



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Pride, Prejudice and Manchurian Heritage: North Korean Migrants and Memories of a Land Left Behind

Green, C.K.

Citation

Green, C. K. (2020, February 26). *Pride, Prejudice and Manchurian Heritage: North Korean Migrants and Memories of a Land Left Behind*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/85722>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/85722>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/85722> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Green, C.K.

Title: Pride, Prejudice and Manchurian Heritage: North Korean Migrants and Memories of a Land Left Behind

Issue Date: 2020-02-26

APPENDIX I: RESEARCH DESIGN¹

History

This survey and interview project emerged from prolonged collaboration on a digital project called *Sino-NK* with Dr. Adam Cathcart, a lecturer at the University of Leeds in the UK, and Dr. Steven Denney, then a PhD candidate in Political Science at the University of Toronto and now a postdoctoral fellow in the Munk School of the same institution. *Sino-NK* was initiated by Cathcart at the time of Kim Chǒngil's death in December 2011, and I began to work closely with Cathcart and Denney in the middle of 2012.

At the beginning of 2013, a research team comprised of the same three people obtained a small research grant from the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS²). This grant funded a project entitled, "Documenting Cultural and Political Information Strategies on the Korean Peninsula." It facilitated field research in Jilin Province, PRC, as well as both North and South Korea, and a pilot interview project involving ten defector-migrant interviewees resettled in Sŏul.³ The pilot interview project resulted in one peer-reviewed research paper and a second working paper, in both of which the methodology used is discussed in greater detail.⁴

¹ I wish to thank Amanda Carr for her insightful comments on an early draft of the first appendix.

² Information about the Academy of Korean Studies is available earlier in this thesis.

³ The team spent three weeks tracing key historical currents central to the project focus in Northeast China. From April 3-24, 2014, the team followed the route taken by Kim Chǒngil when he travelled to China in August 2010. The team visited a number of key sites: the Ji'an-Manp'o border crossing, where Kim's private train crossed into China; Yuwen Middle School in Jilin, where Kim paid homage to his late father who attended the school in the 1920s; Changchun, where Kim both held a summit meeting with then-CCP General-Secretary Hu Jintao and visited Jilin Province Agricultural University; and Harbin, where Kim met relatives of a deceased first-generation revolutionary and visited several sites of economic importance.

⁴ Adam Cathcart, Christopher Green and Steven Denney, "How Authoritarian Regimes Maintain Domain Consensus: North Korea's Information Strategies in the Kim Chǒngün Era," *Review of Korean Studies* 17, no. 2, 145-178; Christopher Green, Steven Denney and Brian Gleason, "The Whisper in the Ear: Re-defector Press Conference as Information Management Tool," *KEI Academic Paper Series*, March 12, 2015; and an amended version of the same: Christopher Green, Steven Denney and Brian Gleason, "The Whisper in the Ear: Re-defector Press Conference as Information Management Tool," in *On Korea: Volume 8* (Korean Economic Institute, 2016).

Armed with the lessons learned whilst implementing this first project, the team obtained a second research grant in 2015 under which I collaborated with Denney on the implementation of a survey and interview project of greater scope and ambition than the pilot project in 2012-13.⁵ Entitled, “Reproducing Contested Korean Identities and Social Structures on the Korean Peninsula,” it forms the basis for the primary research in this thesis. Funding for the project was extended and doubled at the end of the first year.⁶

A third grant from the UniKorea Foundation was implemented in calendar year 2018. Run by Denney and Green without the participation of Cathcart, it was used for a still larger and more detailed survey and interview project on resettled defector-migrants in South Korea, the results of which are not included in this dissertation. Two peer-reviewed articles derived from this project have already been accepted for publication, with another on the way.

Funding and Payments

As noted above, the direct research costs of the survey and interview project were borne by small research grants from AKS. In total, these grants were worth approximately \$50,000, of which approximately 25 percent went towards tasks directly related to survey production and distribution, hiring personnel to assist in the interviewing process, tokens of thanks for those who helped facilitate the project on a voluntary basis, and compensation for interview participants at variable rates depending upon levels of participation. The remainder was allocated for travel, technical and other support activities. Additional support came from the European Research Council, funder of the “War of Words” project at the University of Leiden of which

⁵ The project received a third round of funding when it was renewed in 2016.

⁶ The first grant was AKS-2013-R-11. The second and third were under a single grant number, AKS-2015-R-49.

this thesis forms a part, and Leiden University Funds (LUF). Administrative assistance came from the University of Leeds and further indirect support was received from the University of Toronto.

Feasibility Issues

It is often said that survey and interview projects involving North Korean defector-migrants are not merely of questionable merit due to problems surrounding bias but also that such projects are in a practical sense difficult to accomplish.⁷ There are claims that the North Korean defector-migrant community is, with a few notable exceptions, hard to engage because it is insular and self-contained. More specific reasons given include concerns over the security of family and friends of respondents remaining inside North Korea, which may preclude some defector-migrants from taking part in activities that might result in their personal details leaking into the public domain. These factors then exacerbate existing self-selection issues with sampling.

However, this is only partially correct. This project activated five unconnected networks that allowed for the inclusion in the project of participants from diverse areas of defector-migrant society. One of the smaller of these networks was linked to prior work with the Söul-based digital periodical *Daily NK* from 2008 to 2015. I situate *Daily NK* and related organizations in the field of North Korean studies in chapter one of this thesis. A second network was activated via a relatively prominent young female defector-migrant, who also helped to facilitate the pilot project in 2012-13 that I refer to in a previous section. The remaining networks were not institutionally connected to North Korean human rights journalism or activism at all. They came

⁷ Hazel Smith, *North Korea: Markets and Military Rule*, 164. Jiyoung Song, "Unreliable witness: The challenge of separating truth from fiction when it comes to North Korea," *Asia & the Pacific Policy Society Policy Forum*, August 2, 2015. <http://www.policyforum.net/unreliable-witnesses/> (last accessed August 31, 2016).

from two churches and two community organizations. One of these was a local government-organized sports, the other a Hana Center linked to the YMCA and based outside Söul.⁸

Questionnaire Development

The survey and interview project has two components: a structured survey and a semi-structured interview. The structured survey questions were a partial reproduction of the International Social Survey Programme's (ISSP) questionnaire on "national identity".⁹ ISSP is an ongoing annual programme of "cross-national collaboration on surveys covering topics important for social science research."¹⁰ The questions were additionally informed by the structure of the British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS), conducted by NatCen, an independent social research body.¹¹ Some additions were made to the ISSP/BSAS structure in order to tailor the North Korea questions to local issues too specific for inclusion in any cross-national collaborative survey. These are discussed in the footnotes to chapter three. The intended goal of the survey was to measure national and ethnic identification and highlight feelings of pride (or not) in aspects of North and South Korea among a sample of defector-migrant resettled in South Korea.

Neither the ISSP nor, of course, the BSAS survey have ever been conducted in North Korea, where social survey research is impossible for non-Koreans, and not to my knowledge attempted by the North Korean government itself. The exception to this general rule is censuses conducted by the United Nations Statistics Division with direct DPRK government support. The UN

⁸ Hana Centers are the network of local bodies that assist North Koreans resettling in South Korea after they pass through a twelve-week course at one of two main resettlement centers in South Korea, both of which are called Hanawön. One of these main resettlement centers is in a rural area outside the city of Ansong in Gyeonggi Province, and the other is in Hwacheon County, Gangwon Province.

⁹ The module on national identity is explained in more detail here: <http://www.geis.org/issp/modules/issp-modules-by-topic/national-identity/>

¹⁰ For more information on ISSP, please consult the organization's general information page: <http://www.issp.org/>.

¹¹ NatCen is a British non-profit organization that operates independent of all UK government departments and political parties. NatCen's flagship research project, the British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS) is in its 33rd year, having been conducted every year since 1983. See: <http://natcen.ac.uk/>.

conducted a population-only census on December 31, 1993 and a full census between October 1-15, 2008. The next census was planned for 2018, but no results have been published at time of writing.¹²

The survey questionnaire used in this project was sub-divided into three sections: first, demographic data; second, South Korea; and third, North Korea. Only the demographic and North Korea data are used in this thesis. The content of the questionnaires is reproduced in another appendix, although readers should note that questions were periodically reversed to reduce the impact of structural bias regarding the content of the questionnaire, whereas only one version of the questionnaire is reproduced here. The questionnaire was designed to be completed within fifteen to twenty minutes by anyone paying it a reasonable degree of attention. It was implemented either digitally or in the field variously by myself or a trained third party, with the latter acting independently when circumstances demanded it.¹³

The semi-structured interview questionnaire was designed to encourage dynamic interviews lasting approximately one hour. Occasionally interviews ran longer than this, but this was not due to poor questionnaire design; rather, it was due to the presence of respondents with an unexpectedly large amount to say. The average length of an interview was 60-90mins. The interview questions were written after analysis of the survey questionnaire results; in other words, the survey questionnaire results were used to inform the interview questions.

¹² United Nations Statistics Division, “2020 World Population and Housing Census Programme.” <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sources/census/censusdates.htm> (last accessed on February 15, 2017).

¹³ An assistant on the project managed the distribution of surveys in collaboration with a Hana Center in Gyönggido. This took place after my collaborator Steven and I had left Korea, although we planned that part of the research prior to our departure. It would in any case have been impossible to do the research directly due to privacy concerns and sensitivities surrounding defector-migrant arriving in South Korea within a year of the research date.

The semi-structured interviews were implemented by three research assistants, one a trained social worker who oversaw the activities of the other two. After twenty interviews had been conducted, a review meeting with the research assistants was convened to ascertain areas of difficulty and smooth out kinks in the interview process. Only minor changes were made at this point. On a number of occasions, I attended interviews in order to observe the process, but we kept this to a minimum in order to avoid creating discomfort for the participants and introducing extra biases into the results.

Sample Characteristics

The survey does not use a random cross-sectional sample of the defector-migrant population resettled in the Republic of Korea. This is for two reasons.

First, while there is an official database of all resettled North Koreans in South Korea, it is managed by the state (Ministry of Unification) and used for bureaucratic functions. It is closed to the public, and not available for academic use. Only through this government database could a truly random sample have been obtained. A stratified sample, in which the reference population is divided into strata and then a probability sample taken from each stratum, could not be taken for the same reason of inaccessibility.

Second, as noted previously, some parts of the defector-migrant community in South Korea face an ongoing security threat. A proportion have relatives in North Korea who may be in danger of mistreatment by the state because of a relative's decision to leave the DPRK. Those for whom family safety is a legitimate concern may remain anonymous in South Korean society to mitigate this threat. One consequence of this is that it is not possible to access all parts of the community equally. People who already have denser network connections are likely to be less security-

conscious. This can result in overrepresentation of certain types of person in the sample for reasons that the data collection method cannot even capture, much less eliminate.¹⁴

Taking these difficulties into account, and having judged it to be the best option available in trying conditions, a non-probability sample was taken that met project criteria of accessibility, geographical proximity, and willingness to participate. The sample was drawn in the first instance from personal networks and then expanded through snowball techniques using network nodes in the community. The major networks were: (1) The congregation of church in southern Söul (52 people); (2) The congregation of a much smaller church in western Söul unconnected to the first church (46); (3) Attendees at a community sports event in western Söul (84); (4) A Hana Center linked to the YMCA in Gyeonggi Province that helps resettle new arrivals in South Korea (108); and (5) Young defector-migrants whose participation was obtained through snowballing from other participants across cohorts 1-4 (62).

While unavoidable under present circumstances, this non-probability sampling methodology creates several problems. First and foremost, as noted, the survey sample is not random. Instead, non-probability sampling methods were used. And second, the survey sample is small. Just over 350 people were surveyed. Even if a random cross-sectional sample had been taken, a sample of this size would still have a sampling error of 3-5 percent at the 95 percent confidence level.

To counter sampling problems as far as possible, the sample was constantly reevaluated throughout the survey period (which spanned approximately four months). The channels by which the sample was obtained were tweaked several times (adding additional respondents from one channel and reducing the intake from another, for instance) so that, overall, it would reflect

¹⁴ The finger of blame is often pointed at the state security service, the Ministry of State Security. Family remaining in North Korea may pay the requisite bribe to have their departed relatives registered with the authorities as deceased, a common method by which to avoid state censure.

the defector-migrant population, albeit only in demographic terms. This approach, while clearly sub-optimal, was somewhat successful. The sample did end up reflecting the reference population closely in several important respects, which I highlight in the chapter comparing the survey sample with the general population. Nevertheless, it cannot be treated as representative, and in this thesis, it is not.

Because the survey respondents were not randomly selected, the results cannot be used to generalize about the referent population (i.e. the defector-migrant population in South Korea). Although I do compare the survey sample with the defector-migrant population in the thesis, readers should be aware of this limitation. Nevertheless, since the project successfully sampled more than one percent of all such migrants currently residing in South Korea, it does provide an excellent basis for future studies, which will hopefully be in a much better position to meet the exacting standards of random cross-sectional survey methodology.

Questions

This thesis compares and contrasts national consciousness and pride in factors of national identity between resettled North Koreans in various age cohorts, and who lived in border provinces of the DPRK prior to their escape and resettlement in South Korea, and those who either lived in the interior or in the capital, P'yŏngyang.

Respondents were asked three batteries of questions, in addition to providing demographic data on their current and former socio-economic status.¹⁵ The first battery discussed the notion of “true Koreanness” and what being Korean means.¹⁶ It asked the following (in Korean):

“Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Korean. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?”

9. To have been born in DPRK (*pukhanesŏ r'aeŏnanŭn kŏt*)
10. To have DPRK citizenship (*pukhan kukchŏgŭl kannŭn kŏt*)
11. To have lived in DPRK for most of one's life (*saengaeŭi taebubunŭl pukhanesŏ sanŭn kŏt*)
12. To be able to speak Korean (*chosŏnŏrŭl hal su innŭn kŏt*)
13. To respect DPRK institutions and laws (*pukhanŭi chŏngch'ijedowa pŏbŭl chonjunghanŭn kŏt*)
14. To have Korean bloodline (*pukhanin hyŏlt'ongŭl kajigo innŭn kŏt*)
15. To understand DPRK history and follow DPRK traditions (*pukhanŭi yŏksarŭl ibaehago
pukhanŭi chŏnt'onggwa kwansŭbŭl ttarŭnŭn kŏt*)
16. To follow Confucian teachings (*yugyoŭi karŭch'imŭl ttarŭnŭn kŏt*)

Respondents answered by choosing one of the following responses: very important (*maeu chungyo*); somewhat important (*taso chungyo*); not very important (*pyŏllo chungyohaji anhŭm*); not important at all (*chŏnhyŏ chungyohaji anhŭm*); or cannot choose (*sŏnt'aekbal su ŏpta*).

¹⁵ The basis of the questions is the national identity component of the International Social Survey Programme. The survey can be downloaded in several languages from the following URL:
<http://zacat.gesis.org/webview/index.jsp?object=http://zacat.gesis.org/obj/fStudy/ZA5950>

¹⁶ The first battery of questions mirror those used in Q56 of the International Social Survey Programme: National Identity III - ISSP 2013 (unique identifier: ZA5950), apart from number seven (“To understand DPRK history and follow DPRK traditions”). It was felt that the ISSP question (“To feel Korean”) was insufficiently precise. In number six (“To have Korean bloodline”), bloodline (*hyŏlt'ong*) replaced ancestry (*chosang*).

The second battery of questions pertained to feelings of closeness to geographical constructs at a range of scales.¹⁷ It asked the following (in Korean):

“How close do you feel to....?”

8. Your family
9. Your town or city
10. Your province
11. Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
12. Republic of Korea
13. People’s Republic of China
14. Asia

Respondents answered by choosing one of the following responses: very close (*maeu kakkapke*); somewhat close (*taso kakkapke*); not very close (*pyollo kakkapchi anhŭm*); not close at all (*chŏnhyŏ kakkapchi anhŭm*); or cannot choose (*sŏnt’aekchal su ŏpta*).

The third battery of questions asked respondents to assess their subjective feeling of pride in twelve different factors of what we may call “Koreanness.”¹⁸ It asked the following (in Korean):

“How proud are you of DPRK in each of the following?”

¹⁷ The second battery of questions mirror those used in Q55 of the International Social Survey Programme: National Identity III - ISSP 2013 (unique identifier: ZA5950). However, it augments the original with a number of additional options. The ISSP original asked only how close respondents feel to: 1) Your town or city; 2) Your country; 3) Korea; and 4) East Asia.

¹⁸ The third battery of questions mirror those used in Q58 of the International Social Survey Programme: National Identity III - ISSP 2013 (unique identifier: ZA5950). However, it augments the original with several options that pertain directly to the DPRK: number eight (“The Mt. Baekdu bloodline’s achievements in political leadership”), number ten (“Anti-Japanese revolutionary history”), and number twelve (“The achievements of the chuch’e ideology”).

13. The way socialism works (*sahoejuūiga chaktonghanūn pangsik*)
14. It's political influence in the world (*seggyesōūi chōngch'ijōk yōnghyangnyōk*)
15. It's economic achievements (*kyōnggiejōk sōngch'wi*)
16. It's social security system (*sahoe pojang chedo*)
17. It's scientific and technological achievements (*kwahakkeisurūi sōngch'wi*)
18. It's achievements in sports (*sŭp'och'ŭesōūi sōngch'wi*)
19. It's achievements in arts and literature (*yesulgwa munhagesōūi sōngch'wi*)
20. The Mt. Baekdu bloodline's achievements in political leadership (*paektuhyōlt'ongŭi chōngch'ijōk ridōsibūi sōngch'wi*)
21. Armed forces (*kunsaryōk*)
22. Anti-Japanese revolutionary history (*hangil hyōngmyōngnyōksa*)
23. It's fair and equal treatment of all groups in society (*sahoeūi modūn chiptandŭre taehan kongjōnghago p'yōngdŭng han taen*)
24. The achievements of the chuch'e ideology (*chuch'esasangūi sōngch'wi*)

Respondents answered by choosing one of the following responses: very proud (*maeu charangsŭrōpta*); somewhat proud (*taso charangsŭrōpta*); not very proud (*pyōllo charangsŭrōpchi anhŭm*); not proud at all (*chōnhyō charangsŭrōpchi anhŭm*); or cannot choose (*sōnt'aekhal su ōpta*).

Data Security

Given the concerns that rightly accompany research involving resettled former North Korean citizens, data security was a primary concern throughout the project. To ensure complete security for all those participating, the research team took several important steps, such that the survey design passed ethical review at both the University of Toronto, Canada and Leeds University,

UK, and in addition was deemed acceptable by the Academy of Korean Studies in Söul, South Korea. Information on data security and ethical review was also submitted to the European Research Council in August-September 2018.

All the structured survey data was collected on the Bristol Online Surveys (BOS¹⁹) platform in compliance with a requirement of Leeds University Ethical Review Board that surveys use the BOS system because BOS servers are securely located in the UK. At the time, BOS was run by the University of Bristol. All semi-structured interview recordings and transcripts were held in files encrypted using Boxcryptor²⁰, a German encryption program that allows for files to be encrypted within cloud-based servers. This allowed for use of Google Drive, which would otherwise have been unacceptable. All files were backed up weekly with a LaCie flash drive. At both the structured survey and semi-structured interview stages, respondents were asked explicitly whether they would allow their data to be stored, “securely in the United Kingdom” in the case of the structured survey.

At the end of the structured survey component, all hard-copy surveys were sent by registered mail to a location in St. Louis, MI, USA. They will be stored there until the completion of the project. Thereafter, they will be securely destroyed in accordance with survey best practice.

It is noteworthy that not a single participant complained of anything relating to the security of the project. Nor would we expect such complaints to arise given the precautions taken in accordance with research best practice.

¹⁹ Now known simply as Online Surveys. See <https://www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/>. I obtained access to the platform via Leeds University. It is ordinarily only open to researchers based at UK universities and other institutions of higher education.

²⁰ The website for this product is <https://www.boxcryptor.com/en>.

Field Work

Surveying began in May 2016, but I spent the period from my arrival in Söul on December 27, 2015 and May 2016 activating networks to acquire participants and designing the survey. By August 20, 2016 when I returned to Leiden, 75 percent of all the structured surveys and semi-structured interviews had been implemented. A further one hundred participants took part thereafter. This final group was drawn from a regional Hana Center linked to the YMCA. A research assistant helped facilitate this process in our absence, and inputted the data into the BOS system. The same individual also conducted the final round of interviews; however, this sample size in this case was very small (N=5).

Confidentiality

Each survey is identified by a unique identifier number. Although at various times participants were required to provide either an email address or their name, at no time were they required to provide both on the same document. As a result, the only way to link email addresses with names is via the unique identifier number. This means that in addition to practical security measures, the data is held in a triple-lock verification structure that would have made the data difficult to use even if it were leaked, which to the best of my knowledge it was not.

Impacts of the Researcher

Researchers are impacted by all the same biases as their respondents. But in addition, there are structural biases that the researcher may introduce into his or her survey and interview work that are worthy of elaboration.

Question Effects²¹

The first problem concerns questions. The answer one gets to a question is causally connected to the question itself. It matters enormously how questions are written and how/by whom they are asked, as these factors determines whether questions end up producing what psychologists call “focusing illusions” in the respondent.²²

Take by way of example Gallup Korea’s weekly summary of daily opinion polls (South Korean) for the period following North Korea’s nuclear test on January 6, 2016. At 61 percent, the public’s threat perception because of the test was markedly lower than at the time of North Korea’s third test in 2013, when it had been measured at 76 percent. The sense of danger felt by the youngest cohort was relatively higher, at 62 percent, than for those in their 30s (53 percent), but the overall trend for all cohorts was downward. This seems to confirm something that is anecdotally reported quite often: South Korean people are increasingly indifferent to North Korea.

We can hypothesize as to why this should be. Among the more compelling hypotheses is the idea that the Sunshine Policy of 1998-2008 had an unexpected outcome: it “de-bordered” North Korea. It offered a rare glimpse inside the Workers’ Paradise, and people were not attracted by what they saw. Given that North Korea is thought by young people not to pose a substantive threat to them (“poverty and famine” are not threatening identifiers), and the lustre has gone from the image of autarkic, radical political independence that some thought North Korea exemplified in earlier years, it is now ignored. The pressing questions of young people in any

²¹ This section of chapter two previously appeared as Christopher Green, “Focusing Illusions: ROK Opinion Polling and the North Korea Lens,” *Sino-NK*, January 19, 2016. <http://sinonk.com/2016/01/19/focusing-illusions-rok-opinion-polling-and-the-north-korea-lens/> (last accessed January 8, 2017).

²² Daniel Kahneman, et al. “Would You Be Happier If You Were Richer? A Focusing Illusion,” *Science* 312 (5782) (June 2006): 1908-1910.

dynamic modern economy -- jobs, housing, childhood education and the like – are dominant, and North Korea no longer looks like the answer to any of them.

This means that any poll that asks direct, unmediated questions about North Korea's actions will be unreliable. Daniel Kahneman explains why: "When people consider the impact of any single factor on their well-being... they are prone to exaggerate its importance." In other words, if you think about a specific issue at a specific time, it takes on outsize importance in all your judgements where it ordinarily would not. A typical example of this phenomenon concerns wealth: Poll someone about whether they think a wealthy person is happier than someone with less money, and wealth comes to be the decisive factor in determining happiness — at least in the answers the individual gives at that moment. Factors that are not generally entertained during daily life, such as the link between wealth and happiness, end up at the forefront of the mind because of the wording of the question.

This has an impact on survey research results, skewing them towards responses that are not in fact as important as they seem. The first question asked about the North Korean nuclear test in the cited Gallup Korea poll was as follows: "Recently, North Korea conducted its fourth nuclear test. Do you see this North Korean nuclear test as threatening to Korean peninsula peace, or not threatening?" When a question is asked in such a way, most respondents do of course agree that a nuclear test is at least mildly endangering (although they may disagree as to why). After all, respondents are being asked to assess the threat posed by a nuclear test conducted in a nearby country with a track record of lethal actions against South Korea, its people and assets, not to mention a questionable grasp of nuclear safety. Only 6 percent of the 1005 people polled in January 2016 said that they did not have an answer to the question at all.

However, because a focusing illusion was created by the question, problems follow. The overall threat perception of South Korean people where North Korea is concerned is almost certainly lower than any poll conducted in this way claims, especially during the lengthy periods of inactivity between North Korean acts of violence, when the “North Korea question” is not actually in the least bit salient to most people.²³

Interviewer Effects

A second problem is posed by insisting on specific qualifications for interviewers of defector-migrants. This is done for the simple reason that qualifications act as a proxy for competence as an interviewer, but doing so tends on the one hand to promote homogeneity, and does not take into account intangible issues surrounding the defector-migrant population.

The investigators running the previously mentioned Soviet Interview Project knew at the outset that finding qualified interviewers would be extremely taxing. Fluency in Russian was a prerequisite. Interviewers would also need to either be conversant in a standardized method of administering a long, complex questionnaire or be prepared to receive training to become so-conversant. Moreover, they would have to be willing at the time the project was underway to travel widely to conduct interviews wherever the interviewees wished.

Many of these issues are salient where survey and interview research involving resettled North Koreans is concerned. Knowledge of the Korean language is a prerequisite. It is also important that surveys be administered by other Koreans wherever possible.

²³ As an aside, this means that politicians have little to gain from engaging “the North Korea problem” in election campaigns.

There are competing schools of thought concerning the desirability of using South Korean or resettled North Korean interviewers for this purpose. On the one hand, resettled North Koreans are the most capable of capturing nuances in the language used by interviewees. They also have an instinctive understanding of the society under discussion, having lived in it for many years. On the other hand, whereas interviewers with limited experience of North Korean society would approach the subject with fewer biases of their own – due as much to ambivalence about the topic as awareness of the need for professional detachment – people who had lived in North Korea and experienced the system there would perhaps be less likely to avoid imposing their own biases about that social structure on the interview.²⁴

Moreover, having spent prolonged periods of time living in North Korea, where society is atomized, “loose lips sink ships,” and history is littered with rights abuses that may be excruciating for the sufferer to recall, a resettled North Korean interviewer might avoid probing sensitive or painful topics.

Questions also surround the impact of the researcher should he or she be physically present in the interview. Not only do language issues always introduce uncertainty into interviews, biasing findings, but also the presence of a foreign – in the case of this project, male, Caucasian, European – researcher fostered changes in the atmosphere of the interviews that leads to different responses than would otherwise have been the case. During the project, I attended a handful of group interviews where my impact would be lessened, to observe the method and read the body language of the participants. For the most part, however, I tried to keep out of the way for these reasons.

Social Desirability Bias

²⁴ Millar (ed.), *Politics, work, and daily life in the USSR*, 15.

Negative perceptions of the concept of a “Mt. Paektu bloodline” and the achievements of the chuch’e ideology are not a result of all respondents being resettled North Koreans in South Korea with a pre-existing negative sentiment about the state in which they used to live and ultimately made the decision to leave. Instead, interview respondents explained in detail that for all their ubiquity, the “Mt. Paektu bloodline” and “chuch’e ideology” mean little to ordinary people. This is in contrast with the day-to-day tangible links between rhetoric and reality that constitute daily life, and which have a substantive impact on the self-understanding of ordinary people and social construction and reproduction of the North Korean nation.

However, it is certainly possible that the results are partially a reflection of attempts on the part of individual respondents at “identity management,” wherein the respondent may, in the course of describing or accounting for the social world, “attempt to avoid being imputed with the stigma of ‘prejudice.’”²⁵ Another term for this is “social desirability bias”. This phenomenon may be prevalent in situations where, as in this case, a shared “banal national backdrop” is not shared by researcher and respondent and so the “resources for identity transmission” are limited or even absent.²⁶ As noted by Ni Maolalaidh and Stevenson, the study of so-called “strategic banality” under conditions of decontextualized national identity shows that groups and individuals understand and display their identity in a relational way that depends on the context in which that display occurs.²⁷

This is an argument in favor of North Korean interviewers conducting surveys and interviews with resettled North Koreans. It is an argument with which I strongly agree and which I address

²⁵ Susan Condor, “Pride and Prejudice: identity management in English people’s talk about ‘this country,’ *Discourse and Society* 11(2) (2000): 175-205.

²⁶ Méabh Ni Maolalaidh and Clifford Stevenson, “National identity in a foreign context: Irish women accounting for their children’s national identity in England,” *Discourse and Society* 25, no. 2 (2014): 245-262.

²⁷ Maolalaidh and Stevenson, “National identity in a foreign context,” 247.

in more detail elsewhere in this thesis. Alas, it is also a gold standard that this project did not meet. But I would also contend that it would not have been desirable given the circumstances. Simply being North Korean is not enough; competence in interviewing is also necessary. Anderson notes with reference to the Soviet Interview Project that “when questions are complex and perhaps not properly administered by the interviewer or correctly understood by the respondent, response quality is [...] lower.”²⁸ That is why, in light of the lack of properly trained resettled North Korean interviewers at the time of this project, I opted to utilize the skills of a trained South Korean social worker with the proper training and experience interviewing sensitive and vulnerable persons. As time passes and more and more resettled North Koreans in South Korea and elsewhere pass through tertiary education, this situation will change, and the design of interview projects will doubtless change with it. And those changes will be very welcome.

²⁸ Anderson and Silber, “The Validity of Survey Responses,” 550

APPENDIX II: SAMPLE SURVEY



민족정체성에 관한 설문조사

조사 소개

이 설문조사는 두 개의 짧은 구성으로 이루어져 있습니다.

설문에서 유사한 일련의 질문들을 여러 차례 질문 받게 됩니다.

북한에 대한 또는 대한민국에 대한 대답을 해 주십시오.

매 부분 시작할 때 어느 신분으로서 답을 해야 할지 분명히 제시될 것입니다.

귀하는 불편하게 하는 질문들에 대답할 필요가 없습니다. 불편하실 경우 해당 항목을 비워 두셔도 됩니다.

15 분~20 분 정도 소요됩니다.

1. 성별: ☐ 남 ☐ 여

2. 몇 년생입니까?

3. 현재 혼인 상태는 어떻게 되어 있습니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

☐ 미혼

☐ 기혼

☐ 이혼

☐ 사별

☐ 별거

4. 현재는 귀하는 어디에서 살고 계십니까? (구, 시)

5. 현재 근무상태는 어떻게 되어 있습니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

☐ 수입이 있는 일을 하고 있다.

☐ 일을 안 하고 있다, 취업 준비 중

☐ 일을 안 하고 있다, 취업 준비 안 하고 있다.

☐ 선택할 수 없다.

☐ 기타(구체적으로 명시)

6. 현재는 직업에서 월평균 소득은 대략 얼마입니까? 세금공제 이전의 액수로서,
기본급, 상여금, 수당 등을 모두 포함하여 말씀해 주십시오.

약 _____ 원

7. 일을 안 하시면 이유는 무엇입니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 학생이다
 - ☐ 장애인이다
 - ☐ 의무적인 군복무를 하고 있다
 - ☐ 기타
 - ☐ 전업주부이다
 - ☐ 노령자이다
 - ☐ 기타 (구체적으로 명시):
-

8. 귀하는 몇 년에도 북한을 떠나셨습니까? (일/월/년도)

9. 귀하는 몇 년에도 한국에 오셨습니까? (일/월/년도)

10. 귀하는 중국에 얼마 동안 있었습니까?

10a. 혹시 다른 나라에 있었다면 그 나라와 기간, 그리고 그 이유에 대해 써 주십시오.

11. 귀하는 어디에서 출생하였습니까? (군, 시)

11a. 당신은 유년시절부터 청년기까지 대부분을 태어난 도나 직할시에서 보내셨습니까? (예: 함경북도, 평양직할시)

- ☐ 예
☐ 아니오

12. 북한을 떠나기 전에 어디에서 살고 계십니까? (군, 시)

13. 북한을 떠나기 전에 혼인상태는 어떻게 되어 있었습니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 미혼
☐ 기혼
☐ 이혼
☐ 사별
☐ 별거

14. 북한을 떠나기 3 년 전에 생활수준은 어떻게 되어 있었습니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 아파트, 자동차 등 값이 비싼 걸 아무 문제 없이 구매할 수 있었다.
☐ 냉장고 등 소비 비품을 아무 문제 없이 구매할 수 있었지만 아주 비싼 것을 구매하기에 어려움이 있었다.
☐ 쌀과 야채들은 구입할 수 있었지만, 생활에 필요한 소비 비품을 구매하는 데는 어려움이 있었다.
☐ 먹고 살 정도는 돼지만 옷값이 없었다.
☐ 하루하루 먹고 사는 게 힘들어서 굶어 죽을 수도 있을 정도였다.

15. 북한에 있을 때 근무상태는 어떻게 되어 있었습니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 수입이 있는 일을 하고 있다.
 - ☐ 일을 안 하고 있다, 취업 준비 중
 - ☐ 일을 안 하고 있다, 취업 준비 안 하고 있다.
 - ☐ 선택할 수 없다.
 - ☐ 기타(구체적으로 명시)
-

16. 북한에 있을 때 직업은 무엇이었습니까? 써 주십시오.

17. 북한에서 귀하는 학교를 어디까지 다니셨습니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 무학
- ☐ 초등학교
- ☐ 중학교
- ☐ 고등학교
- ☐ 전문대학(2 년제)
- ☐ 대학교(4 년제)
- ☐ 대학원
- ☐ 서당, 한학

19. 귀하는 남한에 와서 학교를 다니셨습니까? 어디까지 다니셨습니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 다닌 적 없다.
- ☐ 초등학교
- ☐ 중학교
- ☐ 고등학교
- ☐ 전문대학(2 년제)
- ☐ 대학교(4 년제)

- ☐ 대학원
- ☐ 성당, 한학

파트 A : 정체성 (한국)

파트 A 에서, 다음의 질문들을 대한민국에서 살고 계시는 경험을 토대로 답해 주십시오.

26. 진정한 한국인이 되기 위해서는 다음 사항들이 중요하다고 말하는 사람도 있고, 중요하지 않다고 말하는 사람도 있습니다. 귀하는 이 사항들이 어느 정도 중요하다고 생각하는지 당신의 생각을 각각의 질문에 표시해 주시기 바랍니다.

(각 줄마다 하나만 선택하십시오.)

	매우 중요	다소 중요	별로 중요하지 않음	전혀 중요하지 않음	선택할 수 없음
한국에서 태어나는	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
한국 국적을 갖는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
생애의 대부분을 한국에서 사는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
한국어를 할 수 있는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
한국의 정치 제도와 법을 존중하는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
한국인 혈통을 가지고 있는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
한국의 역사를 이해하고, 한국의 전통과 관습을 따르는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
유교의 가르침을 따르는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

27. 귀하는 귀하가 살고 있는 다음 지역들에 대해 얼마나 가깝게 느끼는지 말씀해 주십시오.

(각 줄마다 하나만 선택하십시오.)

	매우 가깝게	다소 가깝게	별로 가깝지 않게	전혀 가깝지 않게	선택할 수 없음
가족	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
귀하가 사는 마을/ 도시	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
귀하의 주 (성/도)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
중국 (중화 인민공화국)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
북한 (조선민주주의 인민공화국)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
한국 (대한민국)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
아시아	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

28. 귀하는 다음에 어느 정도 찬성 또는 반대하십니까?

(각 줄마다 하나만 선택하십시오.)

	매우 찬성	다소 찬성	찬성도 반대도 아님	매우 반대	선택할 수 없음
한국의 전통과 풍습을 같이 하지 않은 사람들이 완전하게 한국인이 되는 것은 불가능하다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
소수 인종집단의 전통과 풍습을 보존해주기 위해 정부가 이들을 지원해 주어야 한다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

29. 국가를 위해 여러 인종이나 민족 집단이 그들 고유의 전통과 풍습을 유지하는 것이 좋다고 말하는 사람도 있고, 이들이 전체 사회에 적응하고 섞이는 것이 좋다고 말하는 사람도 있습니다. 귀하의 생각은 어느 쪽에 더 가깝습니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 소수 집단의 고유한 전통과 풍습을 유지하는 것이 사회에 더 좋다.
- ☐ 소수 집단이 전체 사회에 적응하고 섞이는 것이 사회에 더 좋다.
- ☐ 선택할 수 없다.

30. 한국에 살려고 온 외국인에 대하여 여러가지 의견들이 있습니다. 귀하는 다음의 의견들에 대해 어느 정도 찬성 또는 반대하십니까?

(각 줄마다 하나만 선택하십시오.)

	매우 찬성	다소 찬성	찬성도 반대도 아님	다소 반대	매우 반대	선택할 수 없음
외국인 이민자들이 범죄율을 높인다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
이민자들은 일반적으로 한국 경제에 도움을 준다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
이민자들은 한국인의 직업을 빼앗아간다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
이민자들은 새로운 아이디어와 문화를 가져옴으로써 한국 사회를 좋게 만든다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
한국 문화는 대체로 이민자들로 인해 약화된다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
한국 국적이 없어도 합법적으로 한국에 이주한 사람은 한국 사람과 동등한 권리를 가져야 한다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

한국 정부는 불법 이민자가 들어오지 못하도록 좀 더 강력한 조치를 취해야 한다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
합법적으로 한국에 이주한 사람은 한국 사람과 동등한 공교육을 받아야 한다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

**31. 이민자에 대한 다음 문항 중 어느 것이 귀하의 의견과 가까운지 당신의 생각을
각각의 질문에 표시해 주시기 바랍니다.**

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 이민자들의 그들의 본래 문화를 유지하고 한국의 문화를 받아들이지 않아야 한다.
- ☐ 이민자들은 그들의 본래 문화를 유지하고 한국의 문화를 받아들여야 한다.
- ☐ 이민자들은 그들의 본래 문화를 포기하고 한국의 문화를 받아들여야 한다.

32. 귀하는 한국 국민인 것을 얼마나 자랑스럽게 생각하십니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 매우 자랑스롭다.
- ☐ 약간 자랑스롭다.
- ☐ 별로 자랑스롭지 않다.
- ☐ 전혀 자랑스롭지 않다.
- ☐ 한국인이 아니다.
- ☐ 선택할 수 없다.

**33. 다음 각각에 대해서 귀하는 한국을 얼마나 자랑스럽게 여기는지 당신의 생각을
각각의 질문에 표시해 주시기 바랍니다.**

(각 줄마다 하나만 선택하십시오.)

	매우 자랑스롭다.	약간 자랑스롭다.	별로 자랑스롭지 않다.	전혀 자랑스롭지 않다.	선택할 수 없다.
자본주의가 작동하는 방식	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

세계에서의 정치적 영향력					
경제적 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
사회 보장 제도	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
과학기술의 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
스포츠에서의 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
예술과 문학에서의 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
군사력	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
사회의 모든 집단들에 대한 공정하고 평등한 대우	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

파트 B: 정체성 (북한)

파트 B 에서, 다음의 질문들을 조선민주주의인민공화국에서 살았던 경험을 토대로
답해 주십시오.

20. 진정한 북한인이 되기 위해서는 다음 사항들이 중요하다고 말하는 사람도 있고,
중요하지 않다고 말하는 사람도 있습니다. 귀하는 이 사항들이 어느 정도 중요하다고
생각하는지 당신의 생각을 각각의 질문에 표시해 주시기 바랍니다.

(각 줄마다 하나만 선택하십시오.)

	매우 중요	다소 중요	별로 중요 하지 않음	전혀 중요 하지 않음	선택할 수 없음
북한에서 태어나 는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
북한 국적을 갖는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
생애의 대부분을 북한에서 사는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
조선어 (북한어)를 할 수 있는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
북한의 정치 제도 와 법을 존중하는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

북한인 혈통을 가지고 있는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
북한의 역사를 이해하고 북한의 전통 과 관습을 따르는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
유교의 가르침을 따르는 것	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. 귀하는 귀하가 살고 있는 다음 지역들에 대해 얼마나 가깝게 느끼는지 말씀해 주십시오.

(각 줄마다 하나만 선택하십시오.)

	매우 가깝게	다소 가깝게	별로 가깝지 않게	전혀 가깝지 않게	선택할 수 없음
가정	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
귀하가 사는 마을/도시	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
귀하의 주 (성/도)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
조선민주주의 인민공화국	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
대한민국	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
중화인민공화국	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
아시아	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

22. 귀하는 다음에 어느 정도 찬성 또는 반대하십니까?

(각 줄마다 하나만 선택하십시오.)

	매우 찬성	다소 찬성	찬성도 반대도 아님	매우 반대	선택할 수 없음
--	-------	----------	---------------	----------	-------------

북한의 전통과 풍습을 같이 하지 않은 사람들이 완전하게 북한인이 되는 것은 불가능하다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
소수 인종집단의 전통과 풍습을 보존해주기 위해 정부가 이들을 지원해 주어야 한다.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

**23. 국가를 위해 여러 인종이나 민족 집단이 그들 고유의 전통과 풍습을 유지하는 것이
좋다고 말하는 사람도 있고, 이들이 전체 사회에 적응하고 섞이는 것이 좋다고 말하는
사람도 있습니다. 귀하의 생각은 어느 쪽에 더 가깝습니까?**

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 소수 집단의 고유한 전통과 풍습을 유지하는 것이 사회에 더 좋다.
- ☐ 소수 집단이 전체 사회에 적응하고 섞이는 것이 사회에 더 좋다.
- ☐ 선택할 수 없다.

**24. 다음 각각에 대해서 귀하는 북한을 얼마나 자랑스럽게 여기는지 당신의 생각을
각각의 질문에 표시해 주시기 바랍니다.**

(각 줄마다 하나만 선택하십시오.)

	매우 자랑스럽 다	약한 자랑스 럽다	별로 자랑스럽 지 않다	전혀 자랑스럽 지 않다	선택할 수 없다
사회주의가 작동하는 방식	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
세계에서의 정치적 영향력	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
경제적 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
사회 보장 제도	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

과학기술의 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
스포츠에서 의 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
예술과 문학 에서의 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
백두혈통의 정치적 리더십 의 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
군사력	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
항일 혁명력사	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
사회의 모든 집단들에 대한 공정하고 평등 한 대우	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
주체사상의 성취	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

25. 북한에서 살고 계셨을 때 외국에서 들어온 정보를 (외국의 텔레비전 드라마, 영화, 음악, 뉴스, 등) 보거나 들으셨습니까?

(하나만 선택하세요.)

- ☐ 없음
- ☐ 거의 못함
- ☐ 가끔
- ☐ 자주
- ☐ 항상(매일)

26. 북한에 살고 있었을 때 압박 없이 그리고 자유롭게 대답할 수 있는 상황에서 같은 질문을 받았다면 어떻게 대답했을 것이라고 생각하십니까?

(하나만 선택하십시오.)

- ☐ 매우 달랐을 것
- ☐ 조금 달랐을 것
- ☐ 전혀 다르지 않았을 것

허가

저희는 이 연구의 한 부분으로 기록된 귀하의 개인적인 정보량을 최소화하려 합니다. 그러나, 일부 정보들은 필수사항입니다. 이것은 기본적인 인구통계학적 정보, 귀하가 제공한 설문지의 답변 이외에도 귀하의 이메일 주소가 포함 될 수 있습니다 (사례의 목적으로).

1. 모든 정보가 영국에서 안전하게 보관될 것입니다. 보관을 동의 하십니까?

- ☐ 예
- ☐ 아니오

2. 이메일을 주소 써 주십시오 (사례의 목적으로).

3. 전에 이 설문조사에 참여하신적이 있습니까?

- ☐ 예
- ☐ 아니오

4. 귀하는 일대일 인터뷰를 하시겠습니까?

- ☐ 예
- ☐ 아니오
- ☐ 아마도. 먼저 좀 더 알아 보고 싶습니다 (이메일로).

완료

설문조사에 참여해 주셔서 대단히 감사 합니다.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Society for Cultural Interaction in East Asia. "Academy of Korean Studies." *Journal of Cultural Interaction in East Asia* 4: 97-100 (2013), <http://www.sciea.org/en/jciea04s>.

Aid, Matthew M. "U.S. Humint and Comint in the Korean War: From the Approach of War to the Chinese Intervention." *Intelligence and National Security* 14, no. 4 (1999): 17-63, DOI: 10.1080/02684529908432570.

Aid, Matthew M. "American Comint in the Korean War (part ii): From the Chinese intervention to the armistice." *Intelligence and National Security* 15, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 14-49, DOI: 10.1080/02684520008432586.

Allen, Horace Newton. *Things Korean: a collection of sketches and anecdotes, missionary and diplomatic*. Söul: Kyung-In Pub. Co. for the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1975.

Almond, Gabriel A., and G. Bingham Powell, Jr. *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*. Boston: Little Brown, 1966.

An, Munsök. *Puk'an hyöndaesa sanch'aek 3: 1960-1979* 북한 현대사 산책 3: 1960-1979 [A walk through modern North Korean history]. Söul: Inmul, 2016.

Anderson, Barbara A., and Brian D. Silber. "The Validity of Survey Responses: Insights from Interviews of Married Couples in a Survey of Soviet Emigrants." *Social Forces* 66, no. 2 (1987): 537-554, DOI: 10.2307/2578754.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

Auh, Soo-Young. "Continuity and Change in Korean Political Culture." *Korea Observer* 30, no. 2 (1999): 211-246.

Baek, Jieun. *North Korea's Hidden Revolution*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016.

Ballbach, Eric J., "The History of the Present: Foundational Meta-Narratives in Contemporary North Korean Discourse." *S/N Korean Humanities* 1, no. 2 (2015): 79-100, DOI: 10.17783/IHU.2015.1.2.79.

Barth, Fredrick. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 1969.

Bauer, Alice H. *A Guide for Interviewing Soviet Escapees*. Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air Research and Development Command Human Resources Research Institute, 1953.

Bell, Markus, and Rosita Armytage. "Ethnography and Borderlands: The Socio-political Dimensions of North Korean Migration." In *Decoding the Sino-North Korean Borderlands*, ed. by Adam Cathcart, Christopher Green and Steven Denney. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming.

Bidet, Eric. "Social Capital and Work Integration of Migrants: The Case of North Korean Defectors in South Korea." *Asian Perspective* 33, no. 2 (2009): 151-179, DOI: 10.1080/13569775.2016.1175094.

Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publishing, 1995.

Bishop, Isabella Bird. *Korea and Her Neighbors: A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Position of the Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Bradbury, John. "Sino-Soviet Competition in North Korea." *The China Quarterly* 6 (April-June 1961): 15-28, DOI: 10.1017/S030574100002600X.

Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond 'Identity'." *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1-47, DOI: 10.1023/A:1007068714468.

Brubaker, Rogers. "Language, religion and the politics of difference." *Nations and Nationalism* 19, no. 1 (2013): 1-20, DOI: 10.1111/j.1469-8129.2012.00562.x.

Brun, Ellen, and Jacques Hersh. *Socialist Korea: a case study in the strategy of economic development*. London: Monthly Review Press, 1976.

Buzo, Adrian. *The Making of Modern Korea*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2002.

Campbell, Emma. *South Korea's New Nationalism: The End of 'One Korea'?* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2016.

Cathcart, Adam, Christopher Green, and Steven Denney. "How Authoritarian Regimes Maintain Domain Consensus: North Korea's Information Strategies in the Kim Jong-un Era." *Review of Korean Studies* 17, no. 2 (2015): 145-178.

Cathcart, Adam, Robert Winstanley-Chesters, and Christopher Green. *Change and Continuity in North Korean Politics*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017.

Ch'oe, Chŏnghwan, and Chinhong Ha. "T'ongil kwallyŏn ŏllonbodo nonjo min p'ŭreim punsŏng yŏn'gur kimdaejung min pakkŭnhye chŏngbuŭi posuwa chinboshinmunŭl chungshimŭro" 통일 관련 언론보도 논조 및 프레임 분석 연구: 김대중 및 박근혜 정부의 보수와 진보신문을 중심으로 [News Frames of Korean Unification Issues: Comparing Conservative and Progressive Newspapers]. *K'ŏmyunik'eisyyŏnhang yŏn'gu* [Korean Journal of Communication Studies] 24, no. 2 (2016): 121-145.

Chang, Kyung-sup. "Compressed modernity and its discontents: South Korean society in transition." *Economy and Society* 28, no. 1 (1999): 30-55, DOI: 10.1080/030851499000000023.

Chauvel, Louis, and Fransje Smits. "The Endless Baby Boomer Generation." *European Societies* 17, no. 2 (2015): 242-278, DOI: 10.1080/14616696.2015.1006133.

Cho, Eun Ah. *Unwelcome Home: Ethnic Ethos, Gender and Class of North Korean Refugees and Migrants*. PhD diss. UC Irvine, 2017, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7pb8b06z>.

Cho, Jin Man, and Eom Ki Hong. "Generation Effects? An Empirical Analysis of the Korean National Assembly and Presidential Elections." *Asian Perspective* 36, no. 3 (2012): 353-386.

Choi, Changyong. "Everyday Politics' in North Korea." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 72, no. 3 (2013): 655-673, DOI: 10.1017/S0021911813000545.

Choi, Eunjung. "Political Issues, Generation Gap, and Voting Behavior in South Korea: The 2010 Söul Mayoral Election." *East Asia* 30, no. 4 (2013): 237-254, DOI: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/2443/10.1007/s12140-013-9197-4>.

Choi, Jinbong. "National image of North Korea in South Korean news media." *Journal of Public Affairs* 18, no. 4 (2018): 1-7, DOI: 2443/10.1002/pa.1710.

Choi, Shine. *Re-imagining North Korea in International Politics: Problems and Alternatives*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Choi, Sungyeol, Eunju Jun, IlSoon Hwang, Anne Starz, Tom Mazour, SoonHeung Chang, and Alex R. Burkart. "Fourteen Lessons Learned from the Successful Nuclear Power Program of the Republic of Korea," *Energy Policy* 37, no. 12 (2009): 5494-5508, DOI: 10.1016/j.enpol.2009.08.025.

Chöng, Söngchang. "Puk'anjöngch'i yön'guwa namhanjungshimjuüi" 북한정치 연구와 남한중심주의 [North Korean politics research and South Korea-centrism]. *Chöngch'ijöngboyön'gu* [The Journal of Political Science and Communication] 10, no. 1 (2007): 89-106.

Chöng, Söngchang. *Hyöndae Puk'anüi chöngch'i: yöksa, inyöm, kwöllyökechegye* 현대북한정치: 역사, 이념, 권력체계 [The Contemporary North Korean Politics: History, Ideology, and Power System]. Söul: Hanul, 2011.

Chöng, Yöngch'öl. "Pukhanhagüi hyönhwanggwä chönmang" 북한학의 현황과 전망 [The current state and outlook of North Korean studies]. *Hwangbaemunhwa* [Hwanghae Review] 57 (2007): 304-325.

Chung, Byung-ho. "Between Defector and Migrant: Identities and Strategies of North Koreans in South Korea." *Korean Studies* 32 (2008): 1-27, DOI: 10.1353/ks.0.0002.

- Chung, Joseph S. "North Korea's 'Seven Year Plan' (1961-70): Economic Performance and Reforms." *Asian Survey* 12, no. 6 (June 1972): 527-545, DOI: 10.2307/2643049
- Condor, Susan. "Pride and Prejudice: identity management in English people's talk about 'this country.'" *Discourse and Society* 11, no. 2 (2000): 175-205, DOI: 10.1177/0957926500011002003.
- Crowne, Douglas, and David Marlowe. *The Approval Motive*. New York: Wiley, 1964.
- Cummings, Bruce. "The Corporate State in North Korea." In *State and Society in Contemporary Korea*, ed. by Hagen Koo, 197-230. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1993.
- Cummings, Bruce. *Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American-East Asian Relations at the End of the Century*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Dale, Peter N. *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986.
- Davies, S.J. *In spite of dungeons: the experiences of a prisoner-of-war in North Korea of the chaplain to the first battalion, the Gloucestershire Regiment*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954.
- de Wit, Jerome. *Writing under Wartime Conditions: North and South Korean Writers during the Korean War (1950-1953)*. PhD diss., Leiden University, 2015.
- Dikötter, Frank. *The Cultural Revolution: A People's History 1962-1976*. London: Bloomsbury, 2016.
- Doll, Chris. "Korean Rōmaniz'atiōn: Is it finally time for the Library of Congress to Stop Promoting Mccune-Reischauer and Adopt the Revised Romanization Scheme?" *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 165 (2017): 1- 28.
- Dong, Wonmo. "Generational Differences and Political Development in South Korea." *Korean Studies* 17, no. 1 (1993): 1-16, DOI: 10.1353/ks.1993.0013.
- Donhowe, Peter, and James R. Millar. "Life, Work and Politics in Soviet Cities: Results of the Soviet Interview Project." Soviet Interview Project Working Paper no. 30 (1987).
<https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceer/0000-000-00-Donhowe.pdf>.

Eckert, Carter. *Park Chung Hee and Modern Korea: the roots of militarism 1866-1945*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2016.

Edwards III, George C., Lawrence R. Jacobs, and Robert Y. Shapiro (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Ellul, Jacques. *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. London: Vintage, 1973.

Em, Henry. *The Great Enterprise: Sovereignty and Historiography in Modern Korea*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013.

Epstein, Stephen, and Christopher Green, "Now on My Way to Meet Who? South Korean Television, North Korean Refugees, and the Dilemmas of Representation," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 11, vol. 41, no. 2 (October 13, 2013). <https://apjpf.org/2013/11/41/Stephen-Epstein/4007/article.html>.

Ferguson, Niall. *Kissinger, 1923-1968: The Idealist*. New York: Penguin, 2015.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *On Stalin's Team: Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Foladare, Irving S. "A Clarification of 'Ascribed Status' and 'Achieved Status'." *The Sociological Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1969): 53-61, DOI : 10.1111/j.1533-8525.1969.tb02061.x.

François Mentré. *Les generations sociales*. Paris: Ed. Bossard, 1920.

Frank, Ruediger (ed.). *Exploring North Korean Arts*. Vienna: Verlag für Moderne Kunst, 2011.

Fukuyama, Francis. *Identity: Contemporary Identity Politics and the Struggle for Recognition*. London: Profile Books, 2018.

Gabroussenko, Tatiana. "Cho Ki-ch'ŏn: The Person Behind the Myths." *Korean Studies* 29 (2005): 55-94, DOI: 10.1353/ks.2006.0005.

Gao, Fao. "Imagined identity of ethnic Koreans and its implication for bilingual education." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 15, no. 3 (2012): 343-353, DOI: 10.1080/13670050.2011.636146.

Gellately, Robert. *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.

Goffman, Ervin. *The Presentation of Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday, 1959.

Grayson, James. "The New Government Romanization System: Why Was It Necessary?" *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 140 (October 2006): 49-59.

Grayson, James "Korean Romanisation: A Response to Chris Doll," *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 166 (February 2018): no pagination.

Green, Christopher. "Marketization and Yuanization: Economic Changes in the DPRK." *Yonsei Journal of International Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 111-118.

Green, Christopher, Steven Denney, and Brian Gleason. "The Whisper in the Ear: Re-defector Press Conference as Information Management Tool." *KEI Academic Paper Series*, March 12, 2015. <http://keia.org/publication/whisper-ear-re-defector-press-conference-information-management-tool>.

Green, Christopher. "The Sino-North Korean Border Economy: Money and Power Relations in North Korea." *Asian Perspective* 40, no. 3 (July-September 2016): 415-434, DOI: 10.1353/apr.2016.0019.

Gregory, Paul R., and Irwin L. Collier Jr. "Unemployment in the Soviet Union: Evidence from the Soviet Interview Project." *The American Economic Review* 78, no. 4 (September 1988): 613-632, DOI: www.jstor.org/stable/1811163.

Grinker, Roy Richard. *Korea and Its Futures: Unification and the Unfinished War*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

Haggard, Stephan and Marcus Noland. *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea*. Washington, DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2011.

Hais, Michael D. and Morley Winograd. *Millennial Makeover: MySpace, Youtube, and the Future of American Politics*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. by Patrick Wheatsheaf and Laura Chrisman, 222-237. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994.

Han, Kihong. *Chinboŭi kŭnŭl: namhanŭi chihabyŏngmyŏngjojikkwa pukhan* 진보의 그늘: 남한의 지하혁명조직과 북한 [The Progressive's Shadow: South Korea's underground revolutionary organizations and North Korea]. Sŏul: Sidae Chŏngsin, 2012.

Han, Hongkoo. "Wounded Nationalism: The Minsaengdan Incident and Kim Il Sung in eastern Manchuria," PhD diss., University of Washington, 1999.

Hershatter, Andrea, and Molly Epstein. "Millennials and the World of Work: An Organization and Management Perspective." *Journal of Business and Psychology* 25, no. 2 (2010): 211-223, DOI: 10.1007/s10869-010-9160-y.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Extremes: 1914-1991*. London: Little Brown, 1994.

Hur, Aram. "Adapting to Democracy: Identity and the Political Development of North Korean Defectors." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 18, no. 1 (March 2018): 97-115, DOI: 10.1017/jea.2017.30.

Hwang, Changyŏp (Hwang Jang-yop). *Nanŭn yŏksaŭi chillirŭl poatta* 나는 역사의 진리를 보았다 [I have seen the truth of history]. Sŏul: Shidae Chŏngshin, 1998.

Hyang, Jin Jung. "Do they mean what they act? Surveillance, theatricality, and mind-heart among North Koreans." *Acta Koreana* 16, no. 1 (June 2013): 87-111.

Hyön, Söngil. *Pukhanüi kukkajöllyakewa p'awö ellit'ü: kanbujöngch'aek chungsimüro* 북한의 국가전략과 파워 엘리트: 간부정책 중심으로 [North Korea's national strategy and power elite: centered on cadre policy]. Söul: Sunin, 2011.

Ignatieff, Michael. *Blood and Belonging: journeys into the new nationalism*. London: BBC Books, 1993.

Jang, Jin-sung. *Dear Leader: My Escape from North Korea*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2015.

Jang, Se Young. "The Evolution of US Extended Deterrence and South Korea's Nuclear Ambitions." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39, no. 4 (2016): 502-520, DOI: 10.1080/01402390.2016.1168012.

Jenkins, Richard. *Social Identity* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge, 2008.

Jo, Ki Chon. *Mt. Paektu: An Epic Poem*. P'yöngyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1990.

Johnson, Thomas R. "American Cryptology During the Korean War." *Studies in Intelligence* 45, no. 3 (2001): 1-9.

Joo, Hyung-min. "Hidden transcripts in marketplaces: politicized discourses in the North Korean shadow economy." *The Pacific Review* 27, no. 1 (2014): 49-71, DOI: 10.1080/09512748.2013.846931.

Jung, Kyungja, Bronwen Dalton, and Jacqueline Willis. "From patriarchal socialism to grassroots capitalism: The role of female entrepreneurs in the transition of North Korea." *Women's Studies International Forum* 68 (May-June 2018): 19-27, DOI: 10.1016/j.wsif.2018.02.003.

Kahneman, Daniel, Alan B. Kreuger, David Schkade, Norbert Schwarz, and Arthur A. Stone. "Would You Be Happier If You Were Richer? A Focusing Illusion," *Science* 312, no. 5782 (June 2006): 1908-1910, DOI: 10.1126/science.1129688.

Kamenka, Eugene. *Nationalism: the nature and evolution of an idea*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973.

Kang, Jin-woong. "Human Rights and Refugee Status of the North Korean Diaspora." *North Korean Review* 9, no. 2 (2013): 4-17.

Kang, Tongwŏn. "Pukhanŭroŭi oeraemunhwa yuiip hyŏnhwanggwae silt'ae: che3kugŭi pukhanjumin myŏnjŏpchosarŭl chungsimŭro" 북한으로의 외래문화 유입 현황과 실태: 제 3 국의 북한주민 면접조사를 중심으로 [A Study on the Introduction of Foreign Culture into North Korea and Changes to the North Korean Society: With an Interview Survey with North Koreans in a Third Country]. *T'ongirimmunhak* [Journal of Humanities for Unification] 60 (2014): 167-202, DOI: 10.21185/jhu.2014.12.60.167.

Kang, Tongwŏn and Chŏngnan Pak. *Saramgwa saram: Kim Chŏngŭn sidae pukchosŏn inminŭl mannada* 사람과 사람: 김정은 시대 북조선 인민을 만나다 [Person to person: meeting Kim Chŏngŭn-era North Chosŏn citizens]. Sŏul: Neona Books, 2015.

Kang, Wŏnt'aek, Chaech'ŏl Yi, Chinman Cho, Chŏngt'aek Han, and Saemi Kim. "Nambukhan chŏlmŭn seditaeŭi t'ongilgwan" 남북한 젊은 세대의 통일관 [Political Attitude of South and North Korean Young Generation: A Comparative Analysis]. Sŏul: Sŏul National University Press, 2015.

Kemp, Emily. *The Face of Manchuria, Korea, and Russian Turkestan*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1910.

Kennan, George F. "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947.
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1947-07-01/sources-soviet-conduct>.

Kim, Byung-yeon. *Unveiling the North Korean Economy: Collapse and Transition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Kim, Byung-yeon, Syngjoo Choi, Jungmin Lee, Sokbae Lee, and Kyunghui Choi. "Do Institutions Affect Social Preferences? Evidence from Divided Korea." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 45 (2017): 865-888.

Kim, Ch'angsun. *Pukhan sibonyŏn'sa, 1945-nyŏn-8-wŏl-1961-nyŏn-1-wŏl* 북한십오년사, 1945년 8월-1962년 1월 [Fifteen-year History of North Korea, August 1945-January 1961]. Sŏul: Jimungak, 1961.

Kim, Ch'angsun. "*Puk'an ideollogiwa taemoryak* 북한 이데올로기와 대모략 [North Korea's Ideology and Grand Strategy]." Sŏul: Puk'an Yŏn'guso, 1997.

Kim, Chŏngŭn. *Let the Entire Party, the Whole Army and All the People Conduct a Vigorous Forest Restoration Campaign to Cover the Mountains of the Country with Green Woods*. P'yŏngyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 2015.

Kim, Gwang-oon. "The Making of the North Korean State." *Journal of Korean Studies* 12, no. 1 (2007): 15-42, DOI: 10.1353/jks.2007.0003

Kim, Hong Nack. "Change and Continuity in Korean Political Culture: An Overview." *International Journal of Korean Studies* 2, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 1998): 100-120.

Kim, Hyung-chan, with Dong-kyu Kim. *Human Remolding in North Korea: A Social History of Education*. Lanham, MA: University Press of America, 2005.

Kim, Il Sung. *Kim Il Sung Works Vol. 20*. P'yŏngyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1984.

Kim, Jong Il. *Kim Jong Il: Brief History*. P'yŏngyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1998.

Kim, Joungwon Alexander. "Soviet Policy in North Korea." *World Politics* 22, no. 2 (January 1970): 237-254, DOI: 10.2307/2009863.

Kim, Keong-il (ed.). *Pioneers of Korean Studies*. Sŏul: Academy of Korean Studies, 2004.

Kim, Myonghee. "A North Korean Defector's Journey Through the Identity-Transformation Process." *Journal of Language, Identity and Education* 15, no. 1, 2015: 3-16, DOI: 10.1080/15348458.2015.1090764.

Kim, Pyöngno. *Pukhan, Chosönũro tasi ikta* 북한, 조선으로 다시 읽다 [Reading North Korea by Chosun Korea]. Söul: Söul National University Press, 2016.

Kim, Pyöngno, and Pohyök Sö (eds.). *Pundan p'ongnyök* 분단 폭력 [Division Violence]. Paju: Acanet, 2016.

Kim, Pyöngyön, and Munsu Yang. *Pukhan kyöngjeesöni sijanggwa chöngbu* 북한 경제에서의 시장과 정부 [Markets and the State in North Korea]. Söul: Söul National University Press, 2012.

Kim, Samuel S. "Research on Korean Communism: Promise versus Performance." *World Politics* 32, no. 2 (Jan. 1980): 281-310, DOI: 10.2307/2010024.

Kim Sök'yang. *Hoeryöngsaramdül kiök sok iyagirül tüllyöjuda* 회령사람들 기억 속 이야기를 들려주다 [Listening to the Memories of the People of Hoeryöng]. Söul: Kookmin University Press, 2013.

Kim, Suk-young. *Illusive Utopia: Theater, Film, and Everyday Performance in North Korea*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press, 2010.

Kim, Sungmoon. "The logic of multiculturalism and Korean democracy." *Citizenship Studies* 17, no. 3: 353-368 (2013), DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2013.791537.

Kim, Suzy. *Everyday Life in the North Korean Revolution, 1945-50*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013.

Kim, Tongch'un. *Pan'gongüi sidae han'gukewa togil naengjönnüi chöngch'i* 반공의 시대 한국과 독일 냉전의 정치 [Antikommunismus in Korea und Deutschland]. Paju: Dolbegae, 2015.

Kim, Yeran. "Idol Republic: The Global Emergence of Girl Industries and the Commercialization of Girl Bodies." *Journal of Gender Studies* 20, no. 4 (2011): 333-345, DOI: 10.1080/09589236.2011.617604.

Kim, Yöñch'öl. *70-nyönnüi taehwa* 70 년의 대화 [A 70-year dialogue]. Paju: Changbi, 2018.

Kim, Yongsoon, Eun Kook Lee, and Haekyung Song. "A Sketch of North Korean Studies in South Korea: The Current Status and the Prescriptions to Establish Its Identity as an Independent Discipline." *Korean Political Science Review* 45, no. 3 (June 2011): 87-105.
https://cross-currents.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/yongsoon_kim_0.pdf.

Kim, Yöñghwan (Kim Young-hwan). *Tasbi kangch'öllo sara* 다시 강철로 살아 [Living again as Kang Ch'öl]. Söul: Shidae Chöngshin, 2015.

Kim, Young Yun. "Ideology, Identity, and Intercultural Communication: An Analysis of Differing Academic Conceptions of Cultural Identity." *Journal of Intercultural Communications Research* 36, no. 3 (2007): 237-253, DOI: 10.1080/17475750701737181.

Ko, Pyöngch'öl (B.C. Koh). "The State of North Korean Studies: A Critical Appraisal." *Korean Studies* 22 (1998): 1-14, DOI: 10.1353/ks.1998.0011.

Koh, Byung Chul (B.C. Koh). "North Korea 1976: Under Stress." *Asian Survey* 17, no. 1 (January 1977): 61-70, DOI: 10.2307/2643441.

Ko, Pyöngch'öl (B.C. Koh). "Ideology and Political Control in North Korea." *The Journal of Politics* 32 (1970): 655-674, DOI: 10.2307/2128835.

Ko, Pyöngch'öl (B.C. Koh). *The Foreign Policy of North Korea*. New York: F.A. Praeger, 1969.

Ko, Pyöngch'öl (B.C. Koh). "North Korea: Profile of a Garrison State," *Problems of Communism* 18 (January-February 1969): 18-27.

Ko, Yuhwan, Hüijin Pang, Tongu Im, Chaeöp An, Min Hong, Kyehyöng Ki, Yöñgho Nam, and Sangjun Yi. *Hambünggwa P'yöngsöng: konggan, ilsang, chöngch'üüi tosisä* 함흥과 평성 공간 일상

정치의 도시사 [Hamhŭng and P'yŏngsŏng: Urban History of Space, Everyday Life and Politics].
Paju: Hanul, 2014.

Koh, Kelly and Glenn Baek. "Handling with Care: South Korean Government Policy and North Korean Defectors Living in South Korea." *Korea Observer* 30, no. 3 (1999): 476-481.

Koh, Yuhwan. "Pundan 70nyŏn pukhanyŏn'gu kyŏnghyange kwanhan koch'al" 분단 70 년
북한연구 경향에 관한 고찰 [A Study on the Research Trends of North Korean Studies after the
division of South and North Korea in 1945]. *T'ongiljŏngch'aeg yŏn'gu* [Unification Policy Research]
24, no. 1 (2015): 29-54.

Koo, Hagen (ed.). *State and Society in Contemporary Korea*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1993.

Korea Hana Foundation. *2015 Social Survey of North Korean Refugees in South Korea*. Sŏul: Hana
Foundation, 2016.

Kotkin, Stephen. *Steeltown, USSR*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 1992.

Kotkin, Stephen. *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization*. Oakland, CA: University of
California Press, 1997.

Kretchun, Nat and Jane Kim. *A Quiet Opening: North Koreans in a Changing Media Environment*.
Washington, DC: Intermedia, 2012. [http://www.intermedia.org/wp-
content/uploads/2013/05/A_Quiet_Opening_FINAL_InterMedia.pdf](http://www.intermedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/A_Quiet_Opening_FINAL_InterMedia.pdf).

Kretchun, Nat, Catherine Lee, and Seamus Tuohy. *Compromising Connectivity: Information Dynamics
between the State and Society in a Digitizing North Korea*. Washington, DC: Intermedia, 2017.
[http://www.intermedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Compromising-Connectivity-Final-
Report_Soft-Copy.pdf](http://www.intermedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Compromising-Connectivity-Final-Report_Soft-Copy.pdf).

Krishnan, R. R. "North Korea and the Non-Aligned Movement." *International Studies* 20, no. 1-2
(Jan. 1981): 299-313, DOI: 10.1177/002088178102000123.

Kulischer, Eugene M. *Europe on the Move. War and Population Changes, 1917-47*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.

Kuran, Timur. "Preference Falsification, Policy Continuity and Collective Conservatism." *The Economic Journal* 97, no. 387 (September 1987): 642-665, DOI: 10.2307/2232928.

Kuran, Timur. "The East European Revolution of 1989: Is it Surprising that We Were Surprised?" *The American Economic Review* 81, no. 2 (May 1991): 121-125, DOI: www.jstor.org/stable/2006838.

Kuran, Timur. *Private Truths, Public Lies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Kuran, Timur and Cass R. Sunstein. "Availability Cascades and Risk Regulation." Chicago John M. Olin Law & Economics Working Paper No. 384 (October 2007), https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=138144.

Kurilla, Ivan, and Victoria I. Zhuraleva (eds.), *Russian/Soviet Studies in the United States, Amerikanistika in Russia: Mutual Representations in Academic Projects*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015.

Kwon, Andrea Yun. "Providence and Politics: Horace N. Allen and the Early US-Korea Encounter, 1884-1894." PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 2012.

Kwon, Heonik, and Byung-ho Chung. *North Korea: Beyond Charismatic Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012.

Lankov, Andrei. "A Bitter Taste of Paradise: North Korean Refugees in South Korea." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 6, no. 1 (2006): 105-137, DOI: 10.1017/S1598240800000059.

Lankov, Andrei. *North of the DMZ: Essays on Daily Life in North Korea*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007.

Lankov, Andrei, and Seok-hyang Kim (Kim Sök'yang). "North Korean Market Vendors: The Rise of Grassroots Capitalists in a Post-Stalinist Society." *Pacific Affairs* 81, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 53-72, DOI: www.jstor.org/stable/40377482.

Lankov, Andrei and Seok-hyang Kim (Kim Sök'yang). A New Face of North Korean Drug Use. *North Korean Review* 9, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 45-60, DOI: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43908906>.

Lee, Jong-seok. "Puk'anyŏn'gubangbŏmnŏn pip'an'gwa taean" 북한연구방법론: 비판과 대안 [A method of North Korean studies: critique and alternative]. *Yŏksabip'yŏng* [Critical Review of History] 12 (1990): 75-98.

Lee, Vivian H. "Marketing Politics: North Korean Painter Song Byeok as Artist and Commodity." MA diss., State University of New York Fashion Institute of Technology, 2018.

Linton, Ralph. *The Study of Man*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1936.

Lowe, Keith. *The Fear and the Freedom: How the Second World War Changed Us*. London: Penguin Random House, 2017.

Macias, Monique. *Nanŭn p'yŏngyangŭi monik'aimnida* 나는 평양의 모니카입니다 [I am P'yŏngyang's Monica]. Sŏul: Yedang, 2013.

Mannheim, Karl. "The Problem of Generations," In *Karl Mannheim: Essays*, ed. by Paul Keeskemeter, 276-322. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1952, republished 1972.

Mayer, Milton. *They Thought They Were Free: The Germans, 1933-45*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017.

McCune, George M., and Arthur L. Grey, Jr. *Korea Today*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950.

Mead, Margaret and Rhoda Metraux. *The Study of Culture at a Distance*. New York: Berghahn, 2000.

Millar, James R. *Politics, work, and daily life in the USSR*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Mills, C. Wright. *The Sociological Imagination* (40th Anniv. Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Min, Doosik and Yujeong Choi. "Sport cooperation in divided Korea: an overstated role of sport diplomacy in South Korea." *Sport in Society* 22, no. 8 (2019): 1382-1395, DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2018.1536120.

Mironenko, Dmitry. "A Jester with Chameleon Faces: Laughter and Comedy in North Korea, 1953-1969." PhD diss., Harvard University, 2014.

Montague, Joel B. "Real and Ideal Culture Patterns as Revealed in Students' Responses to Dichotomous Questions." *The Journal of Educational Sociology* 24, no. 3 (1950): 167-176, DOI: 10.2307/2263589.

Moselle, Boaz, and Benjamin Polak. "A Model of a Predatory State." *The Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 17, no. 1 (2001): 1-33.

Myers, Brian R. *Han Sôrya and North Korean Literature: The Failure of Socialist Realism in the DPRK*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Myers, Brian R. "Ideology as Smokescreen: North Korea's Juche Thought." *Acta Koreana* 11, no. 3 (2008): 161-182.

Myers, Brian R. *The Cleanest Race: How North Koreans See Themselves and Why It Matters*. New York: Melville House, 2011.

Nam, Joo-Hong. *America's Commitment to South Korea: The First Decade of the Nixon Doctrine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Ni Maolalaidh, Méabh, and Clifford Stevenson. "National identity in a foreign context: Irish women accounting for their children's national identity in England." *Discourse and Society* 25, no. 2 (2014): 245-262, DOI: 10.1177/0957926513516049.

No, Gwinam. "Shijangi ūmjigin pukhanyōsōngŭi kil: sijang, kyōngjaenggwa yongmang, pukhan yōsōng" 시장이 움직인 북한여성의 길: 시장, 경쟁과 욕망, 북한 여성 [The path of North Korean women who move the market: market, competition and ambition, North Korean women]. In *Pukhanŭi kwōllyōkkwa ilsangsaenghwal* 북한의 권력과 일상생활: 지배와 저항 사이에서 [Domination and Resistance: Everyday Life in North Korea], ed. by Min Hong and Sunsōng Pak, 314-352. Sōul: Hanul, 2013.

O'Dell, Felicity Ann. *Socialisation Through Children's Literature: The Soviet Example*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Oberdorfer, Don, and Robert Carlin. *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History*. New York: Basic Books, 2014.

Oh, Yōngsuk. "Kwan'gaekŭrosōi t'albukcha t'albugŭi chagip'yosanggwā yōnghwa suyong" 관객으로서의 탈북자: 탈북의 자기표상과 영화 수용 [North Korean Defectors as Audience: Self-Representation of Defection and Film Reception]. *Yōnghwayōn'gu* [Film Research] 55 (2013): 291-329.

Ōm, Hyōnsuk. "Puk'an yuch'iwōn kyoyugŭi chōngch'isahoehwae-e kwanhan yōn'gu 북한 유치원 교육의 정치사회화에 관한 연구 [Study on the political socialization of North Korean preschool education]," *T'ongiryōn'gu* [Unification Research] 18, no. 2 (November 2014): 107-149.

Paasi, Anssi. "Generations and the 'Development' of Border Studies." *Geopolitics* 10, no. 4 (2005): 663-671, DOI: 10.1080/14650040500318563.

Paek, Haksun. *Pukhan kwōllyōgŭi yōksa: sasang, chōngch'esōng, kujo* 북한 권력의 역사: 사상, 정체성, 구조 [The History of Power in North Korea: Ideas, Identities, and Structures]. Sōul: Hanul, 2010.

Paige, Glenn D., and Dong Jun Lee. "The Post-War Politics of Communist Korea." In *North Korea Today*, ed. by Robert A. Scalapino, 17-29. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963.

Pak, Kyöngsuk. *Puk'ansahoewa kulchöltoen kündae: in'gu, kukka, chuminüi sam* 북한사회와 굴절된 근대: 인구, 국가, 주민의 삶 [North Korean Society and its Refracted Modernity: Population, State, and the Lives of the People]. Söul: Söul National University Press, 2013.

Park, Chung Hee. *Our Nation's Path: Ideology of Social Reconstruction*. Söul: Hollym, 1970.

Park, Taeil. "Chönjaengi Im Hwa-wa 'Cho-Sso Ch'insön'-üi hwaldong" 전쟁기 임화와 '조소 친선'의 활동 [Poet Im Hwa and 'Chosön-USSR Friendship' during the Korean War]. *Kukcheönömunhak* [International Language and Literature] 30 (2014): 253-292.

Pettersson, Thorleif, and Yilmaz Esmer (eds.), *Changing Values, Persisting Cultures: Case Studies in Value Change*. Leiden: Brill N.V., 2008.

Philips, Derek L. and Kevin J. Clancy. "Some Effects of 'Social Desirability' in Survey Studies." *American Journal of Sociology* 77, no. 5 (March 1972): 921-940, DOI: www.jstor.org/stable/2776929.

Ponchaud, Francois. *Cambodia: Year Zero*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978.

Pyön, Rakchu, Tonggün Pang, Kwangsun Kim, Chuno Ri, Chöngil Kim, Söngjun Kim, Hanggung Rim, Ryongshing Cho, Kwangjüm An, Yöngbae Ri, and Ch'unjöm Kim. *Uri naraüi inmin kyöngje palchön* 우리 나라의 인민 경제 발전 [The Development of Our Country's People's Economy]. P'yöngyang: Kungnipch'ulp'ansa, 1958.

Ra, Chongil (Ra Jong-yil). *Aungsan t'erörisüt'ül Kang Minch'öl* 아웅산 테러리스트 강민철 [Aungsan terrorist Kang Minch'öl]. Söul: Changbi, 2013.

Rhee, Sang Woo. "North Korean Ideology, Social Change, and Policy toward the South." In *North Korea Today: Strategic and Domestic Issues*, ed. Robert A. Scalapino and Jun-Yop Kim, 230-263. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1983.

Robbins, Joel. *Becoming Sinners: Christianity and Moral Torment in a Papua New Guinea Society*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 1994.

Robinson, Michael, and Gi-Wook Shin (eds.) *Colonial Modernity in Korea, 1910-1945*. Cambridge: Harvard East Asia Council Publications, 1999.

Ryang, Sonia. *Reading North Korea: An Ethnological Inquiry*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Ryang, Sonia. "The Transnational (Re)turn of Korean Studies." *Transnational Asia* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1-24, DOI: 10.25613/e3x8-4x24.

Ryoo, Kihl-jae. "International Environment and Domestic Political Change in North Korea from 1961 to 1967: How Threat Perception Funneled down into the Monolithic Ideological System." *Hyöndaebuk'anyön'gu* [Review of North Korean Studies] 20, no. 1 (2017): 179-218.

Ryu, Simin (Rhyu Si-min). *Naii han'gukhyöndaesa* 나의 한국현대사 [My modern Korean history] Söul: Dolbegae, 2014.

Scalapino, Robert A. "The Foreign Policy of North Korea," *The China Quarterly* 14 (April-June 1963): 30-50.

Scalapino, Robert A., and Chöngsik Yi. *Communism in Korea (Part I, The Movement, and Part ii, The Society)*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Schmid, Andre. *Korea between Empires: 1895-1919*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Schmid, Andre. "Historicizing North Korea: State Socialism, Population Mobility, and Cold War Historiography." *American Historical Review* 123, no. 2 (2018): 439-462, DOI: 10.1093/ahr/rhy001.

Shen, Zhihua, and Yafeng Xia. *A Misunderstood Friendship: Mao Zedong, Kim Ilŏng, and Sino-North Korean Relations, 1949-1976* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

Shin, Gi-wook, James Freda, and Gihong Yi. "The politics of ethnic nationalism in divided Korea." *Nations and Nationalism* 5, no. 4 (1999): 465-484, DOI: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.1999.00465.x.

Shin, Gi-wook, and Hwang Kyung Moon. *Contentious Kwangju: The May 18th Uprising in Korea's Past and Present*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003.

Shin, Gi-wook. *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Shin, Rinn-Sup, John B. Folan, John W. Henderson, Marilyn G. Hopkins, Edward C. Knobloch, and Robert L. Younglof. *Area Handbook for North Korea*. Washington, DC: Foreign Area Studies of American University, 1969.

Shlapentokh, Vladimir. *A Normal Totalitarian Society: How the Soviet Union Functioned and How It Collapsed*. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.

Silverstein, Brett. "Toward a Science of Propaganda." *Political Psychology* 8, no. 1 (1987): 49-59, DOI: 10.2307/3790986.

Smith, Hazel. "Bad, Mad, Sad or Rational Actor? Why the 'Securitization' Paradigm Makes for Poor Policy." *International Affairs* 76, no. 3 (2000): 593-617.

Smith, Hazel. *North Korea: Markets and Military Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Son, Hoch'öl. *Hyöndae Han'guk chöngch'i: iron, yöksa, hyönsil* 현대 한국정치: 이론, 역사, 현실 1945-2011 [Contemporary Korean Politics: Theory, History and Present, 1945-2011]. Söul: Imagine, 2011.

Son, Myung-ah, and Seokho Kim. "*pukhanit'aljuminüi kajogijue kwanban yön'gu yönsvaeiju hyönsangül chungsimüro*" 북한이탈주민의 가족이주에 관한 연구 연쇄이주 현상을 중심으로 [Family Migration of

North Korean Defectors: With a Focus on the Phenomenon of Chain Migration]. *Korea Journal of Population Studies* 40, no. 1 (2017): 57-81.

Song, Jay, and Steven Denney. "Studying North Korea through North Korean migrants: lessons from the field." *Critical Asian Studies*, May 5, 2019 (online), DOI: 10.1080/14672715.2019.1611462.

Sorenson, Clark W. and Hyung-A Kim. *Reassessing the Park Chung Hee Era, 1961-1979: Development, Political Thought, Democracy, and Cultural Influence*. Seattle: Center for Korea Studies, University of Washington, 2011.

Suh, Dae-sook. *The Korean Communist Movement 1918-48*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Suh, Dae-sook. "Reviewed Work(s): The Foreign Policy of North Korea, by Byung Chul Koh; Korea, Democracy on Trial, by John Kie-Chiang Oh." *Pacific Affairs* 43, no. 2 (Summer 1970): 295-296.

Suh, Dae-sook. *Documents of Korean Communism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Suh, Dae-sook. *Kim Il Sung: The North Korean Leader*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Suh, Dae-sook. *Korean Communism, 1945-1980: A Reference Guide to the Political System*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1981.

Summers, Laura. "Defining the Revolutionary State in Cambodia." *Current History* 71, no. 422 (1976): 213-217.

Sung, Minkyu. "The 'truth politics' of anti-North Koreanism: the post-ideological cultural representation of North Korea and the cultural criticisms of Korean nationalism." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 10, no. 3 (2009): 439-459, DOI: 10.1080/14649370902949457.

Theiss-Morse, Elizabeth. *Who Counts as an American? The Boundaries of National Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Tilly, Charles. "Migration in Modern European History." CRSO Working Paper No. 145 (October 1976). <http://bit.ly/32CJcUD>.

Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States*. London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992.

Tilly, Charles. *Explaining Social Processes*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2008.

Tudor, Daniel, and James Pearson. *North Korea Confidential: Private Markets, Fashion Trends, Prison Camps, Dissenters and Defectors*. Hong Kong: Tuttle, 2015.

van Kempen, Hetty. "Media-Party Parallelism and Its Effects: A Cross-National Comparative Study." *Political Communication* 24, no. 3 (2007): 303-320, DOI: 10.1080/10584600701471674.

Venter, Elza. "Bridging the communication gap between Generation Y and the Baby Boomer Generation." *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth* 22, no. 4 (2016): 497-507, DOI: 10.1080/02673843.2016.1267022.

Ward, Peter, and Christopher Green. "From Periphery to Center: Synthesizing a History of North Korean Marketization." In *Decoding the Sino-North Korean Borderlands*, ed. by Adam Cathcart, Christopher Green and Steven Denney. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming.

Watson, Iain. "The Korean diaspora and belonging in the UK: identity tensions between North and South Koreans." *Social Identities* 21, no. 6 (2015): 545-561, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2015.1104244.

White, Steven, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil and Patrick Fournier. "The Political Resocialization of Immigrants: Resistance or Lifelong Learning?" *Political Research Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (June 2008): 268-281, DOI: www.jstor.org/stable/20299731.

Wong, Cara J. *Boundaries of Obligation in American Politics: Geographic, National, and Racial Communities*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Yang, Homin. *Puk'anŭi iideollogiwa chŏngch'i* 북한의 이이데올로기와 정치 [North Korea's Ideology and Politics]. Sŏul: Korea University Asiatic Research Institute, 1967.

Yang, Oksŭng. "T'ongildaebi pukhanŭi yŏngyua kyoyukpoyuk sisŭt'em punsŏk" 통일대비 북한의 영유아 교육보육 시스템 분석 [Analysis of North Korea's infant childcare and education system [in] preparation for unification]. *Saengt'aeyuagyoyukyŏn'gu* [The Journal of Eco-Early Childhood Education] 13, no. 4 (2014): 258-279.

Yi Wŏnsŏp. "No Muhyŏn chŏngbu shigi nambungmunje-e taehan ŏllon podo punsŏk: chosŏn, chungang, tongailbo-wa han'gyŏre, kyŏnghyang, sŏulshinmun sasŏ-rŭl chungshim-ŭro" 노무현 정부 시기 남북문제에 대한 언론 보도 분석: 조선,중앙,동아일보와 한겨레,경향,서울신문 사설을 중심으로 [Analysis of media reporting during the No Muhyŏn administration period: centered on Chosun, Joongang, Dong-A Ilbo-wa Hankyoreh, Kyunghyang, Seoul Shinmun editorials]. *Tongayŏn'gu* [The Journal of the Institute for East Asian Studies Sogang University] 52: 325-366.

Yi, Chongsŏk. "Puk'anyŏn'gubangbŏmnon: pip'an'gwa taean" 북한연구방법론: 비판과 대안 [A method of North Korean studies: critique and alternative]. *Yŏksabip'yŏng* [Critical Review of History] 12 (August 1990): 75-98.

Yoon, In-Jin. "North Korean Diaspora: North Korean Defectors Abroad and in South Korea," *Development and Society* 30, no. 1 (2001): 1-26, DOI: www.jstor.org/stable/deveandsoci.30.1.1.

Yoon, Liv, and Brian Wilson. "Nice Korea, Naughty Korea': Media framings of North Korea and the inter-Korean relationship in the London 2012 Olympic Games." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 51, no. 5 (August 2016): 505-528, DOI: [10.1177/1012690214547745](https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690214547745).

Young, Crawford, and Thomas Turner. *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Yu, Hoyŏl. *Chŏnhwan'gi pukhanch'ejeŭi unmyŏng* 전환기 북한체제의 운명 [Fate of the North Korean System in Transition]. Sŏul: Maebong, 2018.

INDEX

A

Americans, 34–35, 132, 134, 145, 156
Anti-Japanese revolutionary history, 125, 162, 164, 215–16
Arirang Mass Games, 154, 167–68
Arts, 13, 48, 125, 137, 162, 164–67, 171, 183–86, 191, 198, 204
Association of Korean Studies in Europe (AKSE), 23

B

Bank of Korea, 2
Beevor, Anthony, 111
border, 72, 102, 110–11, 120, 149, 176, 187–90, 195, 201
 provinces, 116, 123, 187–88, 213
 region, 37, 65, 71, 118, 178, 187, 189–93, 195
British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS), 145, 209

C

Cambridge, 25, 28, 35, 61, 72, 94, 97, 133–34, 159, 171
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 27
Chagang Province, 116–17, 166, 188
Chang, Jinsŏng, 79, 86
changmadang, 184–85
 Generation, 181–82, 185–86
Chang, Sŏngt'aek, 78–80
charismatic politics, 150, 174
children, 101, 105, 113–14, 120, 136, 138, 150, 156–59, 161, 196, 223
China, 2, 5, 64–65, 67, 72, 108, 110–11, 147, 149, 153, 187, 190, 206
Cho, Kich'ŏn, 151–52
Ch'ŏngjin, 112, 119, 188
chongp'yŏn channels, 83–84
Chosŏn Korea, 67
Chŏsonmal (North Korean language), 141–44
Chosŏn-USSR Friendship, 151

Chosun Ilbo, 44, 72, 82–83, 88
Chuch'e ideology, 125–26, 162, 164, 202, 215–16, 223
church, 128, 209, 212
Cold War historiography, 138
Colonial Modernity, 133
community
 cultural-political, 67
 ethnic Korean, 148
 international, 105
comparative politics, 150
Confucianism, 124, 126, 142–44, 214
cross-national comparisons, 140
Cultural Revolution, 15, 180
cultural self-understandings, 10, 171, 204

D

Daily NK, 2, 9, 43, 45–46, 49–50, 136, 155, 188, 190
defector-migrant
 community, 74, 81, 92–93, 97, 104–5, 110, 114, 116–18, 126–28, 163, 199
 diaspora, 63, 205
 evidence, 93
 interviewees, 206
 population, 113, 187
 resettlement process, 70
democracy, 19, 22, 30, 45, 60, 86, 130
Democratic People's Republic of Korea, see: *North Korea*
discourse, 18, 53, 139, 200, 223
Dong-A Ilbo, 51, 55, 82–83

E

East Asia, 4, 23, 36, 38, 54, 124, 179, 215
economy, 1, 7, 30, 59, 68, 70, 98
education, 23, 28, 49, 73, 98, 107, 120, 150, 153, 156–57, 183
Encyclopedia of Korean National Culture, 39

ethnicity, 32, 132–33, 136, 146, 160
ethnic nationalism, 132–34, 140
exposure, effects of, 19, 37, 129–30, 159, 171, 201

F

fallacies, 81, 92–93, 98, 106
family, 53, 72, 102, 121, 124, 126–27, 158, 194, 208, 212, 215
famine, 6, 13, 22, 43–44, 63, 70, 79, 91, 180–83, 197, 219
focusing illusion, 173, 219
foreigners, 49, 79, 89, 112, 136–37, 173

G

Gangwon Province, 117
generation, 7, 12–13, 53–55, 60–61, 63–64, 66, 68, 174–75, 177–78, 181–82, 184–87, 191, 197
 first, 54, 59–61
 new, 175
 older, 175, 183
 past, 105
 political, 123, 185–86
 second, 61
 social, 24
Greatest Generation, 178

H

hagiography, 157
Hana Center, 128, 209–10, 212
Hana Foundation, 70, 74, 114–15
Hankyoreh, 29, 54–55, 65, 90
Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System (HPSSS), 94, 98
historical revisionism, 78
Hoeryŏng, 9, 73, 111, 188
human rights, 5–7, 45, 64, 105
Hwang, Changyŏp, 44–45
Hyŏndaepukhanyŏn'gu (Review of North Korean Studies), 34, 51

I

identities, 9–11, 19, 71, 73, 99–100, 129, 134, 138–39, 144, 146, 203

identity politics, 11, 203

ideological decay, 159, 163, 189, 196

ideology, 59, 70, 133–34, 158–60, 163, 165, 168, 170

daily life in North Korea, 140, 162, 184

Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS), 100–101

institutions, 31, 37–38, 48, 51, 78, 111, 142–44, 174–75, 206, 217

educational, 47

multilateral, 4

inter-Korean

antagonism, 29

conditions, 38

frontier, 61

summit, 43

Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS), 100–101

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 37

International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), 123–25, 140, 162, 209, 214–15

interview

methods, 64

participants, 207

process, 211

projects, by others, 65, 75, 77, 81, 107, 197, 199, 202, 206–9, 224

semi-structured, 198

J

Japan, 2, 5, 28, 55, 67, 82, 118, 150, 190

colonial rule, 17, 25, 33, 53, 151, 173, 180

Jilin Province Agricultural University, 206

Joint Security Area (JSA), 3

Joongang Ilbo, 82–83

JTBC, 82–84, 90

Abnormal Summit 38, 90

K

Kanggye, 36, 188

KBS, state broadcaster, 46

Kennan, George, 27

Kim, Ch'angsun, 55, 60

Kim, Chŏngil, 2, 6, 13, 36–37, 150, 153, 155, 157, 159, 181, 183, 198, 206

Kim, Chŏngŭn, 64–65, 72, 78, 126, 150, 153–54, 175

Kim family, 12–14, 149, 166–68, 176, 202–3

 legacy, 13, 197

Kim, Ilsŏng, 12–14, 31, 34, 36–37, 150–57, 159, 161, 167, 172–76, 181–85, 197–99, 202, 204

 Generation, 181

 -Kim Chŏngil Generation, 181

 University, 58

Kim Kwanghyŏn's Balanced Views, 87

Kim, Namsik, 29, 31, 55

Kim, Sŏk'yang, 9, 62–63, 111

kindergarten, 152–54, 165

Kissinger, Henry, 26, 28

Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST), 49

Korea Foundation (KF), 38, 40

Korea-Japan World Cup (2002), 153

Korean

 ancestry, 139–40

 bloodline, 123–24, 139–40, 142–44, 214

 Communism, 60

 Communist movement, 31

 diaspora, 82, 147

 independence movement, 33

 liberation, 150, 173

 nation, 4, 132–33

 national community, 39, 147

 nationalism, 40, 132

peninsula, 2–3, 5, 17, 22, 24–25, 28, 34–36, 42, 57, 59, 149, 151, 206–7
Korean Institute for National Unification (KINU), 40, 70
Korean Social Science Data Archive (KSSDA), 71
Korean Studies, 25–26, 28, 31, 38–39, 46–48, 55, 57, 67, 75, 179, 206
Korean Studies Promotion Service, of the Academy of Korean Studies, 38
Korean War, 2–3, 7, 22, 24, 28, 30, 53–56, 61, 126, 151, 162, 177, 180–81
Korean Workers' Party, 101, 174
 ruling, 37, 56
Korea Times, 39, 82
Korea University, 29, 47–50
 Asiatic Research Institute, 29, 55
Kotkin, Stephen, 180
Kwangju, 48, 85–88
Kyunghyang Sinmun, 48, 82, 85

L

language, 23–24, 31, 66, 73, 104, 123, 145, 147, 214, 222
Lankov, Andrei, 23, 46, 60, 62, 103, 155
legend, 149–50
London, 1, 4, 10–11, 15, 18, 24–26, 28, 129, 131, 133, 138, 147, 149

M

Macias, Monique, 135–37
Manchuria, 12, 25, 54, 134, 150, 161, 183
Manchurian heritage, 12, 148, 150–52, 156, 159, 161, 164, 169, 174–76, 182–83, 198, 204
marketization, 5, 71–72, 111, 183
markets, 7, 48, 62–64, 94, 110–11, 121, 208
media, 5, 32, 43, 46, 70, 82–83, 85, 87, 90, 98, 138
methodology, 16, 64, 81, 97, 107, 140, 163, 188, 206
migration, 10, 99–100, 102–3, 107, 111, 118–19, 123, 144, 146, 200
Ministry of National Defense, of South Korea, 37
Ministry of State Security, of North Korea, 127, 212
Ministry of Unification, of South Korea 1, 16, 64, 74, 89, 107, 109–10, 113–14, 117, 187, 189
Minsaengdan Incident, 134

money, 8, 26–27, 30, 33, 50–52, 220

myth, 149–52

N

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), 3

nambanjungshimjuui (South Korea-centrism), 66–68, 75

nation, 27, 29, 32, 67, 95, 98, 132–33, 140, 145–47, 149, 180, 184, 199

national identity, 123, 133, 138, 145, 209, 213, 223

National Intelligence Service (NIS), of South Korea, 70–71

nationalism, 29, 132, 145–47, 199

National Unification Board, 32–33, 40

New York, 17–18, 26–27, 56, 60, 67, 79, 85–86, 95, 97, 132–34, 141, 145

North Hamgyŏng Province, 101, 103, 116–17, 167–68, 188

North Korea, 6, 22, 35, 105, 124, 215

population of, 64, 99, 172–73, 205

qualities of life and experience in, 129, 171, 201

study of, 23, 40, 48–49, 52–53, 64, 68, 75

understanding, 75, 84, 92

North Korean

arts, 165, 169, 185–86

citizenship, 123, 142–44, 214

foreign policy, 59–60, 138

history, 78, 121

ideology, 55, 60

infiltration, 85, 87

life, 91, 140, 164–65

literature, 70, 151

military, 37, 57, 177

people, 9, 98, 137, 139, 144–45, 161, 171, 199

politics, 59, 66, 78

science, 186, 192, 195

society, 9, 70, 110, 135–36, 173, 190

state, 55–57, 59, 78, 94, 105–6, 110, 119, 134, 153, 165–166, 174–75, 196

system, 62, 66–67, 101

traditions, 123–24, 214

North Korea International Documentation Project, 2, 23

North Korean Studies, 9, 22–24, 29–31, 34, 40, 46–53, 60, 62, 64, 67–68, 73, 75, 80–81, 96

North Korean Review, 46, 63, 93

O

official culture, 133–35, 137–38, 144–45, 152, 158, 168–70, 173, 175, 197–99

P

Paektu, 149–51, 154, 183, 202

bloodline, 12, 150, 154, 164, 169, 202, 223

Paektusan sam-taejanggun ōrinsijŏl iyagi (“stories of the childhoods of the three great generals of Mt. Paektu”), 154–55

Pak Chŏnghŭi, 29, 31, 61, 82

parents, 55, 101, 105, 158–59, 174, 196

participation, 114–15, 128, 178, 207, 212

political

leadership, 125, 162, 215–16

socialization, 138, 149–50, 152, 156–57, 161, 168, 174, 176

system, 14, 22, 60, 137, 150, 156, 168

power, 6, 8, 13, 16, 22, 29, 31, 37, 72, 153, 156

preference falsification, 97, 170, 194, 203

prejudice, 223

propaganda, 77, 98, 149–50, 160, 183, 202–3

P’yŏngsŏng, 64

P’yŏngyang, 1–4, 6, 34–36, 58, 77, 79, 101, 103–6, 116–19, 135–37, 153–55, 173, 187, 192–96, 204–5

R

Ra, Chongil, 24, 27, 88, 177

real culture, 131, 134–35, 144, 176, 197–98

referent population, 73, 95, 113–14, 199, 203, 213

resettlement process, 19, 73, 89, 107, 129, 201

Ryanggang Province, 116–17

Ryongch'ŏn County, 119

S

schools, 78, 146, 149–50, 157–58, 160, 206

Shidae Chŏngshin (publishing house), 43–45

Shinŭiju, 153–54, 165, 188, 196

Sino-Soviet competition, 57

social changes, 9, 101, 159–60, 183, 203

sociology, 23, 50, 63, 85, 97, 170, 204

Sŏ, Taesuk, 31, 55, 60

Sŏul, 1, 23–26, 28–30, 36–39, 42–45, 54–56, 59–63, 70, 79, 88, 92–93, 102, 110–11, 190, 201, 205–6, 217–18

National University, 23, 70, 72, 100, 110

South Korea, 1–2, 15–19, 22–24, 28–40, 42–53, 61–64, 66–72, 90, 99–105, 107–9, 113–16, 124, 127–30, 133, 171–72, 179–80, 190, 199, 201, 205–7, 209–13, 215

South Korea-centrism, see: *namhanjungshimjuŭi*

Soviet Interview Project (SIP), 17, 94–95, 98, 160, 221, 224

Soviet Union, 4–5, 9, 15, 17, 23, 26–27, 30, 35–37, 46, 56, 58, 94–95, 98, 157, 159–60, 180

sports, 13, 36, 85, 125, 162, 164–66, 171, 184–86, 192–93, 195, 198

students, 4, 47, 49, 60, 138, 153–54, 157, 162

T

technology, 49, 51, 58, 164–66, 184–86, 192, 195, 198

TV Chosun, 82, 86–88

U

UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), 2

unification, 16, 18, 32, 34–35, 39–40, 72, 74, 89, 107–10, 113–14, 117–18, 173, 187, 189

United States, 2–3, 5, 7, 26–28, 31, 34–35, 38, 94, 132, 134, 147

Military Government in Korea, 57

University of North Korean Studies, 51

USSR, see: Soviet Union

V

values, 17, 65–66, 71, 133–35, 138, 145, 150, 156, 161, 163, 170–72, 176, 179–80

W

war, 24, 26, 28, 54, 61, 68, 75, 98, 166, 173, 180

Washington, DC, 1, 30, 34, 44, 59, 72, 134

West Germany, 94

Wonsan, 190

Y

Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture of China, 147

Yang, Homin, 54–55

Yi, Chöngsik, 54, 59–60, 65

Yu, Hoyöl, 50, 61–62

Z

Zaire, 194