea.

Discussion of the Findings

Central Question: What primary themes emerge from the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration?

Subquestions:

1. How did Juche, militarism, and human rights violations influence the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors during the premigration period?
2. How did human rights violations affect North Korean refugees' educational life experiences during the transmigration period?

3. During the postmigration period, what are the perspectives of North Korean defectors regarding Juche, militarism, and human rights violations in North Korea (after obtaining a more balanced formal or informal education in South Korea and being exposed to ample factual information)?
4. How do North Korean defectors perceive the future role of education in their lives in South Korea?

The central research question highlights the primary themes that emerged in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors during each stage of migration. In addition, four subquestions guided the study and sometimes overlapped with the central research question. Juche, militarism, and human rights violations are primary issues that had a major impact on the educational experiences of North Korean defectors. The majority of themes centered on the premigration period. The premigration period includes eight primary themes. Four themes emerged from the transmigration period, and three themes developed from the postmigration period. Six themes related to postmigration perspectives of North Korea emerged. In addition, participants discussed two primary themes connected to the future.

The major premigration themes include the importance of social status, poverty and extreme hardship, Kim family indoctrination, regular participation in saenghwal chonghwa, a variety of behaviors and interactions in the classroom, Juche as the core philosophy of life and education, military first in education and society, and unbalanced education. The essence of the premigration period is based on the amalgamation of these themes. Social status plays a tremendous role in education. Social status creates favoritism in the classroom, and children of party members or affluent parents have more opportunities. Participants discussed four topics related to social status including bullying, class leaders, family background, and classroom

segregation. Many of the participants were not able to attend school regularly in North Korea as a result of famine and other hardships. Participants discussed hunger and the need to survive and the decline in the education system. The Kim family was discussed frequently in different research activities. Participants connected ideological education to the Kim family. In addition, many educational lessons and experiences that they remember revolve around the Kim family. Details were provided about the role of the Kim family in the Revolutionary History class, memorizing facts pertaining to the leaders, early education related to the Kim family, and all education relates to the Kim family.

All of the participants regularly participated in saenghwal chonghwa. Examples of saenghwal chonghwa include complaining about classmates and telling lies. The participants had mixed responses to describe the behaviors and interactions in North Korean classrooms. Most participants described the behaviors and interactions as being similar to South Korean classrooms or that there are a variety of behaviors and interactions. Some North Korean students are very motivated and diligent, whereas others are lazy and passive about learning. Likewise, some teachers are strict and rigid, and others are carefree or even did not teach. The participants had diverse views about the role of Juche in their lives, but they all stated that Juche is a major element of North Korean society and the education system. Themes relating to Juche as the core philosophy of life and education include religious descriptions of Juche, Juche isolates North Koreans, Juche as an educational tool, and Juche is everywhere.

All of the participants said that militarism played a major role in the education of North Korean citizens, but some of the examples pertained more to society rather than education. Some participants stated that they once had great pride in the military but in retrospect, they know that the military's purpose is to maintain the regime. Participants discussed three primary

topics which include militarism leads education, collections for the military at school, and militarism as an ideological tool in education. Finally, unbalanced education was described as a major problem in the North Korean education system. This theme primarily centers on history and social sciences and unbalanced and limited information about other countries. History and social science class lessons include distorted information. The participants learned unbalanced and limited information about other countries. Some information taught was inaccurate. All of the participants learned that America and Japan are enemies. All except for one participant were taught negative things about South Korea. However, the word “enemy” was only used once to describe South Korea. The other participants described South Korea as poor or bad. All of the participants learned that China and Russia are friendly countries or allies or were taught about these countries in a neutral way.

Transmigration themes that emerged are lack of education, factors inhibiting access to education, limited education, and breaking the mold. Only three participants received a formal education during the transmigration period. The essence of the transmigration period is a lack of education among the participants. North Korean refugees are fearful during the transmigration period and must endure adverse living conditions. If North Korean refugees must live surreptitiously, in fear of being captured and repatriated, they cannot focus on an education. Their hermitical lifestyle confines them to a life of solitude. Gaining access to schools is also extremely problematic and requires breaking the Chinese law. North Korean refugees are “wanted” by many people. They are sometimes cozened by brokers with malicious intents. Women must be careful to not become victims of human trafficking. Police, agents, and even citizens are offered rewards for turning in North Korean refugees. Obtaining a formal education is virtually impossible in this type of environment. Only three participants were able to get a

formal education, and this was not for the entire duration of the transmigration period. Some participants reported learning about Christianity and studying independently. The participants' educational experiences are limited. The majority of participants did not directly discuss experiencing a new life or breaking the mold; however, several participants described this with clarity and rich descriptions. Research questions did not specifically address the issue of experiencing a new life. These participants discussed this transformational experience as a new beginning and an opportunity for a better life.

Postmigration themes that developed include adaptation problems, positive aspects of adaptation, and language problems. All of the participants stated that they had adaptation problems in South Korea, and most described these as severe problems. They discussed a wide range of topics related to their adaptation in South Korea including ultracompetitive education, education gap, age problems, and lack of rudimentary knowledge. Some participants described positive aspects including new opportunities and initiatives and having already been exposed to South Korean language and culture in North Korea. Finally, language problems were also highlighted as a major barrier in the adaptation process. The participants mentioned struggling with South Korean language differences, the English language, TOEIC testing, and speaking with a North Korean dialect.

Participants were asked about their postmigration views of Juche, militarism, and human rights in North Korea. The participants had many ideas about Juche and human rights. However, the responses about militarism were more limited and lacked depth. Participants stated that Juche maintains the regime and Juche is an ideological tool. Some participants stated that the term "Juche" can be positive but is used to maintain the regime. They also stated that Juche controls the people. In addition, most of the participants stated that militarism is what

maintains the regime. Without the military, the regime would not survive. The Kim family uses the military to control society so that the people do not rebel against the government. The citizens of North Korea appear proud of the military and express jubilation over heroic stories of the past. Conversely, the military is also a source of fear among the citizenry. Militarism also reduces the potential of young adults.

Finally, three themes related to human rights were identified including North Korean people do not know human rights, lack of foreign awareness about North Korean human rights violations, and severity of North Korean human rights violations. Many participants stated that most North Korean people do not even know the phrase “human right.” They only know the world that they have experienced and in their world, there are no human rights. Also, many foreigners are not aware of abounding human rights violations in North Korea, and even if they do know, they would never be able to fathom the extent of human rights violations. Variegated examples shed light into the human rights violations of North Korea. Finally, North Korean human rights abuses are incredibly severe.

Two primary themes pertaining to the future emerged including education as a key to success and reunification dreams. The participants emphasized the value of education in their present and future lives. In addition, the majority of participants wanted to be involved in the future reunification of North and South Korea through their careers or personal interests.

Theoretical Implications

This study is grounded in the transformative learning theory. The theoretical framework connects the findings of this study to transformative learning theory. In addition, other studies on refugee populations have been connected to transformative learning theory. According to Cranton and Taylor (2012), “Transformative learning theory is based on the notion that we

interpret our experiences in our own way, and that how we see the world is a result of our perceptions of our experiences” (p. 5). Primary components of transformative learning theory include experience, frames of reference and meaning structure, the learning process, critical reflection, reflective discourse and transformation. The transformative learning theory plays a major role in the lives of refugees or in this case, North Korean refugees and defectors.

According to Taylor (1994), “When a stranger travels to another culture to live for an extended period of time, he or she often experiences a transformation. It occurs out of necessity for survival and out of a need to relieve the stress and anxiety often experienced as the stranger struggles to meet basic needs” (p. 389). Culture shock can be a “disorienting dilemma” (Taylor, 1994, p. 401). The process of acculturation and assimilation can be difficult for regular immigrants but for refugee populations, there are myriad issues beyond culture shock that are factored in. Conversely, the new environment can be an opportunity for personal development and achievement.

According to Taylor (1994), “This process of perspective transformation seems to provide understanding into how a person makes meaning of new cultural experiences and at the same time integrates the new learning into a more inclusive and discriminating world view” (p. 400). Some North Korean refugees have educational opportunities during the transmigration period, but most of these experiences occur in South Korea during the postmigration period. However, informal learning can occur at any time. Many refugees have a chance to engage in educational activities that were impossible in the past (Billet and Onsando, 2009). This is also the case for North Korean defectors. Although many received an education, much of what they had learned is false or does not aid them in a global, competitive world.

Critical reflection is an important process in the lives of North Korean defectors. Cranton & Taylor (2012) stated that the transformative process involves individuals “examining, questioning, and revising” how they view their experiences. Experience is a critical component of transformative learning (Taylor & Cranton, 2013). In North Korea, when people are contemplating their existence and the world around them, the process of transformative learning begins. Many North Korean citizens are exposed to foreign movies and television shows, and some have had access to foreigners. This may lead them to question their realities.

The transformative learning process continues through transmigration and postmigration. During transmigration and postmigration, North Koreans may question their past experiences and also evaluate their new lives and experiences. When North Korean refugees enter China, another transformative learning experience occurs. Although the refugees must hide and live cautiously to avoid arrest, they are exposed to a new life and a country that is more prosperous than their own. This is not always an easy transition though. The transformation involves many hardships for North Korean refugees and defectors. According to Taylor and Cranton (2013), “The phases of transformation involve pain, discontent, guilt and shame. The event or events that precipitate transformative learning are often traumatic” (p. 40). The past and even present life experiences of the participants are often filled with tragedies, but these experiences lead to new perspectives. These changed perspectives enable North Korean refugees and defectors to more effectively integrate into society.

Refugees have to evaluate their beliefs, create specific goals to assimilate into society, and educate themselves so that they can attain their goals (Morrice, 2012). According to Morrice (2012), “Becoming a refugee is therefore a source of deep learning as they confront unexpected changes in their life plans and the need to reshape their lives and reconstruct their identities” (p.

253). North Korean refugees and defectors experience many changes in their lives that sometimes happen rapidly. This is especially problematic considering that their education in North Korea taught them very little about the world. They have not had factual classes about world history and culture. Many of them also have a limited understanding of geography. These new experiences can be especially frustrating for them. Immigrants and other refugee populations usually have at least basic knowledge about the world. When I moved to South Korea, I had numerous resources, books, travel guides, and the Internet to help me learn about the country. North Koreans may have heard some stories or watched DVDs , but they are uncertain of what is fact and fiction. The level of culture shock that they experience is probably incomprehensible to most people.

There are also negative aspects of the transformation process. Morrice (2012) stated that refugees have to “unlearn and let go of much of who and what they were. A significant part of their experience involved learning to accept that their cultural capital was not recognized and had little, if any, exchange value” (p. 266). In addition, refugees’ previous knowledge has little value in the new society (Morrice, 2012). North Korean defectors learn that much of their formal education is meaningless in South Korea. They have to “unlearn” many of the lessons that they were taught in North Korea. This transformative learning experience becomes more pronounced when North Korean defectors learn and “unlearn” at Hanawon. They begin to discover that their education and beliefs are largely based on myths and distortions. After Hanawon, they become independent and must adapt in a society that is completely foreign to them. The transformative learning process continues throughout their lives as they assess their experiences.

Participant Recommendations

Participant recommendations are grouped into the following categories: educational support for North Korean defectors, financial support for North Korean defectors, reunification, learning from the North Korean education system, employment support for North Korean defectors, educational recommendations for South Korean society, overseas opportunities, and enough support already. North Korean defectors are generally asked to participate in a lot of studies. It is critical that other researchers, policymakers, volunteers, educators, other stakeholders, and society listen to their opinions. Perhaps all of their recommendations are not feasible, but they should at least be considered. Participants should be empowered to have a voice and address critical issues that are important in their daily lives.

Educational Support for North Korean Defectors

Many of the participant recommendations relate to educational support for North Korean defectors.

- Kyu Hyeon thinks that more technical classes are needed. “North Korean defectors need real social skills and more opportunities to get professional licenses. They also need Internet classes. They do not know about hacking and personal protection online. There should also be more support for exercise programs.”
- Kyoung Hee recommended having more tutoring programs available for different majors. “There are a lot of English tutoring programs, but I am studying Chinese and had to make my own study group.”
- Yoon Cheol said that the Hanawon program does not provide a realistic education. “It is kind of like ‘playing.’ There are many volunteers at Hanawon who just want to fulfill volunteer duties, but they are not really professionals.” He added that North Korean

defectors need more classes about current events, foreign languages, democracy, and socialization.

- Seon Young said that universities should have a more flexible policy for North Korean defectors. It is very difficult for defectors to follow the same plan as South Korean students.
- Cheol Su stated that he had to study courses beginning at the elementary level, but he was obviously too old to attend elementary school. “There need to be more programs for elementary, middle, and high school education for adults.” Cheol Su also recommended having a different TOEIC exam standard for North Korean defector students.
- Su Jung said that there are already a lot of programs for North Korean defectors, but sometimes they are not a good match. “For example, students have to go to school during the day time, but a tutoring program may only have free classes during the day time.” Su Jung thinks that she learned more in North Korea than most defectors, and her level is higher in some subjects. However, in some classes, she is grouped together with other defectors without any assessment of skill level.
- Young Su stated that there should be more programs similar to Hangyoreh for North Korean defectors regardless of age. He wanted to attend Hangyoreh but could not because of his age. He still needed a basic middle and high school education even if he was too old for Hangyoreh. He thinks that there should be different levels based on the needs of the defectors.
- Young Cheol said that North Korean refugees should get more educational support during the transmigration period, especially in Thailand when the refugees are in prison. He added that North Korean defectors need to be encouraged to study hard when they get

to South Korea. “They should read many books and understand culture, current events, and learn common knowledge.” He also said, “Even if someone is majoring in history or English, if they want to take IT classes in another major, they should be able to. They need a variety of opportunities and choices. When I was preparing for university, I needed to learn English, so I studied very hard. After entering university, I needed to know more about mathematics and physics, but I had another crisis because my mathematical knowledge was too low. My major requires advanced mathematics knowledge. There are many English hagwons and programs for defectors, but I have not seen any type of mathematics or physics programs. There is a lot of help for liberal arts classes but not sciences. I am getting tutored by a senior in my university and a doctoral student, but without them I would have a big problem.” Young Cheol said that the South Korean government should not give a lot of money to defectors but should invest more in adaptation programs such as schools and refugee centers. “There are a lot of North Korean defectors, but not many have adapted well to South Korean society.”

Financial Support for North Korean Defectors

Kyu Hyeon, Yoon Cheol, Min Su, Hyeon Su, Seon Young, Hee Cheol, Yoon Hee, and Young Su stated that having more financial support is important.

- Kyu Hyeon, Seong Cheol, Min Su, Seon Young, and Yoon Hee hope the government can help more in supporting students (especially university students).
- Kyu Hyeon recommended more scholarships and grants.
- Min Su said that many defectors want to go to college, but they cannot because they need to make money.

- Seon Young stated, “Among defectors, there are those who escaped with family and those who escaped by themselves. The ones who escaped alone have a very difficult time studying in university because of financial problems.”
- Hee Cheol said that North Korean defectors can be easily swindled, so having a better understanding of finances is important.
- Young Su stated, “The broker fees are increasing a lot. Even though we get 6 months of pay when we arrive (in South Korea), we have to pay all or almost all of the money to the broker.” Defectors can have a lot of debt.

Reunification

Seven participants, Min Su, Min Sik, Seon Young, Su Jung, Young Cheol, Yoon Hee, and Yoon Su made recommendations about reunification.

- Min Su stated that the South Korean government should establish programs to make North Korean defectors primary workers in connecting North and South Korea during reunification.
- Min Sik wants to create a new type of teaching about reunification. “The education system now teaches that North Korea is bad. North Korea is not just a foreign country. We are the same race.”
- Seon Young said that middle schools and high schools should have specific classes about reunification.
- Su Jung thinks that teachers need to learn more about reunification and about North Korean people so that they can properly teach students.
- Young Cheol said, “Since I have been in South Korea, I have watched South Korean people. To them, reunification is just for some special people- the government, groups,

or NGOs. Only these groups are interested in reunification. People do not learn about reunification in school, and they cannot hear about reunification around them. The next generation will experience the same thing. On the street, there are many advertisements, but there are none about reunification. South Korean people should be open to talking about reunification.”

- Yoon Hee recommended creating a middle and high school subject called “Reunification.” North Korean defectors should be the teachers.
- Yoon Su stated, “South Korea should make a subject about Korean reunification so that we can lead young people who are interested in reunification. Actually, now students do not really care about reunification. They think that North Korean people are just foreigners. It is also important to have more history classes that can connect the people.”

Learning from the North Korean Education System

Seon Young noted that South Korea could learn from North Korea’s physical education program, since the South Korean physical education programs are lacking. In addition, the South Korean education system emphasizes testing and academic subjects rather than electives. Seon Young said, “South Korea needs more exercise and physical education programs. These are more common in North Korea. The North Korean education system allows the students to be more active. This is a problem in South Korea.”

Employment Support for North Korean Defectors

Kyu Hyeon, Seong Cheol, Min Su, Cheol Su, Hyeon Su, and Yoon Hee stated that North Korean defectors need more assistance in securing jobs.

- Kyu Hyeon, Min Su, and Hyeon Su think that there should be more counselors to help with job searches.

- Seong Cheol said that it is important to have more support for jobs. “North Korean defectors just want to live and work as South Korean people.”
- Cheol Su stated that the support centers should also include more North Korean defector employees. “They know the situations of North Korean defectors. The South Korean government should train them and teach them to work in support centers.”
- Su Jung said that there should also be more opportunities for vocational training and internships.
- Yoon Su said that the South Korean government should have more trust in North Korean defectors and allow them to have jobs in the military and legal areas that are off-limits now.

Educational Recommendations for South Korean Society

Twelve participants made educational recommendations for South Korean society. The recommendations include a wide range of programs, classes, and policy changes that can be implemented.

- Kyu Hyeon thinks that “South Koreans need to throw away biased views about North Korean people. We should have special days in which we do activities together.”
- Seong Cheol said, “There are people who wear colored glasses in South Korea. Do not be afraid of North Korean defectors. It is not the defectors’ fault. It is just a fact. The situation is the problem not the defectors. South Korean people should remember that we are the same race and people. They should also understand why we left North Korea.”
- Yoon Cheol stated that South Korean people do not truly know about North Korea. “They just know the name, that is all.” He hopes that more South Korean people become interested in North Korea and reunification.

- Min Su said that defectors experience a lot of discrimination in South Korea. The South Korean government needs to do a better job of explaining the similarities of North and South Korean people.
- Hyeon Su thinks that the South Korean government and NGOs should create more awareness programs and campaigns to teach South Korean people about what life is really like in North Korea.
- Min Sik thinks that there should be more sharing programs between North Korean defectors and South Korean people. They need to know about culture and experiences, and North Korean defectors need help from South Korean people to be able to adapt to society. He said, “South Korean people are wearing colored glasses and cannot see this situation exactly.” He wants them to take the glasses off. “South Korean people need more programs to learn about North Korean defectors.”
- Seon Young said it is important for South Korean students to study history in more depth and better understand the shared history of North and South Korea. She does not want people to forget this. Seon Young also wants regular South Korean people to understand why North Korean people escape.
- Cheol Su stated that there is still a strong “red complex” in South Korean society. Also, South Koreans think that North Koreans are academically inferior. The South Korean attitude about North Korean defectors can make them feel discriminated against. “South Korean people make North Korean defectors feel that they should not study because even with a degree, they cannot do anything. Other North Korean defectors feel this way also.” He added that North Korean defectors feel that they are “weak people without power and money.”

- Su Jung said that South Korean people should know that there is a difference between regular North Korean people and the Korean Workers' Party. "Regular North Korean people are not the enemy."
- Yoon Su recommended teaching South Korean people about the "self-confident mind" of North Korean defectors. "North Korean defectors came to South Korea through very dangerous situations. They are the same race, so South Korean people can have that courage also."
- Young Cheol said, "South Korean people think negatively about North Korean defectors. That we are just spending their tax money. Of course some North Korean defectors could not adapt in South Korea and made problems. That is true, but South Korean people have had better opportunities and conditions. They learned more than North Korean defectors, but their mind is still like that. If South Koreans have a mind like that, there is no development. The government must educate the people to change their mind."
- Yoon Hee thinks that it is important for more North Korean defectors to meet South Koreans face to face so that they can become more open-minded.

Overseas Opportunities

Two participants, Seon Young and Su Jung, stated that North Korean defectors should have more opportunities to study abroad. Su Jung added that doing some type of internship program would be a good experience.

Enough Support

Su Jung and Yoon Su said that there is already enough support for North Korean defectors in South Korea.

- Su Jung said that there are enough programs for North Korean defectors, but many do not know about the programs and how to access them.
- Yoon Su said, “I do not think more support is needed. Some people complain about things or want better programs. Actually, I think the South Korean government did a very good job making the defector programs. Some defectors want an immediate result, but they must be willing to work hard for what they want. Some defectors think of the South Korean government as their hero who provides everything for them. That is the wrong thinking. They want to use all of the programs, but they do not really even understand the programs. If there are more programs, it does not mean that they are efficient. Defectors need to know more about the programs and why they are getting these benefits. They need to have a more positive mind. Also, South Korean people feel that North Korean people are just spending their money (taxes). The South Korean government already provides enough.”

Researcher Recommendations

It is difficult to succinctly discuss all of my recommendations because there are many changes that can be made. The South Korean government and many South Korean citizens and foreigners have assisted North Korean defectors immensely. I met many impassioned volunteers who worked as mentors and tutors. They have built the foundations of many spectacular programs that can continue to be enhanced and updated to meet the needs of North Korean defectors.

Education Policies Related to North Korean Defectors

Educational administrators play a major role in developing policies that directly and indirectly affect North Korean defectors. There should be incentive programs for defectors to

stay in school. Universities should create re-entry programs for North Korean defectors who leave university and return. Teachers and administrators should consider adapting lessons or make changes to curricula to meet the needs of defector students. Differentiated instruction may be necessary especially in elementary school through high school. However, differentiated instruction for defectors in tertiary education could cause significant conflict with the South Korean populace. Policy changes must be implemented carefully though, because tension can rise in the already ultracompetitive, educational environment in South Korea. Any type of advantages given to North Korean defectors and not South Korean students, can create hostility and even more discrimination and segregation.

Educating the South Korean Populace

More South Korean people need to be advocates for their neighbors to the North and for North Korean defectors. They must also separate their feelings of hostility toward the Kim regime with their feelings for regular North Korean people. In addition, many South Korean people are uninformed about the enormity of the Kim regime. I met many South Korean people who were absorbed in trivial and superficial things and had no concern about the afflictions faced by North Koreans. South Korean people may also be skeptical about North Korean people and fearful because of negative stories that they heard. Engaging in productive dialogue is vital between South Korean citizens and North Korean defectors.

I worked at South Korean universities for 6 years. I discovered that other professors and administrators had mixed opinions about North Korean defectors. Some professors even had a hostile view of North Korean defectors. I was shocked that “red complex” is still prevalent. Red complex has been important in combatting communism in South Korea (Lee, H. J., 2012). There was a similar red complex or “red scare” during the 1950s in America. Some people believe that

all North Koreans are the enemy. I had invited several professors to presentations about North Korean defectors, and they adamantly declined because they feared that their leftist views had already raised red flags among conservative government officials.

I was also amazed that many of my university students were unaware of the realities of life in North Korea. They had a very insular understanding of the world. H. J. Lee (2012) found that South Korean students “reacted with surprise and curiosity” when she described the similarities of North Korean student life (p. 56). South Korean students should receive a balanced education about North Korea. Y. J. Chung (2010) found that in the South Korean education system, there is “so much negativity attached to talking about North Korea and reunification these students not only did not care about reunification, but avoid talking about it even if given an opportunity” (p. 108).

There are positive aspects of life in North Korea. Y. J. Chung (2010) found that what is currently being taught about reunification and North Korea creates “a black and white world through which to judge everything related to communism and North Korea in negative terms while viewing democracy and capitalism and South Korea’s system as superior” (p. 31). The South Korean government must strive to teach its citizens about North Korea in a balanced way which does not condemn everything, including regular citizens who are not directly involved in the regime. Even high ranking government officials must follow orders that they might not agree with, because if they do not they face harsh repercussions including execution. Without an education campaign which reaches out to the public, discrimination will continue to plague North Korean defectors. South Korean people will never understand the complexities and yet normalcy of North Korean people without massive education campaigns.

Reunification Curriculum

I was surprised by the lack of awareness that South Korean university students had about North Korean issues. Specific reunification classes should be implemented in upper elementary grades and continue in middle school, high school, and university. In the lower elementary grades, children should be told age appropriate information about North Korea. Curriculum should not be tainted by extreme political views or the ruling political ideology. Reunification curriculum should be balanced, and students should be able to discuss their views about significant issues. South Korean students also need to be aware of the similarities that exist between North Koreans and South Koreans.

South Korean citizens should have more awareness of North Koreans' lives during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. Y. J. Chung (2010) found that students have not had chances to discuss their views about reunification and North Korea. It is also hard to study South Koreans' thoughts on communism, because they want to typically avoid the issue (Lee, H. J., 2012). In addition, North Korean defectors are often held responsible by South Korean people for the actions of the North Korean government (Bell, 2013). I clearly remember participating in a public activity to assist North Korean defectors immediately after the sinking of the Cheonan vessel. Several South Korean people yelled at me and said, "Don't you know what just happened! North Korea is our enemy! How dare you!" I was not assisting the North Korean government but rather North Korean defectors. Nonetheless, North Korean defectors became a symbol of the North Korean government and were blamed for something that they had no control over.

North Korean Defectors as Reunification Leaders

North Korean defectors should be willing to pave the way to reunification. The advent of reunification is already happening through North Korean defectors who pass messages to family members in the North. It may be a slow process, but change is happening in North Korea. Their voice can be a powerful tool for educating the populace about the realities of life in South Korea. According to Kirkpatrick (2011),

Young North Korean exiles are also more receptive than their elders are to South Korea's culture of education and hard work. When the time comes for rebuilding North Korea, the corps of educated and highly motivated North Koreans in exile will be a valuable resource. (p. 289)

North Korean defectors should be put into more roles to support the influx of other defectors. They can play a major role in preparing for reunification as speakers, writers, teachers, government officials, counselors, mentors, and a wide range of other positions. According to Mikyoung Kim (2013), "Settlers from the North still hope for Korean unification. Having lived in both societies, these people consider themselves pioneers of future integration." (p. 536). After reunification, it is also possible that some of the defectors will go back to their homeland and become political and social leaders (Lankov, 2013). North Korean defectors should support reunification by linking North and South Korean people together and lessening the gap between the two countries (Bae, 2011).

North Korean Refugees in Other Countries

The refugee experience is full of many trials and tribulations. General refugee organizations working with North Korean refugees should become affiliated with organizations that work specifically with North Korean people and issues. North Korean refugee populations

exist in other countries. There are some similarities between the North Korean refugee population and other refugee populations. J. Stewart (2011) studied refugee students in Canada and found similar themes including loss and loneliness, danger, and distrust. However, despite the experiences many of the students have had, their resolve to get an education, to work to support themselves and their families, is what drives many of them forward despite their past. Whether the memories are suppressed or forgotten, consciously remembered or problematic, all of the students exhibited perseverance to achieve their goals and aspirations. (Stewart, J., 2011, p. 54)

J. Stewart (2011) discovered that the primary goal of refugees was to receive an education which would lead to a better future. This is also the case for the participants in this study. It is important that educators, administrators, and stakeholders in other countries are aware of the challenges of refugee populations and determine the unique needs of different refugee populations, including North Korean refugees. Refugees have many barriers that often prevent them from pursuing their educational goals. They need assistance in overcoming many of the obstacles that can inhibit them from achieving their dreams.

Study Abroad Programs

North Korean citizens are taught their entire life that America is an evil enemy of the Korean race. However, many North Korean defectors living in South Korea have expressed a desire to visit and study in the United States. Although the United States seems to be a popular choice, other English speaking countries should offer programs as well. Colleges, universities, churches, businesses, or other organizations can sponsor North Korean defector students for short-term or long-term study abroad programs. The Korean-American (or ethnic Korean communities in other countries) community may be able to assist with language barriers. Some

organizations in other countries have already established programs for North Korean defectors and refugees which can serve as a model for future programs.

Adapting in the Global Era

In order to compete in South Korean society, specialized programs related to IT and computer security should be offered to North Korean defectors. Technology is constantly evolving, and defectors need to understand Internet security. In addition, some North Korean defectors may be worried about their family members in North Korea. If they are trying to conceal their identity, they should also be careful with information that is exposed online. Classes in community centers or specialized programs should be offered.

South Korean society judges people based on their educational backgrounds (Choi, W. G., 2006). This thinking exists in many other countries as well. The world is changing at a rapid pace, and information can be obtained by a doing a quick search on Google. An education is important, but skills are also very important. Students who get into the elite universities of South Korea generally have better job prospects. There is already so much fierce competition in South Korea. Perhaps a German model of education would be more beneficial for North Korean defectors. North Korean defectors should have opportunities to learn more trades that have a shortage in South Korea. Of course many people dream of obtaining higher degrees, but survival is most important. The defectors need realistic goals that are going to help them get stable jobs. While working, defectors should be given opportunities to continue their studies as working adults.

Foreigners in South Korea

There is a strong presence of foreigners in South Korea. Foreigners, especially English teachers, can have a profound impact on South Korean society. Many South Korean people are

indifferent about North Korean issues. However, a lot of foreigners that I met in South Korea were incredibly fascinated by North Korea and wanted to meet North Korean defectors. In addition, because many South Korean teachers and professors do not want to address the issue of North Korea and North Korean defectors, foreigners can incorporate topics about North Korea into their class lessons and curricula. Some popular ESL textbooks geared toward South Korean students include lessons about North Korea and North Korean defectors.

Foreigners can play a major role in the lives of North Korean defectors as mentors and informal social studies, culture, and language teachers. J. Stewart (2011), a researcher on refugee education, found that “few individuals who really get to know the specific circumstances of the refugee students. Moreover, even these individuals receive, at the very best, only bits and pieces of a total experience” (p. 33). Many North Korean defectors could benefit from having mentors. In addition, North Korean people are deprived of a good education. Social studies and history classes are especially unbalanced and are sometimes distorted. Foreigners in South Korea serve as unofficial, cultural ambassadors. North Korean defectors can benefit from having mentors who teach them about other cultures and experiences outside of Korea. However, it is important that mentors receive training about issues of sensitivity. Some foreigners might ask personal questions prematurely or make the defectors feel uncomfortable. Topics about life in North Korea and on the modern underground railroad should be avoided unless the North Korean defector brings up the topic.

Volunteer Programs

There are already a significant amount of English language programs available to North Korean defectors. North Korean defectors struggle with other classes and subjects as well.

South Koreans who have a specialty, talent, or expertise in a subject can volunteer to tutor North Korean defectors. Foreigners can also consider this if there are no language barriers.

Programs Based on Age

There must be efficient education programs from elementary level through high school level that cater to the needs of adult defectors. This is not just a problem with North Korean defectors. J. Stewart (2011) also addressed the issue of teenagers who have had minimal education. J. Stewart (2011) stated, “The disruption or absence of schooling is further complicated by the age of the student. What is the appropriate placement for the student who has little or no education?” (p. 71). In addition, age is critical in the hierarchical structure of South Korean society. Having North Korean defectors in their late twenties in university classes with South Korean students in their early twenties (males would generally be a few years older than women due to military conscription), creates conflict in the social order of the Confucian society.

English

English is one of the main reasons why North Korean defectors struggle in South Korean universities (Haerim Kim, 2012). English education begins in South Korea at an early age and is now mandatory beginning in third grade (Ness & Lin, 2013b). Many South Korean universities require some form of English language proficiency (based on TOEIC scores or English classes) in order to graduate. Universities should consider changing this policy to include other foreign languages. Students could still graduate by passing a proficiency test or taking classes in another language besides English. English is not essential for every career. It is important to have well-rounded students who have studied a diverse range of subjects. Many South Korean students have had the luxury of being exposed to English from an early age. Most North Koreans have little exposure to English.

Haerim Kim (2012) found that 48.8% of participants did not study English in North Korea, 16.2% studied for 1 to 3 years, 27.6% had 4 to 6 years of English education, and 7.6% had 7 to 10 years of English education. Some participants indicated that the North Korean government does not want people to learn English, because it is fearful of people knowing too much information (Haerim Kim, 2012). In addition, British English is used in North Korea (Haerim Kim, 2012), whereas American English is preferred in South Korea. There are also tremendous gaps between the education system of Pyongyang and rural areas (Haerim Kim, 2012).

Some North Korean defectors are proficient in other languages. In Haerim Kim's (2012) study, half of the participants rated their Chinese proficiency as intermediate or higher while English proficiency (intermediate or higher) was only rated at 6.7%. In addition, 65.3% of the participants rated their English as lower than intermediate. Many defectors learned Chinese during the transmigration period (Haerim Kim, 2012). Instead of having English language requirements for graduation, universities can have general foreign language requirements for graduation. Not everyone is going to use English regularly even if it is the global language.

Most South Korean universities require students to have a minimum TOEIC score in order to graduate (Haerim Kim, 2012). Some universities do not require a minimum TOEIC score for graduation, but it is usually still important in securing a job (Haerim Kim, 2012). English tutoring programs for defectors can also have specific TOEIC courses. Some universities should also consider changing their TOEIC score requirements for graduation.

Graduate Studies

North Korean defectors should have more financial aid options for graduate school. Lankov (2013) recommended having scholarships for master's and doctoral programs. Only

undergraduate studies are currently funded by the South Korean government. Roughly 85% of the South Korean population attends college or university (Lankov, 2007). An undergraduate degree may not be sufficient to attain a decent job (Lankov, 2007). According to Lankov (2013) “It will make sense to give North Koreans a fixed admission quota in the most prestigious universities in Seoul” (p. 246). This strategy may not be accepted by many South Koreans (Lankov, 2013), but it may be necessary to close the gap between North Korean defectors and South Korean citizens.

Christian Programs During Transmigration

Christian organizations on the modern underground railroad are providing safety and shelter to North Korean refugees. Christian churches in South Korea are influential in reunification programs (Haga, 2007). The Protestant Church in particular is a major player because of its connection to early Christianity in North Korea and its experiences in anti-communist struggles (Han, 2013). Most of the participants indicated that they are Christians. Churches also provide a sense of safety and community to defectors once they are in South Korea (Bell, 2013).

Some North Korean defectors have stated that they learned about Christianity all day or nearly all day when they were in safe houses. This may be okay to some individuals, but to others it may be excessive. Most Christians do not go to church 7 days a week and study the Bible all day. Christianity is the top priority for many Christians, but they also have to work, take care of their family, go to school, and fulfill other responsibilities. According to Han (2013),

Christian networks in China have assisted countless undocumented North Korean migrants in situations both dire and desperate. However, with no systems for

transparency or accountability in place, and with conservative religious agendas structuring spaces of aid and advocacy, these networks also produce troubling paradigms of custodial confinement and discipline. (p. 533)

Of course safe houses must be secretive to prevent the arrest and repatriation of North Korean refugees. However, some Christian organizations on the modern underground railroad may have extremist views or practices that do not align with mainstream churches. Being that these organizations must operate in secrecy, it is difficult to determine what is actually taking place. I am incredibly grateful that Christian organizations are providing assistance to refugees. I hope that even with such rigid living conditions which are designed for protection, that the refugees have balanced lifestyles that include a standard education.

Limitations

The sample does not represent all North Korean defectors living in South Korea between the ages of 19 and 35. This study cannot be generalized to all North Korean defectors in South Korea, North Korean refugees in other countries, and North Korean citizens. The population sample was not randomly selected. As a researcher, it would be helpful if I could visit North Korea again or conduct research there. It may be possible for me to visit North Korea again to make observations, although I would likely only see the official North Korean tourist locations which would probably be of little value to this study.

Five of the participants did not complete the timeline of primary life events. Some of the participants skipped questions that they felt uncomfortable answering on the demographic survey. It is difficult to get a complete picture of the participants with some missing data. However, it is most important that the participants feel comfortable and safe. Demographic information and the timeline information are valuable to this study, but they are not necessary.

Also, only 10 of the interviews were recorded. Two interviews were not recorded and detailed notes were taken. Three interviews were conducted as writing activities to make the participants feel more comfortable. It is possible that some of the participants lied about their past lives because they want to protect their identity and their family and friends in North Korea and on the modern underground railroad.

It is difficult to rely on primary sources which are published in North Korea (Lee, J. H., 2007). These sources may not be accurate and most likely have a government agenda (Lee, J. H., 2007). In addition, there is insufficient data originating in North Korea, and that which is released may not be reliable or complete (Haggard & Noland, 2010). Some primary sources from North Korea have been translated into English by North Korean writers. The North Korean Central News Agency's English language reports may lack the intensity of regular news programs for North Korean people, and the content of the reports may be different (Myers, 2011). The English is sometimes awkward or inaccurate, and the original Korean message may not have the same meaning when translated into English. I have also used some secondary sources and English translations of original Korean documents. Some secondary sources use pseudonyms or are listed as anonymous to protect the identity of individuals who may be at risk of exposure to North Korean or Chinese officials.

Caution should be used when relying on the memories and stories of North Korean defectors because they may have changed over the course of time (Haggard & Noland, 2011; Oh & Hassig, 2009). Nonetheless, their stories become plausible and gain credibility when many defectors share similar memories with different details (Oh & Hassig, 2009). Testimonies of North Korean defectors have been compared to other studies on North Koreans in South Korea and China, and the general experiences were often similar (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Since

snowball sampling was used, I was not able to locate a wide range of North Korean defectors in South Korea. The participants mostly lived in the Seoul-Incheon Metropolitan region. In addition, I may not have recognized some behaviors or gestures that would be more noticeable in a traditional setting.

Some participants may be fearful of disclosing personal details about their lives which could endanger family members in North Korea or those on the modern underground railroad (Yoon, J. W., 2010). According to Jeon (2000), “Usually they are reluctant to talk about themselves to others, as they fear that they are under suspicion and surveillance by the South Korean government” (p. 363). Family members in North Korea may have been blacklisted if the North Korean government suspected a defection (Human Rights Watch, 2002). J. W. Yoon (2010) discovered that gaining access to North Koreans defectors can be difficult because they do not want to feel used or taken advantage of for research purposes.

It is also possible that North Korean defectors will embellish their educational, job background, and social status in North Korea (Haggard & Noland, 2011). According to H. C. Kim and D. K. Kim (2005), the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors “are so varied and truncated by economic hardship that it would be a great mistake to rely upon them for an accurate assessment of how North Korea’s indoctrination programs have been working” (p. 187). The defector population may be more representative of specific regions or jobs in North Korea (Haggard & Noland, 2010). Haggard and Noland (2010) found that in a selection of previous studies on North Korean defectors, 50% of the participants were from North Hamgyong Province and 15% were from South Hamgyong Province. The participants in this study are all from Hamgyeong Province except for one who is from Ryangangdo Province, and one participant did not list her hometown or province. Furthermore, North Korean refugees and

defectors left their home because of some type of problem which may result in negative feelings that not all North Koreans have (Haggard & Noland, 2011).

My perspectives of North and South Korea are biased due to my background as an American citizen and the past experiences I have had. According to Y. O. Yoo (2001), “Many existing research papers present limitations because they study South and North Korean education from an angle of capitalism that is on the side of anti-communism ideology, rather than objectivity” (p. 9). I am critical of the North Korean and Chinese government, but I am also sometimes critical of the American and South Korean government. America is criticized for its human rights violations which are often connected to military policies and the criminal justice system. According to former President Jimmy Carter (2012),

At a time when popular revolutions are sweeping the globe, the United States should be strengthening, not weakening, basic rules of law and principles of justice enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But instead of making the world safer, America’s violation of international human rights abets our enemies and alienates our friends. (para. 10)

In terms of militarism, the North Korean regime is excessively belligerent and volatile. I also believe that America can be extremely militaristic and is frequently viewed as a minatorial warmonger to outsiders.

Some Americans who have written on North Korean issues have been criticized for being strongly pro-American and not comprehending what life is truly like in North Korea. I am grateful to live in a country in which I can write my dissertation freely, and there are multitudes of reasons why I love America; nevertheless, I also recognize faults and problems of my own country. My dissertation is not pro-America, pro-South Korea, anti-China, anti-North Korea, etc.

My research is grounded in rich data and testimonies that should not be ignored or dismissed. I want to share the factual stories of North Korean defectors who have left their home country. I left my country for 6 years. My ancestors, who were from many countries, left their homes and families for innumerable reasons. I would never want to exaggerate or lie about the pros and cons of these experiences. I want to share authentic and balanced stories that are not based on my preconceptions or feelings. Some readers may find my views too subjective or biased though.

I tried to remain as objective as possible. According to John Everard (2012), a British diplomat who lived in North Korea for 2.5 years,

The DPRK is a real country, where real people live, whose lives revolve not around their country's nuclear policy or any other great international issue but around their families, their colleagues at work, and the thousand daily concerns that make up lives anywhere else in the world. I have tried to show that there is a human aspect to North Korea. (xvii)

I acquired more knowledge and a better understanding of the people of North Korea through their stories and testimonies. Media and other sources sometimes have an agenda or highlight threats of nuclear weapons and the regime's bellicosity rather than the lives of the people. I tried to provide an accurate and balanced story of their lives and experiences that is not tainted by my own biases and perspectives. However, it is natural that my own beliefs and experiences will lead to some subjectivity.

North Koreans have been taught from a very early age to despise and even kill Americans. Some participants may have felt cautious about sharing personal details with me. The participants may have negative views about Americans that had initially developed in North Korea and may have continued or were further intensified in South Korea due to some degree of

anti-American sentiment in South Korean society. Anti-American sentiment grew during the administration of President Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun (Han, D. H., 2010). In 2002, two South Korean school girls were struck and killed by an American armored vehicle during a military exercise (Kwon, Y. I., 2008). This fueled anti-American sentiment and also led to more questioning of the Status of Forces Agreement which does not allow the South Korean government to prosecute American military personnel (Kwon, Y. I., 2008). In addition, North Korean defectors may be hesitant to state positive things about North Korea or negative things about South Korea. This could be a result of public opinions of North Korea and North Korean defectors or conservative government policy in South Korea.

Also, it is possible that another researcher may have received different responses. I am an American. I lived in South Korea. Several participants also stated that they hope to go to America or another foreign country to study in the future. Perhaps some participants had negative opinions of America that they wanted to discuss but did not because they did not want to offend me. These topics may not have been discussed if a different researcher had conducted the study.

This research was conducted online. Although I was able to obtain very detailed responses from most participants, it may have been better to conduct the research in person. I may have missed some gestures or body language cues that would have been more evident through a natural research environment. I also knew four of the participants (including the pilot participant). As a result, the participants may have changed their original writing or ideas based on what they thought I may have expected or wanted.

Finally, there are also language barriers because I am a native English speaker and the participants are native Korean speakers. There are major differences between the dialects of

North and South Korea, and a lot of foreign words have been adopted into the South Korean language; nonetheless, many North Korean defectors strive to speak as South Koreans. An interpreter and translator was used for interviews and other stages of the data collection and analysis process, but there still could be some language problems.

Future Research Recommendations

This research provides a foundation for future studies related to the educational experiences of North Korean defectors during each period of migration. Research can also be gathered through volunteers who work with North Korean defectors so that the defectors are not constantly asked to participate in research. It is also important to learn more about South Korean citizens' perspectives of North Korean defectors. Several of the participants stated that they want to feel more welcomed by South Korean society.

If possible, small-scale studies should also be conducted on North Korean refugees during trans-migration. However, researchers must use extreme caution because many lives could be endangered. North Korean refugee populations exist in many countries. Gaining access to North Korean refugees could be more difficult in other countries, but it may be possible with good connections and support from churches and organizations assisting North Korean refugees. It would also be valuable to study the educational adaptation of North Korean refugees in other countries in comparison to other refugee populations or the general population. Studies on North Korean refugee populations in other countries can also be compared with the experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea.

G. H. Song (2012) found that the surveys conducted at Hanawon, by local organizations, and researchers were unreliable because the participants did not clearly understand the questions and did not take the research seriously. The participants also felt that if they answered in an

inappropriate way, the government may limit future support. Some defectors were very vocal about their views though (G. H. Song, 2012). Haerim Kim (2012) found that some participants felt that since they came to South Korea that they were being used as research subjects. Furthermore, defectors may have a stronger interest in action research that leads to visible results. Defectors should understand the value of future studies so that their responses are honest and thoughtful. More creative research can also be conducted in classes and tutoring programs for North Korean defectors. Traditional surveys may result in rushed and thoughtless responses. Typical interviews may result in programmed and rehearsed answers. Researchers must be careful to not intrude and should respect the privacy of North Korean defectors. It is important that the defectors do not feel that their life has become a research study.

Additional studies should focus on North Korean defectors in colleges and universities in South Korea. Future research should also examine Juche, militarism, and human rights violations, especially as more defectors arrive from the relatively new Kim Jong Eun regime. It is important to compare their accounts with previous defectors who had lived under Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. Studies with a larger sample size should be carried out and ideally include participants from a more diverse range of regions in North Korea. In addition, it would be helpful to focus more on trans-migration experiences specifically. Studies tend to examine only education during pre-migration and post-migration.

Researchers should also study the English problems experienced by North Korean defectors. Several participants discussed the immense challenges that they have faced while trying to learn English. In addition, at the university level, some defectors might have to attain a minimum TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) score prior to graduation. Foreign ESL instructors may be more willing to assist with research. In addition, research can be

carried out by cooperating with organizations that provide tutoring services for North Korean defectors.

Several participants stated that they have not participated in qualitative studies. I did not ask them this question, but they told me this anyway. They have completed many surveys, and some have done short interviews. It is also imperative to conduct longitudinal studies on the educational experiences of North Korean defectors without being too intrusive. Learning about the acculturation process as time progresses is important. It is essential to more clearly understand their challenges which may provide insight into why some defectors want to go to other countries and why some even desire to return to North Korea.

Conclusion

The division of North and South Korea at the end of World War II resulted in vast differences between the two countries that share a 5,000 year history. This study examined the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors. Other themes connected to the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors emerged. The participants provided details about their experiences during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration. They also shared their hopes and dreams for the future which often connected to reunification. The participants provided valuable recommendations that can potentially assist present and future generations of North Korean defectors. This research highlighted the essence of the educational experiences during premigration, transmigration, and postmigration.

Premigration themes included the importance of social status, poverty and extreme hardship, Kim family indoctrination, regular participation in saenghwal chonghwa, a variety of behaviors and interactions in the classroom, Juche as the core philosophy of life and education,

military first in education and society, and unbalanced education. The transmigration period themes are lack of education, factors inhibiting access to education, limited education, and breaking the mold. Postmigration themes that emerged include adaptation problems in South Korea, positive aspects of South Korean adaptation, and language problems in South Korea. Postmigration themes are based on the participants' present views of Juche, militarism, and human rights. These themes include Juche maintains the regime, Juche as an ideological tool, militarism maintains the regime, North Korean people do not know human rights, lack of foreign awareness about North Korean human rights violations, and severity of North Korean human rights violations. Two themes related to the future emerged. These themes are education as a key to success and reunification dreams. The essence of the premigration period revolves around the predominant themes that emerged from this period. The essence of the transmigration period is a lack of education, while the essence of the postmigration period is various adaptation problems. Finally, the essence of the future theme is hope for a better life through education and reunification.

This research can be useful to individuals and groups during the transmigration and postmigration period that assist North Koreans. This study also builds on the body of knowledge related to the educational experiences of North Korean defectors and especially those studying in college or university. In addition, it explains the transformative learning experiences of North Koreans throughout each period of migration. This research can aid in the development of policies and programs that affect the education and livelihood of North Koreans during transmigration and postmigration.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Liberty University IRB Approval for the Study

December 4, 2013

Andrea Lee

IRB Approval 1725.120413: A Phenomenological Study on the Role of Juche, Militarism, and Human Rights in the Educational Life Experiences of North Korean Defectors

Dear Andrea,

We are pleased to inform you that your above study has been approved by the Liberty IRB. This approval is extended to you for one year. If data collection proceeds past one year, or if you make changes in the methodology as it pertains to human subjects, you must submit an appropriate update form to the IRB. The forms for these cases were attached to your approval email.

Please retain this letter for your records. Also, if you are conducting research as part of the requirements for a master's thesis or doctoral dissertation, this approval letter should be included as an appendix to your completed thesis or dissertation.

Thank you for your cooperation with the IRB, and we wish you well with your research project.



Appendix B: Recruitment Letter in English and Korean

Date

Dear “Name,”

My name is Andrea Lee. As a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at Liberty University in the US, I am currently conducting a study on the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea. I am completing this research under the direction of Dr. James Swezey (jaswezey@liberty.edu). You are invited to participate in this research study. This information has been given to you because you were referred by another participant.

To participate in this study you must:

- Be a North Korean defector between the ages of 19 (international age) and 35 and live in South Korea
- Have attended at least 1 semester of English classes at a South Korean college or university or at least 6 months of an English program (tutoring, community classes, etc.)
- Have lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years

If you participate in this study, you will be asked to do the following activities: a demographic survey, a timeline of primary life events, an interview (through Skype), and journal entries. The total research period should be less than 1 month unless you need a time extension to complete some activities. The total time it will take to complete all of the activities should be 3-4 hours maximum. The demographic survey and the timeline of primary life events will each take about 15 minutes (total 30 minutes). The interview will last about 1 hour. Finally, the journal entries should take about 1-2.5 hours to complete.

The benefit of participating in this study is adding more valuable knowledge about the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea. Confidential information will not be released. Please let me know if you are interested in participating in this study. Upon completion of the research activities, you will receive a 30,000 won online gift card for Gmarket. You can contact me by email, Skype, or KakaoTalk. If you call me, please do it in a private location so that other people are not listening to the conversation. Thank you for your time!

Sincerely,

Andrea Lee

andrealee1216@yahoo.com

Skype: andrealee1216

+1-757-585-1073 (I can also be reached by KakaoTalk using this number)

Recruitment Letter in Korean

날짜

‘000’ 님께

제 이름은 ‘앤드리아 이’ 입니다. 저는 남한내에 거주중인 탈북 새터민들을 대상으로 주체사상, 군국주의 그리고 인권에 대한 그들의 교육적 영향에 대한 현상 연구 논문을 작성중입니다. 저는 미국에 있는 리버티 대학교 교육부를 통해 이 조사를 실시하는 중이며, 제임스 스워지 교수의 지도를 받고 있습니다. 여러분은 이 연구에 초대 되었습니다. 여러분은 다른 참여자에게 추천되었고, 그래서 여기에 이 연구에 대한 정보가 있습니다.

이 연구에 참여할 수 있는 기준

- 탈북 새터민으로서 만 19 세에서 35 세 사이로 남한에 거주중인 분
- 남한내 전문대학, 대학교에서 최소 한 학기의 영어 수업을 이수하였거나, 최소 6 개월의 영어 프로그램(과외, 각종 강좌 등)을 이수하신 분
- 북한에서 10 년 이상 거주하였고, 남한에서 3 년 이상 거주중인 분

만약 여러분께서 연구 참여에 동의 하신다면, 다음과 같은 질문을 받을것입니다. 인구조사, 인생의 중요시점, 최소 1 회의 심도 깊은 인터뷰(인터넷 전화 이용), 수기 제출. 조사기간은 참여자의 연장 요청이 없는한 한달 미만이 될 것입니다. 참여에 소요되는 시간은 최대 3~4 시간으로 예상됩니다. 조사 시간은 인구조사 15 분, 인생 연대기 15 분, 인터뷰 1 시간, 수기 작성 1~2 시간 30 분이 소용될 것으로 예상됩니다.

이 연구 참여의 좋은점은 남한내 거주중인 탈북 새터민들의 교육 경험에 대해 좀더 가치있는 정보를 연구하고 발전방안을 제시하는 것입니다. 여러분이 제공해주신 정보들은 비밀준수에 따라 외부로 유출되지 않을 것입니다. 이 연구 참가에 흥미가 있으시다면, 저에게 연락주시길 바랍니다. 조사활동이 종료된후 참여자는 3 만원권 G마켓 상품권을 받으실 것입니다. 여러분은 이메일과 Skype(인터넷 전화), 카카오톡을 통해 저에게 연락하실 수 있습니다. 저에게 전화를 주실 때는 다른 사람들이 여러분의 대화 내용을 듣지 못하도록 안전한 장소에서 전화주시기 바랍니다. 여러분의 관심에 감사드립니다.

앤드리아 이

andrealee1216@yahoo.com

Skype: andrealee1216

+1-757-585-1073(이 번호로 카카오톡 계정도 있습니다.)

Appendix C: Snowball Sampling Recruitment Information in English and Korean

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. If you know other North Korean defectors between the ages of 19 (official age- do not use the traditional, Korean age system) and 35 who might be interested in participating in this study, please let me know. You should contact them first to see if it is okay to give me their email, phone number, etc. When discussing this with potential participants in person or on the telephone, please do it in a private location and make sure that the person you are talking to can also speak in private. It is better if you contact them through text messaging, KakaoTalk, instant messenger, or email. You can also give them my information:

Andrea Lee

Email: andreelee1216@yahoo.com

+1-757-585-1073 (my number is also on KakaoTalk)

They must have lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years. They also must have studied English at a college or university for at least 1 semester or a formal English program (community classes, tutoring, etc.) for at least 6 months. If you do not know anyone, it is okay.

Thank you again for your assistance! ☺

이 연구에 참여해 주셔서 대단히 감사합니다. 만약 여러분 주변에 19 세에서 35 세('만' 나이를 적용한 나이)사이의 다른 탈북 새터민분중 이 연구 참가에 관심이 있으신 분이 계시다면, 저에게 알려주시길 바랍니다. 아마도 그분들에게 여러분이 먼저 연락하셔서 저에게 그분들의 이메일 주소, 전화번호 등을 알려주어도 되는지 확인하시는게 좋을 것 같습니다. 여러분이 연구 참여 가능한 다른분과 이 연구에 대해 대면 대화나 전화통화를 하신다면, 두분의 신변보호를 위해 반드시 안전한 장소에서 대화하시길 바랍니다. 휴대폰 문자메세지, 카카오톡 메세지, 메신저 메세지 혹은 이메일이 더 안전할 것 같습니다. 제 정보 역시 그분들께 알려주실 수 있습니다.

□

앤드리아 이

이메일: andreelee1216@yahoo.com

□

전화번호: +1-757-585-1073(이 번호로 카카오톡도 등록되어 있습니다.)

그분들 역시 19 세에서 35 세 사이인지, 북한에서 거주 10 년이상, 남한에서 거주 3 년이상이어야 하며, 남한내 전문대학, 대학교에서 최소 한 학기의 영어 수업을 출석하셨거나, 최소 6 개월의 영어 프로그램(개인 과외, 강좌 등)을 이수하신 분이여야 합니다. 만약 이 조건에 해당되는 분을 모르신다 하실지라도 괜찮습니다.

다시 한번 연구에 참여해 주셔서 대단히 감사드립니다. ^^

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form in English

A Phenomenological Study on the Role of Juche, Militarism, and Human Rights in the Educational Life Experiences of North Korean Defectors in South Korea

Andrea Lee

Liberty University

Directions: Please read this informed consent form. If you agree to participate, please sign at the end of this form. You can sign the form with an ink pen or you can “sign” the form by typing your name and including the date. Participation is voluntary and you can withdraw from this study at any time and your data will be immediately deleted and shredded. For participants who do not withdraw from the study, data will be kept for 3 years. If you agree to participate, please email (andrealee1216@yahoo.com) this form to me within 3 days. If you need more time, please let me know.

My name is Andrea Lee and I am conducting a research study for my dissertation on the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors in South Korea. Participants in this study are North Korean defectors between the ages of 19 and 35 who live in South Korea. Participants must have attended at least 1 semester of English classes at a South Korean college or university or at least 6 months of an English program (tutoring, community classes, etc.). Participants must also have lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years.

I am completing this research through the Education Department at Liberty University in the United States. You are invited to participate in this research study because you meet the criteria listed above and have been referred by another participant. This information has been provided to help you decide if you would like to participate in this research study. You have the choice to decide whether or not you would like to participate. Also, I may withdraw you from the study based on my professional discretion. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Background Information

It is important to study this topic in more detail to learn about the role of Juche, militarism, and human rights in the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors during premigration (in North Korea), transmigration (on the modern underground railroad: China, Laos, Vietnam, Mongolia, Thailand, Cambodia, or other countries), and postmigration (in South Korea). North Korean defectors often have difficulties trying to adapt to life in South Korea. It is important to learn more about the past and present educational life experiences of North Korean defectors and to consider what changes can be made in the future to better assist them.

Procedures

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete the following activities: a demographic survey, a timeline of major life events, at least one in-depth interview, and journal entries. These can be completed in English or Korean. If Korean is used, a translator and interpreter will be used.

The total research period should be less than 1 month unless you need a time extension to complete some activities. The total time it will take to complete all of the activities should be 3-4 hours maximum. The demographic survey should take about 15 minutes to complete. The timeline of primary life events should take about 15 minutes to complete. The interview will last

about 1 hour. Finally, the journal entries will take about 1-2.5 hours to complete. If you agree to participate, I will send you the demographic survey once I receive your completed informed consent form. The demographic survey includes 24 questions related to the following: gender, birth year, educational background and experiences, general locations or countries of residence, length of time spent in general locations or countries of residence, hobbies and interests, jobs, military experience, marital status, religion, community activities, and social involvement. You will have 3 days to complete the survey. After receiving the survey, I will send you instructions about the timeline.

Second, you will complete a timeline of primary life events which includes memorable events or major educational experiences in your life. You will have 4 days to complete the timeline. After receiving the timeline, I will send you instructions about the interview.

Third, you will do an in-depth interview online through Skype which will last about 1 hour. We will arrange an interview time after I receive the demographic survey and timeline of primary life events. If you do not have Skype, I will provide you with instructions about how to download it in Korean. You should choose a location that is quiet and away from other people during the online interview to protect your identity. You will be asked a variety of questions about your educational experiences in North Korea, on the modern underground railroad, and in South Korea. The interview will be recorded (but not videotaped). You do not have to be recorded. It is your choice. If you do not want to be recorded, I will take detailed notes instead. It may be necessary to do a short, follow-up interview if I have additional questions. Your interview can be done in English or Korean.

Fourth, you will be given instructions on completing the journal entries after the interview is complete. You will be given 2 weeks to complete eight journal entries. The journal entries relate to topics about your educational experiences in North Korea, on the modern underground railroad, and in South Korea. Each journal article should be a minimum of ½ a page typed. There is no limit on the maximum amount of writing for each topic.

Additional instructions will be provided to you later. At the end of the research period, you may be asked to check the accuracy of my data analyses to ensure that my information is correct. If you will need additional time to complete each activity, please let me know. You will also be asked to refer another participant/s for the study. This is not necessary but it will help the researcher find more participants.

Risks and Benefits of Participation

There are some risks associated with this study. Some questions or activities may cause you to feel uncomfortable. If there are any questions that make you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to answer them. There are more elevated risks if confidential data are released which is why I will ensure that all data and names are kept anonymous and that identifying information is not published. We can further discuss these risks if you would like to know more specific information. There is no direct benefit to participants. The benefit to society is learning more valuable information about the educational life experiences of North Korean defectors. The data collected can potentially promote better integration of North Korean defectors in South Korea and help develop effective educational policies and programs. On a personal level, the research activities may help you to reflect on your educational life experiences thus far and consider future goals more clearly. If any questions or activities make you feel uncomfortable during the

study, please contact me. You can contact me at any time if you have any questions or concerns. I will do my best to respond to you immediately. If you need counseling or support, you can contact your local Hana Center. Not all Hana Centers have websites. The Seoul North Hana Center website is: www.gnnkcenter.or.kr. The phone number is: 02-975-2465. If you need assistance locating your local Hana Center, please contact me. You can also search on a Korean portal site (Naver, Daum, etc.) to locate the closest center to you. The Seoul North Hana Center may be able to assist you or direct you to the correct center. Please contact me at any time if you have any additional questions regarding this research.

Confidentiality

I will know your real name because you are required to sign the informed consent. I will not release confidential information (including your real name) to anyone and this information will not be used in the study. All information collected will be kept secure. All data collected will be kept private and anonymous so that you cannot be identified. All data collected will be stored in a password protected computer file. All paper documents will be locked in a filing cabinet in my home. You will be given a pseudonym. Only the interpreter and I will have access to the computer and paper data files. Data will be secured for a 3 year period following the candidate's date of graduation from Liberty University. Computer files will be deleted, and paper files will be shredded. If any part of this study is used for future publication, all data and names will remain anonymous.

Compensation

You will receive a 30,000 won online gift card for Gmarket upon completion of the research activities.

Voluntary Participation

You have the choice to participate in this study. If you choose to participate in this study, you do not have to answer questions or complete any activity that makes you uncomfortable. At any time, you may decide to stop participating in this study. If you withdraw from the study, your data will not be used and the interview recording and all data will be deleted/shredded immediately. Your participation is completely voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your current or future relations with Liberty University.

Contacts and Questions

Once again, my name is Andrea Lee. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me. My telephone number is: +1(757) 585-1073 and I can also be reached through KakaoTalk using this number. You can contact me by email at: andrealee1216yahoo.com. The dissertation chair, Dr. James Swezey can be reached at: (434) 592-4903 or jaswezey@liberty.edu. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, **you are encouraged** to contact the Institutional Review Board, 1971 University Blvd, Suite 1837, Lynchburg, VA 24515 or email at irb@liberty.edu.

Statement of Consent

If you agree to participate in this study, please sign this form with your real (South Korean) name. By signing you also confirm that you are between the ages of 19 and 35. You also confirm that you lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years. In addition, you confirm that you studied English speaking or conversation in a college or university for a semester or a formal English program (tutoring sessions, community class, etc.) for at least 6 months. Once again, you can withdraw at any time.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

If you agree to be recorded (only audio) during the interview part of the research, please check the box to the left. Prior to the interview, I will confirm again whether you want to be recorded or not. You may choose to be recorded now and change your mind at a later time.

Thank you for your time,

Andrea R. Lee

Liberty University Doctoral Student

Principal Researcher

Appendix E: Participant Consent Form in Korean

남한내에 거주중인 탈북 새터민을 대상으로한 주체사상, 군국주의 그리고 인권의
교육학적 영향에 관한 현상 연구

앤드리아 이
리버티 대학교

설명: 이 동의서를 읽어주시기 바랍니다. 만약 여러분이 참여를 원하신다면, 이 문서
마지막 부분에 서명을 부탁드립니다. 서명시에는 잉크펜으로 서명하셔도 되고 동의서
파일에 타이핑하셔도 되며, 날짜도 작성해주시기 바랍니다. 참여는 자발적이어야 하며,
여러분이 원하시는 어느 시점에나 참여를 중지할 수 있으며 여러분이 그때까지
제공해주신 정보는 즉시 삭제(컴퓨터 파일) 혹은 세절(문서)됩니다. 참여를 끝까지
해주신 분들의 정보는 3년간 보관될 것입니다. 연구 참여에 동의 하신다면, 이 문서에
서명후 3일내에 저에게 이메일로 보내주시기 바랍니다(andreelee1216@yahoo.com).

시간이 더 필요하시다면, 저에게 연락주시길 바랍니다.

제 이름은 ‘앤드리아 이’ 입니다. 저는 남한내에 거주중인 탈북 새터민들을 대상으로
주체사상, 군국주의 그리고 인권에 대한 그들의 교육적 영향에 대한 현상 연구 논문을
작성중입니다. 이 연구에 참여하시는 분들은 19 세에서 35 세(‘만’ 나이 기준) 사이의
남한내 거주하는 탈북 새터민이어야 하며, 남한내 전문대학, 대학교에서 최소 한 학기의
영어 수업을 출석하셨거나, 최소 6 개월의 영어 프로그램(개인 과외, 강좌 등)을 이수하신
분이어야 합니다. 또한 북한에서 최소 10년, 남한에서 최소 3년의 거주 경험이 있어야
합니다.

저는 미국에 있는 리버티 대학교 교육부를 통해 이 조사를 실시하는 중입니다.

여러분께서는 제가 위에 열거한 조사 참가자 기준에 충족되시며, 다른 참가자로부터
추천을 받으셨기에 이 연구 참여에 초대 되었습니다. 아래의 글들은 여러분께서 연구에
참여하겠다고 결심하는데 도움이 될 것입니다. 이 연구에 참여 결정 여부는 전적으로
여러분의 판단에 달려있습니다. 또한 저는 조사중 전문적 판단으로 참여자를 참여 중지
시킬 수 있습니다. 혹시 궁금한 점이 있으시다면 언제든지 연락을 주세요.

배경 정보

이 연구는 탈북 새터민들의 탈북 전(북한내), 중(중국, 라오스, 베트남, 몽골, 태국,
캄보디아 등), 후(남한내) 기간동안 경험한 교육 활동을 대상으로 주체사상과 군국주의,
인권의 영향력에 대해 알아보는 중요한 연구입니다. 새터민들은 종종 남한내 정착생활에
대해 어려움을 느끼고 있습니다. 그에 따라 새터민들의 현재와 과거 교육 경험에 따른
현상 연구는 매우 중요하며, 어떤것이 바뀌어야 새터민들의 미래에 더 도움이 되는지
알아보아야 합니다.

□ 서

만약 여러분께서 연구 참여에 동의 하신다면, 다음과 같은 질문을 받을것입니다. 인구조사, 인생의 중요시점, 최소 1 회의 심도 깊은 인터뷰, 수기 제출. 이 모든것들은 영어 혹은 한국어로 되어야 합니다. 만약 한국어를 사용하신다면, 제 남편이 통역과 번역을 해줄 것입니다.

총 조사기간은 여러분이 시간을 더 필요로 하지 않는 이상 한달내에 끝날 것입니다. 총 소요시간은 최대 3~4시간이 될 것입니다. 조사 시간은 인구조사 15분, 인생 연대기 15분, 인터뷰 약 1시간, 수기 작성 1~2시간 30분이 소용될 것으로 예상됩니다.

첫번째, 여러분께서 이 조사에 참여를 원하신다면, 제가 연구 참가 동의서를 받은후 인구조사(기본정보 조사) 설문 파일을 보내드릴 것입니다. 인구조사 설문은 다음 항목과 관련있는 총 24 개 질문으로 구성되어 있습니다. 성별, 출생년도, 학력과 교육 받은 경험, 북한에서 거주할 당시 대략적 지역명(예: 량강도, 자강도 등) 그리고 탈북과정에 거친 제 3 국가, 각 지역 혹은 국가별 거주 기간, 취미나 관심분야, 직업, 군 경력, 혼인여부, 종교, 각종 단체 활동, 사회 참여 활동 등 입니다. 여러분은 3일 동안 설문 작성을 하실 것입니다. 저는 여러분의 설문조사 결과를 접수후, 여러분 인생 연대표에 대한 안내문을 보내드릴 것입니다.

두번째, 여러분은 여러분 인생에서 중요한 시점 즉, 기억에 남는 사건 혹은 중요 교육 경험 등을 작성하실 것입니다. 여러분은 4일이내에 작성 완료해주셔야 합니다. 저는 여러분의 연대표를 받은후, 인터뷰에 대한 안내문을 보내드릴 것입니다.

세번째, 여러분은 Skype(스카이프)를 통한 심도 깊은 인터뷰를 약 한시간 동안 받게 되실 것입니다. 제가 여러분의 인구조사 결과와 인생 연대표를 받은후, 우리는 인터뷰 일정을 약속할 것입니다. 만약 Skype 프로그램을 가지고 있지 않으시다면, 어떻게 다운을 받는지 여러분께 한국어로 알려드리겠습니다. 여러분은 자신의 신변 보호를 위하여 타인의 방해없이 조용히 인터뷰 할 수 있는 특정 안전한 장소를 확보해야 합니다. 여러분은 탈북 전, 중, 후에 있었던 교육 경험에 대해 다양한 질문을 받으실 것입니다. 인터뷰 내용은 녹음될 것입니다(하지만 영상 녹화는 하지 않습니다).

여러분의 선택에 의해 녹음을 하지 않아도 됩니다. 녹음 여부는 여러분의 선택입니다. 만약 여러분이 녹음을 원치 않으신다면, 저는 인터뷰 내용을 구체적으로 작성할 것입니다. 제가 추가적인 질문이 필요할시엔 추가 인터뷰 시간에 짧게 질문 드릴

것입니다(답변이 부족할때만 추가 인터뷰 요청). 인터뷰는 한국어나 영어로 진행될 것입니다.

네번째, 인터뷰후 저는 여러분께 수기 작성요령 안내문을 보내드릴 것입니다. 여러분은 2주 동안 8가지 수기를 작성하실 것입니다. 수기 주제는 여러분의 탈북 전, 중, 후 교육 경험에 대한 것입니다. 각 수기는 최소 반페이지 이상 작성되어야 하며, 주제별 최대 작성 분량은 없습니다.

추가적인 안내는 추후 여러분께 제공될 것입니다. 마지막 조사기간에 저는 여러분이 제공해주신 정보와 제 분석 결과가 일치하는지 확인 질문을 드릴 것입니다. 만약 여러분께서 연구 참여중 시간이 더 필요하시다면, 저에게 알려주시길 바랍니다. 또한 여러분은 이 연구에 참여하고 싶어하는 다른 희망자에 대한 문의를 받으실 것입니다. 이것은 꼭 필요한 것은 아니지만, 이 연구를 위한 다른 참여 희망자를 찾는 데 도움이 됩니다.

연구 참가의 위험성과 유익성

이 연구에는 약간의 위험성이 관련되어 있습니다. 어떤 질문들 혹은 활동들은 여러분의 기분을 불편하게 할 수도 있습니다. 만약 여러분을 불편하게 하는 질문들이 있다면 대답하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 만약 여러분이 제공해주신 정보가 유출 된다면, 여러분은 더 큰 위험에 노출될 수 있기에 저는 모든 자료와 이름이 익명으로 되도록 할 것이며, 어느 곳에도 게시하지 않을 것입니다. 여러분들이 좀더 정확한 정보를 알고 계시다면 저는 여러분과 함께 그 정보의 위험성에 대해 상의할 수 있습니다. 이 연구는 참가자에게 직접적으로 이익/혜택이 있는것이 아닙니다. 이 연구가 사회에 공헌하고자 하는 것은 탈북 새터민들의 교육 경험에 대해 좀더 가치있는 정보를 연구하고 발전방안을 제시하는 것입니다. 수집된 정보들은 남한내 거주중인 새터민들에게 잠재적 통합을 진척시키고 새터민에 대한 남한 교육 정책에 좋은 도움이 될 것입니다. 연구에 참여하는 것이 여러분 개인적으로는 지금까지의 모습을 되돌아 볼 수 있고, 미래의 목표를 좀더 구체화 할 수 있는 계기가 될 것입니다. 연구에 참여하는 동안 몇몇 질문들과 활동으로 과거를 회상하며 불편한 느낌을 받으실 수 있습니다. 이럴때 저에게 연락을 주세요. 어떠한 질문이나 고민이 있으시다면, 언제든지 저에게 연락을 하실 수 있습니다. 저는 즉시 답변을 드리기 위해 최선을 다하겠습니다. 혹시 심리 상담이나 지원이 필요하시다면, 여러분은 각 지역 '하나센터'로 연락을 하실 수 있습니다. 모든 하나센터가 웹사이트를 가지고 있지는 않습니다. 서울북부하나센터 웹사이트는 www.gnnkcenter.or.kr이며, 전화번호는 02-975-2465입니다. 지역 하나센터의 도움이 필요하시다면 저에게 연락을 주시기 바랍니다. 혹은 여러분 스스로 가까운 하나센터를 한국 인터넷 포털사이트(네이버, 다음 등)에서

검색하실 수 있습니다. 서울북부하나센터가 여러분에게 도움을 줄 수도 있고, 도움 받을 수 있는 다른 방법을 안내해줄 것입니다(거주지 주변 하나센터 안내 등).

비밀준수

저는 여러분이 작성해주신 서명으로 여러분의 본명을 알 수 있을 것입니다. 저는 비밀준수를 위해 그 정보(본명 포함)를 절대 누구에게도 누설하지 않을 것이고, 그 정보들은 이 연구에 사용되지 않을 것을 말씀드립니다. 모든 수집된 정보는 안전하게 보관될 것입니다. 모든 수집된 정보는 개인적으로, 무명으로 보관될 것이기에 누구도 여러분을 알아볼 수 없습니다. 모든 수집된 정보는 비밀번호가 설정되어 있는 컴퓨터 파일에 보관될 것이며, 모든 종이 문서들은 제가 거주하는 집에 잠금장치가 있는 캐비닛에 보관될 것입니다. 여러분에게는 영어 가명이 부여될 것이며, 여러분의 개인신상 정보는 유출되지 않을 것입니다. 저는 오직 번역가/통역가에게만 파일과 문서에 접근할 수 있도록 승인할 것입니다. 통역/번역은 제 남편에 의해서 이루어질 것이며, 저는 제 남편이 비밀준수를 할 것이라 믿습니다. 모든 정보들은 제가 리버티 대학교를 졸업후 기준, 3년동안 보관될 것입니다. 컴퓨터 파일(외장형 저장장치)들은 삭제될 것이며, 종이 문서들은 세절기를 통해 세절될 것입니다. 만약 제가 이 연구를 통해 알게된 정보를 출판, 발표 등을 한다면 모든 이름들은 가명(혹은 무명)으로 할 것입니다.

보 상

연구활동에 끝까지 참여하신분들께는 3만원권의 'G마켓' 온라인 상품권을 드립니다.

자발적 참여

이 연구에 참여 여부는 여러분의 선택에 달려있습니다. 만약 여러분이 연구 참여를 결정하신다면, 여러분이 심리적으로 불편할 땐 대답을 하지 않아도, 활동을 끝내지 않아도 괜찮습니다. 연구에 참여하기 싫을때는 언제든지 여러분이 중지할 수 있습니다. 만약 본 연구 참여를 중지하신다면, 여러분의 정보와 인터뷰 녹음 내용은 본 연구에 사용되지 않으며, 즉시 삭제 및 세절될 것입니다. 여러분의 참여는 완벽히 자발적인 것입니다. 여러분의 연구 참여 여부는 현재, 미래를 망라하고 리버티 대학교에 어떠한 영향도 미치지 않습니다.

연락처와 질문

다시 한번 말씀드리지만, 제 이름은 앤드리아 이 입니다. 어떠한 질문이라도 있으시다면 주저하지 마시고 연락주세요. 제 전화번호는 +1(미국)-757-585-1073 이며, 이 번호로 카카오톡도 이용하고 있습니다. 이메일을 이용하실때는 andrealee1216@yahoo.com 로

연락주세요. 이 연구의 감독 교수인 제임스 스위지 교수에게도 연락하실 수 있습니다.
전화번호는 +1-434-592-4903, 이메일은 jaswezey@liberty.edu입니다.

여러분께서 질문이 있으시거나, 조사자(앤드리아 이)를 제외한 다른 사람과 이 연구에
대해서 대화를 하고 싶으시다면, 논문 검토위원회(The Institutional Review Board)에
연락주시길 바랍니다.

주소 1971 University Blvd, Suite 1837, Lynchburg, VA 24515

이메일주소 irb@liberty.edu.

동의서

만약 여러분이 이 연구에 참가를 원하신다면, 여러분의 남한내 본명으로 서명을
해주시기 바랍니다. 서명과 함께 여러분은 자신이 19 세에서 35 세('만' 나이 기준)
사이인지, 북한에서 거주 10 년이상, 남한에서 거주 3 년이상인지 확인해 주셔야 합니다.
더불어 남한내 전문대학, 대학교에서 최소 한 학기의 영어 수업을 출석하셨거나, 최소
6 개월의 영어 프로그램(개인 과외, 강좌 등)을 경험하신 분이어야 합니다. 다시
말씀드리지만, 여러분은 언제든지 참여를 중지할 수 있습니다.

Signature

서명: _____

Date 날짜: _____

여러분이 인터뷰 녹음에 동의하신다면 좌측 네모상자에 'X' 혹은 'V'로
표시해주시길 바랍니다. 인터뷰에 앞서 저는 여러분이 녹음에 동의 하시는지 다시 한번
질문 드릴 것입니다. 여러분은 지금 동의 하실 수도 있고, 나중에 마음이 바뀌시면
취소하실 수도 있습니다.

시간을 내주신 여러분께 대단히 감사합니다.

앤드리아 라쿠션 이

리버티 대학교 박사과정 대학원생

책임연구원

Appendix F: Demographic Survey Instructions and Questions in English

Introduction: Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. If you know other North Korean defectors between the ages of 19 (official age- do not use the traditional, Korean age system) and 35 who might be interested in participating in this study, please let me know. You should contact them first to see if it is okay to give me their email, phone number, etc. When discussing this with potential participants in person or on the telephone, please do it in a private location, and make sure that the person you are talking to can also speak in private. It is better if you contact them through text messaging, KakaoTalk, instant messenger, or email. You can also give them my information:

Andrea Lee

Email: andrealee1216@yahoo.com

+1-757-585-1073 (my number is also on KakaoTalk)

They must have lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years.

They also must have studied English at a college or university for at least 1 semester or a formal English program (community classes, tutoring, etc.) for at least 6 months. If you do not know anyone, it is okay.

Thank you again for your assistance! ☺

I will give you a pseudonym. Please use this name for all of the research activities.

Demographic Survey

Directions: Please type your answers and email this survey to me (andrealee1216@yahoo.com) within 3 days of receiving it. You may use Microsoft Word or Hangeul Word Processor (HWP). You can write your answers in Korean or English. Please type your answers on this form. Once you have emailed me, I will send you a confirmation email within 48 hours. Please contact me if you have any questions. You do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. I promise to protect your identity. I will not reveal any personal information that could cause harm to you, your friends, or your family. Please contact me if you have any questions. Thank you for your time ☺

Pseudonym: _____

Gender:

1. What is your birth year?
2. What is your hometown in North Korea? If you don't feel comfortable sharing your hometown, could you share your province?
3. How long did you live in North Korea?
4. What year did you leave North Korea?
5. What year did you begin school in North Korea?
6. Did you attend primary school in North Korea? If so, for how many years?
7. Did you attend lower middle school in North Korea? If so, for how many years?
8. Did you attend upper middle school in North Korea? If so, for how many years?
9. Did you attend college, university, or other higher education programs in North Korea? If so, for how many years, and what was your area of study?
10. Did you have any other type of classes or formal education in North Korea? If so, please describe them.
11. Were you a member of the North Korean military? If so, what was your job?
12. Did you have a job in North Korea? If so, what was your job (or jobs)?
13. How long have you lived in South Korea?

14. What types of education have you received in South Korea and for how long? (For example, middle school, high school, college/university)
15. Have you participated in any special educational programs, field trips, foreign language classes, or other learning activities in South Korea? If so, please describe them.
16. How many years did you spend on the modern underground railroad?
17. What countries did you live in and for what duration of time?
18. Did you receive any type of education on the modern underground railroad? If so, please describe your education.
19. Do you currently have a job? If so, what type of job?
20. Are you married? If so, for how long have you been married?
21. Do you have a religion? If so, what is your religion, and how long have you had a religion?
22. Do you currently belong to any clubs, organizations, or churches? If so, please describe your involvement.
23. Are you currently a student? If so, where and what are you studying?
24. What are your hobbies or favorite leisure activities?

Appendix G: Demographic Survey Instructions and Questions in Korean

지침: 이 연구에 참여해 주셔서 대단히 감사합니다. 만약 여러분 주변에 19 세에서 35 세('만' 나이를 적용한 나이)사이의 다른 탈북 새터민분중 이 연구 참가에 관심이 있으신 분이 계시다면, 저에게 알려주시길 바랍니다. 아마도 그분들에게 여러분이 먼저 연락하셔서 저에게 그분들의 이메일 주소, 전화번호 등을 알려주어도 되는지 확인하시는게 좋을 것 같습니다. 여러분이 연구 참여 가능한 다른분과 이 연구에 대해 대면 대화나 전화통화를 하신다면, 두분의 신변보호를 위해 반드시 안전한 장소에서 대화하시길 바랍니다. 휴대폰 문자메세지, 카카오톡 메세지, 메신저 메세지 혹은 이메일이 더 안전할 것 같습니다. 제 정보 역시 그분들께 알려주실 수 있습니다. 앤드리아 이

이메일: andrealee1216@yahoo.com

전화번호: +1-757-585-1073(이 번호로 카카오톡도 등록되어 있습니다.)

그분들 역시 19 세에서 35 세 사이인지, 북한에서 거주 10 년이상, 남한에서 거주 3 년이상이어야 하며, 남한내 전문대학, 대학교에서 최소 한 학기의 영어 수업을 출석하셨거나, 최소 6 개월의 영어 프로그램(개인 과외, 강좌 등)을 이수하신 분이어야 합니다. 만약 이 조건에 해당되는 분을 모르신다 하실지라도 괜찮습니다. 다시 한번 연구에 참여해 주셔서 대단히 감사드립니다.

여러분의 신변 보호를 위해 한국식 가명을 부여해드릴 것입니다. 그 가명을 이용해주시시오

Demographic Survey

Directions 설명: Please type your answers and email this survey to me (andrealee1216@yahoo.com) within 3 days of receiving it. 아래 질문에 답변을 작성후 3 일내로 저에게 이메일을 통해 보내주세요. You may use Microsoft Word or Hangeul Word Processor (HWP). 답변 작성시에 MS 워드나 아래한글(HWP) 프로그램을 이용해주시면 감사하겠습니다. You can write your answers in Korean or English. 여러분께서는 한글과 영어 모두 사용하실수 있습니다. Please type your answers on this form. 여러분의 답변을 이 문서에 작성해주시기 바랍니다. Once you have emailed me, I will send you a confirmation email within 48 hours and provide you with information about the timeline activity. 인구조사 설문 작성후 저에게 메일을 주시면 제가 48 시간내에 확인 메일과 인생 연대표 작성에 대한 안내문을 보내드리겠습니다. Please contact me if you have any questions. 혹시 질문이 생기시면 언제든지 저에게 연락을 주세요. You do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. 답변 작성중 작성이 불편한 질문이 있다면 작성 안하셔도 됩니다. I promise to protect your identity. 저는 여러분의 신분보호를 약속드립니다. I will not reveal any personal information that could cause harm to you, your friends, or your family. 저는 여러분과 친구들, 가족들의 안전을 위해 제공해주신 정보를 절대 유출하지 않겠습니다. If you write about your friends or family members, you can give them a pseudonym or just refer to them as a "friend," "mom," "sister," "dad," etc. 만약 여러분이 가족들과 친구들에 대해 작성하고 싶으시다면, 가명을 부여하시거나 '친구', '어머니', '누이', '아버지' 등으로 작성하셔도 됩니다. Please contact me if you have any questions. 질문이 있으시면 언제든지 저에게 연락주시기 바랍니다. Thank you for your time ☺ 감사합니다.

Pseudonym 가명: _____

Gender 성별:

25. What is your birth year? 당신의 출생 연도는 언제인가요?
26. What is your hometown in North Korea? 북한에서 당신의 고향은 어디인가요? If you don't feel comfortable sharing your hometown, could you share your province? 만약 구체적인 고향 이름을 작성하기 힘들다면, 그 지역에 대해 설명을 부탁드립니다 될까요?(예: 자강도, 량강도 등)
27. How long did you live in North Korea? 북한에서 얼마나 사셨나요?
28. What year did you leave North Korea? 몇 년도에 북한을 떠나셨나요?
29. What year did you begin school in North Korea? 북한에서 몇 살때 학교를 다니기 시작했었나요?

30. Did you attend primary school in North Korea? 북한에서 초등학교를 다녔었나요? If so, for how many years? 만약 다녔다면, 몇 년동안 다녔나요?
31. Did you attend lower middle school in North Korea? If so, for how many years? 북한에서 중학교를 다녔나요? 만약 다녔다면, 몇 년동안 다녔나요?
32. Did you attend upper middle school in North Korea? If so, for how many years? 북한에서 고등학교를 다녔나요? 만약 다녔다면, 몇 년동안 다녔나요?
33. Did you attend college, university, or other higher education programs in North Korea? If so, for how many years and what was your area of study? 북한에서 대학, 대학교, 대학원 등 고등교육을 받았었나요? 만약 받았었다면 몇 년동안, 어떤 것을 공부했었나요?
34. Did you have any other type of classes or formal education in North Korea? If so, please describe them. 혹시 정규 학교과정을 제외한 또 다른 교육을 받은것이 있나요? 있다면 그것에 대해서 설명해주세요.
35. Were you a member of the North Korean military? If so, what was your job? 당신은 북한군인이었나요? 그렇다면 계급과 보직이 무엇이었나요?
36. Did you have a job in North Korea? If so, what was your job (or jobs)? 북한에서 직업이 있었나요? 있었다면 어떤일이었나요?
37. How long have you lived in South Korea? 당신은 남한에서 얼마나 살았나요?
38. What types of education have you received in South Korea and for how long? (For example, middle school, high school, college/university) 어떤 종류의 교육을 남한에서 받아보았으며 얼마나 받았나요?(예: 중학교, 고등학교, 전문대학/대학교 등)
39. Have you participated in any special educational programs, field trips, foreign language classes, or other learning activities in South Korea? If so, please describe them. 남한에서 특별한 교육 프로그램이나 야외활동, 외국어 수업 혹은 또 다른 어떤 활동에 참가해본적이 있나요? 만약 있다면 그것에 대해 설명해주세요.
40. How many years did you spend on the modern underground railroad? 당신은 탈북후 남한에 도착하기 전까지 얼마나 시간을 보냈나요?

41. What countries did you live in and for what duration of time?
탈북후 남한에 도착전까지 어떠한 나라들에서 지냈었나요?(예: 중국, 몽골, 태국 등)
42. Did you receive any type of education on the modern underground railroad? If so, please describe your education.
당신은 탈북후 남한 도착전까지 어떠한 형태로든 교육을 받아본적이 있었나요?
있었다면 그 교육과정에 대해서 설명해주세요.
43. Do you currently have a job? If so, what type of job?
당신은 지금 직업을 가지고 계신가요? 있다면 어떤 종류의 직업인가요?
44. Are you married? If so, for how long have you been married?
당신은 결혼을 하셨나요? 만약 했다면, 결혼기간은 얼마나 되었나요?
45. Do you have a religion? If so, what is your religion, and how long have you had a religion?
당신은 종교가 있나요? 있다면, 어떤 종교이며 그 종교를 믿은지 얼마나 되었나요?
46. Do you currently belong to any clubs, organizations, or churches? If so, please describe your involvement.
당신은 현재 활동/소속된 모임, 단체 혹은 교회가 있나요? 있다면 어떤 활동을 하는지 설명해주세요.
47. Are you currently a student? If so, where and what are you studying?
당신은 지금 학생인가요? 학생이라면, 어디서, 어떤것을 학습하고 있나요?
48. What are your hobbies or favorite leisure activities?
당신의 취미 혹은 가장 선호하는 여가활동은 무엇인가요?

Appendix H: Timeline of Primary Life Events: Instructions in English and Korean

Please write about major life and educational experiences. You can write about important points in your life (e.g. birth, education, jobs, escaping North Korea, etc.), unique experiences, and when your education in North Korea, China, other countries, and South Korea. If you write about your friends or family members, you can give them a pseudonym or just refer to them as “friend,” “mom,” sister,” “dad,” etc. Your timeline should be in a table format. For example,

1980	Birth- I was born in Hamgyong Province.
1985	I started kindergarten. I don't have many memories of kindergarten but I remember getting special snacks on Kim Il Sung's birthday.
1986	I began primary school. I attended primary school in a poor area. My school didn't have a lot of resources. I remember one teacher. She was very kind.

Try to complete this within 4 days. Once I receive your email, I will send you a confirmation email within 48 hours confirming that I have received it. In your confirmation email, I will provide you with instructions about the online interview.

Timeline Instructions in Korean

주요 인생사와 교육 경험에 대해 작성해주세요. 당신의 인생에서 중요한 시점들(예: 출생, 부모님의 직업과 그에 따른 생활, 입학, 군입대, 탈북 등)과 특이한 경험들, 북한, 중국 혹은 탈북 과정중 머무른 제 3의 국가 그리고 남한에서 교육 받을때 느꼈던 특이점 등을 작성해주시면 됩니다. 만약 친구나 가족에 대해 작성을 하신다면 그분들을 가명으로 작성하시거나 ‘친구’, ‘어머니’, ‘누이’, ‘아버지’ 등으로 작성하셔도 됩니다. 가능하다면 4 일 이내에 작성을 완료해주시기 바랍니다. 제가 여러분의 이메일을 받으면 48 시간 이내에 확인 메일과 온라인 인터뷰에 대한 안내문을 보내드리겠습니다.

연 도	내	용
1980	나는 함경도에서 태어□으며, 주로 누이가 나를 돌□주었다.	
1985	나는 유치원에 입학했으며, 어□기에 큰 기억은 없다. 하지만 □일성 생일때 특별한 과자 선물을 받았던 것을 기억한다.	
1988	인민학교에 입학을 하였으나, 그 지역은 가□한 지역이었기에 재미있는 일은 그다지 없었다. 처음 만나 선생님이 매우 친절했던 것으로 기억한다.	
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Appendix I: Interview Instructions, Script, and Questions in English

Interview Email Instructions

Please contact me with several possible times (3 to 5) when you could complete a 1 hour interview. Please do not be concerned about the time difference between my location in the USA and South Korea. Just choose possible interview times that are good for you. You need to have Skype downloaded prior to the Interview. If you do not have Skype or do not know how to download it, please contact me so that I can provide you with Korean instructions. Please give me your Skype ID so that I can add you to my contact list.

My Skype ID is: andrealee1216

It is important that you find a quiet location away from other people during the interview to protect your privacy. The interview can be conducted in Korean or English. Please tell me which you prefer. If the interview is conducted in Korea, an interpreter will be used.

Interview Questions with Introduction/Conclusion Script

Introduction:

Hello. I'm Andrea Lee. First, I want to say thank you so much for participating in this study. I also want to ensure that you are now in a private location.

I will ask you questions about your life and education in North Korea, the modern underground railroad, and in South Korea. First, do you want to be recorded? This will only be an audio recording. You will not be videotaped. It is okay if you do not want to be recorded. If you do not want to be recorded, I will take detailed notes about your responses. If you talk about your friends or family members, you can give them a pseudonym or just refer to them as "friend," "mom," "sister," "dad," etc. If you say their names, it is okay though, and this information will not be released. Also, please try to give detailed responses if you can.

If you feel uncomfortable at any point during this interview, please let me know, and we can stop or discuss something else. If you have any questions, please ask me. Please try to feel as comfortable and relaxed as possible. This interview should take a maximum of 1 hour. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Introduction: Please tell me about yourself.

Postmigration:

1. What is your overall opinion of the South Korean education system?
2. What are some educational challenges that you have had in South Korea?
3. What was the most difficult part of adapting to the South Korean education system?
4. What types of extra educational support do you think North Korean defectors need?

Transmigration

1. What types of human rights violations did you experience on the modern underground railroad?
2. Were you able to receive any formal education while you were on the modern underground railroad?
3. Did you receive any unofficial or informal education while you were on the modern underground railroad?

Premigration

1. What are some of the key points that you remember about the education system of North Korea?
2. Do you have any special memories of your education or school days in North Korea?

3. Did you belong to any clubs or groups in North Korea? If so, what types?
4. What was student behavior typically like in the classroom?
5. How does social status impact the education system of North Korea?
6. When did you first learn about Juche? Please describe what happened.
7. How is the education system of North Korea connected to Juche?
8. What information were you taught in school about other countries (specifically South Korea, Japan, China, Russia (or the Soviet Union), Eastern Europe, and the United States)?
9. How would you describe the role of the military in education?
10. Did you participate in any militaristic activities as a student? If so, what types?
11. Do you remember self-criticism sessions in school? Can you tell me about them?
12. How did human rights violations affect your education?
13. What is your overall view of the North Korean education system?
14. What are some major problems in the North Korean school system?

Final Questions:

1. How do you feel about Juche (positive or negative aspects) now that you live in South Korea?
2. How do you feel about militarism in North Korea now that you live in South Korea?
3. How do you feel about North Korean human rights violations now that you live in South Korea?
4. What are your recommendations for future curricula and instruction for North Korean defectors?
5. What are your recommendations for reunification curricula and instruction in South Korean public schools?
6. What types of things can the South Korean government do to teach its citizens about the challenges, experiences, and backgrounds of North Korean defectors?
7. What types of things can the South Korean government do to help North Korean defectors?
8. What are your future professional and personal goals?
9. Is there anything else that you would like to share?

Conclusion:

This is the end of the interview. Do you have any questions that you would like to ask? If I have any additional questions about your answers, I will contact you soon. Thank you so much for your time. Please contact me if you have any questions.

Appendix J: Interview Instructions, Script, and Questions in Korean

인터뷰에 대한 안내 이메일

저에게 여러분이 한 시간동안 인터뷰가 가능한 여러 시간대를 알려주시기 바랍니다. 제가 있는 미국과 여러분이 계신 한국과의 시차는 고려하지 마시고 여러분이 편하신 한국 시간을 알려주세요. 여러분은 인터뷰 전에 Skype(스카이프)를 다운 받아 놓으셔야 합니다. 만약 Skype 프로그램이 없으시거나, 어떻게 다운 받는지 모르실 경우에 저에게 연락을 주시면 한국어로 된 안내문을 보내 드리겠습니다. Skype에 가입하신 후, 여러분의 ID를 저에게 알려주시면, 제가 연락처에 추가할 수 있습니다.

제 Skype ID는 andrealee1216 입니다.

여러분의 신변 보호를 위해 안전한 장소를 찾는것은 매우 중요한 일입니다. 인터뷰는 한국어나 영어로 진행될 것이며, 어떤 언어가 편하신지 선택후 알려주시길 바랍니다. 만약 한국어를 선택하신다면 제 남편이 통역을 해 줄 것입니다.

Interview Questions with Introduction/Conclusion Script

안녕하세요. 저는 앤드리아 이 입니다. 먼저 이 연구에 참여해 주신 것에 대해서 감사 말씀부터 드립니다.

저는 여러분에게 탈북 전, 중, 후에 있었던 여러분의 삶과 교육 경험에 대해 질문 드릴 것입니다. 먼저 인터뷰 녹음에 동의하십니까? 이 인터뷰는 오디오 녹음만 할 것 이고 영상녹화는 하지 않을 것 입니다. 인터뷰 녹음에 동의하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 녹음을 원치 않으실 경우 제가 여러분의 답변을 정확히 작성하겠습니다. 만약 친구나 가족에 대해서 말씀하실 때는 그분들을 가명으로 말씀하셔도 되고, '친구', '어머니', '누이', '아버지' 등으로 말씀하셔도 됩니다. 혹시나 그분들의 실명을 말씀하셔도 그 자료는 외부 타인에게 유출되지 않으므로 걱정하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 가능하시다면 정확한 답변을 부탁드립니다.

만약 인터뷰중 특정 질문에 따른 불편한 느낌을 받으신다면 저에게 말씀주시길 바랍니다. 우리는 그 부분에 대한 대화를 중단할 수 있습니다. 어떤 질문이라도 괜찮으니 언제든지 저에게 물어보세요. 가능하면 편안한 마음으로 인터뷰에 참여해 주시기 바랍니다. 인터뷰는 최대 한 시간이 소요될 것입니다. 시작하기전 질문이 있으신가요?

Introduction: Please tell me about yourself. 지침: 여러분에 대해 말씀해주세요.

Postmigration: 탈북후

1. 남한 교육제도에 대해 전반적으로 어떻게 생각하시나요?

2. 남한에서 교육을 받으시면서 어떤 어려움이 있으셨나요(하나원 포함)?
3. 남한 교육제도(학교)에 적응하는데 어떤점들이 힘들었나요?
4. 탈북 새터민에게 어떤 추가적 교육지원이 필요하다고 생각하시나요?

Transmigration 탈북 과정중

1. 탈북중(제 3 국 거주중) 어떤 인권침해를 경험하셨나요?
2. 탈북중 어떠한 형태든 정규교육을 받으실 수 있었나요?
3. 탈북중 비공식/비정규 교육을 받으셨나요?

Premigration 탈북전

1. 북한의 교육제도중 어떤점이 기억에 남으시나요?
2. 북한에서 받으신 교육이나 학교 생활중 특별히 기억에 남는일이 있나요?
3. 북한에 계실때 어떤 단체에 소속되신적이 있나요? 있다면 어떤 단체였나요?
4. 북한의 학교 교실에서 학생들의 행동은 보통 어떠한가요?
5. 북한의 교육제도에 부모님 혹은 학생의 사회적 지위가 어떤 영향이 있나요?
6. 주체사상에 대해서 언제 처음 배우셨나요? 어떤식으로 배웠었는지 말씀해주세요.
7. 북한의 교육제도와 주체사상은 어떻게 연결되어 있나요?
8. 다른 나라에 대해서 어떤 가르침을 받았나요(특히 남한, 일본, 중국, 러시아(소련), 동구권 유럽, 미국 등)?
9. 북한의 교육에서 군대는 어떤 역할을 하는지 말씀해 주세요.
10. 북한에서 학생신분으로 군사활동에 참여하신적이 있으신가요? 있다면 어떤 활동이었나요?
11. 혹시 북한에서 학교 생활중 자아비판/정화 시간에 대해서 기억하시나요?
기억하신다면 그것에 대해서 말씀해주세요.
12. 인권침해는 당신의 교육 경험에 어떤 영향을 미쳤나요(예: 너무 많은 사상교육, 사회적 지위에 따른 불공평 등)
13. 북한의 교육제도에 대한 여러분의 전반적 견해는 어떠신지요?
14. 북한 교육제도에서 어떤점이 주요문제점이라고 생각하시나요?

Final Questions: 마지막 질문

1. 남한에 거주중인 지금, 북한의 주체사상에 대해서 어떻게 생각하시나요?
2. 남한에 거주중인 지금, 북한의 군국주의(군사주의)에 대해서 어떻게 생각하시나요?
3. 북한의 인권침해에 대해서 어떻게 생각하시나요?
4. 탈북 새터민을 위해 어떤 교육과정이나 방향을 권하고 싶으신가요?
5. 남한의 학교에 통일에 관련된 어떤 교육과정이나 방향을 권하고 싶으신가요?
6. 남한 정부에서 일반 국민들에게 탈북 새터민의 어려움과, 아픈 경험, 탈북 배경 등에 대해 어떤점을 교육할 수 있다고 생각하시나요?
7. 남한 정부에서 탈북 새터민에게 어떤것을 지원할 수 있다고 생각하시나요?
8. 여러분의 직업적, 개인적 미래 목표는 무엇인가요?
9. 이외에 공유하고 싶은 다른 이야기들이 있으신가요?

Conclusion: 결말

이것은 마지막 인터뷰 부분입니다. 혹시 질문이 있으신가요? 만약 제가 여러분의 답변에 대한 추가적 질문이 생기면, 조만간 다시 연락드리도록 하겠습니다. 추가 질문이 생기면 이메일로 구체적인 질문을 드리거나, 추가 인터뷰 시간에 빠르고 간단히 질문 드리도록 하겠습니다. 또한 제가 여러분이 제공해 주신 정보를 분석한 결과가 확실히 맞는지 문의 드릴 수 있습니다. 시간내주셔서 감사드리며, 이제 저는 여러분께 마지막 수기 작성 지침을 보내드릴 것입니다. 혹시 질문이 있으시다면 주저마시고 연락주세요.

Appendix K: Journal Instructions and Questions in English

Journal Activity Instructions

Directions:

Please write a journal article about all of the topics listed below. There are eight required journal entries. Each journal article should be a minimum of ½ a page typed. Please use a standard font size that you would use for writing papers in school. There is no limit on the maximum amount of writing for each topic. Please use Microsoft Word or Hangeul Word Processor (HWP). You can write in Korean or English.

You may feel uncomfortable writing about some topics. I will protect your identity. I will not reveal any personal information that could cause harm to you, your friends, or your family. If you write about your friends or family members, you can give them a pseudonym or just refer to them as “friend,” “mom,” “sister,” “dad,” etc. You should only write about stories, memories, or events that you feel comfortable sharing. Please contact me if you have any questions. Once you have emailed me, I will send you a confirmation email within 48 hours. Please email your journal entries to me within 2 weeks. If you need additional time, please let me know. This is the final research activity. I will send you a confirmation email within 48 hours as well and information about your online gift card. I may contact you later and ask you to check my data analyses for accuracy. This is not required but helps to ensure that your information and my data analyses are correct.

Due Date:

Writing Topics:

- #1. Write about your education in North Korea.
- #2. Write about your education on the modern underground railroad.
- #3. Write about your education in South Korea.
- #4. Define Juche. How has Juche influenced your education in North Korea?
- #5. How has militarism influenced your education in North Korea?
- #6. How do you define “human rights?” How did human rights violations affect your life and education in North Korea and the modern underground railroad?
- #7. How do you feel about Juche (positive or negative aspects), militarism, and human rights violations in North Korea now that you live in South Korea?
- #8. What are your future education goals?

Appendix L: Journal Activity Instructions in Korean

작성지침

설명

아래 리스트에 있는 사항들에 대해 본인의 생각을 작성해주세요. 여기엔 8 가지 작성 요령이 있습니다. 각 주제를 작성시에는 최소 반페이지 이상 작성해 주시기 바랍니다. 작성시엔 학교에서 사용하는 표준 글씨크기를 사용해주시기 바랍니다 (예: MS 워드-12, 아래한글-12). 각 주제별 제한된 분량은 없습니다. 작성시에는 MS 워드나 아래한글(HWP) 프로그램을 이용해 주세요. 작성자께서 편하신대로 한글이나 영어 모두 사용하실 수 있습니다.

어떤 주제들은 여러분들께서 작성하시기에 좀 불편한 점도 있을겁니다. 그 내용에 따른 피해가 생기지 않도록 저는 여러분들의 신변에 대해서 보호해 드릴겁니다. 저는 여러분 자신과 친구들, 가족들의 안전을 위해 어떠한 개인적 사항도 누설하지 않겠습니다. 만약 친구나 가족에 대해 작성을 하신다면 그분들을 가명으로 작성하시거나 ‘친구’, ‘어머니’, ‘누이’, ‘아버지’ 등으로 작성하셔도 됩니다.

여러분들께서는 그냥 편안하게 여러분들의 이야기, 기억들, 각종 특이점에 대해서 작성해주시면 됩니다. 혹시 궁금하신점이 있으시다면 언제든지 저에게 연락을 주세요. 여러분들께서 저에게 이메일을 주시면 제가 48 시간내에 확인 메일을 보내드리겠습니다. 가능하시다면 2주이내에 여러분의 수기를 보내주세요. 만약 시간이 더 필요하시다면 저에게 알려주시길 바랍니다. 이것은 마지막 설문조사입니다. 저는 여러분의 메일을 받으면 48 시간내에 확인 메일과 온라인 상품권에 대한 정보를 보내드리겠습니다. 자료분석 결과에 대한 정확성을 위해 추후 제가 연락을 드릴 수 있습니다. 이것은 꼭 필요한것은 아니지만 제 자료분석 결과와 여러분이 주신 정보가 확실히 일치하는지 확인하기 위한 것입니다.

Writing Topics 작성 주제:

#1. Write about your education in North Korea. 당신이 북한에서 경험하신 교육에 대해 설명해주세요.

#2. Write about your education on the modern underground railroad. 당신이 탈북과정에서 경험하신 교육에 대해 설명해주세요.

#3. Write about your education in South Korea. 당신이 남한에서 경험하신 혹은 진행중인 교육에 대해서 설명해주세요.

#4. Define Juche. How has Juche influenced your education in North Korea? '주체사상'의 정의가 무엇이라 생각하시나요? '주체사상'이 북한에서 당신의 교육과정에 어떤 영향을 미쳤다고 생각하시나요?

#5. How has militarism influenced your education in North Korea? 북한의 '군국주의(군사주의)'가 당신이 북한에서 경험한 교육과정에 어떤 영향을 미쳤다고 생각하시나요?

#6. How do you define "human rights?" How did human rights violations affect your life and education in North Korea and the modern underground railroad? '인권'의 정의가 무엇이라 생각하시나요? 북한에 있을때와 탈북 과정중 어떠한 인권 침해를 경험하셨나요?

#7. How do you feel about Juche (positive or negative aspects), militarism, and human rights violations in North Korea now that you live in South Korea? 당신이 북한에서 경험한 '주체사상'(긍정적 혹은 부정적 측면), '군국주의(군사주의)', '인권침해' 등에 대해 어떻게 생각하시며, 지금 북한에선 어떨지 의견을 작성해주세요.

#8. What are your future education goals? 당신의 미래 교육 목표는 무엇인가요?(예: 학사

학위 취득 등)

Appendix M: Length of Time During Migration Periods

Table 1

Length of Time During Migration Periods

Pseudonym	Premigration	Transmigration	Postmigration
Cheol Su	18years (left in 2005)	7 months	8 Years
Hee Cheol	21 years (left in 2008)	1 years	4 years
Hyeon Su	22 years (left in 2006)	7 months	4 years
Kyoung Hee	22 years (no answer)	2 years	4 years
Kyu Hyeon	10 years (left in 2001)	6 years	7 years
Min Sik	No answer	No answer	No answer
Min Su	16 years (left in 2007)	4 months	7 years
Seon Young	21 years (left in 2009)	4 years and 4 months	4 years
Seong Cheol	14 years (left in 2004)	2 years and 6 months	7 years
Su Jung	23 years (left in 2008)	1 year and 6 months	3 years and 3 months
Yoon Cheol	23 years (no answer)	2 months	4 years
Yoon Hee	11 years (left in 2003)	5 years	5 years
Yoon Su	23 years (no answer)	4 years	No answer
Young Cheol	25 years (left in 2011)	3 months	3 years
Young Su	20 years (left in 2010)	3 months	4 years

Appendix N: Location and Age During Migration Periods

Table 2

Location and Age During Migration Periods

Pseudonym	Premigration/Age (escape)	Transmigration/Duration	Present Age
Cheol Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (18)	China, Mongolia (7 mo.)	Late Twenties
Hee Cheol	Hamgyeongbukdo (21)	China, Thailand* (1 yr.)	Late Twenties
Hyeon Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (22)	China, Laos, Thailand (7 mo.)	Early Twenties
Kyoung Hee	Hamgyeongbukdo (22)	China, Laos, Thailand (2 yr.)	Late Twenties
Kyu Hyeon	Hamgyeongbukdo (10)	China, Mongolia (6 yr.)	Early Twenties
Min Sik	Hamgyeongbukdo (*)	China, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand+	Late Twenties
Min Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (16)	China, Thailand* (4 mo.)	Early Twenties
Seon Young	* (21)	China, Thailand* (4 yr., 4 mo.)	Late Twenties
Seong Cheol	Hamgyeongbukdo (14)	China, Vietnam, Laos (2 yr., 6 mo.)	Early Twenties
Su Jung	Hamgyeongbukdo (23)	China, Vietnam, Cambodia (1 yr., 6 mo.)	Late Twenties
Yoon Cheol	Hamgyeongbukdo (23)	China, Laos, Thailand (2 mo.)	Late Twenties
Yoon Hee	Ryanggangdo (11)	China, Thailand* (5 yr.)	Early Twenties
Yoon Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (23)	China, Laos, Thailand (4 yr.)	Late Twenties
Young Cheol	Hamgyeongbukdo (25)	China, Thailand* (3 mo.)	Late Twenties
Young Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (20)	China, Laos, Thailand (3 mo.)	Early Twenties

Note: *Information was not identified or was not fully identified (other transit countries)

Appendix O: Education During Migration Periods

Figure 3

Education During Migration Periods

Pseudonym	Gender	Premigration	Transmigration
Cheol Su	M	Primary School (2 yr.)	None
Hee Cheol	M	Primary School (not regularly)	None
Hyeon Su	M	Primary School (4 yr.)	None
Kyoung Hee	F	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)	None
Kyu Hyeon	M	Primary School (not regularly)	Chinese school+
Min Sik	M	Primary School (not regularly)	Chinese school (2 yr.)
Min Su	M	Primary School (4 yr.)	None
Seon Young	F	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)	None
Seong Cheol	M	Primary School (3 yr.)	None
Su Jung	F	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)	None
Yoon Cheol	M	Primary School (2 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)	None
Yoon Hee	F	Primary School (4 yr.)	Chinese school (4 yr.)
Yoon Su	M	Primary School (4 yr.)	None
Young Cheol	M	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)	None
Young Su	F	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)	None

Note: All participants are enrolled in college/university in South Korea except for one who will begin in the spring of 2014.

+ (Specific time period not stated)