

## 결과보고서 요약

|              |  |            |           |
|--------------|--|------------|-----------|
| <b>사업기관</b>  | 국토문제연구소                                      |            |           |
| <b>사업명</b>   | 초북적 탈북민 이주자 (Transnational North Koreans) 연구 |            |           |
| <b>사업책임자</b> | <b>성명</b>                                    | <b>소속</b>  | <b>직위</b> |
|              | 신혜란  | 서울대학교 지리학과 | 교수        |
| <b>사업기간</b>  | 2020.3.1.~2021.1.31                          | <b>사업비</b> |           |

### 1. 사업 목적

- 탈북민의 불안정성
- 탈북, 정착의 과정의 결과
- 탈북가족 내 의사소통
- 탈북민의 남한 정착

### 2. 사업 내용

- 탈북민 여성들이 지역사회내에서 불안정성에 대응하면서 역량강화한 과정 살펴봄
- 1959년 북송선을 계기로 일본에 거주하던 재일교포 중 북한으로 이동한 북송재일교포의 집단이주와 2000년대 이후 일본에 돌아오면서 보이는 초국가적 연계에 대해 연구함
- 탈북가족이 탈남하여 다른 나라에 갔다가 남한에 재정착한 과정을 연구함
- 탈북민이 남한적응에서 가장 큰 어려움으로 지목하는 “문화적차이”에 대한 이해

### 3. 사업 성과

- 한반도 밖 탈북민대표 정착지인 미국 엘에이와 영국 런던에 있는 탈북민들은 공통적으로 북한에 송금하여 가족, 친지들과 네트워크를 유지하며, 한인타운 내 한인들과 범 한민족 네트워크를 만들며, 북한 정권을 비판하는 정치활동을 위한 세계/지역 네트워크 발전시켰음
- 이주자/난민 정체성에 대한 진전된 이해 속에, 포괄적인 이주 및 난민 국제 레짐의 틀 속에서 다수 행위자의 공조를 통해 추진될 필요.
- 북한이탈주민들이 스스로의 정체성에 대해 표현하는 자기재현은 사회적 재현과 상당한 차이를 보임
- 북한의 기층문화나 민속, 특히 민간신앙 연구는 남북 민중의 정서가 기층적 차원에서 근본적으로 다르지 않음

# 국토문제연구소

## 1. 사업 배경

### □ 개요

- 사업명: 지역별 탈북민 이주자 연구
- 기관명: 국토문제연구소
- 사업비:

### □ 추진 배경 및 목적

#### ○ 추진배경

- 탈북민들의 다양한 대표적 정착지의 대표적 사례를 연구함
- 한국, 캐나다, 영국, 일본의 정착지에서 탈북민 상황의 특징을 밝히고 탈북민들의 대응을 연구함
- 탈북 후 탈남한 이유와 배경, 정착과정을 연구함
- 탈북민 디아스포라 상황을 집대성하고 다양한 정착지들의 공통점과 차이점을 밝힘
- 불안정성과 사회적향해, 존재감
- 탈북민 여성은 대표적인 불안정 계급(precariat)
- 동시에 한반도 밖 탈북민은 그 대응이 적극적인 집단
- 탈북민들의 해외이주가 본격화 된 이후 10여년이 흐르면서 해외에서 수년간 거주하다가 한국으로 재입국하는 사례 발생.
- 탈북가족의 초국적 이동은 경제적 논리가 가족의 전략적 선택으로 이루어지는 신이주경제학적접근을 통해서 설명하기 어려움. 탈북 가족의 이산경험은 탈북민의 연쇄이주 및 초국적 이주증가로 다변화되고 있음

#### ○ 목적

- 탈북민 여성들이 지역사회내에서 불안정성에 대응하면서 역량강화한 과정 살펴봄
- 1959년 북송선을 계기로 일본에 거주하던 재일교포 중 북한으로 이동한 북

송재일교포의 집단이주와 2000년대 이후 일본에 돌아오면서 보이는 초국가적 연계에 대해 연구함

- 탈북가족이 탈남하여 다른 나라에 갔다가 남한에 재정착한 과정을 연구함
- 탈북민이 남한적응에서 가장 큰 어려움으로 지목하는 “문화적 차이”에 대한 이해

## 2. 사업 내용

### □ 사업 추진 내용

- 북한에서 가정안팎의 역량강화
  - 가정경제보조자로서 스스로를 인식
  - 1994-1998 경제위기: 배급은 남편 이름으로
  - 여성들은 비공식 경제활동
  - 기대치학습
  - 비공식적 생존전략의 중요성
  - 전통적인 여성 지위에서 적극적인 경제 활동 주체로
  - 유연성, 역량강화
  - 영국 보수정권 하(2010-- )에 난민복지 지속적 감소
  - 탈북자들 직업을 가지기 시작(한국식당, 식료품점, 청소회사, 건설회사 등)
  - 아이들이 어린이집 가기 시작
  - 전일근무시작, 경제적 영향력 확대
  - 탈북민 여성들이 주된 수입원으로 성장
  - 저임금 일자리를 기꺼이 받아들여려는 의지
  - 탈북민 여성들은 교육, 문화예술, 노인협회를 중심으로 지역사회 존재감 커짐
- 북송재일교포의 귀국자 현황
  - 1960년 3월 제10차 귀국까지: 귀국한 인원 중 18세 이하와 55세 이상이 62%를 차지
  - 일본 정보자료(內閣調査室1968, 69)에 의하면, 귀국협정에 의해 귀국사업이 중단된 1967년까지의 귀국자 88,611명 중 성인남자가 21,773명
  - 초국가적 연계의 지속
  - 북한으로 간 재일교포의 삶은 지속적인 송금과 일본 물건의 유입으로 지속됨

- 탈북한 이후에는 일본 또는 한국에서 북한의 가족들에게 송금을 하는 경우가 많아 생활고를 겪고 있는 경우가 많음
- 일본에서 북한으로 송금을 할 수 있게 된 이후 북한내 “귀국자” 커뮤니티에 새로운 계층분화가 나타나는 현상이 발생
- 일본에서 보내주는 송금액 규모에 따라 “귀국자”는 북한에서 누릴 수 있는 부분이 크게 차이가 나게 됨.
- 인터뷰를 통해 확인한 결과 송금이 2000년대 이후 크게 줄어들면서 탈북의 계기가 되기도 함
- 일본에서 생활하고 있는 북송 재일교포 중 일부는 자신이 탈북한 사실을 밝히지 않는 경우도 많음

#### ○ 한국 재정착한 탈북 가족

- 해외 거주지에서의 부적응 및 부정적 이유로 인해 온 사례
- 탈북가족의 재정착은 대부분 해외 거주지에서 삶의 지속성이 불가능하다고 판단될 때 이루어짐.
- 금융사기, 빚 등의 경제적 문제, 신분/비자문제, 가족해체, 건강문제, 공동체 내 관계문제 등이었음
- 탈남 이후 한국에 재정착한 탈북가족은 매우 제한적인 사회적 자원으로 적응 시도
- 아동의 언어 문제, 가족 및 공동체 관계 단절, 경제적 어려움, 자기노출 회피, 숨어살기, 부채와 회생 등의 문제로 인한 심리·정서적 어려움 동반
- 탈북가족의 재정착에 있어 가족 특히 아동의 정신건강 및 적응에 대한 고려 필요
- 신분문제, 경제적 어려움, 관계문제 등에 대한 위험요인과 이에 대한 염려는 탈북가족의 이동요인이 되었고 이후 정착, 가족유지와 재결합 전 과정에 지속적으로 영향을 미침.
- 이러한 ‘두려움’ 기제는 가족의 이주 자발성 및 계획성을 방해하고 초국적 이동과정 중에도 가족의 정서적 지지역할을 제한하여 탈북가족의 이산경험을 더욱 극단적인 상황으로 이끔
- 탈북가족의 한국 재정착 사례증가에 대한 추가적인 고찰 필요
- 가족유지와 재결합은 가족주체의 계획이나 의지보다 브로커와 가족상황, 정치적 상황 등 주변요소에 많은 영향을 받음

○ 문화적 차이라는 범주의 구체적 세분화

- 의사소통방식
- 가치관
- 사회적 관계에서의 대응방식
- 사회적 환경의 특성에 의한 차이
- 체제에서의 바람직한 감정표현방식
- 전환(transition)에 대한 고려
- 수용자가 가지고 있는 해석(decoding) 코드
- 북한이탈주민들이 인식하는 문화적 차이를 극복하는 방식
- 수행(performance)과 전략의 양상
- 극복방식에 대한 스스로의 평가
- 현실에서 수용되어 문제해결에 기여하는 정도

□ 일정별 추진 사항

| 일 정              | 추진 내용  |
|------------------|--|
| 2020. 3- 2021. 1 | 1- 2달에 한 번씩 회의를 통해 각 연구의 진행상황 공유, 내용에 대한 토론      |
| 2020. 11. 25     | [통일평화구축기반] 연합학술대회에서 독자적인 세션을 두고 발표               |
| 2021. 1. 4       | Lexington Books 출판사에 book proposal 제출 (첨부자료로 제출) |

□ 참여 인력

○ 책임자

| 성 명     | 대 학         | 학 과  | 직 급                  |
|---------|-------------|------|----------------------|
| 신혜란     | 사회과학대학      | 지리학과 | 교수                   |
| 연구소(원)  | 구 내 전 화     | 휴대전화 | 이메일                  |
| 국토문제연구소 | 02-880-6449 |      | haeranshin@snu.ac.kr |

## ○ 주요 참여 인력

| 성명  | 소속      | 직급    | 이메일                  |
|-----|---------|-------|----------------------|
| 김희정 | 총신대학교   | 강사    | mokren@snu.ac.kr     |
| 이현욱 | 이화여자대학교 | 연구교수  | leehyunuk@ewha.ac.kr |
| 천경효 | 통일평화연구원 | 선임연구원 | vivahyo@snu.ac.kr    |

## 3. 사업 성과

### □ 사업 성과

- 국제 단행본 출판을 목적으로 출판계획서와 각 챕터 준비함
- 2020년 [통일평화구축기반] 11. 25. 연합학술대회에서 독자적인 세션을 두고 발표함
- 통일부 주최 ‘2020 한반도국제평화포럼- 평화와 번영의 한반도: 과거, 현재, 그리고 미래’에서 발표 (발표자: 신혜란, 발표제목: 남북 사회통합을 위한 시민사회 교류의 문화적 조건 - 제 3의 장소에서 나타난 탈북민 동화(assimilation)와 초국적주의(transnationalism)지정학)

### □ 관련분야 기여도

- 탈북자 디아스포라 연구를 집대성한 서적 발간을 토대를 닦음
  - 심층 연구로 발전하기 위한 기초연구로 연구방법, 사례 선정과 선행연구를 실시했음
  - 미국 출판사가 연락을 해와서 book proposal을 제출함

## 5. 자체평가 및 건의사항

### □ 사업평가

- 사업의 적절성
  - 코로나 상황으로 인해 계획한 탈북민 연구사업의 현장조사를 하지 못하게 되었는데 저술활동의 기반을 마련하여 적절한 사업이었음.
- 사업의 효율성
  - 1년의 기간은 기초연구사업에 짧은 편임
  - 향후 기초연구가 더 이루어지고 더 확대된 주제로 발전시킬 가능성 있음
- 사업의 영향력
  - 편집 단행본 낼 계획을 축소하고 외부 탈북민 연구자들과 네트워크 강화함
  - 탈북민 연구를 이주민 연구의 시각에서 하는 공감대 형성
- 사업의 발전가능성
  - 단행본 출판을 추진할 것임

### □ 향후 계획

- 출판사와 계약을 성사시키고 편집본 출판을 성사시킬 계획임
- 질적연구방법을 통한 탈북민 연구를 다양한 주제로 발전시킬 계획임

## 6. 성과 관련 지표

### □ 대표 사업 실적

- Book Proposal <Invisible Koreans - North Korean Defectors' Diaspora in the World>을 Lexington Books 출판사에 제출하였음
- “Precarity to empowerment: The consequences of Female North Korean defectors' coping skills and social navigation”을 학술지 <Gender, Place and Culture>에 투고했고 수정 후 낼 예정

## **Invisible Koreans – North Korean Defectors’ Diaspora in the World**

Edited by HaeRan Shin

### **1. Book Description**

#### **Core themes, arguments, issues, goals, and/or topics of work**

As one of the world's last closed societies, North Korea has attracted both scholarly interest and global curiosity, as evidenced by the number of academic publications and mass media commentaries. A preponderance of studies portrays North Korean defectors as either witnesses to or victims of the atrocities committed by the dictatorship in North Korea with little to no agency. Journalistic approaches have sensationalised the defectors’ descriptions of deprivation, repression, and human rights violations in North Korea, as well as their perilous journey to escape. Of those in-depth migrant studies that chronicle North Korean defectors’ resettlement, a preoccupation with portraying a marked improvement in their post-escape lives has resulted in research primarily trained on cultural assimilation. This edited collection attempts to add depth to the studies on North Korean defectors’ resettlement processes and uncover the motivations for their repeated mobilities. Though the ground has been well-trodden, we asked the following questions that pertain to resettlement. How did they adapt to South Korean society? Why did some of them leave South Korea and relocate to other countries? Did they acclimate to other societies? Did they develop relations with South Koreans or native speaking populations in other countries? How did their defection redefine their relationships with those family members with them and those left behind in North Korea? What constitutes their new identity and new networks? And lastly, how could we improve our approaches to North Korean defectors?

In answering these questions, this contributes to not only gaining a better understanding of this singular group, North Korean defectors, but also provides insights to a highly precarious group of people from a particularly insular country. By identifying North Korean defectors not as witnesses, victims or beleaguered refugees but as migrants who value their cultural identities and esteem their home country if not the politics, we may commence identifying those characteristics that are unique to them as a people. When compared with



other migrants, commonalities emerge such as the migrants' desire for a better life for themselves and their children. As we pull all these elements together, a picture emerges that transcends the images of victim and defector.

Since their evolving identities were in part shaped by the destination society, we include references to their experiences in South Korea, the United Kingdom, Europe, the United States and Japan. We evaluate the information- and network-based mobility of those defectors who, following contemporary migrants' trends, engaged in repeated migrations that supported development of transnational identities and networks. Regarding the population mobilities of North Korean defectors, this volume contributes to the practical issues of social integration in a hypothetically more open Korean peninsula not to mention reunified Korea in the future.

To present a comprehensive discussion on North Korean defectors, the contributing authors specialise in geography, anthropology, or children welfare, providing different perspectives as well as different host country settings. We mainly used ethnographic qualitative methods including in-depth methods, participant observation, surveys, and archives. Drawing from these various theoretical and empirical standpoints, we seek to reveal the complicated nature of those North Korean defectors as well as suggesting useful implications for future possibilities and policy.

HaeRan Shin is the editor of this volume. She is a full professor in the Department of Geography at Seoul National University. Her research revolves around transnational migrants, marriage migrants, work migrants, transnational ethnic networks, ethnic enclaves, adaptive strategies of migrants, the politics of urban regeneration, place marketing and smarter cities. Her work has been featured in academic journals such as the *Annals of the American Association of American Geographers*, *Political Geography*, *Urban Studies*, and *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. She is the author of the *Cultural politics of urban development in South Korea: art, memory and urban boosterism in Gwangju* (Routledge, 2020). She has also contributed to a key geography text, *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*.

## **2. Proposed Section Descriptions:**

The introductory chapter is a collaboration by the contributing authors to examine the overarching aims of the book and then anatomise three overlapping topics significant to North Korean defectors: 1) mobilities, 2) settlements, and 3) the North Korean defectors' identities in different contexts. Here, the contributors together map North Korean defectors' circular or repeated mobilities to countries that include South Korea, Japan, the UK and the

US. They review the questions that will elicit answers to North Koreans' motivations for their mobilities, experiences in resettlement and the effects of those experiences on their identities that will compose the three sections that are subdivided into three chapters each. The comprehensive implications will be summarized in the concluding chapter.

### Section 1. Keeping moving - North Korean defectors' mobilities

In this section, we trace North Korean defectors' mobilities through three chapters dedicated to unravelling their motivations to understand their movements. What was immediately apparent was that most North Korean defectors having risked their lives for this opportunity were highly motivated to find the best place to live. Shifting through information and updates on various countries' policies on political refugees obtained through North Korean defectors' networks, they selected countries that had solid social welfare and highly regarded education systems for their children. Should circumstances change or they discovered a more desirable destination, they would willingly move again, thereby accumulating mobility experiences.

In the second chapter of this volume, Hyunuk Lee and Seok Hyang Kim deliberate on North Koreans' circular mobilities between Korea and Japan. They chronicle the passage of those Koreans who under Japanese Occupation in the early twentieth century were expatriated to Japan to provide cheap labour, then in the 1960s were repatriated to North Korea. The focus of this chapter is on the mobilities of the few hundred returnees that escaped North Korea to return to Japan and the transnational ties connecting ethnic Koreans living in Japan to family in North Korea. In the third chapter, Heuijeong Kim concentrates on North Koreans' circular mobilities involving multiple moves to several different countries to arrive back in South Korea. Kim traces North Korean families who escaped to South Korea then chose to emigrate to the United Kingdom only to return to South Korea. She pays particular attention to how the repetitive mobile experiences initiated an adaptation process that ultimately altered and shaped North Korean defectors' identities. In the fourth chapter, HaeRan Shin discusses the female defectors' experiences in North Korea as a source of their strength in enduring the rigours of escape and the challenges of settlement and resettlements. She illustrates how sheer tenacity and adapting to survive the famine in North Korea in the 1990s inured those women to hardship. She argues that through their defection to South Korea and their subsequent settlement to London those women were empowered through their mobilities.

### Section 2. Life outside the Korean peninsula – North Korean defectors' settlements

Following the examination of North Korean defectors' mobilities, this second section centres

on their settlement processes and their lives in countries other than South Korea. In South Korea, North Korean defectors were scattered throughout the country making it difficult to document those defectors' coping mechanisms and empowerment strategies as they responded to precarious situations. Korean enclaves in cities in other countries, however, not only facilitate observation of their strategies but also offer neutral ground that almost simulates a control group to study interactions between North Koreans and South Koreans. Furthermore, tracing the networks connecting North Korean defectors to each other as well as to their families still in North Korea is less complicated in enclaves than when they are in South Korea.

In the first chapter of this section, HaeRan Shin selects a Korean enclave in London to observe the interactions of North Korean defectors and South Korean migrants in situations that revolve around employment, children's education, and recreational activities. In the second chapter, Heuijeong Kim surveys on the same Korean enclave in London observed in the first chapter to assess the adjustments North Korean defectors make to the manner they communicate with their family during the transnational movement and their settlement process. She considers to what degree the continuous fear of discovery before and during the defection inhibited communication with family members and restrained their speech even after their resettlement lest family members in North Korea be punished. In the final chapter of this section, HaeRan Shin describes the obstacles North Korean defectors settled in London and Los Angeles faced in sending remittances to their families in North Korea and the methods they used to overcome them. She argues that the North Korean defectors' financial and social remittances challenged the North Korean border control, which encouraged defectors to establish governments in exile in countries where they settled to oppose the North Korean sovereignty.

### Section 3. North Korean identities reconstituted as they muddle through

This last section addresses the period after settlement has been achieved and North Korean defectors had the luxury to process their experiences and living situation, which inevitably impacted their identity as North Koreans. In the past, scholars and journalists often assumed that defectors would be inclined to divest themselves of all reminders of the harsh conditions and horrible experiences in North Korea, their identities included. As a result, previous studies emphasised the assimilation perspective. In this section, the following three chapters dispute the concept that North Koreans would simply adopt entirely new identities by demonstrating their complex and contextualised identity re-formation. Muddling through new experiences, North Korean defectors have defended their identities, bending to adapt to the practices of South Koreans and other populations in ways that might modify but not

rewrite their identity.

In the first chapter, Kyunghyo Chun outlines why it is that outsiders might imagine North Korean defectors would prefer to distance themselves from memories of North Korea. This chapter then juxtaposes the images others have of North Koreans with the images they have of themselves, which is located at the intersection of aspiration, determination, and agency. The following chapter, HaeRan Shin discusses those North Korean defectors who had initially tried to assimilate in South Korea, but feeling rejected by South Koreans, they moved to the UK and established a new North Koreanness. As time went on, it became evident that their efforts to maintain their individual identities in a manner that still allowed for flexibility expanded to nation-building for an alternative version of North Korea.

Kyunghyo Chun and HaeRan Shin collaborate in the concluding chapter to assess previous surveys' findings and disclose that South Koreans perceptions of North Korean defectors are ill informed. After considering the three most important surveys that have been conducted, they suggest different approaches to improve the surveys that may rectify this error and give an accurate picture for future academic and social studies. The chapter also suggests contextualising the dynamics of North Korean defectors' mobilities-development circuit and engaging qualitative research methods to investigate North Korean defectors' characteristics and lives.

### **3. Chapter Abstracts:**

#### **Chapter 1. Introduction: North Korean defectors' mobilities - Why did they leave South Korea? Why do they keep moving?**

By HaeRan Shin (Professor, Department of Geography, Seoul National University), Kyung Hyo Chun (Senior research fellow, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, Seoul National University), and Heuijeong Kim (Visiting professor, Inha University)

The introductory chapter provides a framework for the proposed book's arguments in relation to North Korean defectors' mobilities, post-settlement lives, and identities. We identify key aspects of the defectors' background to more accurately situate North Korean defectors in the broader context of spatial strategies and help explain the motivation for their multiple mobilities. This chapter elaborates on mobilities while being mindful of the process of renegotiation in their post-settlement lives and the identity issues that prompt repeated mobilities.

#### **Section 1. Keeping moving - North Korean defectors' mobilities**

#### **Chapter 2. Constituting circular mobilities between Korea and Japan**

By Hyunuk Lee (Researcher, Korea Hydrography and Research Association) and Seok Hyang Kim (Professor, North Korean Studies, Ewha Womans University)

This chapter details the history and the transnational ties of some 200 North Korean defectors who had been living in Japan, migrated to North Korea and then returned to Japan. From December 1959 to July 1984, the North Korean government's "repatriation project" lured ethnic Koreans living in Japan to North Korea with promises of a utopian life. A total of 93,340 Koreans chose to relocate to North Korea even though the majority was originally from the southern half of the Korean Peninsula. Of those 93,340 Koreans, a few managed to maintain a connection to their relatives living in Japan, often through the remittances illegally funnelled to them in North Korea. When the remittances stopped, usually because relatives had died or money had run out, a trickle of so called "returnees" started leaving North Korea to remigrate to Japan in the 2000s. Although the Japanese government allowed them to return, the families of these ethnic Koreans were less than welcoming. Many had lived in North Korea for over forty years and struggled to reconnect with their families let alone readjusting to Japanese society at large. The situation in Japan left them feeling isolated and many reached out to other Koreans, seeking to make connections with relatives in South Korea as well as maintaining ties to their family left in North Korea through remittances. This chapter investigates the history and the complicated relationship those returnees had with North Korea and Japan and analyses the transnational networks that their multiple moves forged.

### **Chapter 3. The adaptation and identity of North Korean families who left South Korea only to resettle there**

By Heuijeong Kim (Visiting professor, Inha University)

Here, Heuijeong Kim studies the circular migration of North Korean families who escaped to South Korea to settle there for an indeterminate time before moving to another country, then remigrating to South Korea. Based on in-depth interviews, the chapter illustrates their reasons for repeated migration, the paths they took, and their settlement process. The chapter elaborates on their reasons for leaving and their reasons for returning to South Korea and how the repetitive mobile experience constituted the effects of acclimatization on their identities, at least to some extent. It then demonstrates that North Korean defectors in the process of repeated transnational movements have developed a hybridized identity that is part themselves and part others. Particular attention is given to youths that previous studies have grouped together under the category of family while investigating the effects of defection. Adolescents and young adults undergo accelerated identity formation due to the onset of rapid physical changes and mental development that under the best of circumstances has its challenges. During this already volatile period in development, the

addition of repeated migrations and an intergenerational transmission of North Korean identity from their parents negatively affected their psychological adaptation. The chapter concludes by suggesting policy and education for adaptation and social integration for youths.

#### **Chapter 4. “I opened my eyes” – Female North Korean defectors’ journey from precarity to empowerment**

By HaeRan Shin (Professor, Department of Geography, Seoul National University)

This chapter plots North Korean women’s progression through their struggle to survive a famine in North Korea, discrimination in South Korea and culture shock in the UK, as with each move they parlay precarity to empowerment. Research collected on their lives during the economic crisis in North Korea before defection revealed their resourceful and somewhat defiant ventures into capitalist-style markets. Their life in South Korea was not active, focusing on taking care of their babies. Analysing the results of the fieldwork conducted in a suburb of New Malden’s Koreatown, the research disclosed that these women’s adaptability and ethnic networks enabled them to not only survive uncertain situations but thrive. The shift from care-giver to bread-winner that started in North Korea was consolidated in the UK as they once again turned adversity to their advantage when the UK government decreased financial support. In the Korean community, by preoccupying themselves with educational and cultural activities instead of political turmoil, those women have been able to concentrate on moving forward. As a result, they have found a power in themselves to make differences in their lives. This ethnographic study of female North Korean defectors in the UK opens discussions on the notion that agency and social navigation can countermand economic and political precarity to the point of empowerment. This chapter challenges existing literature and schools of thought that exclude agency in their studies on the mobilities of North Korean female defectors.

#### **Section 2. Post-settlement lives outside the Korean peninsula**

##### **Chapter 5. Do they get along? Interactions between North Korean defectors and South Korean migrants in London**

By HaeRan Shin (Professor, Department of Geography, Seoul National University)

This chapter analyses in what way the territoriality of transnational enclaves is constituted by the intersection of the lives and discourses of three groups of ethnic Koreans—South Korean, North Korean, and Joseonjok (Korean Chinese)—in New Malden, London. Based on longitudinal mixed ethnographic research, the chapter contemplates the power relations

between established South Korean migrants and North Korean newcomers, the latter of whom are at a disadvantage in terms of legal status, linguistic abilities, and economic capital. Taking full advantage of ethnic enclaves as bounded, homogeneous, and static areas, the research can put geopolitical approaches into focus, introducing concepts of transnationalism and territoriality geopolitics to the conversation. The empirical findings demonstrate, first, that the geopolitical hierarchy and tensions among the origin societies of Joseonjok, South Korean, and North Korean migrants constituted part of the reterritorialization of the ethnic enclave of transnational migrants. Second, the transnational enclave is being constantly reterritorialized by conflicting and adapting interactions between established South Korean migrants and newcomers. Third, the power relations of origin societies have penetrated through individual migrants' lives by means, in part, of different religious and ethnic organizations. This chapter demonstrates the importance of transnational practices and geopolitical relationships within and beyond transnational enclaves among migrant communities and how these create a territorialized and relational space within ethnic enclaves.

## **Chapter 6. North Korean defectors' family communication during the transnational movements and settlement**

By Heuijeong Kim (Visiting professor, Inha University)

This chapter scrutinizes North Koreans' adaption to the precarious circumstances of their defection to support communication with the family members that defected, and continue to communicate with the family that was left behind in North Korea. Family members adjusted to the circumstances to maintain lines of communication that though diminished family dynamics is an indication of adaptation to safeguard both defecting and non-defecting family members. Censoring what was communicated to family members such as children who would only be given information as needed started in North Korea. To even consider defecting is a punishable offense, and fear of discovery before, during and even after their defection constrained open dialogue. Concern that their family still in North Korea might face repercussions continued to constrain what the information they shared even once they themselves had been granted asylum. This chapter considers to what degree their defection and their communication constrained by fear impeded expressions of support for each that often culminated in emotional crises in their post-settlement lives. Transnational family communication was limited to contact through remittances that a network of brokers that usually involved Chinese or North Koreans connected defectors however indirectly to their family in North Korea. This chapter elaborates on communication within and between families, which despite offering a wealth of information

has been overlooked, and how it relates to transnational care, their family roles, and their adaptation patterns.

### **Chapter 7. Keeping connections - Remittances to North Korea and North Korean defectors' global networks**

By HaeRan Shin (Professor, Department of Geography, Seoul National University)

This chapter suggests the concept of 'geopolitical ethnic networks' to explain how the transnational ethnic networks North Korean defectors have developed are factors in the (de-)bordering of North Korea. Previous debates on de-bordering have taken little to no notice of the defectors' transnational ethnic networks that facilitate de-bordering practices. Based on ethnographic fieldworks in two representative destinations, London and Los Angeles, this research demonstrates that, first, through their practices of financial and social remittances, North Korean defectors have successfully breached North Korea's border and proved that it is porous and state control is not absolute. Second, North Korean defectors developed global and regional networks to challenge the North Korean sovereignty. In the interaction between the daily lives of North Korean diaspora and the geopolitical atmosphere, these networks played important roles. By providing contextualised figures and linking them to those defectors' geopolitical ethnic networks, the chapter contributes to the debate and extends understanding of North Korean defectors' remittances and global networks.

### **Section 3. Muddling through with North Korean identities**

#### **Chapter 8. Representation and Self-presentation of North Korean Defectors in South Korea: Image, Discourse, and Voices**

By Kyung Hyo Chun (Senior research fellow, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, Seoul National University)

This chapter exposes the disparity between how South Korean media represents North Korean defectors and how they see themselves. That most medias fixate on North Korean defectors' accounts of the horrors of three generations of a Kim dictatorship fail to recognise the defectors' aspirations, determination and agency. Since North Korean defectors make up only a small fraction of the entire population and personal knowledge of them is rare, most South Koreans form opinions based on this one-sided image the news provides. Unfortunately, group characteristics, stereotypes and prejudices tend to be overstated and then often become exaggerated through the retelling. In this pilot study, the four North Korean defectors interviewed expressed frustration with the myopic editorials circulated by the South Korean media and a desire to rectify the discrepancy between media



representation and self-presentation. North Korean defectors' have been actively working to gain control of constructing and managing their own images, rejecting and revising the identities that have been hitherto nationalized, gendered, and ethnicized. Their self-presentation, which itself is a product of strategic choices conditioned by social discourse and media representation, exposes dissonance between the conscious and the unconscious, public and personal, and front stage and back stage. This chapter attempts to shed light on the contrasting voices of the North Korean defectors themselves, as well as the ambivalent state of North Korean defectors who are viewed as not like South Koreans but also not unlike them. In conclusion, the chapter offers alternative ways for understanding North Korean defectors.

### **Chapter 9. North Korean nation-building outside North Korea**

By HaeRan Shin (Professor, Department of Geography, Seoul National University)

This chapter examines those North Korean transnational refugees' discourses and practices that constitute a new version of the nation outside the materially bordered geography of their homeland. The research suggests the notion of 'extra-territorial nation-building' that refers to the social and cultural practices that build a nation as a collective identity and imagined society outside the national territory. Previous studies have not done enough to distinguish the nation from the state, and neither have they acknowledged the importance of individual agents involved in bottom-up nation-building. The research pay particular attention to the political and social engagement of North Korean refugees who first found refuge in South Korea and then emigrated to the United Kingdom.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork including participant observation and in-depth interviews, the findings of the study are twofold. First, it establishes how the global network of North Korean refugees contributed to extraterritorial nation-building through the flow of ideas, discourses, and activities. These efforts supported a vision of a future version of the North Korean nation proper as network members collaborated to initiate measures that would establish an exile government and political activities. Second, nation-building efforts in relations were vital in distinguishing the North Korean identity from South Korean and Korean-Chinese migrants. As North Koreans resisted integration and adopting South Korean customs, they founded a North Korean language school for their second and third generations, a North Korean association, and cultural organisations that in essence transformed an enclave into their homeland. This research contributes to the understanding of post-territorial and relational approaches as they apply to the concept of the nation.

### **Chapter 10. Conclusion: Towards Contextualised, Nuanced, and Process-oriented Approaches**

### **to North Korean defectors.**

By Kyung Hyo Chun (Senior research fellow, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, Seoul National University) and HaeRan Shin (Professor, Department of Geography, Seoul National University)

The concluding chapter evaluates previous surveys to discover how the assumptions made by South Korean society about North Korean defectors' identities. Previous surveys on North–South Korean relations, the prospect of unification, economic difficulties and psychological challenges experienced in South Korea are based on an underlying notion that North and South Koreans share some level of cultural or ethnic affinities. Although this concept is widespread in popular discourses, the results of surveys on the current state and future situation of North Korean defectors often reveal that more than a border separates the citizens of this divided country. Chun and Shin suggest adjustments to improve the qualitative research through contextualised, nuanced, and process-oriented surveys that expose the divisions in understanding between North and South Koreans to divert Koreans to a path based on knowledge and not assumptions.

### **3. A description of your target audience (undergraduate or graduate students? Scholars? professionals?).**

Our target audiences are undergraduate and graduate students, professors, researchers, professionals, and scholars.

### **4. An analysis of competing or similar books (including publishers and dates), indicating distinctive and original elements of your project that set it apart from these other works.**

There are a number of books that research North Korean defectors:

- “North Korean Defectors in China: Forced repatriation and human rights violations” by Yoon Yeo-sang, Park Seong-cheol, and Lim Soon-hee (Database Center for North Korean Human Rights, 2014) – This book studies on North Korean defectors' experiences in China and human rights violations they suffer while there. Our book offers information on a wider range of experiences in various destinations and includes a variety of topics from the perspectives of geography, anthropology, child education studies, and North Korean studies.
- “Transnational Mobility and Identity In and Out of Korea” by Yonson Ahn (Lexington Books, 2019) – This book investigates South Koreans' transnational mobilities and identities, and while it touches on similar themes to our proposed edited volume.
- “Under the Same Sky: From Starvation in North Korea to Salvation in America” by Joseph Kim (Mariner Books, 2015) – This book tells the tale of a young North Korean

boy who experienced starvation and deprivation, escaped to China, and met a Christian woman who took him to the US. Though our volume reviews the trials of defection and resettlement, we evaluate the effects of defection on vulnerable youths in greater depth and over a range of countries.

- “Long Road Home: Testimony of a North Korean Camp Survivor” by Suk-Young Kim and Yong Kim (Columbia University Press, 2009) – This book recounts a defector’s tale of survival and escape from a North Korean labour camp to move to the United States. Although our volume does not include accounts of labour camp survivors, it does document the traumas regular citizens suffered in everyday life in North Korea and the dangers of defections they survived to resettle in South Korea, the UK, Japan or the US.
- “Ask A North Korean: Defectors Talk About Their Lives Inside the World's Most Secretive Nation” by Daniel Tudor (Tuttle Publishing, 2017) – This book describes people’s lives in North Korea based on the first-hand accounts of a few North Korean defectors. Although we do collect information about the reasons for leaving North Korea, our intent is to explain the long-lasting effects of the traumas they suffered in North Korea that are then exacerbated by the instability caused by defection and repeated mobilities.

Most of the currently existing books on North Korean defectors closely consider on one or a few individuals’ harsh experiences either in North Korea or during their defection. Moreover, the current scholarship on North Korean defectors is dominantly focused on their traumatic experiences in North Korea and assimilation in South Korea. Our book adds a contextualised dynamic of those defectors’ repeated mobilities, daily lives and encounters with South Koreans or other populations, and their identity dynamics. This edited collection builds from a standpoint that to understand North Korean defectors we need to understand their family relations, identities and networks in the making. We contend that North Korean defectors’ experiences and strategies ought to be scrutinised in relation to their influence on the evolving processes of their lives and identities. We have compiled ten individual chapters that investigate the complex mobilities, resettlements and identities of contemporary North Korean defectors from the perspectives of geography, anthropology, child education studies, and North Korean studies. Based on our knowledge, this is one of the first books to study North Korean defectors across the globe. The range of information this volume offers would add incalculable value to this important scholarship on the mobilities and settlement of North Korean defectors.

**5. A list of courses in which your book might be used as a text or supplementary text, indicating the course level at which this book may be used.**

This edited volume could be assigned as a course book for a variety of undergraduate- and

graduate-level courses: gender and multiculturalism studies, Korean studies, political geography seminar, qualitative research methods, transnational studies, multicultural family studies, North Korean studies.

**6. A list of courses in which your book might be used as a text or supplementary text, indicating the course level at which this book may be used.**

This edited volume also could be used for undergraduate or postgraduate courses in Korean studies, North Korean studies, peace studies, geography, anthropology, child education studies, family studies, media studies, area studies, Asian studies, and migrant studies, refugee studies, women studies, health. We would advise selecting chapters relevant to the course as reading assignments.

**7. An indication of whether any part of your manuscript has been published previously, and if it is a doctoral dissertation, what changes you are proposing to prepare it for publication.**

Chapters 4, 8, and 9 have been published in academic journals, and Chapters 6 and 7 have been submitted to journals for review. The other chapters have not been submitted to journals for review and are therefore previously unpublished.

**8. The length of the manuscript either as a word count or a page count (12-point type on double-spaced 8 1/2" by 11" pages). Will there be figures, tables, or other non-text material, and, if so, approximately how many? If the text is not complete, please still estimate its final length, not including the non-text material.**

We estimate that the total length of the edited volume will be in the region of 70,000 words. We will limit the word count of each chapter to 8,000 words, including references. The introduction and conclusion to the volume will have a length of approximately 3,500 words each. We believe that some chapters (not all) will include figures, images, and other non-text materials. We believe there will be 10 to 15 non-text materials included within the volume.

**9. If the manuscript is not complete, an estimation of when it will be finished. Is there a particular date by which you hope the book will be published (due to a historical anniversary, conference, etc.?)**

We estimate that after two rounds of manuscript revisions, plus one round of revisions after we submit to the publisher, the volume will likely be completed by late 2021.

**10. The names of four to seven respected scholars in your field with whom you have no personal or professional relationship. Include their titles, affiliations, e-mail addresses, and/or mailing addresses.**

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**11. An indication of whether the manuscript is under consideration by other publishers.**

This manuscript is not currently under consideration by other publishers.

# Representation and Self-Presentation of North Korean Defectors in South Korea: Image, Discourse, and Voices

Kyung Hyo Chun

This article looks into how media representations of North Korean defectors reproduce the images of North Korean defectors, while paying particular attention to the contrasting voices of North Korean defectors which reflect self-presentation. The media-perpetuated image of North Korean defectors as displaced victims whose memories are mostly clustered around the oppressive regime fails to grasp the intersection of aspiration, determination, and agency of North Korean defectors. The self-presentation of North Korean defectors reveals that they are eager to be in charge of constructing and controlling their own images, which goes beyond hitherto nationalized, gendered, and ethnicized identities. Self-presentation, at the same time, is a product of strategic choices conditioned by social discourse and media representation.

**Keywords** North Korean defectors, media representation, self-presentation, identity, South Korea

## Introduction

The number of the North Korean defectors residing in South Korea is approximately 34,000 as of the end of 2019, which is a rather small portion of the entire population of South Korea. Comparing this number to the number of international brides (1.6 million) and long-term foreign visitors living in South Korea (1.7 million) further demonstrates how few North Korean defectors there are in South Korea. Yet, the particular circumstance of political division between the two Koreas, the symbolic meaning of one nation, and the aspiration or expectation toward unification all add up to render North Korean defectors in South Korea as a group of significance. Most social attention on North Korean defectors is centered on adaptation and integration since they do not constitute a complete “other” to South Koreans.

In addition to having no language barrier, North Korean defectors have a head start in that they are believed to share the alleged 5,000 years of Korean history and *a priori* Korean spirit with their fellow South Koreans. At the same time, it is noticeable that same language and cultural affinity between North Korean defectors and South Koreans does not always produce positive effects. Because of the presumed sharedness in historical experience and culture, North Korean defectors are considered qualitatively different from other groups of foreign origins, being regarded as an object for complete integration rather than that of effective adaptation (Choo 2006; Moon 2010; Choi 2012; Seo 2013).

This perspective also enabled the assumption that South Korea would be the final and inarguably optimal destination for North Korean defectors. In this line of thought, the act of crossing borders and setting foot on South Korean territory is considered achieving the ultimate goal, making the next step to becoming a “normal” South Korean citizen full integration, if not complete assimilation. Most policies for North Korean defectors aiming at successful adaptation and integration reflect this widespread assumption. As opposed to this view, however, the North Korean defectors are found not only in South Korea, but also in other Asian countries, North America, and Europe. Furthermore, the fact that most North Koreans living in countries other than South Korea are actually *talnam* North Korean defectors (meaning they again “escaped” from South Korea after having had resided for an extended period of time in South Korea after defection from North Korea) illuminates the crevice between the prevalent popular belief of South Koreans and the real situations of North Korean defectors (Park et al. 2011; Jun 2012; Lee and Lee 2014).

The majority of South Korean people are well aware of the presence of North Korean defectors in South Korea due to media representation and government slogans, but very few of them have personal experiences of meeting them, not to mention having prolonged interactions in meaningful ways. Nonetheless, South Korean society seems to have a converging image of North Korean defectors which is constructed by media representation and policy discourses, while North Korean defectors secure few channels to have their voices heard.

With these particular circumstances in mind, this article asks the following questions: How much are North Korean defectors involved in the process of constructing their social images? How often do North Korean defectors have opportunities to have their voices heard? Are there existing differences between the dominant discourse on North Korean defectors and their self-presentation which reflect their motivations and intentions? If there is a gap between media representations and self-presentations, does it limit the capacity of North Korean defectors to live as legitimate citizens in South Korea?

Drawing on this, the following sections revisit the images and location of North Korean defectors in South Korean society by exploring how media represent them. A counter point is pursued by analyzing the content of interviews with

North Korean defectors focusing on their own ways of presenting themselves. This article also attempts to shed light on the ambivalent state of North Korean defectors who are rendered as neither citizens like us nor refugees like them (Chung 2008; Yoon 2015), and on the alternative ways for understanding North Korean defectors. As a pilot study rather than a fully completed research project, this article contains interviews with only a few North Korean defectors to illuminate the point.

### Locating North Korean Defectors

Current scholarship on North Korean defectors can be roughly grouped into three categories for convenience of analysis, although there exist considerable overlapping areas between them. The first, which forms the majority, centers on the discourse of adaptation and social integration of North Korean defectors within South Korean society (Kim 2016; Cho and Han 2017; Lee and Choi 2017; Seol and Song 2017; Kwon 2018). Literature in this category examines the state of as well as the multiple factors involved in the process of adaptation and integration, including South Koreans' perceptions toward North Korean defectors (Kwon 2011; Sohn and Lee 2012; Yoo and Lee 2014). Studies in this line usually employ both quantitative (survey) and qualitative (interview) methods, although the latter is more often than not used as a complimentary measure to the former. Research on adaptation and social integration is closely related to policy implications, sometimes involving funding and commissioning by the government or government-related institutions. This is largely due to the fact that information and data on North Korean defectors are primarily collected and tightly managed by the government. Diverse voices of North Korean defectors are hard to detect in these studies since the focus on policy implications often presumes homogeneity among North Korean defectors. Studies on acculturation, on the other hand, exhibit more interest for individual cases (Yoon and Park 2016).

While studies on adaptation and integration often approach North Korean defectors as part of a collectivity, the second group of research is keen to narratives generated by individuals. Given that the majority of North Korean defectors are women, it is not surprising that many studies pay attention to gender related issues in storytelling or memory-making processes on the part of North Korean defectors (Kim 2014; Cho 2015; Yang and Lee 2017). Along with women, psychology of the youth is another popular subject because young people, with their supposed malleability, are believed to best demonstrate the journey in which identity and perception of individuals undergo a series of change (Jung 2005; Baek and An 2016; Kim, Son, and Kim 2018).

Research on identity politics forms a significant part in this category.



Identity formation, identity differentiation, identity transformation, and identity disorientations are among the popular subjects (Kang 2011; B. Lee 2014; Oh 2016). Although stories and memories of individuals can add flesh to the skeleton of the policy-centered discourse aforementioned, questions on representation and generalization can be raised against personalized accounts of North Korean defectors' experiences. Also problematic is that over-dramatized and sensationalized portrayals of the defection process might consolidate the image of North Korean defectors as victims.

A recent trend witnessed in scholarship on North Korean defectors is addressing North Korean defectors in the context of the transnational landscape and this forms the third category. Here, North Korean defectors are located beyond the insulated boundaries of nation-states to account for identity, psychology, adaptation, and so on (Han 2015; Chun 2018; Kang 2018). *North Korean Diaspora* (Park et al. 2011) is a seminal attempt published in the Korean language to shed light on the transnational aspect of the North Korean defector issue. In this co-authored volume, the pull and push factors for North Korean defectors to relocate to different corners of the world are well explored. Shin's (2019) study based on long-term fieldwork illustrates how North Korean defectors living in New Malden, United Kingdom expanded and renewed a sense of an "extra-territorial nation" through various interactions with South Koreans, other North Korean defectors, and foreigners.

While studies actively engaging in the discourse of transnationalism certainly have opened a forum for investigating the North Korean defector issue on a global level, this approach has a limitation in that it assumes a solid linkage between geographical locations and a level of transnationality. For example, North Korean defectors are regarded as transnational only when they "escaped" from South Korea in pursuit of other destinations. The loophole is that those who still remain in South Korea for various reasons seldom get attention in research focused on transnationalism. Under this tacit assumption, transnationality primarily involves physicality of geopolitics rather than encompassing aspirations and worldviews of people.

The present scholarship on North Korean defectors mentioned above has produced literature which understands North Korean defectors as either an undifferentiated collectivity to draw out huge policy implications or as individuated testimonials with fragmented sentiments. Being lost in these approaches are intersections and dynamics between agency and structure, between collective identity and personal identity, between history and psychology. To go beyond this limitation, this article juxtaposes analysis of the collective image of North Korean defectors made by South Korean media and that of the interviews with individuals North Korean. By so doing, not only the gap between media representation and self-presentation on North Korean defectors, but also "the third space" for addressing North Korean defectors can be articulated (Bhabha 2004).

### **Ambiguous Status of the North Korean Defectors: Legal, Cultural, and Social Considerations**

North Korean defectors have an ambiguous status on multiple levels. Article III of the South Korean Constitution declares that the Korean Peninsula and all the belonging islands are the territories of South Korea, which renders in principle the residents of North Korea as South Korean nationals. In 1997, the Law on the Protection and Settlement Support of the North Korean Defectors was implemented. This law defines North Korean defectors as someone having residential addresses, direct families, spouses, and jobs north of the Military Demarcation Line who defected from North Korea and not having acquired other nationality (Republic of Korea 1997). Hence, constitutionally and legally speaking, North Korean defectors have no problem obtaining Korean citizenship as long as the individual has not acquired other nationality previously. Unlike other foreigners, North Korean defectors instantly obtain South Korean citizenship without going through the naturalization process.

Although the South Korean Constitution does not acknowledge North Korea as a nation *de jure*, when it comes to international law, North Korea is a *de facto* nation that practically rules over its territory. Under this, North Korean residents are entitled to the status of quasi-foreigners. When they defect from North Korea, they acquire the status of mandate refugee according to the protocols of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). However, the acknowledgment by the UNHCR regulations do not legally bind individual nation-states, as seen in the case of China where North Korean defectors are considered illegal immigrants, not refugees, and thus subject to deportation to North Korea. In sum, North Korean defectors go through a series of different statuses—North Korean citizens, mandate refugees, and South Korean citizens—during the process of defection. The South Korean government's recent decision to send two North Korean fishermen (allegedly defectors) back to North Korea raised a huge controversy and shed light on the ambiguous legal status of North Korean defectors which is full of room for different interpretations (Lee 2019).

Although North Korean defectors obtain South Korean citizenship and the related legality on arrival, they are clearly distinguished from South Korean residents. On arriving in South Korea, North Korean defectors remain in settlement adjustment centers (Hanawon) where they go through various programs promoting adaptation on political, economic, and social levels. Once they leave the center upon completion of the program, they become recipients of governmental welfare policies mandated by the Law on the North Korean Defectors which is firmly based on the discourse of integration. In fact, negative attitudes toward North Korean defectors often emerged from the question of fairness over the financial support and privileges granted them. Along with the settlement money from the government which is mandated by the Law on the

North Korean Defectors, support for housing, job training, employment, and university admission is seen as “unfair,” especially in the highly competitive South Korean society, and sometimes becomes a source of negative opinions toward North Korean defectors (Chun 2019, 96-98).

Socially, North Korean defectors still occupy an ambivalent position that clearly indicates the gap between reality and principle. Although many South Korean people express favorable sentiments toward North Koreans based on the discourse of “one ethnicity of five thousand years,” when they find North Korean defectors in their neighborhood, very different attitudes are revealed.<sup>1</sup> In other words, although South Korean people exhibit generous and inclusive attitudes for the abstract and unknown category of North Koreans as members of the same ethnic group, they are hesitant to share everyday life with them since they can pose a threat in “unfair” competitions given the many privileges entitled to them (Yoon and Song 2013). According to the Unification Perception Survey published by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS) at Seoul National University, although South Koreans consider North Korean defectors closer than either Ethnic Korean-Chinese or South Asians, when it comes to thinking of them as co-workers or future spouses, South Koreans express their intention to clearly set a certain social distance from North Korean defectors (Jung et al. 2019a).

### Almost Like Us, But Not Quite: Media Representation of North Korean Defectors

While North Koreans are assumed to have “blood” relations as members of the same Korean ethnicity (*hanminjok*), at the same time, they are considered to be members of an enemy state in light of the division of the Korean Peninsula (see Lankov 2006). In other words, North Koreans are considered and treated sometimes as long-lost brothers, and at other times as evil twins depending on the focus of the circumstances. When it comes to North Korean defectors in South Korea, this ambivalence is all the more pronounced. While North Koreans are someone you need to live with in the undefined future, hence more abstract and generous attitudes are made possible toward them, North Korean defectors are also someone already here living with you, whose differences are considered uncomfortable and even disturbing.

For most South Koreans, encountering “real” North Korean defectors is only made possible through entertainment or current affairs television programs. In programs on current affairs, North Korean defectors appear as previous insiders of North Korea testifying on the horrible state of the secluded society, covering such topics as politics, human rights, and the dire economic situation. Entertainment shows provide more gender-skewed perspectives by giving

the stage to young and attractive, mainly female, North Korean defectors and allowing them to talk about the lifestyle, customs, and popular culture of North Korea. In these shows, North Korean life is depicted as strange and outdated against the backdrop of South Korean life. When North Korean defectors introduce values, traditions, or habits that they had in North Korea in the media, the more strange they sound the more attention they get (Kang et al. 2017). Since something similar to South Korean lifestyle is not a good candidate for media attention, more dramatic and extreme cases are encouraged to get media hype (Oh 2016). While portraying North Korean culture and society this way, as Sun-Min Lee (2014) argued, female North Korea defectors are consumed not just as political defectors but also second class citizens in South Korea. The image of young and attractive North Korean women is rendered as exotic beauty through such media representation.

Media representation of North Korean defectors struggles with the same ambivalence South Koreans have toward them: although the primary focus is on showing the audience the contrasting difference between North Korean defectors and South Koreans in terms of lifestyle and customs, the belief in ethnic commonality also needs to be addressed reflecting the political and social needs within South Korea. To solve this *cul-de-sac*, one strategy is to define the North Korean lifestyle as behind that of South Korea by a couple of decades. In other words, even though contemporary North Korean culture appears to be strange to us, it might be possible to ring in with the old lifestyle and habits of our predecessors. This narrative assumes some level of similarity, but only in different time frames (Chun 2015, 288-89).

Placing the object of representation within a historically different time than our own is a very efficient strategy of *othering* the object. It does not reject the similarity, but only does so in a safe way. Johannes Fabian's (1983) concept of "denial of coevalness" finds its usefulness in this context. Fabian originally made the argument in the context of anthropologists and fieldwork. Once returning from the field, anthropologists write about their subject people often in such ways that the latter is placed in another temporal frame than the former's. This way of distancing, which Fabian called "denial of coevalness" has an effect of smudging political context and negating the historical importance of the anthropologist's experience. Representation of North Korean defectors achieved by South Korean media strongly resonates with Fabian's critique in that it also reveals power relations at play among groups of people with different political, social, and cultural assets to solidify the boundary and to block critical awareness. In the following section, I examine how the image of North Korean defectors are perpetuated with three keywords that are often used to describe them.

## Defining North Korean Defectors in Social Discourses: Built-In Border Fence

A level of consistency is detected in the way in which North Korean defectors are represented in South Korean society. Examining media representations of North Korean defectors in South Korean society reveals that, to make a huge and non-differentiating lump image of North Korean defectors out of people with various backgrounds and experiences, the following key words are liberally used: “displaced” status is emphasized to signify uprootedness of North Korean defectors; “community” is made important to understand the social nature of North Korean defectors; and “nationality” gets attention to measure the level of integration of North Korean defectors to South Korean society.

### *Displaced*

As seen in the official title of North Korean defectors employed in South Korea, these people are understood as someone who “defected” from the place where they were born and raised. On the surface, there seems to be no problem in naming them in this way, sounding factual enough. However, the primary focus on “defecting” accentuates their state of “being displaced.” Regardless that North Korean defectors either settle successfully in South Korea or defect again from South Korea in search of a better place in North America and Europe, the primary marker for North Korean defectors is firmly imprinted on the state of being “displaced.”

The focus on displacement, in turn, provides a platform for adding negative aspects North Korean defectors might have: because they are displaced, they are unfamiliar with the new place, and this legitimizes negative qualifications such as incapability, sense of loneliness, inadaptability, and mental instability. It might be true that information on home is helpful when you are to understand other people, but essentializing a particular group based on their place of origin is a different matter. The problem with focusing on displacement is that it renders North Korean defectors passive victims of socio-politico-economic factors that forced them to leave, while little attention is paid to the motivation, intention, planning, calculation, and sentiments before, during, and after the defection.

### *Community*

The communities related to North Korean defectors can be divided into two categories: ones before the defection, the others after the defection. The former includes communities based on familial ties, occupation, and regions with which they were affiliated in North Korea. The latter includes broker and religious groups that helped in the defection process, North Korean defector-based communities, and settlement center alumni communities. Media representations depict communities before defection more or less in a negative light to emphasize

the distressing condition of North Korea and hence to legitimize the supremacy of South Korea. On the other hand, the communities after defection are portrayed in a relatively positive way focusing on their usefulness in accelerating the adaptation process.

Both cases share the same principle: the communities are considered to exist outside the North Korean defectors, and these communities wield formidable power onto them. No communities are free from changes and modification brought by the intersecting intentions and acts of the members. However, in most media representation of North Korean defectors, communities appear to be fixed and non-changing, and their significance is measured by whether they have positive or negative effects on North Korean defectors. This way of rigid configuration hampers analyzing the flexibility of communities as well as understanding transient appropriation of the communities on the part of North Korean defectors. Defection and adaptation is a long and complex journey. Paying attention to the process by which the relationships among members are defined and utilized will open up a window for better understanding the issue of agency on the part of North Korean defectors.

### *Nationality*

The phenomenon of refugees is considered as a product of modernity in that discourses and policies on refugees seem non-separable from the concept of nation. Discourses on refugees concern their long and painful journeys with a series of events—being born and raised in a certain country, getting persecuted or oppressed, then being relocated to another country to be segregated or accepted only as second-class citizens.

Surveys on North Korean defectors often include questions on whether they identify as North Korean or South Korean. Sometimes it takes a euphemistic turn such as asking them which team they would root for in North-South Korea sports matches. Although these questions are designed to look into the self-identification of North Korean defectors, it results in narrowing the field of national identity, fortifying the assumption that single-country belongingness at a given time is the norm. Criticizing the *talnam* phenomenon, a case in which North Korean defectors relocate to a third country after they spend some time settling in South Korea, as an act of betrayal is also in line with this perspective: if you dislike North Korea enough to leave for South Korea, then you should do whatever it takes to be a good citizen of South Korea. The widespread belief in patriotic sentiment to a single country as the norm even wraps this political idea with ethical concerns.

We can ask following questions in regard to this: how do North Korean defectors understand the single-nation-identity?; is it “normal” to have a sense of attachment only to a nation that provides one with a legal and institutional safe net?; is it legitimate to raise an ethical criticism for not having a sense of exclusive

attachment to a single nation?; more fundamentally, how does one define one's own nation?

### Enunciating the Self: Can North Korean Defectors Speak?

Years back, Erving Goffman (1959) developed the theory of impression management using the metaphor of life as theatre. According to him, just like actors on stage, individuals make conscious and unconscious efforts in their everyday interactions to present acceptable images of themselves to others while concealing information that might be in conflict with the images they want to deliver. With his signature dramaturgical approaches, Goffman employed such concepts as front stage and back stage to illuminate individuals' strategic choices and behaviors under different circumstances and audiences. Goffman's theory is crucial in that it registers the roles both agency and structure play in everyday life.

His analysis is insightful for the purpose of this article in regard to addressing the discrepancy as well as intersection between media representation and self-presentation of North Korean defectors. Interviews with North Korean defectors enable us to look into their own ideas and intentions which is clearly different from prevalent media representations. At the same time, it is noticeable that the interviewees' stories are embedded with their intentions to present particular images—contrasting images to the widespread and negative representation of North Korean defectors—to the audience, the interviewer in this case.

#### *Interviews with North Korean Defectors*

As a pilot study, a total of four North Korean defectors were interviewed for this article and the number of interviewees are clearly not representative of the entire group of North Korean defectors in South Korea. On the contrary, the interviewees do not fit into the conventional category of North Koreans in terms of educational background, occupation, and social status. It is in fact considered a positive factor in seeking to pronounce some aspects that have been neglected or eschewed in the prevalent image of North Korean defectors. All four interviews were conducted as open-ended interviews, and the guidelines are as follow in Table 1.

### Self-Presentation of North Korean Defectors: Findings and Analysis

In order not to disclose any private details of the interviewees, none of their personal information is revealed in the following section. Only their gender is acknowledged since all of them are female. In addition, no direct quotations of the interview content are presented here on specific request of the interviewees.

Without quotation marks, however, efforts were made by the interviewer to deliver stories as they were told.

Interviews with North Korean defectors reveal that they have different foci from the media representation or policy discourse in presenting who they are and what they value. Throughout the interviews, the self-identification of interviewees was presented with the following points: desire to be acknowledged as fellow South Koreans, inclination to distance themselves from other North Korean defectors, willingness to take charge of their own lives, and everlasting longing for family reunion.

Table 1. Guidelines for the Open-Ended Interview with North Korean Defectors

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| Basic Information   | Personal  | Age, gender, areas of residence in North Korea, occupation in North Korea, years of residence in South Korea, areas of residence in South Korea, current occupation in South Korea |
|   | Defection Process   | When, via which route, motivation, experiences of overseas residence   |
|   | Affiliation with North Korea  | Family members remaining in North Korea; methods and frequency of contacting family members; method, frequency, and amount of remittance   |
|   | Interaction with Other North Korean Defectors   | How often, with whom, for what purpose, through what community   |
| Opinions on Media Representation of North Korean Defectors in South Korea | TV shows, programs, and movies about North Korean defectors represented by South Koreans                              |  |
|   | TV shows and programs where the actual North Korean defectors appear  |  |
|   | Satisfaction/dissatisfaction about the way in which North Korean defectors are represented, and why                   |  |
|   | Comments or suggestions for improvement   |  |
| Understanding Self-Presentation of North Korean Defectors                 | Communities or networks of the past and the present: types, purpose, participation rate, satisfaction/dissatisfaction |  |
|   | Self-identity in relation to North Korea, South Korea, and/or a third country (significance, attachment)              |  |
|   | Attachment/meaning of North Korea and South Korea   |  |
|   | Evaluation of the experience of defecting from North Korea and living in South Korea                                  |  |
|   | Chance of returning to North Korea (when, under what condition, reasons)  |  |
|   | Country of residence for your children in the future  |  |

Source: Author



*Identity as North Korean*

When it comes to theory of identity, this article assumes the postmodern approach. Unlike the essentialist discourse which argues that identity has an unchanging and everlasting quality deep down in the unconsciousness, the postmodern approach to identity is based on constructionist views (Cerulo 1997, 31-93; Schachter 2005, 140-41). The postmodern tradition in identity theory has several branches depending on their emphasis on roles, performances, and power of knowledge, but they all agree that an individual is able to have multiple identities which are changed, contested, negotiated, appropriated, and manipulated depending on the circumstances and motivations.

When asking the interviewees to assess the percentage of their identity as North Korean defectors among various other identities that form an ego, all responded with a very low ratio, ranging between 5 and 10 percent. According to the annual survey conducted by IPUS on North Korean defectors, around 80 percent of the total respondents identified themselves as South Koreans rather than North Koreans (Jung et al. 2019b). Of course there are differences in question framing in that the IPUS's survey made the interviewees choose between North Korea or South Korea while this research asked for a percentage of significance of being a North Korean defector in forming the multi-layered identity for an ego.

It is noticeable that the stigmatic label of "North Korean defector" seems undying through the life of an individual. For example, even if someone defected from North Korea twenty years ago and has lived as a good South Korean tax payer for twenty years, society nevertheless sees the person as a North Korean defector, distinguished from born-to-be South Koreans. The low rate of identifying as a North Korean defector in the self-presentation of four interviewees, including one who has been in South Korea for only about one year, shows a huge contrast with the social perspective. When asked to elaborate on the reason for their low attachment to their North Korean origins, they said that since they were so busy adapting to South Korean society to become South Koreans, they do not have the luxury of considering themselves as someone other than South Korean.

Of course, there exists a crevice between such self-presentation and media representation, and this may in turn be a negative factor in confusing North Korean defectors' own identification. One of the interviewees told me that even though she does not consider herself a North Korean defector anymore, once people around her learn that she is from North Korea, their attitudes seem to be instantly affected by the fact. In turn, she feels discriminated against and isolated by such responses when she acknowledges the label of North Korean defectors attached to her, making it all the more salient, even though she herself refused to accept it as her major identity.

### *Community and Social Network*

It is clear that self-presentation or self-identification is not always consistent with the actual behavior of an individual. For instance, when asked how much they were involved with other North Korean defectors and received useful information from such networks, all interviewees replied none or minimal. However, when combining bits of stories here and there over the course of the entire interview session, it was obvious that they were having a considerable amount of interaction with other defectors and receiving significant amounts of useful information they trusted from their networks.

Then why do they minimize the real interaction in their direct and conscious self-presentation? It seems that they are very aware of how they are perceived by the interviewer (or other people) when they are seen as close to other North Korean defectors. As with the previous questions of rating their identity as North Korean defectors, the interviewees were keen to draw a line between them and other defectors to present themselves as South Koreans rather than someone from North Korea. When asked which community or group is most helpful or useful in their life, all interviewees pointed out occupational or professional groups that they were affiliated with in South Korea. This shows some consistency with the previous question in that they attempt to measure and manage the social distance from other North Korean defectors and thus manage the possible impression which may arise therein.

From an anthropological perspective, judging the factuality of the response is not of primary interest here. Rather, examining how the interviewees intend to interpret their images to others is more significant. For example, when tracking down the source of useful information the interviewee collected, it turned out to be from fellow North Korean defectors, although the interviewee said a few minutes ago that she was not in much contact with other North Korean defectors. In this case, the interviewee explained that the friends who shared the information happened to be North Korean defectors, but that does not mean that she deliberately built a relationship with North Korean defectors. Like this, all four interviewees sought to maximize their distance from other defectors, and this conscious self-presentation reflects a strong aspiration to control their own images which is different from the conventional image of North Korean defectors perpetuated by the media.

### *Agency in Making Selections and Decisions*

Another contrasting point between media representation and self-presentation is the agency on the part of North Korean defectors. One of the key words that configures media representation of North Korean defectors is "passiveness." They are depicted as victims of political oppression, social control, and economic deprivation while in North Korea. With these images, North Korean defectors are considered people who escaped from North Korea due to insurmountable

hardships and had no other option. They are recipients of government support following the beginning of a new life in South Korea. Thus, when they seem not to be successfully adapting to South Korea, society focuses on what kind of help was insufficient, not giving much attention to the North Korean defectors themselves. In both cases, the outer factors are measured as significant, rendering North Korean defectors as either victims or recipients.

The content of the interviews indicated, however, that the process of defection required a considerable amount of planning, determination, decision making, and compromises. In contrast to popular ideas, defection is not something improvised but a complex and deliberate process of information exchange among multiple players. The exchange of information is not balanced, of course, placing North Korean defectors in a very unfavorable position with a high risk of having their plans thwarted. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the interviewees described the process and the aftermath of defection as results of their own decisions, and they were eager to be in charge of the situation, be it positive or negative (see also Yoon 2012).

The agency of the North Korean defector matters not only before and right after the defection, but also when it comes to the ultimate purpose of the defection. One of the echoing stories during the four interview sessions is that they came to South Korea not because they were starved and poor in North Korea but because they expected better opportunities and a brighter future in South Korea. One of the interviewees said that she might have lived an okay life in North Korea if she did not leave for South Korea. She added that she did not regret her decision though, because she still believed she would have a better future in South Korea.

Another interviewee confessed that she lived quite an affluent life in North Korea, but she decided to come to South Korea nonetheless since she longed for freedom. With freedom in making choices for her own life denied, it was not worth living, she said. She added that for her it was not political oppression or economic difficulties but a desire for personal independence that fueled her decision to leave North Korea. Here, in contrast to the media representation and dominant discourse that depict the North Korean defectors as victims and passive recipients, the interviewees considered themselves as active agents for their own life, being eager to take charge of the situation.

#### *Family and Diaspora*

One of the themes penetrating the past, present, and future of North Korean defectors appears to be family. When asked about an emotional attachment or the psychological distance to North Korea, challenges, and future plans in South Korea, and the possibility of a future visit/return to North Korea, all responses converged into the keyword of "family." The sense of attachment to North Korea might come from fond childhood memories, but a more fundamental factor

lay in the fact that North Korea is where their loved ones are. The most difficult challenges in South Korean life include the absence of family and the concern about the wellbeing of family members remaining in North Korea. The only reason to visit North Korea in the future is also to reunite with their families.

Two of the four interviewees were cases of “chain defection,” in which some family members were already settled in South Korea before the defection. These family members helped the interviewees come to South Korea with information on brokers and money through remittance. Even in these cases, the interviewees expressed their hopes or plans to bring other family members to South Korea in the future. Three of four interviewees said they were sending money to North Korean family members and were in contact with them on a regular basis via phone calls. The one who is not currently sending money to North Korea also said she planned to start the remittance once she found a better paying job.

Considering the images of North Korean society and family dynamics acquired through South Korean education on and media depiction of North Korea, one might think the kind of family relationship familiar to us is non-existent in North Korea: it is a highly controlled society where the political party overrules the traditional family relationship, and individuals are trained to watch their own family members to maintain the socialist order. The interviews, however, show that the emotional importance placed on family is similar between the two Koreas. Furthermore, the North Korean defectors considered themselves in a similar vein with families who were separated by the Korean War (*isangajok*). Just like the separated families who cannot be with their loved ones due to the division of the Korean Peninsula, North Korean defectors, too, are suffering due to the hostile political circumstances between the two Koreas.

### Conclusion: Identity, Self-Presentation, and Society

The number of North Korean defectors is a small fraction of the entire population of South Korea, and few South Koreans actually interact with North Korean defectors in their everyday lives. Nevertheless, people seem to share a certain image of North Korean defectors that have been represented and reproduced by the media. Criticisms of the television programs where North Korean defectors testify about the abysmal state of North Korean life and oppressive political regime are related to the perpetuation of negative images of North Korea. Circulating incorrect or exaggerated information on North Korean society is problematic considering the inter-Korean relationship and future unification. Just as problematic, although few people seem to care, is the social image of North Korean defectors portrayed by such programs.

Media representation of North Korean defectors in South Korea disseminates the following images: people who suffered from political oppression and

economic poverty under a dehumanizing regime, people distinguished from South Koreans due to different lifestyles and value systems, people making a living by blaming their place of origin using incorrect information or exaggerated stories, and people earning fame by rejecting and tainting their past. While these images are reproduced and perpetuated, news on dire incidents, such as those who committed suicide after losing lots of money to scams or a family suffering a tragic end after an unsuccessful adaptation, become another path for South Koreans to realize the existence of North Korean defectors.

Real life for the 34,000 North Korean defectors can be found somewhere between the dramatized images and extreme tragedies. Unnoticeable they might be, they are still managing everyday life by struggling between the familiar and the new, different systems, values, and expressions. What this article attempts to show is that their own images, their self-presentation can be far different from what media representation has been conveying to most South Koreans. The images of North Korean defectors might be more complex and multi-layered than the society believes them to be. For sure, it is not to say that North Korean defectors' self-presentation is closer to the reality per se. As Goffman's analysis of everyday presentation of self stipulates, self-identification and related conversation and behavior is the product of strategic choices which in turn fashioned individual intention as well social structure. Hence, the point of this pilot study lies in calling for a more nuanced and multifaceted approach in addressing North Korean defectors' lives in South Korea.

As mentioned in the beginning, this research is not an attempt to induce representability or generalizability of North Korean defectors as a whole. Rather, it has intended to reveal different angles than the hitherto circulated images of North Korean defectors by paying attention to their own self-images and voices, while keeping in mind that those self-presentations are also social constructs. The purpose of this article is limited in scope and scale for sure, but the effect does not necessarily have to be. As a pilot study on the identity and image of North Korean defectors, it awaits more active and productive discussions on the topic in the near future.

## Notes

1. Some scholars argue that popular belief in the idea of "one nation of Korean people" is not so much about fictive blood as it is about a long history and culture of the Korean people. See Han 2007, 19-22.

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Kyung Hyo Chun is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS) at Seoul National University. Before joining the IPUS, she was a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Academy of East Asian Studies, Sungkyunkwan University and a HK Research Professor at the Institute of Humanities for Unification at Konkuk University. She served as Managing Editor for the *S/N Korean Humanities* from 2015-2016 and is currently Managing Editor for Scopus-indexed *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* (AJP). Chun completed her BA (anthropology) at Seoul National University, and MA (anthropology with museum training concentration) at the George Washington University in Washington, D.C. She earned her doctorate in anthropology from the University of British Columbia, Canada. Her areas of research interest include post-coloniality, nationalist discourse, North Korean refugees, commemorations, museum representations, material culture, cultural properties, multiculturalism, and media politics. Email: anth.chun@gmail.com.

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# 2020 한반도국제평화포럼

## KOREA GLOBAL FORUM FOR PEACE

평화와 번영의 한반도 : 과거, 현재, 그리고 미래  
Peace and Prosperity on the Korean Peninsula : Past, Present and the Future

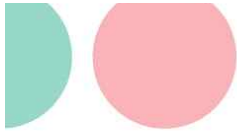
2020년 9월 7일 (월) - 9월 9일 (수)  
September 7th (Mon.) - 9th (Wed.) 2020



한반도 국제평화포럼 2020  
지속가능 대북정책의 조건

남북 사회통합을 위한 시민사회  
교류의 문화적 조건  
- 제 3의 장소에서 나타난 탈북민 동화(assimilation)와  
초국적주의(transnationalism) 지정학

신혜란 (HaeRan Shin)  
서울대학교 지리학과



2020  
서울대학교

# 통일기반구축 연합학술대회

11월 25-27일 (수-금) 10:00 - 17:00  
온라인 줌(zoom) 화상회의

## 11.25 (수) DAY1

11:00-12:00 **개회식**

**인사말** 임경훈 | 서울대 통일평화연구원 원장  
**격려사** 오세정 | 서울대 총장  
**간담회** 통일기반구축사업 연구책임자 회의

**참여링크** <https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/8675878574>

| 세션1   | 세션2  | 세션3  | 세션4   | 세션5  | 세션6  |
|---|--|--|---|--|--|
| <p>13:00-15:00</p> <p>국토문제연구소</p> <p><b>사회</b> 신혜란</p> <p><b>발표</b> 1. 일본 탈북민의 삶과 초국가적 연결 (이현옥, 이화여대)<br/>2. 탈북민 여성 삶에 나타난 불안정성, 적응, 역량강화 (신혜란, 지리학과)<br/>3. 탈남 이후 한국에 재정착한 탈북가족 사례연구 (김희정, 인화대)<br/>4. 문화적 차이는 어떻게 인식되고 극복되는가: 북한 이발주인 조사연구 개선방안에 대한 고찰 (진경효, 통일평화연구원)</p> <p><b>토론</b> 김석향(이화여대)</p> <p><b>참여링크</b> <a href="https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/8592020628">https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/8592020628</a></p> | <p>13:00-15:00</p> <p>여성연구소</p> <p><b>사회</b> 정현주 (환경대학원)</p> <p><b>초청강연</b> 북한 여성 이야기 (한인애, 이화여대)</p> <p><b>참여링크</b> <a href="https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/85107847000">https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/85107847000</a></p> | <p>13:00-15:00</p> <p>문화유산연구소 (비공개)</p> <p><b>사회</b> 이선숙</p> <p><b>발표</b> 위성자료에 나타난 북한의 문화유산 권리 (이선숙 김현우, 고고미술사학과)</p> <p><b>토론</b> 이기성(한국전통문화대), 영시연(충북대)</p> | <p>15:00-17:00</p> <p>인문학연구원</p> <p><b>사회</b> 김종일 (고고미술사학과)</p> <p><b>발표</b> 북한 인문학 시맨틱 데이터 아카이브 구축 (홍충욱, 인문학연구원/류인태, 한국학중앙연구원/장문석, 경희대/그림홍, 아시아연구소)</p> <p><b>자유토론</b> <a href="https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/87977182504">https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/87977182504</a></p> | <p>15:00-17:00</p> <p>인문학연구원</p> <p><b>사회</b> 방민호 (국어국문학과)</p> <p><b>발표</b> 경의선과 한국문학 (이지은, 국어국문학과)</p> <p><b>토론</b> 김영미(충북대)</p> <p><a href="https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/83389148073?pwd=M2pKUSJhOTZ0a2k0Uk9pFjJ0S3k5dDZkdz09">https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/83389148073?pwd=M2pKUSJhOTZ0a2k0Uk9pFjJ0S3k5dDZkdz09</a></p> | <p>15:00-17:00</p> <p>그린바이오과학기술연구원</p> <p><b>사회</b> 박미선</p> <p><b>발표</b> 쿠비와 베트남 도시농업 사례가 북한에 주는 시사점 (박미선, 국제농업기술대학원)</p> <p><b>토론</b> 이효정(한국농촌경제연구원)</p> <p><a href="https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/89977614324">https://snu-ac-kr.zoom.us/j/89977614324</a></p> |

2020 통일기반구축 연합학술대회

탈북민 여성 삶에 나타난 불안정성,  
적응, 역량강화

신혜란 (HaeRan Shin)  
서울대학교 지리학과

## 일본 탈북민의 삶과 초국가적 연결

2020. 11. 25.

이현욱 (이화여대)  
김석향 (이화여대)

문화적 차이는 어떻게 인식되고 극복되는가:  
북한이탈주민 조사연구 개선방안에 대한 고찰

천경효

서울대학교 통일평화연구원  
책임연구원

2020 통일기반구축 연합학술대회

## 탈남 이후 한국에 재정착한 탈북가족 연구

김희정

인하대학교 초빙교수

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