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Separation and Unification: An Analysis of South Korean Efforts to Integrate North Korean
Refugees

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North Koreans have entered South Korea seeking new lives due to political reasons, severe food shortage, family reunions or economic difficulty since 1953. Hereto, more than 31,000 North Korean refugees have settled in South Korea and the influx has increased steadily despite all adversities in desperate journeys. They are often expected to undergo a successful and smooth transition due to their shared traits, such as language, culture, and ethnicity. However, they have encountered confusions and struggles to integrate into the South. This new social issue caused the government to create policy and programs to support their fruitful integration and simultaneously provide positive interaction opportunities between North and South Korean people in the future, especially when unification finally occurs. This research focuses on attempts of the South Korea toward promoting North Korean refugees' social integration. I raised one main research question and two sub-questions. The main question is 'How does the South Korean government attempt to integrate North Korean refugees into the society?' Two sub-questions are 'What are the policy features of the South Korean government to accommodate the North Korean refugees?' and 'What is the legal framework that secures the integration of North Korean refugees?' I analyzed a government document 'Manual for the resettlement Support for North Korean Refugees (2016)' by thematic analysis. A thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) allowed me to recognize themes based on timeframe, support contents and underpinning system. I relied on two theoretical frameworks, Social Integration Indicators of Ager and Strang (2008) to examine policy document and general national identity theories (Verdugo and Milne, 2016) to interpret intentions and goals of the South Korean integration policy for North Korean refugees. The discussion demonstrates that how the policy document considers North Korean refugees as important resources for future unification, arranging policy implementation through public-private collaborations and a comprehensive data management system of the South. Relating policies and laws have been continuously revised for proper functions and people's needs.

Keywords: North Korean refugees, policy document analysis, social integration, national identity, thematic analysis, South Korean integration policy

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1. Introduction

From a historical perspective, April 27, 2018 was an extraordinary day in recent inter-Korean relations. In front of a worldwide audience watching attentively on television, North Korean leader Kim Jong-un met South Korean president Moon Jae-in within the southern side of the demilitarized zone that has divided both nations for over 60 years. During these tumultuous and highly contentious decades, there have been many confrontations between the North and the South, but on that day a peace agreement that put a formal end to hostility was finally signed between the leaders of both nations. The Korean Peninsula has been divided since 1953 when an armistice agreement was signed during the Korean War. In addition to the economic devastation, the Korean War also left a deep human toll. It separated families, coworkers, neighbors and friends and the consequences are still being felt on both sides. The meeting of both leaders has brought cautious but also much needed hope to the people of the Korean peninsula.

Even though the peninsula has been divided and the border between North and South highly monitored and secured, since the armistice between the North and South in 1953, more than 31,000 North Koreans have left their country and entered the South (Ministry of Unification, 2018). Especially from 2000 onwards, common people from North Korea have endured tremendous hardships by fleeing their country and seeking refuge in their neighboring South. Due to political oppression, severe food shortage from natural disasters, family reunions, or to seek a better economic opportunity in the wealthier South, thousands of North Koreans have left the reclusive nation of North Korea and migrated to the South.

Since the year 2000 the number of North Korean refugees has been dramatically increasing, according to the latest statistics available. Yearly, more than a thousand North Korean defectors have arrived in South Korea in recent years. Once they finally arrive in South Korea, the time during their integration process can be quite arduous. They often encounter resistance from the local community, differences in culture, problems finding employment and receiving education.

Due to the Internet and other recent technological developments, stories of the plight of North Korean refugees has reached countries outside of Korea. Facilitated by the prolifera-

tion of digital media and television, people around the world are beginning to understand the challenges which North Korean refugees endured during their journey and face new obstacles they have to overcome once they arrive in South Korea to settle down (Perelez & Lee, 2018; Kim, 2017). Growing up in South Korea I have observed firsthand the different inflows in North Korean refugees over the past two decades and this was one of the reasons I became interested in understanding the reasons why they come. What was particularly interesting for me is that North and South Koreans share some common cultural aspects, such as language, culture, and ethnicity. But despite these similarities, many North Koreans struggle to adapt to their new lives in the South.

Those who attempt to depart North Korea are often labelled several as defectors, new settlers or refugees by the media, government documents and scholarly articles. The first refugees until the 1980s were called defectors as most of them were government and military officials. In the 90s some refugees were leaving for political or ideological reasons and they were named by the media as political defectors. Over the past 15 years, most refugees are leaving for personal reasons, such as family re-unions or better economic opportunities.

Since the early years of the separation of Korea, the North has maintained a policy of not allowing their residents to migrate, so the journey of those seeking to leave has been and continues to be illegal and perilous because the government will severely punish those trying to flee (Lim & Han, 2016). Over the past few decades there has been a change in reasons and motives for people leaving North Korea. In the decades preceding the war, the intentions of escaping stemmed from objection to the North Korean regime and aspiration for freedom, family reunion, etc. However, in recent decades refugees arriving in the South have manifested different reasons and scales about escaping. Researchers have identified that some of the motives for fleeing North Korea are natural disasters, food shortage, and searching for better lives in the neighboring South (Kim, N. H., 2016; Kim, 2012). Thus, this drastic increase on the inflow of North Korean refugees since 2000 has affected the way the South Korea society has viewed them, prompting the government to adopt policies and practices to assist with the integration of North Korean refugees into the South Korean society (Sung & Go, 2014). In this research, I use both terms, defectors and refugees to describe North Korean settlers in South Korea, in accordance with the literature researched (Kim, 2012; Choi, 2017). In the policy document which I chose to analyze for this re-

search, the term ‘refugee’ was more commonly used than ‘defector’, but they were both present in the text.

Due to the fact that South Korea and North Korea share ethnicity, history, traditions, and language, North Korean refugees are often expected to make a smooth transition into the South Korean society. However, despite these similarities, refugees often feel ostracized by local communities. In my thesis, I attempt to offer perspectives into the South Korean government’s efforts to integrate North Korean refugees. I have constructed a qualitative research by conducting a thematic analysis of the 2016 policy document ‘Manual for the Resettlement Support for North Korea Refugees’ which is to this date the most recent policy analysis offered by the South Korean Ministry of Unification.

My research investigates efforts of South Korean government towards the social integration of North Korean refugees in South Korea. Based on the above research context, I raised one main research question and two sub-questions.

- ❖ How does the South Korean government attempt to integrate North Korean refugees into the society?
- ✓ What are the policy features of the South Korean government to accommodate the North Korean refugees?
- ✓ What is the legal framework that secures the integration of North Korean refugees?

In exploring answers to these questions of this unique social phenomenon, I decided to analyze a government document to examine the contents of social integration policy that support resettlement for North Korean refugees. Since the data I chose to analyze is a government policy document, I opted for a thematic analysis as my methodological approach to policy features and the legal framework which underpins the integration policy.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. The Concept of North Korean Refugees

There has been an increase in the number of people seeking refugee status all over the world since the end of World War II. The 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol were adopted in order to address the growing concerns with the lives of refugees. Due to political, humanitarian and economic reasons, over sixty million people were forcibly displaced, according to an estimate by UNHCR and the UN Refugee Agency. The 1951 Refugee Convention describes that “A refugee is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.” And this is based on three fundamental principles which are non-discrimination, non-penalization, and non-refoulement (as cited in Lee, 2016, p 43-44).

According to Article 33 of the Refugee Convention, North Korean defectors should be regarded as international refugees based on their fear for danger of persecution and other forms of mistreatment or torture in North Korea if they were to be repatriated. There is a risk they could be executed or sent to political laboring or re-educating camp in accordance with local North Korean Law (Myonghee, 1997, p. 2; HRW Report, 2018). As the current international situation stands, China, which shares a border with North Korea, does not recognize the status North Korean refugee in accordance with the China-North Korean Bilateral Border Control Agreement and comity of nations (Lee, 2016, p. 45). Although China is a signatory of the UN Refugee Convention, the key element of the refugee Law, the non-refoulement principle is supposed to be abided, yet North Korean refugees are in danger of repatriation once they cross into Chinese territory, where most North Korean attempting to flee begin their refugee journey. In addition, China has yet to reconsider their position in spite of South Korea’s public protests based on consideration of general humanitarian grounds (Lee, 2016, p 43-44).

There are numerous causes why North Koreans choose to leave their country. Throughout the past 60 years, there have been different waves of North Korean refugees arriving in South Korea. The reasons for escaping and the social status of defectors and refugees varies depending on their period of arrival in South Korean. The first few decades after the

Korean War, most refugees left North Korea for political reasons. However, in recent decades, their motivation for leaving appear to be mostly based on their desire for social and economic improvement, rather than a deep ideological rift with the North Korean regime. Recently, the majority of those leaving are people who were unemployed, housewives, famers, simple laborers, and minor clerks (Lankov, 2006, p 110-111; Ministry of Unification, 2016, p. 10).

South Korean Ambassador Wheijin Lee (2016, p 62) points out that the legal status of North Korean people is very specific and has a unique and complicated background. They can be regarded as dual citizens based on the Article 3 of the Constitution of Republic of Korea. It is described that ‘The territory of the Republic of Korea shall consist of the Korean peninsula and its adjacent islands.’ According to Ambassador Lee, by the time the Constitution was composed in 1948, a South Korean government was formed and authorized to represent Korea under the supervision of the United Nations delegation. Consequently, the Constitution reflected that the country’s territory should include all of the Korean peninsula and accompanying islands. This legal framework also accommodates the present ‘North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act’ and ‘Enforcement Decree of the North Korean Refugee Protection and Resettlement Support Act’. The former one defines North Korean refugee is someone who “has adobe, family members in a direct line, spouse, occupation in the northern region above the military demarcation line (hereafter ‘North Korea’) and has not acquired a foreign nationality after having left the northern region (Ministry of Unification, 2016, p 8).” According to the Constitution of South Korea and North Korean Support Act, North Korean citizens have dual nationalities. North Korean asylum-seekers constitute features of minor immigrants with same ethnicity and language (Sung & Go, 2014, p. 6-7), and refugees who are forced to leave their home country for the reasons of natural disasters, human rights, impoverishment, and political freedom, therefore, they are legally entitled to humanitarian assistance (Lee Y., Mee M. & Park, 2017, p.2).

2.2. National Identity

2.2.1. General Concept of National Identity

There are risks in attempting to frame the question of national identity from a North Korean perspective without having ever lived there. Even in a broad sense, nationalism and national identity is often difficult to grasp and complexities in defining it engender confusions and disagreements due to its nature and different approaches. Nationalism is different from National Identity, as it implies strong emotional feelings towards one's own country based on the logic that we are different and superior to other nations (Verdugo & Milne, 2016, p. 2). Or to Patriotism, which vows to promote a devotion to one's country. However, many scholars agree that National Identity is related to a sense of community and territorial borders. It is "a sense of belonging to and being a member of a geopolitical entity (Verdugo & Milne, 2016, p. 3)". According to Anderson (1991), a nation was defined "an imagined political community-and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 6). Most members of a big or small nation will never know, meet or even hear each other, however they may have similarity in common interests and rapport as the part of a community (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). The idea of community is not an imaginary concept, but it is shaped through political and cultural institutions where they share general values and obtain a collective sentiment (Hague, 2004, p. 17). Verdugo and Milne elaborate that nation denotes a geopolitical structure which is consisted of ethnicity, history, ancestry, common values, and language. A state refers to a geopolitical organization where members share common values and have a sense of belonging based on governmental institutions with legitimate authority. Thus, the nation-state is that a geopolitical system to govern and serve its people with sovereignty (Verdugo & Milne, 2016, p. 2 -3).

National identity can be identified as a feeling of belonging to a certain nation, which is demarcated as "a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith, 1991, p. 14). Therefore, this identity is created by the ethnicity, values, traditions, language, shared memories of the group during certain period of history over years and provides people with a sense of belonging and differentiating between us and others based on those factors. In its essence, national identity is regarded a

part of collective identity in the national level within a territorial recognition or state structure (Grzelczyk, 2014, p 180).

In addition, Grzelczyk points out some features of national identity consensus in terms of its emerging and evolving status which I believe, from this point on, are important to dissect. First, since it is regarded as bounding a specific group of people together and having shared consciousness during long periods, the perception of geographical location and interconnectivity are crucial factors to establishing a national identity. Second, it is transmitted through selected knowledge transmission and is acquired during the early years in compulsory educational process which exists in school systems fostering elements of history, patriotism, nationalism and citizenry. This demonstrates as national pride in the context of economy, science, arts and most commonly in sporting events. Third, national identity is deemed to be an evolving notion based on historical events, religions, locations, political structure and these aspects give influence to shaping and negotiating individual identity in their own context. In this sense, citizens have strong connections between their national identity and the physical and emotional environment in terms of their sense of unity, belonging and pride toward outlanders. Therefore, national identity can be understood as part of a process developing its own identity in a specific group and furthermore differentiating oneself from another group (Grzelczyk, 2014, p. 180-181).

There are several schools of thought about how to address the concept of national identity. Approaches vary according to the analysis of each scholar, but most researchers frame the debate on National Identity from an essentialist, postmodernist, and civic theories background. Essentialist scholars aligned with Anthony D. Smith (1991, p. 14) believe that national identity is often regarded as being related to history, ancestry, and language, and the essence is assumed to be national. Unlike Essentialists who claim that national identity is based on ethnicity, postmodernists are convinced that it can be constructed, managed and even disassembled by the political establishment depending on the objectives of specific groups in society. They assume that because there are too many individuals to interact with one another in the geopolitical sphere, this situation allows for the creation of symbols and rituals to provide a feeling of bonding between individuals that ties them together in a cohesive community or society. As Verdugo and Milne (2016) elaborated, a certain political purpose can create and develop a national identity with an intention of fabricating traditions to stabilize existing norms and values. For example, Scotland's union with England

in 1707 and religious rituals in modern Japanese history in early 20 century. In Japan and England, national identity was used by the dominant groups in order to advance their own interests (Verdugo & Milne, 2016, p. 3-5). As Anderson (1991, p. 13) asserts that national identity can be imagined and constructed in dynamics of history, language, ideology and power through struggles (as cited in İnaç & Ünal, 2013, p 230) and various cultural experiences having a common ‘we-feeling’ in terms of mutual belongings and obligations (as cited in Ha & Jang, 2016, p.110).

Civic theory, such as classical liberal scholar Jean-Jacques Rousseau (as cited in Verdugo & Milne, 2016, p. 5-6) shows an unrestrained form of identity nation which is shaped by a community of citizens. Equal rights in political principles and common values and beliefs in duties are regarded as essential components and base of national identity. This theory introduces that national identity is developed not by ethnicity, history, or language, but by a shared value about citizenship, institutions of legitimate government and participation of agreed citizenship. Thus, allegiance to political institutions and laws allow to arise and fortify civic identity. (Verdugo & Milne, 2016, p 5; Ha & Jang, 2016, p. 110).

National identity can be affected by a number of factors in the national and individual levels. Economics, demographics, politics, national hegemony and state policies are factors that directly or indirectly impact and help shape national identity. The economy is the most powerful factor to impinge on whether national identity will strengthen or weaken, according to Guibernau (cited in Verdugo & Milne, p.6). When a native population experiences significant demographic changes by a sudden increase of immigration and emigration, it alters the meaning of individual’s national identity, as was the case of Ireland during the financial crisis in 2008. Financial security provides basic needs for the population and prosperity engender more pride and enhance the sense of general national confidence. In connection with the economy, social changes like immigration and emigration caused a national population drift and changed social demography in Ireland. (Guillaumond, 2016, p. 114). In another word, economic vulnerability brings difficulties in having trust toward its leadership and gives more chances for corruptions and inequality politically and socially after the fall of the former Soviet Union (Karnaukhova & Verdugo, 2016, p. 172). In the case of North Korea, financial and economic instability has over the past few decades become the main reason individuals choose to immigrate. Similarly, as a consequence of economic hardships, North Korean began to lose faith in their leaders’ ability to provide

financial security to the population and began to seek alternatives, such as immigrating to another country (Fahy, 2015, p.27; Lee Y., Lee M. & Park, 2017, p. 2).

Political environments such as seeking and managing political domination, changing governance structure including annexation, and state policies regulating citizen's behavior and lifestyle affect how national identity is created. For instance, since the recent influx of African and Middle Eastern immigrants in Europe, immigration policies have been created and implemented with the focus of providing opportunities for acculturation or assimilation. For example, France has banned the use of headscarf hijab because it is regarded as a religious practice which represents an Islamic identity and not necessarily an "European" identity (Carle, 2004, p. 63-64)

National identity in individual level manifests itself as an indication about acceptance for immigrants in the host country as a 'them versus us' distinction between citizenship in terms of private identities within public attitudes (Carle, 2004, p. 68). The individual level of national identity is examined by studies about immigrants' social acceptance in host countries. From Turkish immigrants in Belgium and immigrants from Muslim countries in the United Kingdom, the native host population has created an image of 'them vs. us' distinction and this 'becoming them/other' in a foreign country gives influences to their identity based on the language and the physical appearance being positioned as 'other' (Van Kerckem, 2016, p.274). Yet, in the case of the UK, as Anjum, McKinlay and McVittie (2016) investigated, the first generation of Muslim immigrants into the UK has built up its own identity among British-Muslim-Pakistani, and the Pakistani identity is the strongest of three due to the intention of honoring their birth place (Anjum, McKinlay & McVittie, 2016, p. 333). And they have a negative feeling about 'other' toward British citizens on account of immigrant status. Unlike the first generation, the strongest identity of the second generation is British. This British identity facilitates balances among three identities, even though British citizen distinct them 'other or them' (Anjum, McKinlay and McVittie, 2016, p. 334)

2.2.2. National identity in the Korean Context

Korean identity has unique and distinctive characters relating to the peninsula's historical background. Korea had existed as a single political entity based on the same ethnicity and homogeneous culture for more than a thousand years. In 1910 Korea was occupied by Japan and this occupation lasted until the defeat of the Japanese Imperial Army by allied forces at the end of World War II. The identity of North and South Korea began to be shaped and consolidated as uni-Korean identity during Japanese occupation while enduring the hardship of losing its own sovereignty. With the conclusion of the Japanese occupation, Korea had hoped for rebuilding an unified nation-state with its restored sovereignty. This did not last long as the Korean War started in 1951, just five years after the departure of the Japanese. The withdraw of the Japanese left a political and economic vacuum which was supplanted by Soviet and Chinese influence on the North the American support to the South. It can be said that Korea War was a proxy conflict that involved powerful outside actors who were attempting to strategically positioning themselves in the East Asian region. In that sense, the Korean War was a direct consequence of the Cold War, where one nation was divided into two countries which had completely different political regimes, social structures, and economic systems on the basis of their own and outside ideology after outbreak and armistice of the Korean War (Bechtol, 2005, p. 266). Since same ethnicity, shared history, geopolitical factors, and language are common grounds of both Koreas, the concept and memory of a single-race nation remains one of the fundamental reasons for reunifying the countries in Korean people's identity (Grzelczyk, 2014, p181; Ha & Jang, 2016, p. 110-111).

However, both Koreas are not yet able to come to terms with their own national identity without having solved deep economic and political differences, such as the issues of domestic security and the concept of an adversary threatening each other's safety and peace. As the two countries have grown apart and developed different national contexts for more than six decades, both of them have been forming their own national identity and they have been evolving and constructing their own identity, which was accompanying by national education within the context of domestic and international geopolitical changes. North Korea's national identity is commonly regarded as uniform from an authoritarian regime (Grzelczyk, 2014 p. 181). South Korea has built a national identity within a seesawing reliance and alliance on the United States in the light of national security issues after the Ko-

rean War. However, both Koreas establish their own identity in order to claim representativeness for the entire Korea peninsula and people in terms of striving for national legitimacy of Korea as a whole (Grzelczyk, 2014, p. 181, 183). In other words, both North and South Koreans believe their system represents all Koreans and they see themselves as united under a common cultural, historical and ethnic bond.

Two professors and a researcher in the education faculty at Seoul National University, So, Kim, and Lee (2012) claim that national identity in South Korea was formed and keeps transmuting within political and social contexts being rooted in Confucianism and ethnic values. For the past two centuries South Korea has been through a tremendous turbulence from a continuous monarchy to the present democracy, additionally the era of digital and globalization. Confucianism was a center to maintain the dominant power and values positioning the origins of 'Koreanness' and a core educational content. Confucian ideas had used as main political beliefs for more than two thousand years emphasizing norms of loyalty to the king, respect to the parents, abstinence from sexuality, and reverence for the elderly. Books of these values were an important source for examination to reach high social status. However, during modernization of Korea massive modern schooling allows massive growth in educational population. Contemporary Korean history of made a curriculum not only an aggregation of learning contents but also an useful tool to generate national identity. (So, Kim & Lee, 2012, p. 798-799)

In 1990s, educational reforms attempted to two strands which one is to nurture Koreans as global citizens from democratic citizens and the other one is to recover national identity in South Korea based on Korean traditions, values and ethnic identity. The changes in forming and maintaining national identity reached at the stage to restore own national identity based on own traditions and ethnicity in multicultural and globalized society although there are many challenges and conflict to connect social changes from tradition to globalization and to perceive coexistence between individuals and communities, positions of the local and the global, and confusion in regarding homogeneity and heterogeneity (So, Kim & Lee, 2012, p. 802- 804)

A senior lecturer in Aston University in UK Grzelczyk (2014) points out that South Korean national identity has started and evolved in the context of a political intention and social changes. It was emerged explicitly by the lead of Park Jung-hee government in the 1960s

and 1970s on the purpose of emphasizing political legitimacy. Thus, it started from infusing anti-communism to antagonize toward North Korea by policies and education for social consolidation of South Korean. Even when massive protests seeking democracy under military government in 1987 sought for more democratic tolerance and independence from military government, National Security Law principles South Korea regulates political freedom of people to endorse North Korea (So, Kim & Lee, 2012, p. 799). However, Kim Dae-jung's Sunshine Policy in late 1990s toward North Korea initiated to split supports and objectors surrounding the reconciliation and cooperation policy. Redefinition of national identity in South Korea had started within developing a civil society and proceeded with political liberalization, rapid economic growth and globalization. Consequently, a wide range of impacts and changes in society took lead shaping national identity. For instance, social changes made South Korea as a destination for economic immigrants rather than exporting human capitals to abroad. Therefore, South Korea had to face new phenomena appearing mixed and weaker blood-based homogeneity and nationhood in social changes such as diverse emigration and economic immigration in a globalized world as well as more increasing of international marriage (Grzelczyk, 2014, p. 182; So, Kim & Lee, 2012, p. 802).

Even though, it is restricted to have an access for literature about North Korea due to the quality of the regime, Pyongyang developed own identity related to socialist identity initiated by the Soviet Union and used education system to enhance Korean nationalism and pride (Grzelczyk, 2014, p182; Lee, 2010, p 350). Ideological contents about socialism and developing socialism in the context of North Korea and Communism under two Kims prevailed as foundation and buttress of political and social structure. Kim Il-sung and his son Kim Jong-il applied some particular terms and slogans in order to construct ideology. For instance, South Korea generally used the word 'gungmin' meaning for nation or the public, but North Korea focuses on 'inmin' meaning for the people and 'minjok' referring to 'ethnic group race', 'the Korean race' in own context. 'Minjok' alludes to the people under the communism which excludes South Koreans. In addition, North Korea employed school textbooks for the purpose of identity formation and reinforcement. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, North Korean elites created and conducted identity reinforcement process through the education system extending the great leader's outlandish accomplishment to a mythological level. The textbooks in primary schools and story-telling in pre-schools are embedded by cult of the father's and the son's (Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il) personalities

about supernatural powers and excessive achievements for North Korean people. Prominent national figures were replaced by two Kims' and their other family members' bizarre accomplishment for the country in school textbooks. The propaganda of national regime and leaders are set at the center of North Korean national identity emphasizing they are people guided by great leaders and are supposed to offer loyalty at all times. A research conducted by Lee Dong Bae in 2010 shows that 40% of the content taught in North Korean schools is dedicated to political education where Americans and Japanese are often portrayed as enemies and strong racial connotation is used to describe North Korean adversaries. (Grzelczyk, 2014, p182; Lee, 2010, p 351-352).

The concept of national identity of both Koreas has emerged through power struggles under managing external and internal forces while transforming the historical and cultural contexts North Korea uses national identity in maintaining its political structure and specifically distinguish them as a historical legacy and South Korea has the dilemma of counterbalancing between engagements of interactions and guaranteeing national security.

Establishing links and attempts for cultural and economic interactions might be a viable way to provide a conceivable unified national identity in the future. Conducting historic reunions of separated families, exchanging cultural performance, drawing more attentions about North Korea via South Korean television shows could expand connecting points focusing on common historic roots. Movie productions, traditional music performance programs are also able to open a gateway to reach mutual national identity with optimistic expectation (Grzelczyk, 2014, p. 189; Ha & Jang, 2016, p. 111; So, Kim & Lee, 2012, p. 797, 803).

2.3. Social integration

Asylum seekers, refugees and their integration are not new phenomena that takes place exclusively in the Korean Peninsula. Throughout history people have been leaving their homeland for several reasons. Most people have learned about the Jews who left Egypt and moved to Israel thousands of years ago. The recent flow of refugees into Western Europe started from individuals' arrivals in the 1990s from the Balkans. The US received an influx

of refugees in the 1980s when Fidel Castro's Cuba allowed for thousands of Cubans to leave for the United States. There was also a refugee crisis in the 70s and 80s when Vietnamese fleeing the war arrived in Australia, America and Europe. In the 2000s, the flow of refugee began to increase and engender successive programs and specific policies in governments and international organizations (Phillimore & Goodson, 2008, p. 305).

An adjunct professor at Columbia University, Alastair Ager, and Alisson Strang (2008), the chairperson in New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy claim that even though integration in a variety of scopes has advocated a concept of citizens who are accepted fully and equally, it is rare to find a formal definition of the concept of social integration. However, central and local governments' policies have goals explicitly and are implemented for subjects within certain contexts. Therefore, it is feasible to draw common features from goals and outcomes of policies in order to understand concepts of successful integration. A useful conceptual framework enables the discussion of perceptions of integration for most stakeholders such as policymakers, refugees, researchers and service providers (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 167).

One of the aims of social integration policy for refugees and immigrants is to provide safe, equitable, and stable environments to new-comers in new places. The goal is to facilitate each individual to achieve successful integration in terms of all human rights, equality of opportunity, solidarity and security as a productive member of society (Jeannotte, 2008, p 1, 6). This chapter illustrates perceptions of conceptual frameworks in successful social integration through describing four key elements of integration in practice such as '*Foundation*', '*Facilitators*', '*Social Connection*', and '*Markers and Means*'. These core domains have their own discrete scopes in order to construct a feasible framework (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 170).

The four core domains are composed of ten policy indicators which are 'employment', 'housing', 'education', 'health' in '*Markers and Means*', 'Social bridges', 'Social bonds', 'Social links' in '*Social Connection*' 'rights', 'language and cultural knowledge', 'safety and stability' in '*Facilitators*', and citizenship' in '*Foundation*' (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 170). These indicators propose an organized conceptual framework which should be effective in terms of rights and responsibility, assumptions and practice, structural barriers and connection, access and achievement in micro and macro circumstances. The development

of the UK governmental integration strategy was a major influence and source of inspiration to Ager and Strang's research (Ager & Strang, 2008, p166; Phillimore & Goodson, 2008, p. 309).

Markers and Means

The indicators of successful integrations is derived from the 1961 Geneva Convention which specifically addresses social rights of refugees in terms of full and equal citizens (United Nations, 1951, p. 22-26). They are often mentioned in public outcomes such as *employment, housing, education, and health*, which have steadily appeared as key aspects of meaningful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008 p 169).

Employment

Employment is the most influential factor and meaningful indicator of integration. It provides settlers a wide range of chances to boost economic independence and sense of belonging. Being employed not only offers regular income but also helps develop necessary language skills. In addition, employment contributes to building self-esteem and help develop a sense of social and family worthiness. Chances to extend their personal relationships and social network in the host society increases with ease. And this total process of being employed encourages a social adaptation process and a sense of belonging in the second home (Phillimore & Goodson, 2008, p. 314).

However, there are difficulties to get employment opportunities, such as language barriers, skills, experience etc. It is often the case when a refugee is not able to have his/her qualification accredited in their new home country, causing the individual to subjugate oneself to under-employment. Also, when the host country has high unemployment rate or low-hiring rates, citizens of the host society become job market competitors and consequently a certain degree of animosity between the local population and the recently arrived refugees may arise. It is crucial to convert their skills and qualifications into the labor market of the host society for an important loop to proceed to employment and further successful resettlement. At the same time, vocational education and training are a strong and direct driving force to open the door of employment. Developing work skills, achieving financial independence for their families and having greater opportunities will expand the opportunities to settle down in wider communities at new places (Ager & Strang, 2008 p 170-171).

Housing

According to the results of interviews conducted by two researchers in the UK, permanent housing was the main priority to make refugees feel at home. Psycho-social significance of 'home' is a substantially symbolic mark to consider the end of their refugee journey and the starting point of a new life (Phillimore & Goodson, 2008, p. 316). A home is a place that offers security and it directly impacts people's physical and emotional well-being, such as safety, stability and security. Indicator of housing also contains a sense of financial security in respect of size, quality of facilities, and ownership. Additionally, the effect of housing connects to possibilities of encountering local people of the host society and building up the relationship with neighbors as well. Therefore, housing might be relevant to social and cultural impacts to raise either more contentious issues or more integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 171-172). It may be challenging to start an effective integration program if the issue of housing has not been properly addressed.

Education

Education is considered as one of the most important tools to help members of the society to develop their capability, skills, and knowledge. Education also enables people to actively participate in the workplace, community, and society. Schools can provide effective support to refugees toward a fruitful integration by offering safe spaces for encountering new people, personal learning opportunities and intellectual development. It also contributes to people making better informed life choices for the future (Matthews, 2008, p. 32). Schools may function as basic and imperative places allowing refugees to contact the local host communities which in turn contributes to a positive sustainable settlement. Although schools attempt to give accesses to useful information to refugees, various barriers exist in the field that can disturb a supporting integration. Refugee children are challenged by several sided issues, such as the necessity to quickly learn the host-society language in order to participate in school and make friends, a lack of information about subject choices or the school system and programs, issues about isolation and exclusion such as bullying, racism, difficulties in making friends and lack of teachers or school staffs' knowledge about their historical and cultural backgrounds. These barriers need to be addressed in order to have refugees fully and properly integrated (Ager & Strang, 2008 p 172; Matthews, 2008, p. 42).

Health

Good physical and mental health might be a fundamental factor for active engagement and well-being in daily life as documents are reviewed (Shannon, Vinson, Cook & Lennon, 2016, p. 564). Keeping appropriate health outcome is based on getting reliable access to good quality of health service in the host society. If refugees get access to proper health service in mainstream society for a physical and mental health issue, it increases the great possibility for social integration naturally. However, some definite obstacles hinder refugees to have better service in health service, for example, communication problems with health care staffs, lack of information regarding availability on accident and emergency facilities, different perceptions in gender and culture. These various difficulties can diminish quality of refugees' health condition from particular health risks (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 172-173; European Council of Refugees & Exile, 2002, p. 24; Shannon, Vinson, Cook & Lennon, 2016, p. 565).

Social Connection

There are processes to provide the meaningful connection between basic principles of citizenship and the rights and concrete outcomes in scopes of employment, housing, education, and health. Noticing roles of social connection as an impetus of social integration process is an inevitable step to identify meaning of integration at the local levels and beyond. Three strands of social connection naming social bonds, social bridges, and social links bring significant value in the early phases of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 177). These three indicators of social integration can benefit the whole society in terms of stability, safety, tolerance, diversity and equality within social relations (Jeannotte, 2008, p. 1). And the Policy Research Initiative in Canadian government research institute specified these concepts as networks of social relations which may give access to resources and supports (Jeannotte, 2008, p. 5).

Social Bonds

Social bonds are based on family and similarity traces of ethnicity, religion, and group identity. Proximity to family facilitates the acclimation of refugees helping keeping alive their own cultural and family practices, such as food and music. Many of refugees feel settled through this connection in the host society and the networks reinforce identities within homogenous groups (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 178; Jeannotte, 2008, p. 5; Spicer, 2008, p. 503). This connection contributes to the effectiveness of integration and mental health as well with offering opportunities to observe traditional holidays, to speak their

mother tongue, and to share news and information. Value of social bonds is regarded as an element of the social connection rather than a separated source (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 178).

Social Bridges

Social harmony and participation of refugees in the newly arrived society reflect the relationship between the refugees and the host communities. Both refugees and non-refugees agree to the level of friendliness in the local community which cause a positive impact on refugees' acclimation period. Encountering friendly behaviors contribute to the feeling of security, social existence and involvement with the local people in shared activities (Jeanotte, 2008, p. 15). Even though these are small actions, such as greetings and warm faces, it is enough to create an amicable atmosphere for both sides. This process can help refugees establishing the feeling of being accepted and eventually bridging them to the local community with a sense of safety, yet unfriendliness and uneasiness in neighborhood makes refugees and immigrants feel excluded or takes the at home feelings (Spicer, 2008, p 496). In addition to, the social bridge gives the local community in the host society long-term benefits socially and economically (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 180).

Social Links

Unlike social bonds and social bridge, social links denote the individual's relations with structures of the state such as institutions, agencies and services (Spicer, 2008, p. 494). As social links could be the least familiar to refugees and multiple obstacles to establish them, both service providers and refugees are demanded more efforts to give genuine equality of access and to deliver effective services comparing to social bond and social bridge (Spicer, 2008, p. 499). Supports of access to government services can diminish structural barriers of refugee settlement and facilitate connecting refugees to necessary services practically. Breaking through obstacles in practice and more attention to means of improving integration process in the policy implementation direct refugee and the host country to the path of social harmony and connection (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 181).

Facilitator

A major role of the state in integration policy is to extract or restrain obstacles in a practical process of economic and social participation toward integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 181). The factors in discrete domains such as language and cultural knowledge, safety

and security could either facilitate or undermine pathways into integration at local level (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 181).

Language and Cultural Knowledge

The ability of the host community to communicate with the refugees is considered as a key area of the integration process because it enhances social, economic integration, and further participation. Provisions and support for refugees to acquire language competence are crucial to facilitating integration. Unfortunately, it is often the case that refugees are not offered or do not have access to adequate language teaching. (Spicer, 2008, p. 503). Refugees and other immigrants are interested in learning not only the language but also cultural knowledge of local customs and history. Field-site interviews show that refugees like to get practical information for understanding the cultural expectation of the host communities and the value of a broader cultural knowledge (Spicer, 2008, p. 504). Because they are important segments to meet outcomes of successful integration. For example, refugees' culture has differences in behavior dealing with old people like not talking back to show respect and local people think refugees do not have same demeanors as them about litters. Refugees believe mutual understanding by sharing refugees' own culture with others contributes to the local community. However, there is some differences in perceptions about the value of cultural tradition for refugees and for non-refugees (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 182 - 183).

Safety and Stability

Many refugees feel that personal safety is an important factor to help them feel at home. The more they are integrated, the more they feel safe. Feeling of personal safety is not only protection from physical violence but also, verbal violence and even erroneous and bias perceptions from the local communities which refugees may regard as threatening (Spicer, 2008, p 506). Issues and incidents about safety can potentially negatively affect the psychological safety and emotional well-being of refugees. The concept of stability is relevant to foster positive community relationships where refugees live and interact with local population (Spicer, 2008, p. 503-504). When refugees settle permanently into a certain community, local people appreciate it as this is seen as a continuity, as opposed to those to move in and out in a short term. The sense of community does not grow and consolidate by the frequent mobility of residents. Social connection plays a role to enable integration with regard to continuity in sufficient access to proper public services and establishing commu-

nity stability. The important facilitators of integration are proposed as parts of the frameworks in integration policies such as in housing and adequate temporary accommodation (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 184; European Council of Refugees & Exile, 2002, p. 22-23).

Foundation

The notion of citizenship with respect to refugee integration is important in terms of legal status and their wide engagement in society. Having status of citizen may assign and emphasize a role in the integration process and consequences of civic engagement can be facilitated by legal status of citizen as migration requirements for refugees' integration (Geri, Stewart, & Da Lomba, 2010, p. 412). A meaningful foundation of integration for refugees is to have equal rights in the host country to ensure equality of opportunities. Understanding principles and practice of the equal opportunities offers and promotes the base of satisfying integration. This part articulates how to approach the scope of 'citizenship and rights' as a foundational part of social integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, p176).

Citizenship and Rights

Each sovereign country has different perspectives in recognition of citizenship on the basis of history, social contexts and nationhood (European Council on Refugees & Exiles, 2002, p. 11). For example, consanguinity, the link of citizenship by blood, shapes the notion of citizenship more than a place of birth in Finland and most other EU countries. Jus Soli is the concept of acquiring citizenship not by blood and ancestral links but by the place of birth, as it is the case in most nations in the Americas. In unique the case of East/West Germany Unification, where some parallels may be drawn with North/South Korea, the clause applied was an ethnic-based citizenship, thus immigrants were expected to have a quick cultural assimilation in the host country. Meanwhile, France embodies that choosing the ethical and spiritual values are an important prerequisite for belonging to a society which requires all social members to participate in politics and in civic life for enjoying full citizenship (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 174). Definition of integration has endorsed a sense of identity in nation and comprehension of the culture of a nation and nationhood where certain values shape and permeate widely and fundamentally (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 173; Ager & Strang, 2010, p. 592).

The rights of refugee in policy includes the concept of "human dignity, equality, freedom of cultural choice, justice, security and independence (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 175)" as an

underlying assumption for social integration. Living as a refugee in another country means being forced to leave the home country, resettling new places and seeking the host government to grant the recognition and the rights to them as their counterparts. Acknowledging rights and responsibilities get involved not only government but all parts of society like community, religious leaders, education, voluntary organizations, and business sectors. These all scopes of the social sectors can contribute to successful outcomes of integration by establishing meaningful and mutual relationship. And above all, individual refugees have responsibilities to establish relationship mutually and reliably with time and effort and to engage in society fully and equally as much as they want entitlements and social services (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 175- 177; Jeannotte, 2008, p 4).

In this chapter I have demonstrated a conceptual framework of social integration through specifying core domains and discrete realms to provide a perspective in understanding each concept and interdependence among them. The elements in the framework can determine boundaries and offer indicators of social integration to perceive the functional and social domains of integration policies (Geri, Stewart & Da Lomba, 2010, p. 411). These indicators and domain of integration show integration is combined and progressed in multifaceted ways rather than an inflexible and linear way (Phillimore & Goodson, 2008, p. 323). Every social member can and have to play an active role in assuring equity, dignity, rights and responsibilities in an integrated society where comprehensive and cohesive policies are made and implemented (Wiman, 2009, p. 33).

3. Research context

3.1. History of the Korean Peninsula up to the Korean War

For the past thirteen centuries, a centrally controlled government system had existed in the Korean peninsula with a King and hierarchical social classes. After the ancient tribal states era, the Shilla government seized power in the Korean Peninsula in B.C. 676 by a military alliance with Tang dynasty (B.C. 618-907) and it lasted until the Koryo government was established in 918 (Kim, 2014, p. 8). With the demise of the Koryo kingdom in 1392, the Choson Dynasty was established with its ideological foundation based on Confucianism, which it endorsed with theoretically powerful support for over five hundred years. (Kim, 2014, p. 71-72; So, Kim & Lee, 2012, p. 798).

Cumings (2005) claims that although territories were divided by many states for thousands of years and accepted plenty of scientific and cultural influence from Chinese Empire, Korea was not Sinicized and has been having own sovereignty and culture. Choson was a unified country between 1392 and 1910. Korean people adapted the foreign influence into their indigenous context attempting endeavor of Koreanization, not vice versa. Confucianism, Buddhism, nativism was mixed and infused into the world view of Korea before modern Korean history. Korea was located in a position of weak victim between powerful imperialisms, and consequently it needed a lot more efforts to develop and to build infrastructure for modernizing own country from the past (Cumings, 2005, p. 19-20) During long history, Korean peninsula had been enduring consecutive invasions by the Mongols, the Japanese and the Manchus. It was known as the “hermit kingdom” who had kept the relationship with China in terms of accepting civilization as great sources of knowledge, science and culture (Stueck, 1997, p13).

At the beginning of twentieth century Manchuria, Mongolia, Japan and the US were competing for influence over the Korean peninsula to obtain domination for resource exploitation (Myonghee, 1997, p. 1). As a Korean old saying says “While whales fight, the shrimp near them get crushed”, Korea was swayed by neighboring countries between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. China who was struggling with internal conflicts and Western powers had a historically advantageous position in Korea, yet it ceded the privi-

lege to Japan after the defeat of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. Afterwards Russia set itself up as a guardian for Korea with an acquisition of concessions until Japan won the victory Russo-Japanese War by abrupt aggression in 1904. Besides, Japan had an acquiescence from the US for the complete control in Korea in the response to the position of US in the Philippines and Great Britain in China respectively (Stueck, 1997, p. 13)

Japan's annexation of the Korean peninsula officially started from 1910, thus Korea lost centuries-old independence (Cumings, 2005, p11). At the end of Choson Dynasty, it became the status of a peripheral territory which Japan intended to expand their empire into China and further. During the annexation of Korea and the Chinese territory of Manchuria, Japan had substantially expanded its sphere of influence by Western countries at first part of the twentieth nation-states such as France, Italy and Germany. The western powers began to extend their ambitions and territories into neighboring countries in geographical, political, and cultural ways in order to assimilate them to their own empires. The Japanese Meiji government regarded the people of Korea and Japan as being racially equal and used this justification to annex the Korean Peninsula. (Kim, 2010, p.295, 296).

During annexation period, the Japanese government initiated and put a lot of effort to develop the northern Korea area prior to the Southern one in terms of accessibility to China, the potential of natural resources and existing infrastructure as well. And northern Korea became a supplying industrial and military demands for Japanese base. While African countries had occupied by European powers and Latin America territories had interfered by the United States, Northeast - Asian continent has belonged to Japan on the same purposes of Western powers (Kim, 2010, p316- 317).

Since Japan surrendered in World War II, Korea had a hope for an independent united country temporarily. But, world powers backed south and north separately according to own interests. Even before the Korean War, Korean Peninsula was divided by the USSR and the U.S. like Germany. Both sides of Korea completely depended on the support of powerful benefactors in spheres of politics, economy, and military. The leaders of both north and south were eager to unite as glowing patriots even using military force. North Korean leader, Kim Il-sung and the first South Korean president Rhee Syng-man had a same goal for Korean peninsula unification by force of own benefactors. Kim proceeded inexorably toward war with intentional preparation in North, and Rhee had huge struggles

with credibility domestically and military support from the State Department (Bechtol, 2005, p. 268, 288).

Kim convinced Stalin successfully to offer a huge military support for internal security and the consolidation of the power. He strengthened not only a well-equipped and trained fighting force but also internal solidarity between fellow leaders gained secured supports from the Soviets and China in order to start a war with Stalin's agreement and to accomplish an eventual unification. After Japanese' occupation (1910-1945) Rhee Syngman who led the Korean 'Government in Exile' was appointed by the US as a leader for new government in Seoul. However, the country was only for the southern part of the 38th parallel and his political base and public support was weak needless to say about governmental and military infrastructure. While US military authorities remained domination to Koreans in South hurriedly between 1945 and 1948, leadership of military and police officials were selected and they are who used to collaborate with the harsh ruling of Japanese imperialism and oppress fellow countrymen brutally. Accordingly, it is predictable the government and leadership were short of credibility from most of Koreans in South due to the historical and emotional background of cruel occupation. Although Rhee sought constant large-scale military aid such as training and practical support, Truman administration withdrew most major military force for example tanks, combat planes, heavy artillery from Southern except some assistance for internal security. Thus, Rhee in Seoul had a more tenuous position in terms of political power, military force and public supports than Kim in Pyongyang at home with relationships between their superpower benefactors (Bechtol, 2005, p. 272, 275-278).

North Korea prepared for the combat much more than South Korea in number and quality of soldiers and military equipment, especially in the beginning. And North Korean army invaded South Korea and advanced on southern with full-scale and well planned system on 25 June 1950. US persuaded six other Security Council members to cooperate the minimum military support with using a report from United Nations Commission on Korea. And the beginning of this aids, forty-one of the fifty-nine UN members approved to enter the Korean War with the Security Council action after ten days of invasion (Steuck, 1997, p. 12).

In the middle of September 1950 General MacArthur and the allied forces landed at the port of Inchon, the rear of enemy lines aiming to counterattack. UN forces recaptured Seoul and advanced on Pyongyang and Manchurian border successfully until China intervened with a massive number of soldiers in November. As the war was in a stalemate in the middle of 1951, talks about armistice was started and both sides made decisions about the prisoners of war either returning to home countries or sending where they sought asylums in the third countries. A demilitarized zone (DMZ) was established as military demarcation line on the 38th parallel by UN Commission's supervising armistice without realization of unification by force like the hope of both sides. After the cease-fire, two political entities have own territories and the regime in the peninsula called Republic of Korea and Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Hundreds of thousands of military deaths, more civilians' death and military one, the devastation of land and its immense financial cost were demonstrated as the result of Korean War and none of them really won significant one (Hickey, 2011).

3.2. The historical and societal context of North Korea

Kim Il-sung who established North Korea and became the first leader of North Korea was an obscure guerilla fighter against Japanese army in Chinese border near North Korea until he and his group were expelled from China. Afterward, his group escaped to the Soviet Union and they got training from local forces near Khabarovsk. Returning to Korea exultantly in 1945, newly established Provisional People's Committee chose him as a chief. As a result of fights for power, Kim became the leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948. Soon after seizing power, he had begun to reinforce and increase North Korean military capabilities with respect to equipment and training of the military, navy, and air-force getting aids from the Soviet Union and China. By the aid and the permission of benefactors, Kim's forcible unifying plan executed June 25th in 1950. (Bechtol, 2005, p 270- p271)

North Korea has been having a very unique and a rigid system politically and ideologically more than a half century on the purpose of forming, maintaining and enhancing the legitimacy of North Korean leadership without any other governmental changes (Park, 2009, p539). North Korea is described as a fascist state system, a neo-totalitarian system,

one-leader system, or a theocratic system. In other words, it is common to find that this unique political system is monolithic and has succeeded hereditarily (Park, 2009, p 540).

This monolithic system in North Korea has several features in terms of power concentration in *suryong* which means the national leader in North Korean society. For formation and rigid restriction of the whole society, the ideology of worshiping the leader of country and deification of *suryong* has developed and upheld systematically and consistently in a wide range of society. North Korean leader has supreme power to control the military and the communist Korean Workers' Party and decides every decision legally based on his ideology, command, and under the name of great leader's consideration. *Suryong* in North Korea is one individual having the top authority and whole power in the country. Heretofore there have been three national leaders within three generations of one family in North Korea. After the death of Kim Il-Sung in 1994, his son Kim Jongil became seized the absolute power. Since 2012, Kim Jongun has taken over the position after his father's demise and designation. Implantation of the monolithic system has introduced compulsory mobilization and militarized atmosphere into whole society. Also, it has permeated in social organizations and educational institutions reproducing idolization of the national leaders, fabrication of his striking behaviors, and achievements capabilities especially in the 1970s in order to forge severely strict domination and preserve its politically ideological system in society. (Park, 2009, p541)

Juche idea is the core source of understanding these particular characteristics of the North Korean political system. This logical tool functions as a role of rationalizing this bizarre and fixed political system. This monolithic system constructed in the 1960s by the first national leader Kim IIsung. The literal meaning of Juche is 'main agent', 'subject' or 'central body' and can be translated in Korean into "an independent stand and a spirit of self-reliance (Park, 2009, p541)". This concept was introduced by Kim IIsung to repudiate Stalinization policy and there are three fundamental principles in Juche idea, "Independence in politics (*Jajoo*), Self-sustenance in the economy (*Jarip*) and self-defense in national defense (*Jawi*) (Park, 2009, p541)". These seem to illustrate autonomous, humanitarian and even ideal philosophy for a country. However, in order to implement these principles into contexts in society, general public need leading and instructing from a national leader, thus Kim Il-sung reconstructed this Juche idea under the purpose of coming to power and obtaining legitimacy of own position in middle of 1960. Afterward this socio-political idea

was called Kimilsungism to be the main theme of succeeding Kim-dynasty family regime without having Stalinism or Marxism. It was converted to be akin to a religious moral system being a philosophical basis for the ultimate purpose of individual's human life and common good such as being respected almost as God, also the justification of supreme power's inheritance through generation. (Park, 2009, p. 541-542)

North Korea has own system to categorize every individual upon origins of each family which classify degree of political loyalty or insubordination. There are 51 categories which are divided hierarchically, also inherited and institutionalized. This ranking system determines residential area, size and style of housing, schooling, quality of health care, even occupation for the most of citizens' entire life. There is almost no social mobility in terms of privileges and opportunities and it has become institutionalized for the past decades (Patterson, 2017, p 67- 69). Claiming toward governance cause harsh consequences to the person and the family. It was estimated 150,000 political prisoners were detained in the name of disloyalty, for instance, listening to foreign radios, watching foreign television programs, movies, even religious activities are officially regarded illegal, in addition to, there is neither of speech freedom or press, additionally government can monitor and investigate any letters or phone calls (Myonghee, 1997, p.1). As a result, vast majority of North Korean people have been experiencing failure of the country system for the past half of a century. Although egalitarianism is the main idea for communism, North Korea is well- known for a severely fixed regime regarding human rights, injustice in social, economic, and political dimensions (Patterson, 2017, p. 63).

At the beginning of the regime, North Korea was wealthier than South Korea, also achieved to decrease economic disparity as CIA analyst Helen-Louse Hunter and some foreign reporters described. Due to better economic circumstances, a lot of ethnic Korean immigrants came back to northern Korea from China and Japan. Under the Kim Il-sung leadership, North Korea could become the first Asian country to overcome illiteracy in Asia. The government rebuilt infrastructure into rural areas, improved residential environment qualities, and initiated the public distribution system. The country seemed to proceed to an equal society within the government's plans and actions (Patterson, 2017, p. 65)

When floods, droughts and great famine brought malnutrition in 1990s, situation of marginalized area was especially severe because of a halt of public distribution system. After

the collapse of Cold War and the famine of the 1990s, North Korea could not keep trade partners and introduced small markets in local areas to offer resource of income and food provisions. These markets are called Jangmadang and selling goods became a source of a bigger income than any other labor. Even after the great famine, these private markets remain up to now and the government collects taxes from economic activities (Patterson, 2017, p. 67-71). There is a consensus that most of North Korean people are economically indigent, politically tyrannized and socially inequitable. On a macro level of North Korean economy is substandard comparing to South Korea. North Korea has over thirty times smaller gross national income than their counterpart. About 90 percent of North Korean trade depends on China and economic stability is quite low in terms of economic growth between -1 percent to +4 percent. (Patterson, 2017, p. 64, 71) The nature of totalitarian and monolithic political system in North Korea brought a stark challenge for rapprochement of South Korea and international communities, and difficulties in compensating economic system. It became a huge barrier of the economic reform in efficiency and suitability in regard of the quality of human life (Park, 2009, p. 544; Snyder, 2001, p. 533).

3.3.The historical and societal context of South Korea

Just before and after Japan's sudden surrender, millions of Koreans started returning home from Japan, Manchuria, northern Korea, China and even from South Pacific and Southeast Asia including national leaders, common laborers and peasants with the joy of liberation. However, the Soviet Union and American forces were stationed for five years following Liberation as the extension of Cold War Policy and the result of this foreign power's confrontation ultimately got connected to catastrophic civil war, divided the peninsula geographically and carried over crucial consequences in political, economic, social life of all Koreans up to date (Robinson, 2007, p. 100-101)

Korean War has remained scary impacts in people's life for generations with divisions of the politics and heavily militarized 250 km DMZ and psychological trauma such as separated families, the severe devastation of the land and fear toward another side of the same ethnicity. North Korea began to construct Pyongyang as a capital city and to rebuild the nations from completely destroyed infrastructure for a socialist society with Juche ideology

elaboration and emphasis of self-defense and autonomy. Meanwhile, South Korea suffered from extreme impoverishment, demolished economic base, diminished population and political instability. Whereas the South had mainly agriculture and light manufacturing industry, the North different from the South had economic advantages possessing 76 percent of the heavy industry, 80 percent of mining and 92 percent of the electricity-generating capacity of whole Korea. South Korea who barely survived from the war with aid of UN forces had a tremendous task to embark on rebuilding the self-sustaining economic development and democratic political system under the command of the First Republic leadership Rhee Syng-man (Robinson, 2017, p. 119-120).

In 1950s statistical growth rate of South Korea's Gross National Product (GNP) was about 4 to 5 percent, yet this is including the economic assistance of US, thus real economic growth is even lower. South Korea finally changed its image from a state with poverty and chaos after the war to a model of miraculous economic growth and vitality in 1980s. Scholars of development point out that one of the main parts of Korean economic success is government-directed planning and strong execution by leaderships and qualified labor force pursuing industrial rises in domestic economy from Rhee Syng-man to Park Jung-hee. In consequence of all Koreans efforts from top to ordinary people, between the 1960s and late 1970s South Korean GNP accomplished a rapid growth in the economic expansion (Robinson, 2007, p.129 – p.130)

South Korea has been adjusting to world economy astonishing economic grows up to 1990s and immense financial crises in 1997 and 2008 for the past two decades. Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 started from Thailand with the collapse of the currency, devaluation of stock markets and other assets impacted Indonesia and South Korea the most. For a survival from massive bankruptcies, the eleventh largest economy, South Korea had to get a bailout from International Monetary Fund and to carry out painful structural reforms to build resilience for future risks (Robinson, 2007, p. 176; Yoon, 2011, p. 107). Needless of not preventing 2008 global financial crisis, South Korea escaped the negative zone of economic growth for the first of OECD countries in terms of foreign investment and banks' financial soundness within one year due to having lessons from 1997 economic crises and international cooperating networks' assistance (Yoon, 2011, p. 124-125).

President Park Jung-hee was not only a great facilitator of astonishing economic growth, but a leader of a military coup who played as a huge obstacle to crucial democratic reforms. Park was assassinated by Korean Central Intelligence Agency Kim Jae-kyu in 1979 when labor and student demonstrations broke out actively against October Restoration (*Yushin* Regime) which Park took over dictatorial powers through self-coup in 1972. After Park's death, sheer optimism and hope for genuine change in political system rose nationwide and the interim government's President Choi Kyu-ha exerted particular pardon and vowed to have a referendum on new constitutions. However, his mandate was only eight months due to his weak political supports, internal complex conflicts, and with another military coup of General Chun Doo-hwan, head of the Army Security Command and military officers in 1979 December. Chun who had a strong authoritarian character completed the entire military post through bloodshed- internal coup as well as Park. This affected students and citizens' vehement protests who requested the lifting of martial law and abolition of *Yushin* Regime, yet Chun expanded it in order to ban labors' strikes and political discussion and ultimately precipitates brutal bloody repression which is called Kwangju Massacre (Robinson, 2007, p. 139; Doo, 2001, p. 196-198).

Kwangju Massacre was called "rallying point for a grassroots movement (Robinson, 2007, p. 140)" which steered the stream of Korean politics in postwar. Korea had two presidents who seized power at the top through military coup with brutal procedures such as martial laws and bloody repressions and maintained the mandates with strong control and numerous strikes and demonstrations of laborers, students, and citizens (Robinson, 2007, p. 144).

South Korean students lead the demonstrations against usurpers and unfair regimes, unreasonable decisions, social irregularities by protesting in school and streets as well making ordinary citizens engage in protests and diffuse them to other cities. Outcomes of the street fighting by public demand in 1987 were declared by the following president Rho T., Chun's fellow coup-maker promising a new election law, freedoms of press, local elections for municipalities, several reforms and granting amnesty for political prisoners including future president Kim Dae-jung. At last, the lengthy journey for democratization in the Republic of Korea where authoritarian and dictatorial regimes existed for decades got a victorious end as the meaning of '*res publica*' and 1987 was a critical juncture of a democratic procedure of Korean society (Robinson, 2007, p. 144; Doo, 2001, p. 198-200)

The 11th president Park Geun-hye who is a former-president Park's daughter was impeached in 2017 by unanimity of all eight judges in Constitutional Court for 18 charges of massive corruption scandals such as bribery, abuse of power, violation of press freedom, extortion, also concealing her wrongdoing. Hundreds of thousands of South Korea people participated seventeen weeks of peaceful protests in a row with candlelight rallies to call for her stepping down (Kim, 2017; Fifield & Seo, 2017).

According to acclaimed American historian of East Asia, Bruce Cumings (2005), modernity is deemed that it is technologically advanced, urbanized in an industrialized society with the engagement of the politically democratized public. If we say the twentieth century is the beginning of modern era of Korea, Korea was one of the economic and political bottoms of the world. South Korea has been able to transform itself from an agrarian economy in the early 1950s to a global technology power house in the 21st century, and all these accomplishments took place despite the constant state of animosity between the North and the South (Cumings, 2005, p. 10-11).

3.4. Inter-Korean relation between North and South Korea

Since both Korea signed an armistice after the war, the Korean peninsula has periodically undertaken efforts to establish constructive relationships as well as in diminishing military tensions or possibility of confrontation, in order to minimize unwarranted rhetorical or factual escalation. There were some changes and progress referring to the recognition of each other. These days, some inter-Korean dialogue with emphasis on economic interaction and exchange of culture show optimistic possibilities explicitly, however, there are obstacles and mistrust still prevails in the attitude they portray between each other and other nations.

A professor in Columbia University, Armstrong C. K.(2005) describes inter-Korean relations as an intertwining history with superpowers and the drift of affairs of the world. After the three-year devastating war, inter- Korean relations which were filled with antagonism became more rivalry and inimical for each legitimacy of its own regime until 1970. Afterwards South Korea initiated gradual and progressive efforts in Cold War period to ap-

proach and to recognize its counterpart, the fruition came to signing 'July 4 Joint Communiqué' in 1972 which both Koreas officially agreed interdependence, unification, and peace as basic principles for peaceful unification and inter-Korean relations (Dae-Jung, 2000, p. 548). This led to a substantive peace mood forming Cold War dynamics in terms of reducing of tensions between US and China (Armstrong, 2005, p. 2-3).

There are several historical landmarks that have directly or indirectly influenced the inter-Korean relation. Due to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and new Korean diplomatic policy toward China and the Soviet Union, 'Nordpolitik' South Korea was able to establish innovative changes with East-European Communist countries and even with China in 1992. This policy was regarded highly successful outcomes of inter-Korean relation history (Robinson, 2007, p. 179). Another incident is that two states had the agreement on Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in United Nations, this arose hopes for more changes yet they did not come true (Armstrong, 2005, p. 5-7) On the contrary to this hope, Assistant Secretary of State James A. Kelly visited North Korean Foreign Ministry officials, they admitted existence of highly enriched uranium program by Kelly's evidence presentation in 2002 and North Korea officially confirmed manufacturing nuclear weapons in 2005. As of 2017 North Korea has been conducted dozens of missile tests and more than six times of nuclear tests within military nuclear weapons programs (Armstrong, 2005, p. 13-14, 16; Goldman, 2017).

Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Block between 1989 and 1991, South Korea pursued diplomatic ties with most newly formed nations and old Soviet allies, including China, as was already clear was becoming an economic powerhouse. Furthermore, in the 1990s several historical incidents and unpredictable threats occurred that shook the bilateral relations between North and South Korea, such as the death of Kim Il-Sung, the end of the Cold War, natural disasters, and severe food insecurity (Armstrong, 2005, p. 8). This massive starvation caused an 'Arduous March' for ordinary people which was responsible for about 500,000 to two millions deaths between 1993 and 2000 in North Korea (GoodKind, West & Johnson, 2011, p. 3; Ramzy, 2018). South Korean President Kim Dae-jung was elected in 1997 and one of the main priorities in his agenda was to improve South- North relations. He was the architect a South Korean policy initiative called 'Sunshine Policy' and actively sought ways to foster exchanges and created open channels of high level diplomatic communication between both nations. The ambitious Sunshine Policy also intended to incen-

tivize and amplify tourism, facilitate family re-unions, promote cultural and sports exchanges, and provide humanitarian aid. It also created a regional industrial complex in Kaesung where a small number of North and South Koreans worked side-by-side. North Korea acceded to a new relationship with South Korea in order to overcome severe domestic crises, such as food shortages and lack of electricity. As a result, South Korea became the North's largest trading partner after China by 2001, until it was closed in 2016 due to economic sanctions after North Korea's nuclear test and rocket launch tests (Armstrong, 2005, p 10; Kim & Park, 2016).

Inter-Korean summits were held in 2000, 2007 and 2018, and yet, both nations technically can be considered in a state of the war with each other for more than six decades. President Kim Dae-jung and Kim's successor Roh M. who met Kim Jong-il in Pyongyang implemented Sunshine policy actively and Kim induced outcomes of Summit such as improving inter-Korean relations, performing a wide range of mutual interchange with tremendous aid. However, after North Korea acknowledged developing nuclear weapons in 2002 furthermore, conducted the first nuclear test in 2006, many questions rose about gains from Sunshine policy implementation. Current North Korean leader Kim Jong-un visited South Korean President Moon on the southern side of Demilitarized Zone. Both leaders agreed to defuse tension on the Korean Peninsula referring to potential actions for era of peace (Ramzy, 2018; Haas & McCurry, 2018).

South Korean Chonbuk National University professor Kim C. and a researcher in Korea Insitute for National Unification Lee W. (2016) argue that it is almost a fantasy to expect one Korea to accept the other one's interests or to give up their own position in inter-Korean relations. The historical and ideological rift is deep and scars are still being felt. However, the establishment of trust-building process on the peninsula is an essential and unescapable process seeking stability and peace for both Koreas' relations. Collecting cooperation from neighboring countries also can support to eventual moving toward unification. South Korea has to consider direction and decisions of policies and diplomacy in inter-Korean relations within a five-year of mandate of each administration. North Korea keeps in the same position such as seeking economic development and having nuclear weapons programs. Yet, the South Korean government has to improve having dialogues and official channels for reconciling and reciprocal relationships through negotiating economic cooperation and exchanging cultural activities. Above all, developing and expand-

ing “trust-building process (Kim & Lee, 2016, p16)” can be started from and grown based on the rational and reliable policy making and implementing in accordance with particular uniqueness in North Korea, (Kim & Lee, 2016, p. 15–16).

4. North Korean Refugees in South Korea

4.1. History of North Korean Immigration to the South

In this chapter I will address particularly three phases that researchers emphasize in the characteristics of North Korean refugees in terms of timeframe, social status and reasons for escaping or leaving. The initial phase was from the 50s to early 90s, the first few decades after the war. The second was from the middle to the late 1990s. The third was from 2000s onwards (Choi, 2017, p. 82-87; Kim, 2012, p. 98-104). As Table 1 indicates, approximately one thousand North Korean defectors a year arrived in South Korea until late 1990s, however the influx of arrivals has already started to climb slowly in the 1990s. Since the year 2000 the number of North Korean refugees have been increasing dramatically and as of 2018 March 31,530 North Korean refugees lived in South Korea, according to the latest statistics available as below Table 1.

Table 1.

Number of North Korean Refugees, Ministry of Unification (2018)

Year	Total	Male	Female	Female (%)
Before 1998	947	831	116	12%
-2001	1,043	565	478	46%
2002	1,142	510	632	55%
2003	1,285	474	811	63%
2004	1,898	626	1,272	67%
2005	1,384	424	960	69%
2006	2,028	515	1,513	75%
2007	2,554	573	1,981	78%
2008	2,803	608	2,195	78%
2009	2,914	662	2,252	77%
2010	2,402	591	1,811	75%
2011	2,706	795	1,911	70%
2012	1,502	404	1,098	72%
2013	1,514	369	1,145	76%

2014	1,397	305	1,092	78%
2015	1,275	251	1,024	80%
2016	1,418	302	1,116	79%
2017	1,127	188	939	83%
2018 (March)	191	25	166	87%
Total	31,530	9,018	22,512	71%

Each period is divided in relation to defecting reasons and social status of North Korean refugees. The first period is for few decades after the war, most of North Korean arrivals were considered to be ‘defected soldiers (*Guisunhyongsa*)’ who crossed the border between both Koreas via warplanes or boats. Since the majority of them were military personnel, the South Korean government welcomed and praised them as a defected heroes who endorsed a strong anti-communist sentiment (Kim, 2012, p. 98; Choi, 2017, p. 83).

From the middle to the end of 1990s most defectors were from privileged backgrounds who enjoyed high social status or high-ranking officers who sought asylums mostly claiming a lack of political liberty and human rights in the North (Kim, 2012, p. 101). For instance, Lee Han-young who are a close relative of Kim Jong-il, Kim Duk-hong who was a vice-president of a powerful North Korean trading firm in Beijing and Hwang Jang-yop who was one of the most powerful officials, guided North Korean’s state ideology, Juche philosophy of self-reliance, had a close relationship with Kim Il-sung and educated Kim Jong-il (Lankov, 2006, p. 106-107; Choe, 2010; Tempest, 1997).

The demilitarized zone (DMZ) which has separated the Korean peninsula for over 60 years, is considered to be one of the most heavily militarized zones in the world. The beaches and borders are surveilled around-the-clock by local and national military units. Accordingly, all citizens are deprived of an outbound access to leave or cross to the other side. Due to the geographic, political and military difficulties, those who attempt to leave North Korea choose to cross the northern border with China, where security is slightly less rigorous. (Lankov, 2006, p 109).

Not only privileged people but also people from less privileged groups began to escape their North Korea in the third period, around 2000s onwards. The majority of refugees in

this period are recognized not as political defectors but are closer to economic migrants. A large movement at the Sino-Korean border occurred due to chronic impoverishment of public health caused by natural disasters (Choi, 2017, p. 84). The reasons for escaping are not only to flee political oppression, human rights violations, natural disasters, mass starvation and impoverishment, but also for family reunions and to have access to better opportunities for the future (Kim, 2012, p. 95). Thus, every year more than a thousand North Koreans arrive in the South after challenging fate in life-or-death situations attempting to escape the reclusive authoritarian regime.

4.2. History of Legal supports for North Korean refugees in South Korea

While South Korea tended to foster anti-North Korean or anti-communism sentiments into the public until 1980s, North Korean defectors were welcomed and often appeared in public to promote the propaganda of South Korean ideology through writing and lecturing. Defectors who were privileged members of society were in great demand by South Korean Intelligence services because they are a good source of knowledge on North Korean bureaucracy and military secrets. Therefore, they are treated by South Korea with a great generosity economically and socially, such as a comfortable income, protection, lump sum payments and free housing becoming the receiver's property. In terms of political purpose and their small number, the government was willing to offer tolerant treatment and get valuable information until the Soviet Union collapsed in the late 1980s (Lankov, 2006, p. 109-111; Kim, 2012, p. 98-99).

The South Korean government initiated a support network system by state-sponsored plan with legal frameworks (Lankov, 2006, p. 117). First legal actions and protection for North Korean defectors started from early 1960s. The 'Act on the Honorable Treatment and Support of Persons of Distinguished Services to the State and Defectors from the North' was passed on April 1962 and amended in 1974. It ensures supports and protection of themselves and their decedents in special aid programs (Kim, 2012, p. 99; Lankov, 2006, p. 117).

The second was the 'Defected North Korea's Soldier Special Compensation Act' which was enacted in 1978 as a legal support framework to assist defected North Koreans who

abandoned the communist country. A special committee under the Ministry of Defense screened and vetted North Korean defectors and the government divided them into three groups based on values of information and ranks of social status in North Korea. Based on those criteria they were awarded different amounts of settlement funding. This distinction demonstrated the position that the government categorized them differently from other patriots and war veterans and differentiated attempts to prepare social integration of North Korean defectors in the South (Kim, 2012, p. 100; Lankov, 2006, p. 117).

Third, South Korean president Chun, who successfully led a military coup in 1980, actively employed North Korean defectors to advance his own political interests. For instance, North Korean Air Force major Lee Wong-pyong received special compensations when he denounced the living conditions and war intentions of the North Korean regime in a publicly televised speech in front of over one million people. North Korean defectors during this time were assigned to play a heroic role to strengthen political regime or to endorse ideological superiority (Kim, 2012, p 98-100). In 1991 wood-cutters in Siberia fled the work place and obtained asylums to South Korea in Russia and they were the first North Korean refugees from groups of working-class background that led a new social phenomenon and disclosed the socially and economically vulnerable reality of ordinary North Korean people (Kim, 2012, p. 102).

Accordingly, the third change of policy introduced a law, 'Defected Ethnic North Korean Protection Law' in 1993. This shift in discourse of North Koreans status emerged explicitly in this law and the main governmental body was moved from Ministry of Defense to the Ministry of Health and Society. This showed that the government categorize North Korean refugees as a group who needs social welfare support, and eventually is expected to achieve financial independence and manage their own affairs (Kim, 2012, p 100-101; Lankov, 2006, p. 118-119).

Kim Dae-Jung government (1997-2002)'s Sunshine policy showcased the most sympathetic way of employing a perspective of human rights and introduced a concept of refugees for the arriving North Korean defectors. Additionally, the policy tried to portray refugees as a neutralized social issue of migration which is different from previous approaches (Choi, 2017, p. 88). Thus, South Korean people recognized them as economic migrants that has a distance from political interests. New names based on new perspectives led to

enact a new law and its decree in 1997 which is the forth law. They are North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act and Enforcement Decree of the North Korean Refugee Protection and Resettlement Support Act. The Act stated explicitly the definition of North Korean refugees, foundational legal bases and a range of supports for resettlements (Kim, 2012, p 103-104). President Kim and his successor Roh's government embraced the dramatic increase of North Korean refugees with validating the law and its decree, the Ministry of Unification became the solely main governmental body to plan, implement and manage all the policies about North Korean refugees with an aspiration of achieving unification (Choi, 2017, p. 88).

4.3. Issues in Social Integration of North Korean Refugees

Two researchers from the Asan Institute for Policy Studies, Go and Sung, state that North Korean refugees are expected to achieve successful resettling into South Korean society as they have in cultural points in common, such as language and ethnicity with South Korean people. In spite of those common grounds, North Korean refugees have been struggling to adapt to a new environment a broad range of dimensions. Refugees from the North have encountered huge challenges, unexpected confusion and difficulties to integrate into their new lives in the South (Lankov, 2006, p. 129-131, Sung & Go, 2014, p 1).

An assistant professor of anthropology at Sophia University in Tokyo, Sandra Fahy (2015) claims in her research that North Korean people suffered from severe food shortage and extremely rigid oppressions for simply mentioning *hunger*, verbally or literally, under the state's censorship. Millions of people could not access adequate food provisions for survival from the middle of 1990s until the middle of 2000s. However, the North Korean government raised the propagandistic phrase 'The March of Suffering' which imitated and honored a historic march of Kim Il-sung's guerrilla resistance during Japanese annexation. Famine and food security threatened the survival of millions of North Koreans and directly affected their decision to leave their homeland and start an unprovided journey (Fahy, 2015, p. 23-24). The other problem is that during their long and arduous journey to the

South, these troubles continue to impact on their health status and deficiencies of their physical development. Young North Korean refugees aged 12 to 24 are between 4.9 centimeters shorter and 12.5 kilograms lighter than their South Korean counterparts. Unfortunately, these tendencies exacerbate their low self-esteems and affect their relationships with peers (Sung & Go, 2014, p. 3-4).

Many North Korean young refugees have been educated in either a vastly different educational system or lack of education in North Korea or during transition periods while they make their journey from the North to the South. Often young refugees have to stay in many different countries, such as China, Vietnam, Laos and Thailand for months or years before they arrive in South Korea (Lee, Y., Lee, M., & Park, 2016, p. 2). And since both countries have separated and isolated from each other for more than 60 years, they have developed their own distinct educational systems. The North Korean system specifically, is completely different from the South and its structure is very rigid and ideologically based (Lee, 2010, p 352). These educational gaps bring about an academic deficiency to North Korean students and quite often make them place into lower grade classrooms with students who are younger than they are, yet they still have struggles academically. Rates of school dropouts are higher than their South Korean counterparts and middle and high schools' rates are higher than elementary schools. (Sung & Go, 2014, p 7-8).

Sung and Go (2014) argue that North Korean refugees are facing many challenging situations in schools and workplaces. A poll survey from the East Asia Institute reported that 75% of South Korean were unfavorable to North Korean defectors in 2005, more recent in 2010 the same poll showed that the result decreased up to 55%. However, eliminating social prejudice against North Korean refugees does not seem to be an easy task. Many North Korean defectors do not want to mention their original background or purposely try to avoid speaking with North Korean accents while talking to South Korean people in order to avoid prejudices and stereotypes against North Korean refugees (Lankov, 2006, p. 122; Sung & Go, 2014, p10-11).

During their journey to the South, North Korean refugees encounter disorientation and confusion. It is common for North Korean refugees to have emotional distress, post-traumatic stress disorder, and feeling of helplessness due to enduring starvation, physical and sexual violence, thirst, cold, heat, forcible witness of public executions and fear of deportation in North Korea or in transition times. Additionally, acculturation process in South Korea has been becoming another type of stress as other immigrants and refugees experience in terms of differences in social system (Lim & Han, 2016, p. 164). About 70 percent of North Korean refugees who are female could be exposed to dangers of sexual violence for stay and human trafficking for forcible marriages in Chinese rural areas. All these challenges from previous have seriously negative impacts on steady working life and successful academic achievements (Sung & Go, 2014, p. 6). According to a professor in Sookmyung Women's University at Seoul Kim M. (2016) says that comparing to their South Korean peers, North Korean refugees have advantages to get access to higher education in South Korean universities, such as preferential admissions and tuition assistance. Nevertheless, North Korean college students tend to drop out of rate is much higher than their South Korean counterparts (Kim, M., 2016, p. 3, 7). Consequently, this may cause low social hierarchies in society and deprive North Korean to move up the social-economic ladder.

The more appropriate path to take would be a long-term perspective and holistic approach to assist North Korean refugees based on patience and deep understanding. Also, sustainable care and attendant assistance is an essential element to governments and school authorities. Therefore, North Korean children and young adult refugees would not be subjects to exclusion and ostracism in their new home country. Furthermore, each refugee should be offered an opportunity to contribute to the construction of their own adaptation processes. Thus, through empowerment, they could get a chance to establish meaningful links and improve their well-being in their second home. (Kim, M. 2016, p. 14; Sung & Go, 2014, p. 12-13).

5. Methodological Framework

My research topic is focused on understanding the South Korean government's efforts towards social integration of North Korean refugees. As of 2018 more than 33,000 North Korean refugees have been arrived in the South and are starting new lives in South Korea (Ministry of Unification, 2018). Although there are common grounds and similarities between the North and South Korean counterparts, such as language and ethnicity, many refugees struggle in integrating and establishing their lives again in unfamiliar environments. These novel social phenomena lead to a wide range of governmental implementation approaches to support their resettlement in a new place. In order to answer my question, I decided to analyze and interpret a South Korean Ministry of Unification white paper to explore and examine the contents of social integration policy to support the resettlement of North Korean refugees. Since the data is an official government policy document, I chose thematic analysis for my methodological approach to find meanings and recognize patterns in the document.

5.1. Research Methods

The aim of my study is to investigate and understand the South Korean government's attempts toward North Korean refugees' social integration, in terms of policy implementation. Since my research is not to quantify at any level or amount of policy contents, nor to verify any hypothesis through a study, I have decided that a qualitative research methodology would be appropriate to help me search answers to my research questions. Thematic analysis is a research method to support a flexible, valuable as well as an approachable way to analyze qualitative data systematically which I believe fits the parameters set for this inquiry. In organizing and identifying the data lead me to find meanings and patterns to present specific themes. During the process of data analyzes and pattern identification there is ample of opportunities to offer multiple-sided views and various interpretations of the research topic (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79- 81; Braun, Clarke & Terry, 2012, p. 57).

5.1.1. Thematic Analysis

As accessibility and flexibility are two main strengths of thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2012, p. 58), I used thematic analysis to organize and analyze numerous pages of policy document into theoretically and conceptually systematic frames by coding process. This accessibility of thematic analysis supports me the validity of results in qualitative research. And as Braun and Clarke (Braun et al., 2012, p. 58) say, it makes researchers who are not trained professionally to conduct this method relatively easily.

According to methods of thematic analysis, I started questioning meanings, commonalities and collective patterns within data to address relevant answers and to identify patterns and themes in government policies of North Korean refugees' social integration. The meanings and patterns in the process of data analysis allows me to explore findings for my research questions and topic throughout data. Furthermore, analyzing and identifying meanings and patterns offers me to investigate specific factors or features of a social phenomenon and issue deeply.

Inductive vs Deductive analysis

There are two primary ways to identify themes in thematic analysis, according to Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012). There is an inductive way and a deductive way, or a theoretical way. These approaches differentiated by theoretical perspectives such as sets of assumptions, ways of interpretation and formats of explaining based on particular theoretical or epistemological stance. An inductive approach is a data coding and analyzing in bottom-up way and content of the data is a source of codes and themes. Therefore, themes are connected with the data heavily like grounded theory. If the data collected through interviews of the focus group, the themes often appear in less relation to the specific questions which were used during interviews. An inductive way provides data-driven analysis because themes are identified by connection with the data themselves rather than pre-existing coding frame or analytic predictions of the researcher. The orientation of inductive thematic analysis is often empirical and theoretical framework is essentialist or realist method to report experiences, meanings, and reality of participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83; Braun et al., 2012 p. 58).

In contrast, Braun and Clarke continue in their analysis, a top-down approach is used in a deductive approach which concepts, significances, or topics are strongly related to researcher's analytic or theoretical interest or focus. Hence, a deductive approach may have more detailed accounts of some aspect of the data and fewer links or description of the overall data directly. The deductive analysis is oriented toward analytical approach and support constructionist who examines how meanings, experiences, realities and the world are constructed. Even though one approach stays the opposite side of the other one, yet they are commonly combined in real coding and analysis as a choice of analysis approaches will be based on the way and the purpose to conduct coding the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81, 84; Braun et al., 2012, p. 58-59).

I chose an inductive thematic analysis for discovering and drawing some results and discussions from my data through observation and examination. The process of observation and examination of the resettlement support manual for North Korean refugee opens my attention to encounter meanings and categories of government policy also to identify themes. The analysis process directed eventually to end up meaningful and useful conclusions of my research which answers my research questions. As a result, my discussions show more open-ended and descriptive aspects which are from the nature of the inductive thematic analysis.

Rich descriptive vs Interpretative Analysis

There are two options to determine types of analysis depending on claims and purpose of research in researcher's data set, in relation to the data set. One is to convey a rich description of the data and the other one is for detailed accounts of one particular aspect. A rich thematic description of the entire data set offers readers a sense of predominant or significant themes that were identified, coded and analyzed in an accurate reflection of the contents. Thus, it may occur that depth and complexity in the description are missing intentionally. This type of analysis might be suitable for investigating into under-researched area. The other type of analysis is a latent or interpretative level that used for more detailed accounts of one particular aspect or group of themes. This analysis examines unrevealed concepts and assumption and seeks features of forms and meanings. Thus, it allows to find

a particular latent theme in whole or part of the data set in order to answer a specific question or interest of a researcher (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p 83).

Before I began to analyze my data, I thought roughly that my analysis of the policy document might investigate uncovered meanings and find some characteristics of the resettlement policy to answer my interest and questions of the research. As I expected, some specific features of the policy were found and they were different from other refugee policy. While I explored and look over it repeatedly, however, there were some statements to announce clearly the aim and fundamental intention of this policy. Most of accounts are straightforward towards the people affected by this policy and actors, also they do not have latent meanings or particular forms. For this reason, my analysis is concluded as reports of rich thematic description in relation to features of the resettlement policy based on found themes and their legal bases through reflection of the contents.

5.2. Trustworthiness in the research

The question of trustworthiness and credibility was addressed in my rigorous analysis of the data, peer comments, focused and careful engagement to the process, meticulous and ethical utilization of the data and all subjects involved in the study. Lincoln and Guba introduced some criteria to encompass trustworthiness of the research such as credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability as importance of validity and reliability in quantitative research (as cited in Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017, p. 3). In a qualitative research, reliability, validity and trustworthiness are crucial concepts as it empowers researchers to explore and expand boundaries within acceptable standards.

In order to gain the readers' credibility, I carried out persistent readings and developed a consistent coding process throughout data analysis in order to produce an understandable and systematic picture for North Korean refugees' social integration policy. I focused primarily on two of government white papers which were published by Ministry of Unification in 2016, one in English and the other in Korean. I used both versions as well as literature review and official data for triangulation as well as to confirm my interpretation and identified themes to increase accuracy and adequacy in results in terms of credibility and transferability.

My data analysis yielded organized patterns and identified themes which are clearly derived from the data through researcher's interpretations and findings. They are coherent and rationale based on theoretical choices of thematic analysis to provide rich and useful descriptions from raw data. As theoretical framework of method has assumptions about the data to present reality or truth about research topic, clear theoretical position in researcher's choice is important. I presented them in previous and following chapter to organize large amount of data in appropriate methods and to justify how and why I carried out those ways.

I made sure procedure of extracting data segments, identifying themes, and reporting results in data analysis. All these process will contribute to explore the dimensions and features of the South Korean government's policy toward North Korean refugees' integration. Seeking relevant answers and results during analysis process were accomplished through thematic analysis in data-driven inductive way and produced as reports in rich thematic description through entire analysis process.

I am a beginner researcher who can make mistakes and have struggles, there are some important aspects I had to keep in mind probable pitfalls of researcher during the data analysis. First, I was cautious to select my data which embraces direction and implementation of policy comprehensively and practically and provide chances to look into the government's detailed attempts within a wide range of fields in Korean society. This manual presents what I was exactly looking for and it was the latest version of the resettlement policy document by the time I started this research. Second, putting effort for proper analysis made me to avoid simple paraphrasing in the process of drawing codes from data extracts and identifying patterns and meanings. Making more sense with respect to consistency and coherence based on my theoretical frameworks and other literatures. Third, I tried to recognize themes in a cogent way in terms of national identity and social integration and to avoid recurrence of themes. After reading it over and over, I had to reorganize data extracts to produce codes and look for patterns to identify themes. My themes and codes are organized concisely and systematically to show the entire endeavor of South Korean government toward the resettlement support of North Korean refugees. Fourth, as my data is the manual for resettlement support for North Korean refugee, most of description are written

in an explicit and straightforward way and let me notice a larger picture of the government policy including its rationale and goal.

5.3. Data Analysis

5.3.1. Description of the data

It has been more than two decades since the North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act (1997) and Enforcement Decree of the North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act (1997) enacted so as to enhance social acculturation in South Korean society. My data ‘Manual for the resettlement support for North Korean refugees’ (Ministry of Unification, 2016) is a set of aggregates having dimensions such as the implementation of legal frameworks, approaches of policies, and government’s principles toward North Korean refugees. Additionally, this is the latest and official policy document representing government’s action in a practical way to offer an overview and detailed contents of South Korean integration policies for North Korean refugees. The manual demonstrates a structure of cooperation among central and local government in policy implementation, as well as the private sector in terms of effectiveness and efficiency, and formal statistics about North Korean refugees’ numbers and reasons of leaving from 1999 through 2015. My data is the Manual for the resettlement support for North Korean refugees (Ministry of Unification, 2016), and it also becomes the data set which is written in Korean language and accounts for 85 pages.

As my data is manual for resettlement support for North Korean Refugees (Ministry of Unification, 2016), the thematic analysis allows me to find specific meaning, categorized patterns and eventually identified themes as well in data. During the analyzing process, I attached my interpretation and reasoning to initial codes in order to link meanings and patterns to encompass overall attempts toward North Korean refugees’ integration. How to arrange analysis units and interpret meanings across the manual led me to perceive a larger structure on the basis of the legal framework. A range of meanings and patterns were arranged by process of data analysis also, contributed to identify themes appeared within codes. Accordingly, themes provide me to link policy contents to goals and main purpose of this policy document. Hence, this entire process of data analysis allows me to perceive

specific factors and features of this policy implementation around this social issue and to explore interesting points through explicit descriptions and interpretational analysis in data. The thematic analysis offers me a flexible approach to data analysis simultaneously a systematic coding process, so I could conduct my research in valid ways to investigate my research topic and to find a relevant answer to the research question.

The aim of this research is to consider South Korean government's attempts to integrate North Korean refugees into South Korean society and my data is the manual for Resettlement Support for North Korean refugees. This is an official government policy document to describe the practical implementation of the Support Act and the Decree of the Support Act. This manual which was launched by Ministry of Unification in South Korea made for improving social integration of North Korean refugees in South Korean society. An official and valid stance of the host country are stated and contents of this manual explicitly describes target group, goals and expectations of the policy, stakeholders, methods and comparatively detailed matters of all over the implementations. I have found this policy six months ago and kept inspecting throughout up to these days. The more I read this manual, the more I recognized that the South Korean government attempts to improve social integration of North Korean refugees into South Korean society and what are the legal frameworks to endorse it.

There are several terms in the thematic analysis to refer to the different meaning of each data unit (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). Data corpus means all data for a particular research or research project such as interview, documents and another type of data, whereas data set indicates the data for analysis process which was derived from data corpus. Clarifying data set is conducted by choosing data set as following criteria. First, individual data items compose the data set within data corpus for a particular analysis. Second, particular interest identifies the data set in some topic in the data corpus so all occasions and items in the corpus become the data set if they have some relevance to the topic. It is often to combine these two approaches to generate a proper data set. Data item represents each individual piece of data in a data set or data corpus such as individual interviews, documentary, or a website relating to the topic. Lastly, data extract implies a chunk of data which was individually coded and extracted from each data item. The researcher selects some of these

extracts in the final analysis based on a question and purpose of the research. Data set consist of a number of data extracts and data items (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p79).

5.3.2. Practical Guidelines of Data analysis

Since my data is a policy document, consistency and coherence appeared in clear and understandable way throughout data set by bethinking the target group and the aim of policy. I investigated my data set and obtained codes from data extracts after immersing myself in data. Searching coding units and identifying themes from data extracts were conducted based on similarities between data extracts and descriptions within data. I followed Braun and Clarke's six phases in the thematic analysis in order to keep the quality of consistency and coherence in the process of data analysis as below (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87).

1. Familiarizing yourself with your data
2. Generating initial codes
3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Producing the report

In the first step, the data is not a transcript of interviews or some other types of data but a policy document, I immediately began to read and re-read it with taking notes until I was familiar with the entire body of data. Reading process made me mark important concepts and ushered me to the second step naturally.

In the second step, I generated initial codes from the data to organize small chunks of meanings and features such as semantic content or latent one. Short segments of the data convert systematically to codes which are called data extracts setting by the analyst's interest and assessment within contexts and phenomena. Organizing the short segments in meaningful groups is the coding process and coding will be conducted either data-driven or

theory-driven way. This process allows to find many potential themes, with a possibility of different themes' occurrence (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89). As the amount of data started reducing substantially with organizing data in a meaningful and systematic way to look for the relevance in terms of research questions. If the analysis is likened to building a house, walls are themes, bricks and tiles are my codes which are formed from data extracts (Braun et al., 2012 p. 59).

The third step consisted of organizing and clarifying initial codes which was conducted based on similarities and differences between data extracts. The flexibility of this method allowed me go fluctuate in order to search and identify potential themes in terms of policy-performers, recipients, and content of policies. In this step, initial codes were combined, categorized to clarify relevance and in some specific cases were eliminated to minimize redundancy throughout the entire document.

In the fourth step, during the review process, I modified and developed the potential themes in terms of coherence and accuracy of representativeness within the entire data set, collating and dividing them were done in accordance with interrelationship between them, repetition, relevance, and appropriacy.

In the fifth step, clarifying each theme and searching for connection them required me to disclose complete ideas of the policy document in a systematic and sensible way. The readers are able to grasp the answers of research questions and view a broad picture of the research topic and relating social issues.

Findings and discussions was included in the sixth step. This step was augmented with valid and informative descriptions in the results and discussion chapter. A set of worked-out themes is conveyed to the final analysis and write-up of the report to induce the reader to notice the balance and validity of the analysis as well as conciseness, coherence, distinctions across the themes. I made consistent efforts to described satisfactory and identifiable

evidence of the themes with analytic narrative to make an argument in accordance with the research.

5.3.3. Organized Codes and Identified Themes

Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 82) claim that the researcher captures themes across data in accordance with relevance to the research question. As themes appear in patterned shapes and meanings across the data, the researcher needs to address the standard and the size of each theme during coding process. Importance of each data extract and prevalence across the data extracts do not have rigid rules but flexibility. My research approach chose a qualitative analysis, it is certain to trace themes based on significance and distinctiveness of the manual for resettlement support of North Korean refugees, yet I had to consider prevalence of codes across my data set because of influences and effects of themes which include or encompass codes. Selecting and abstracting themes and major themes in analysis process often caused refinement in relation to interrelationships and coherence between data extracts. The way to code data and reason of coding guide the researcher's choice between inductive and deductive approach.

I describe distinctive short segments from the entire data which are organized and converted in terms of relevance and significance within coherent interpretations and systematic expanding. They are presented as semantic contents based on data-driven way rather than theory-driven way in simplified and specified boundaries based on coherence and interdependence. Contents of Table 2 are divided and organized to show meaningful patterns and parts of potential themes as presented in the main official document.

Table 2.

Selected codes based on incorporating significance and relevance of data before identifying themes

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Request for asylum as North Korean in a Korean embassy - Individual investigation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Personal registration - Family relations registration
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- Approval of application	
- National health care - National basic livelihood security - Social benefits - National Pension	- Physical health checkup and treatment - Psychological test and treatment - Home-visiting counseling services - Counseling service at work
-Initial social orientation at the first adaptation facility (Hanawon) - Introducing support programs and policy - Promoting understanding of South Korean society and history - Intensive orientation program at regional adaptation facility (Hana center)	- Housing arrangement and subsidies - Regional public officials - Regional councils - Hana foundation (private sector) - Resettlement supporters - Planning programs to promote mutual understanding NKR and local people
- Granting academic qualification and accreditation - Remedial education support in mandatory school years - Financial support for school fee and tuition in Higher Education - Special admission in public and Higher Education	- Aptitude test and career guidance - Vocational training - Employment support official - Additional incentives for vocational training and work life - Financial support for employer - Job-seeking support center for NKR - Employment chance at public sectors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One-time resettlement subsidy at the beginning - Additional benefits based on health condition, age - Incentive to live in provincial areas - Incentive payments based on attendance of regional adaptation program - Financial support for building a future asset 	
- Ministry of Unification - Hana Net - Hana won - Hana center	- Regional public official - Employment support Public official - Hana foundation - Regional Council

According to Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 84), thematic analysis have two ways of describing identified themes. One is a semantic or explicit way that identifies themes founding on explicit meanings of the data. In this sense, the analyst seeks meanings exclusively from the data which was said or written outwardly. Investigation of meaning is presented patterns in semantic approach through summarizing, interpreting and theorizing meanings of patterns and implications. It is often this entire process is reported as attempts of connecting with previous literature. The other one is a latent or interpretative way to identify themes. This approach allows the analyst to examine latent ideas, assumptions, and underlying perceptions or ideologies in the process of identifying features out of the data. The latent thematic analysis provides to develop themes and interpret data and themes and at last theorizing them as well. This approach leads to theorizing themes of the data through exceeding the semantic content of the data. This nature of the latent approach follows a constructionist paradigm to manifest what is disclosed in the data through theorizing broader assumptions and underpinning meanings within a context.

Unlike my anticipation, the data appeared to manifest the aim and the eventual intent of the policy goal. I focused on a semantic way to identify themes and seek meanings mainly from the outwardly written compositions rather than underlying perceptions or ideologies. In the investigation prominent themes appeared, including among others organizing, interpreting, and linking them in accordance with my two theoretical frameworks that are *National Identity* and *Social Integration*. The detailed accounts for the analysis process and results were produced and elaborated in the following chapter.

6. Results: South Korean government's attempts to integrate North Korean refugees into the society

North Korean defectors have attempted to cross into South Korea since the ceasefire of Korean War. However, for the past two decades there have been dramatic changes in the numbers of defectors from North Korea and the reasons of leaving their home country. As the first early influx of refugees was primarily consisted of political defectors with high ranking ties to the government or the military. Since the 2000s, most refugees and asylum seekers are coming mostly for economic opportunities or personal reasons and the numbers have increased dramatically in the last decade. As both Koreas continue to pursue a path of peace and reconciliation, there is strong indication that the number of North Koreans attempting to relocate to the South will increase. I explored the current policies and current legal frameworks to investigate the efforts of the South Korean government to accommodate North Korean refugees into the South Korean Society. Some policy features and legal frameworks of the current resettlement policies were emerged throughout the data analysis.

6.1. The policy features of the South Korean government to accommodate the North Korean refugees.

As can be observed in Table 3, phases of official processes of social integration in terms of timeframe, support contents and underpinning system are evident. Significant themes and relevant categories of the policy were segregated to clarify the South Korean government's social integration policy toward North Korean refugees. They are comprised of three categories with 13 sub- themes and three main themes, as shown in the table below. The first two categories 'Official Acceptance' and 'Support for resettlement' are partitioned chronologically and the third category 'Superintendence' underpins two categories above.

Table 3.

Themes in social integration policy for North Korean refugees as presented in Manual for the resettlement support for North Korean refugees (Ministry of Unification, 2016)

Official Acceptance	
<i>Application and approval</i>	<i>Registration as citizens</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Request for asylum as North Korean in a Korean embassy - Individual investigation - Approval of application 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Personal registration - Family relations registration
Support for resettlement	
<i>Social security</i>	<i>Health</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National health care - National basic livelihood security - Social benefits - National Pension 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physical health checkup and treatment - Psychological test and treatment - Home-visiting counseling services - Counseling service at work
<i>Social integration program</i>	<i>Local community</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Initial social orientation at the first adaptation facility (Hanawon) - Introducing support programs and policy - Promoting understanding of South Korean society and history - Intensive orientation program at regional adaptation facility (Hana center) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Housing arrangement and subsidies - Regional public officials - Regional councils - Hana foundation (private sector) - Resettlement supporters - Planning programs to promote mutual understanding NKR and local people
<i>Education</i>	<i>Employment</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Granting academic qualification and accreditation - Remedial education support in mandatory school years - Financial support for school fee and tuition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aptitude test and career guidance - Vocational training - Employment support official - Additional incentives for vocational training and work life

tion in Higher Education - Special admission in public and Higher Education	- Financial support for employer - Job-seeking support center for NKR - Employment chance at public sectors
<i>Finances</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One-time resettlement subsidy at the beginning - Additional benefits based on health condition, age - Incentive to live in provincial areas - Incentive payments based on attendance of regional adaptation program - Financial support for building a future asset 	
Superintendence	
<i>Management leader</i>	<i>Management platform</i>
- Ministry of Unification	- Hana Net
<i>Management facility</i>	<i>Management facilitator</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hana won - Hana center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regional public official - Employment support Public official - Hana foundation - Regional Council

The first step ‘Official acceptance’ is a basis and a starting point of social integration policy for North Korean refugees. It is the beginning, the process and the result of asylum application that are requesting investigation, official approval and registration in South Korea. Definition of integration endorses a sense of identity in a new place including citizenship and rights. Ager and Strang (2008, p 166-167) explore a conceptual framework that provides suitable environments to new-comers through comprehensive policy and legal basis within own context in order to establish a fruitful social integration process.

The Second step is ‘Support for resettlements’ which mentions seven different dimensions of resettling support. They describe detailed support contents in relation to refugees’ daily

life, such as *Social security, Health, Social integration program, Local community, Education, Employment and Finances*. North Korean refugees are considered South Korean citizens in practice after registrations in the district offices. Simultaneously they are dual-citizens of North Korea and have refugee status in terms of policy implementations and social understandings. This is a very unique and specific case that differentiates the North Korean asylum seeker upon arrival in the South. North Korean refugees receive the same rights and benefits as any other South Korean citizen is entitled. Moreover, when settling in the South, all the resettlement support begins to be applied to assist their acclimation into South Korea.

The clause of *Social security and Health* enforces that the policy provides a foundation of life with physical and psychological well-being through availability to national health care and livelihood security for economically vulnerable groups. Physical and mental health treatment are started from the first social adaptation facility (Hanawon) and continues after moving to domicile. *Hana* is a Korean word meaning one, oneness, an unit. This word implies homogeneity, national unity or unite minds. It is used often in a context of North Korean refugees. Private sectors (Hana Foundation) collaborate with governmental sector offering counseling services to North Korean refugees. *Social integration* programs address the initial social integration programs for 12 weeks in the first adaptation facility (Hanawon) and in local areas after moving to a domicile within the social safety nets, usually government assisted housing. In regional adaptation facility (Hana center), the integration journey continues with two weeks trainings receiving training for employment and how to prepare for the future, learning interpersonal relationship, cross-cultural training, establishing a foundation for self-support and self-sufficiency.

Local community is comprised of three main stake holders which are the regional public officials, the regional council and Hana foundation. The South Korean government arranges monetary subsidy, housing through regional public officials, and assigns regional public officials at each residential district nationwide to oversee each step of the integration. Regional public officials are in charge of support service at the Hana center directing program operations, reviewing reports of Hana center, getting budget from Ministry of Unification, helping administrative process, informing community resources, organizing and directing

regional councils, conducting surveys on living conditions, encouraging North Korean refugees to socialize with local people and saving all the data of North Korean refugees on HanaNet. The Regional council is a public-private cooperative network in the local area to provide and assure efficient support. Members of the council are composed of regional public official, Hana center staffs, religious leaders, NGO, educational institutions, business. All 111 nationwide regional councils conduct biannual regular meetings and submit quarterly reports to the Ministry of Unification. They are responsible for keeping confidentiality and anonymity to deal with all the information of North Korean refugees and monitoring specific needs. The Hana foundation is a public institution to bestow comprehensive resettlement supports at the initial stage at each local area by subcontracting and sharing works with the private sector. It is funded by Ministry of Unification to offer livelihood stability, in-home counseling, shelters and group homes for teenagers, vocational trainings, educational support, projects or program with the purpose of developing a deeper mutual understanding.

The resettlements support also clarifies a wide range of support in the field of *Education* and *Employment*. In case of regular refugees, there are many difficulties to get chances for employment and to be recognized qualifications and accreditation such as education and vocational training in practice. However, North Korean refugees can be acknowledged their working skill, academic qualification and accreditation. Moreover, job-seeking support centers for North Korean refugees are run by government nationwide and there are opportunities to get a job in public sector. Remedial education support, financial support and special admission such as in higher education with interview mainly and exemption from matriculation test are available for North Korean refugees. Free of charge vocational trainings and guidance for career and job-seeking and chances at public sectors empower them to achieve fruitful results. Employment support officials at work are placed to secure North Korean refugees' work life in terms of stability and safety.

In addition to, the government offered the same amount of each refugee's saving from their salaries through projects of support for building future-asset within maximum 4 years in order to motivate finding jobs and remaining in same jobs for long term and hopefully encouraging self-reliance. At last, manifold financial supports from central and local gov-

ernments are supplied to every North Korean refugees as one-time subsidy for initial settlement, additional incentives according to age and disabilities, dwelling in provincial areas more than two years, attendance of adaptation programs in Hana center.

The third step ‘Superintendence’ of whole integration process and information. It plays an overarching role in each step and dimension as a driving force to proceed to the goal, a bridge among stakeholders, and a manager to thrive constant achievement. The components are classified based on function and roles and comprise of *Management leader*, *Management platform*, *Management facility* and *Management facilitator*. The policy contents manifest *Management leader*, Ministry of Unification as a core administrator to direct and plan an official acceptance and the entire social integration process by allocating budget and human resources through a department of resettlement support. And it takes charge of management facilities, management facilitators, and management platform to save and monitor all the operational reports. All the reports are used for policy amendments and in-service training for regional public officials. Ministry of Unification cooperates with relevant Ministry to evaluate local governments by setting indicators and validating operational reports for better implementation.

South Korean government has an online *Management platform* Hana Net to update and monitor every information of North Korean refugees and all reports of *Management Facility* and *Management Facilitator*. From entry into South Korea even after settling down won domicile, all the relevant information of North Korean refugees start collecting in the governmental database. Resettlement policy explicitly states that Ministry of Unification is in charge of maintenance and security of Hana Net system and tracking actual conditions of ongoing data precisely.

6.2. The legal framework that secures the integration of North Korean refugees.

In this part, I elaborate the legal frameworks that secure in integration of North Korean refugees to illustrate answers for my research topic which is the South Korean government's attempts about North Korean refugees' social integration. According to South Korean ambassador Whiejin Lee (2016), North Korean refugees have a lot more supports from government comparing to regular refugee policy in terms of acceptance, support, and management as well (Lee, 2016, p. 78). The rationale of this occurrence is related to the answer my second sub-research question as Table 4 demonstrates below. As mentioned in chapter 4, the Constitution of Republic of Korea is a huge foundation and an entrance to open a path to enact and implement all the laws and policies which have applied to North Korean refugees. Accordingly, the current law and the enforcement decree which were enacted in 1997 are the base of the entire resettlement support policy implementations.

There are three main legal frameworks which are a base and mainstay to support North Korean refugees' social integration in terms of starting point and continuance. They are the Constitution of Republic of Korea, North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act (The Resettlement Support Act) and the Enforcement Decree of the North Korean Refugee Protection and Settlement Support Act (Enforcement Decree of the Act). I referred to the English version of my data which is the Manual for the resettlement Support for North Korean Refugees (Ministry of Unification, 2014) to use abbreviation of the law names such as the Resettlement Support Act and the Enforcement of the Act and other names of the relating legislations. And names of laws were confirmed through an electronic source of Korea Legislation Research Institute (2018).

Table 4.

Legal basis of contents of the resettlement policy

Official Acceptance	
<i>Application and approval</i>	<i>Registration as citizens</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Constitution of Republic of Korea - North Korean Refugees Protection and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Resettlement Support Act - The Enforcement Decree of the North

Settlement Support Act (The Resettlement Support Act)	Korean Refugee Protection and Settlement Support Act (Enforcement Decree of the Act) - The Guidelines for Protection at the Place of Domicile - The Guidelines for New Resident Registration for North Korean Refugees
Support for resettlement	
<i>Social security</i>	<i>Health</i>
-The Resettlement Support Act - National Basic Livelihood Security Program Guidelines - Medical Care Assistance Act	-The Resettlement Support Act - Medical Care Assistance Act
<i>Social integration program</i>	<i>Local community</i>
-The Resettlement Support Act	-The Resettlement Support Act - The Enforcement Decree of the Act -The Guidelines for Protection at the Domicile for NKR - The Rules on Housing Supply
<i>Education</i>	<i>Employment</i>
-The Resettlement Support Act - The Enforcement Decree of the Act - The Enforcement Rule of Act - The Enforcement Decree of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act - The Enforcement Decree of the Higher Education	-The Resettlement Support Act - The Enforcement Decree of the Act - The State Public Officials Act - Decree on the Appointment of Public Officials - The Local Public Officials - The Decree on the Appointment of Local Public Officials

<i>Finances</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Resettlement Support Act - Enforcement Decree of the Act 	
Superintendence	
<i>Management leader</i>	<i>Management platform</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Resettlement Support Act - Enforcement Decree of the Act 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Resettlement Support Act - Enforcement Decree of the Act
<i>Management facility</i>	<i>Management facilitator</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Resettlement Support Act - Enforcement Decree of the Act 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Resettlement Support Act - The Enforcement Decree of the Act - The Enforcement Rule of Act

7. Discussion

In this chapter I offer some insights which were derived from the data observations and related literature. I will frame the analysis based on the theories presented with the understanding of the research context. There are many distinctive and unique aspects of North Korean refugees, such as the historical background, the political situation and different policy approaches between the North and South over the past 60 years (Lee, 2016, p. 78). On account of these diverse circumstance, I raised six separated attributes of the policy regarding operations and backgrounds of the policy document, administrators and timeframe in the policy document.

First, the intentions and expectations throughout resettlement policy for North Korean refugees are related to historical and political backgrounds. In its history, the South Korean government has been very disinclined to accept foreign refugees, even though South Korea is a signatory of the Refugee Convention and the Refugee Protocol in 1992 and enacted the Refugee Act in 2012. Unlike regular refugees in South Korea and other countries, according to South Korean law, North Korean refugees can be accepted as official citizens after through vetting and individual investigations into their background. Upon conclusion of the process, they can be registered either individually or within family relations (UNHCR, 2018; Lee, 2016, p. 78). Efforts to embrace North Korean refugees and to improve their social integration through policies and special programs might not be enough. There has to be a change of perception from the general population about the importance of accommodating the refugees upon their arrival. In one hand, there has to be a thorough examination on the possibilities of North Korean people's acculturation into the South Korean society.

Both nations were arbitrarily separated over 60 years ago and have since developed completed different, and in some cases antagonistic political, economic and social structures. As the resettlement policy paper (Ministry of Unification, 2016, p. 46) states that if both Korea were reunified within a relatively short time, such was the case of East and West Germany, the South Korean government has to be contingently prepared to accommodate the potential flux of North Korean refugees and establish a social integration process in

order to estimate the probabilities of social integration between South and whole North Korean people.

On the flip side, the South Korean government regards North Korean refugees as an important resource for peaceful reunification. When both Koreas are reunified, the South Korean government would like to employ integrated North Korean refugees to play a bridging role between South Korea and whole North Korean people (Ministry of Unification, 2016, p. 10). These perspectives are stated in the data as the way to look as North Korean refugees and influence the mindset of regional public officers. The analyzed policy document describes that when reunification occurs, regional public officers could assist all Koreans in providing access to information and programs that would lead to a frictionless transition. The resettlement policy stipulates and expands the value of regional public official' duties to increase and improve the feasibility of successful acculturation, reduce potential chaos in case of a convoluted unification, and ultimately benefit the country by building the foundation for unification at the local government level on behalf of whole South Korean society (Ministry of Unification, 2016, p. 45).

The second aspect is in the legal realm. The current legislation and indeed the Constitution, in the historical context of the Korean peninsula, distinguishes the difference between North Korean refugees, who are considered citizens. This was made clear in the Resettlement Support Act 2012, which specifically addresses the suitability and effectiveness of integration programs. The other important aspect is the historical and social background of legislating the Constitution. As North Korea and South Korea share ethnicity, language, history, values, traditions and geopolitical entity from historical background, both Korean people have a sense of one nation which Grzelczyk (2014, p. 180-181) claims as crucial factors to build national identity.

With the end of World War II and the departure of Japanese Imperial Forces, Korea wrote its first laws as an independent and united nation since the Japanese occupation started in 1910. The new Constitution was legislated passed by Congress in 1948, before the Korean War broke out (Doo, 2001, p. 193). It states whole Korean peninsula and adjacent islands

and all indwellers are the territory and citizens of Republic of Korea. Ever since the armistice was signed in 1953, South Korea has regarded that unification is a national mission to be accomplished based on uni-Korean identity (Ministry of Korea, 2016, p 10; Grzelczyk, 2014, p181). The Constitution has since been amended nine times since 1948 (Doo, 2001, p194). The Support act and the Enforcement Decree has been revised 17 and 34 times for the past two decades in order to function properly and execute effectively in accordance with the numbers of refugees, political inclination of each government and people's diverse needs (Korea Legislation Research Institute, 2018).

Third, through the deployment of programs, the South Korean government has strived to establish meaningful connections between North Korean refugees and South Korean society. Vigorous attempts of social integration on *Employment, Education and Health* are eventually heading toward forming a fruitful and positive connection to the local community and the host country (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 177). Boosting significance of homeland and a sense of belonging in local community are evident in the *Social integration program, Local community* themes. When North Korean refugees start attending a social orientation program, at the very beginning of the stage in the first social adaptation facility (Hanawon), the overview of support programs and policy are introduced and taught to them.

Although North Korean people have common grounds with the local population, such as speaking Korean language and having same historical similarities, traditional values and rituals, North Korean refugees are expected to learn and improve their cultural awareness and knowledge about the South Korean people and social system through the social integration program. They learn about the South Korean's political system, social structure, and modern history. In this process, in a sense, there is a re-education of North Korean refugees in order to equip them to manage their own affairs in their new country. An intensive social orientation program at domicile is conducted for two weeks to understand local community and to improve skills for daily life and life planning. At own domicile, the government provides housing, subsidies, arrangement of regional public officials, resettlement supporters and social orientation programs. And operations of projects and programs offer to enhance mutual understanding between North Korean refugees and local people.

Fourth, there is cooperation between governmental and private sectors in terms of operating form and allocation of duties for more effective and efficient outcomes. Numerous programs supporting new starts of North Korean refugees in new places have been developed and conducted by governmental and private organizations to support and facilitate their social integration. Performing contents of policy make get involved public and private organizations and actors of facilities and facilitators to execute effective supporting contents. As soon as North Korean refugees arrive in South Korea, they are accommodated in social adaptation facility called Hanawon for 12 weeks. Hanawon offers various orientation programs of acculturation for 394 hours to explore and learn how to prepare new lives. After fulfillment of 12 weeks program, North Korean refugees move to own domicile where they start real phase of social integration. Hana Center is another adaptation supporting facility which collaborates with regional public officials and provides orientation program for better understanding in daily life such as understanding, communication skills at work and community and employment life-planning for two weeks. Hana Foundation is a public institution but at the same time most of operating workers are from private sectors.

Fifth, most of the supportive contents are converged within maximum initial five years of inhabiting in South Korea. The government tried to support the resettlement procedure of North Korean refugees by offering multiple social adaption programs and opportunities to educate for employment, remedial education during public school years, one-time and incentive of financial assistance at vocational training, work, residential areas with a purpose of beginning and improving self-reliance and self-independence toward being a fully integrated member in society.

Sixth, the South Korean Ministry of Unification keeps, updates, and monitors every relevant information of North Korean refugees and all reports of each relating organization and performers through an online platform HanaNet. The government keeps all the critical information of North Korean refugees even after they have established permanent residency in the South. The Ministry of Unification should superintend general maintenance and security of HanaNet system with precise updating and actual tracking. Also, there is a risk

that data compiled on refugee may be misused, such as when refugees apply for bank loans, passports, or health care. In addition, North Korean refugees are not only heavily scrutinized when they arrive, but my assessment is that the persistent monitoring of the lives can be considered intrusive.

8. Conclusion

Over 31,000 North Korean people have entered into South Korea after the truce agreement was signed in 1953 and the inflow of refugees continues to rise. Due to a significant transformation of the South Korean government policy in the late 1990s and a dramatic increase in the number of arrivals from early 2000s, now, more than ever, is an appropriate time to reflect on the current policy established to address the North Korean refugee integration in the South.

From the official acceptance of North Korea to support for their resettlement process and superintendence of the entire process, many distinctive aspects exist in the government approaches and legal frameworks. In the early-stage of the settling-in process, the South Korean government attempted to provide effective and efficient social integration policies for North Korean refugees in the micro and macro level. In the initial five years, private-public collaboration is carried out in respect to budget, human resources, facilities, programs and projects. Contents of the resettlement policy are designed to supply a foundation of social adaptation to settle and fledge as an integrated member in new places. The South Korean government is willing to discharge and distribute responsibilities of embracing North Korean refugees and supporting their new starts in South Korean society to view the possibilities of social integration after being separated for more than six decades. In other words, the government expects North Korean refugees to play a significant role and a meaningful bridge between majority of North people and South Korean society when unification occurs between two Koreas. On account of this official stance, the policy document explicitly states North Korean refugees in a perspective of unification resources and mindset of regional public officials to have the pride of duties as human resources to prepare unification. In addition to, all the information of North Korean refugees from entering to process of social integration and reports of policy implementations are collected, updated, monitored and employed on an online platform HanaNet system. Ministry of Unification is responsible for administration of the security and the maintenance of the system.

As I was growing up in South Korea, it was rare case to have an opportunity to listen to personal stories of North Korean. North Koreans were perceived to be North Korean agents. There was a great deal of mistrust between us. Until 20 years ago, there were posters around the Seoul, asking citizens to turn-in to authorities any North Koreans they suspect to be there illegally. However, nowadays, due to recent changes in government policies, accounts and reports of cross-border North Koreans have become more common. They often appear on TV shows and newspapers. With ubiquitous availability of the Internet, many North Koreans are also taking advantage of the cyber world to tell their stories.

Since I started learning about their stories, I developed more considerations and sympathy for the people of North Korea, hoping to one day see the dream of unification come to fruition in my lifetime. Even though it is impossible to figure out or predict when and how both Koreas will finally reunite, increased cross-border immigration offer opportunities to deepen understanding about the each other. The existence and integration of North Korean refugees might be a pilot project in the context of predicting Korean unification. Many mistakes and lessons throughout all implementations of policies could assist in making a progress for the right direction and influence decisions of the South Korean policies. Thus, eventually South Korean society becomes a base for North Korean refugees to live fulfilling lives as an integrated and productive member of society.

9. Limitations of the Research

Although I organized and carried out this inquiry with ethical considerations in mind, some limitations and shortcomings can exist throughout the research process in terms of exactness in language delivery and the accuracy and relevance of the chosen research methodology. This leaves room for possible future studies regarding North Korean refugee resettlement not only in South Korea, but also other parts of the world.

One of the obstacles I have encountered was selecting the proper language to deliver meaning in terms of conceptualizing a role in a context. Since my main data was written in Korean text, the language translation process was unavoidable and time consuming. However, I was able to locate a policy document and a government white paper for the purpose of this research. I have not investigated the veracity or accuracy of the translation, relying on the integrity of the official document. The policy document is the English version of the Manual for the Resettlement Support for North Korean Refugees (Ministry of Unification, 2014) and English white paper was published by Ministry of Unification in 2018. The manual of 2014 English version had the same contents, however, noticeable changes were in the part related to the latest statistics and other policy implementations between 2014 and 2016. Thus, for the exclusive purpose of this research, I used both the 2014 English version and the 2016 Korean version.

In addition, as mentioned in the introduction, the quality of data deriving from North Korea does not always hold up to scrutiny. In the literature, researchers have made efforts to present their findings while stipulating the limitations of all official data coming out of North. Inconsistencies, redundancy, fabrication and manipulation can occur so researchers and readers have to be always aware of potential pitfalls when relying heavily on North Korea data. With this in mind, I have focused exclusively on data gathered and produced by South Korean official sources.

One of the alterations I made was the term ‘Protection officer’ which appeared in the 2014 English version, was introduced as ‘Regional Public Official’ later and to remain consistent in this research, I used the same term. Regional public official is a government employee and plays a significant role North Korean refugees adaptation period as they function to support as a ‘Management facilitator’ in each district. Since the role focuses on helping in the administrative processes and adjusting and encouraging the ability of North Korean refugees to adapt in new places, but rather focuses on keeping them safe from harm or danger at their new community.

Another important aspect to be taken under account is the fact that there is a great amount of propaganda being spread around. Both North and South Korea use the government apparatus to distribute and use propaganda in order to advance their own objectives. With this in mind, a researcher has to be attentive to the fact that North Koreans who migrate to the South, as well as government policies to assist the acclimation of refugees, would not be free from the influence of propaganda. North Korean refugees have in many occasions been encouraged by the South to promote anti-North Korean propaganda. There is also the risk that some North Korean refugees could be used by the North regime as a mole sent to the South to collect intelligence or carry out tasks. For this reason it is important to remain always cautious and scrutinize the intentions from both sides.

Analyzing qualitative data and producing results require being able to accept constructive criticism from peers and professors, address and implement the feedback of supervisors, keep a positive mind and attitude throughout the process. My first choice for methodology was *content analysis* and my analysis was carried out based on my understanding of content analysis then. After struggles in cohesively analyzing the data, methodological changes were undertaken and I began to explore possible alternatives, such as thematic analysis.. At moments during my research I felt there were some shortcomings. In the beginning of the process I lacked in confidence but as the research went on, with the support of supervisors and colleagues I was able to overcome most of the barriers.

Some figures in Table 3 may appear to be out of place or mismatched, as detected. During the process of codes themes identification, I understood that there were possibilities some

codes could be connected differently based on some other perspectives. However, I presented my results demonstrating and explaining the numbers in Table 3 and I feel comfortable that my results and discussions properly addressed this issue.

Future research about the endeavor of the South Korean government for North Korean refugees' social integration could be expanded in the perspectives of policy target group, other stakeholders and other variables, such as social perceptions or exclusion, changes of North Korean society, by employing other different research methodologies.

The integration of refugee groups, in the specific and unique case of North Koreans living in the South, can be an exciting but also traumatic experience. Leaving your home country, your family, your friends, classmates, co-workers behind can be a difficult process, but people have their own reasons for undertaking such an arduous journey that often has an uncertain future. The least the host country can do is to ensure preparations were made to accommodate the needs of the refugees upon entering North Korea. As the South Korean government stipulates, the roles of refugees are crucial to reach a meaningful and fruitful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, p 177; Jeannotte, 2008, p 4), and external factors could influence a lot more than internal factors.

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