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UNIFICATION IN ACTION? THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF NORTH KOREAN DEFECTOR-MIGRANTS: INSIGHTS AND IMPLICATIONS

By Steven Denney and Christopher Green

Abstract

What can the resettlement of North Korean defector-migrants into South Korean society today tell us about Korean national identity and the likely challenges of integrating the two Koreas tomorrow? In this paper, we report findings from a 2016 national identity survey of 334 North Korean defector-migrants currently residing in South Korea. It compares responses to that of native South Koreans and considers in-group differences of opinion. Overall, we find no substantive identity divergences between those from North Korea and native South Koreans. We do, however, find evidence of significant in-group identity differences, namely cohort effects. Older defector-migrants are more likely to see their "Koreaness" as defined by ethnocultural traits, feel closer to South Korea, and be more "patriotic" than younger migrants.

Key Words: *North Korean defector-migrants, national identity, unification, public opinion, cohort effects*

Introduction[1]

Research Question and Importance of Topic Development

Considering the relative size of the "defector-migrant"[2] community in South Korea, there is no lack of academic and media commentary about the community's circumstances and various government policies designed to aid its integration into South Korean life. Partly, this is borne of the conception of defector-migrant integration as something of a test case for a future Korean peninsula unification. Areas of concern include discrimination in the personal and professional lives of defector-migrants, and the provision (or not) of appropriate welfare services by the South Korean state.[3]

One intangible but equally vital area of discussion over defector-migrant integration pertains to identity and national belonging. What do North Korean migrants themselves think about their national identities as newly resettled members of South Korean society? How do these attitudes compare with native-born South Koreans? Do demographics or pre- and post-migration effects matter? And what are the implications? This paper considers these questions. It asks what North Korean defector-migrants think defines their national identity as new citizens of the Republic of Korea[4] across three dimensions: 1) the importance of ethnocultural characteristics to national membership and belonging; 2) feelings of "closeness" to South Korea; and 3) levels of pride in of South Korea's political, social, and cultural achievements (otherwise known as patriotism).

The empirical basis of this research is a 2016 opinion survey of 334 North Korean defector-migrants currently residing in South Korea. The questionnaire is based on the "Korean identity survey" but adjusted with migrant-relevant questions. To determine whether there are any differences between this resettled migrant group and native South Koreans, we compare averages between the migrants' survey responses to those form the original Korean identity survey. Then, we look at whether there are any within-group differences in the migrant survey responses across relevant demographics and pre-/post-migration experiences.

Overview of Defector-Migrant Flows from North Korea to South Korea

In 2017, a total of 1,127 defector-migrants arrived in South Korea, followed by another 488 in the first half of 2018.[5] At time of writing, a total of 31,827 defector-migrants have arrived in the South. They come from a variety of geographical and socio-

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economic backgrounds and left North Korea for a multitude of reasons. Some of those reasons were political and ideological; others, a majority, were not. Figure 1 shows the number of resettled North Korean defector-migrants by year and gender, as reported by the Ministry of Unification.

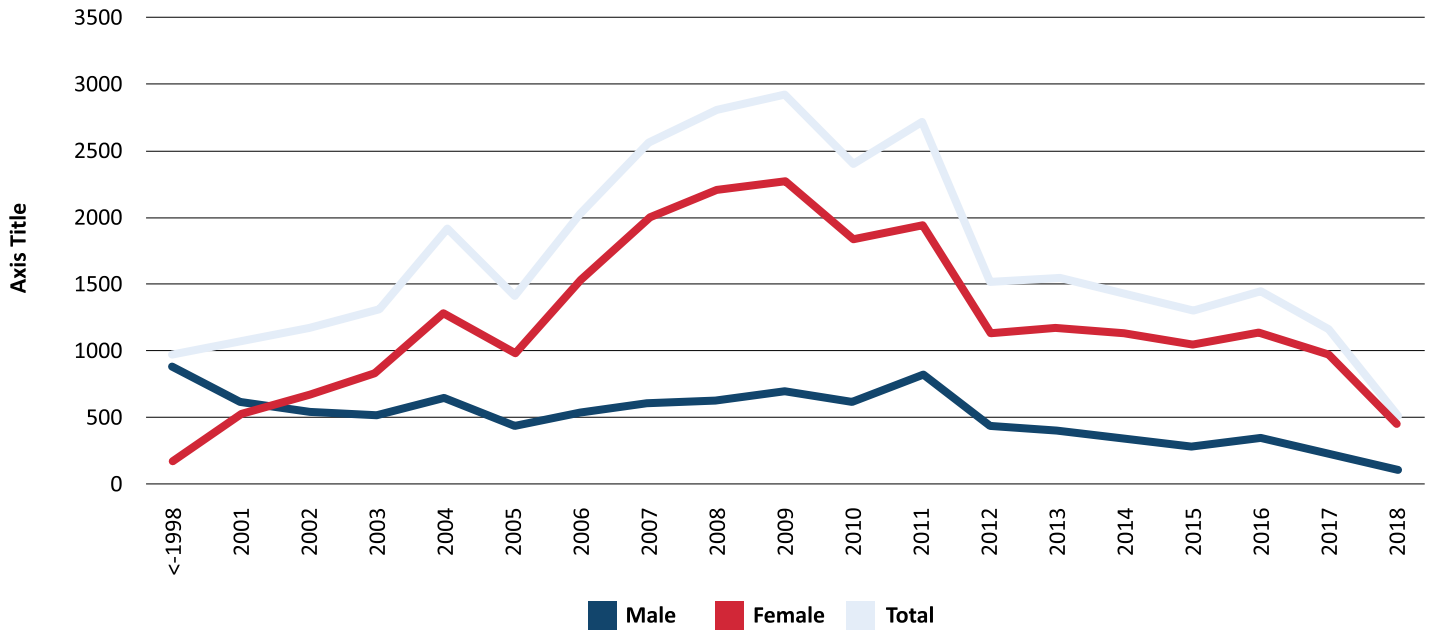
Six major cohorts of North Korean resettled in South Korea have been observed, each linked to a specific period in post-WWII Korean Peninsula migration history: (1) "system selective migrants" of the period 1945-50; (2) war refugees of the Korean War from 1950 to 1953; (3) Cold War "heroes who returned to the state" between 1962 and 1993; (4) post-Cold War "returning brethren" of 1993-97; (5) the "escaping residents" of 1997 to 2004; and (6) "new settlers" of the mid-2000s to the present day.[6]

Groups one and two, both far larger than anything we see today, migrated from north to south before 1953, which, inter alia, means that most of those in the groups have passed away. Group three is very small, being made up of a very small number of people who earned a reward known as a *borogeum* from the South Korean government for bringing military secrets from North to South Korea during the military dictatorship era (1961-1987). Groups four and five are distinguished by two factors: the way in which they were treated on arrival in South Korea; and by conditions in North Korea at the time of their departure.[7] Group six is distinguished by the preeminence of chain defection among its members.

Group four was assisted with the financial cost of resettlement by the Kim Young-sam government, which introduced the Act to Protect North Korean Brethren Who Returned to the State. The law provided resettling North Koreans with $15,400 each in resettlement and housing assistance. Conversely, people arriving in South Korea after 1997 were subject to the law that superseded it, the Act on the Protection and Resettlement Support for the Residents Who Escaped from North Korea. This provided noticeably more resettlement funding: $36,000 for each arrival, as well as a broader range of programs to address the psychological and practical difficulties that accompanied resettlement.

At the same time, due to the "Arduous March" famine that peaked in 1995-1997, most of the people in group four describe themselves as having been in grave economic difficulty in the period immediately prior to their departure from North Korea.[8] Conversely, group five consists of a mixture of people; both those who departed to South Korea to escape economic distress, and those who left because they decided to accept the offer of a better—or at least different—life in South Korea.

Figure 1. North Korean migrants admittance to ROK



After 2005, the era of group six, "chain defection" became a more common phenomenon than had previously been the case.[9] Chain defection refers to people who follow other members of their family or close friends in migrating out of North Korea, and is a phenomenon that emerged with the appearance of brokers—people facilitating defection in exchange for cash payments—in the early 2000s.[10] Those who leave North Korea first provide information and guidance to others following on, as well as the funding needed to facilitate escape, thus dramatically lowering the cost of migration.[11]

Given that socio-economic conditions in North Korea improved steadily in the early 21st century, people in groups six are more likely than those in group five, and far more likely than those in group four, to have left North Korea for purposive reasons that may not be related to political repression or existential economic distress. This can impact upon views of the state left behind.

Brief Overview of Existing Research on the Topic

Surveys and Interviews of Defectors

Contemporary projects that involve resettled North Korean respondents tend to take one of three forms: large sample surveys, small sample surveys, and ethnographic and anthropological research. Large sample surveys are rare, but include ones conducted by the South Korean National Intelligence Service (NIS) and Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU). These are a de facto part of the defector-migrant resettlement process, which includes an extended period of intelligence service questioning and debriefing followed by twelve weeks in a government resettlement center in either Andong or Hwasong, both of which are located in rural areas of Gyeonggi Province. These large-n surveys include interviews with every incoming North Korean arriving in South Korea. Quantitative methods are used to analyze the resulting data and make claims about trends in North Korean society, public opinion, etc. and/or comparative claims about the populations of North and South Korea. Many of the conclusions stay outside the public domain.

One of the few large sample surveys whose results (though not the data tables themselves) are freely available are the annual surveys conducted by the state-funded Hana Foundation.[12] These are by no means exhaustive, but do use a weighted scale to draw conclusions about the defector-migrant population from a randomized sample of between two and three thousand (2419 in 2015; the size of the sample varies slightly each year, dependent upon response rates). The resulting annual publication used only to be available in Korean. In 2015, for the first time, the report also appeared in English.

The second group is small sample surveys that analyze the identity, knowledge, preferences, opinions, and/or values of either the defector-migrant population or limited reference populations in the borderland or in North Korea itself. Small sample survey research projects are much more common for practical reasons of cost and necessary time commitment. Small sample survey questionnaires and data tables are often publicly available through the Korean Social Science Data Archive, a non-profit organization that charges a small annual administrative fee, but otherwise does not place barriers to entry.[13]

Surveys at this scale are conducted with purposive (targeted, often non-random) samples numbering in the tens, hundreds, or low thousands. As is the case here, projects often combine a structured survey with semi-structured or unstructured interview methods to achieve greater causal leverage—in other words, to make the results more credible. Circumspection about causal leverage demands that a restricted selection of analytical methods be used, and conclusions be drawn at lower statistical certainty due to the higher margin of error that comes with smaller sample sizes.

Studies of this scope and scale cover a wide range of subjects. Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland use two surveys with a combined sample of 1646 people (1346 from one survey conducted in China, 300 from another conducted in South Korea using different questionnaires) to investigate North Korean state-society relations in the era of marketization.[14] Yang Munsu and Kim Byung-yeon use a sample of 876 (672 surveyed in 2004-5 and another 204 in 2009 on different questions) to look at trends in the development of the North Korean economy in the "marketization" era.[15] Kim Byung-yeon uses a sample of 361—227 residing in Hanawon (implying very recent escapees from North Korea) and a further 134 interviewed at Seoul National University (who, Kim notes, all escaped DPR Korea between 2007 and 2011)—to review the make-up of the informal North Korean economy.[16] Kang Won-taek et al. use a sample of 848 people, 344 resettled North Koreans and the remainder from South Korea, to parse the similarities and differences in youth (ages 18-39) attitudes toward unification.[17] A very rare example of this type of research involves North Korean citizens who have *not* left the DPRK permanently; they intend to return to their homes inside the country. The authors use a structured survey to

garner opinion on a range of subjects including South Korea and prospects for unification. The work is derived from a purposive sample of just 100 North Koreans legally visiting China.[18]

Third and finally there are the projects that do not use surveys at all. Instead, these rely on interviews and ethnographic methods to garner detailed information about very small samples of people. This particularities research is usually not designed to generalize about any referent population, although that does not make the research any less useful or interesting.

Examples of this type of project include Kim Seok-hyang work with twenty former residents of Hoeryong for her volume.[19] Our previous work uses a sample of ten.[20] At the farthest end of the spectrum are those projects that have samples of one, such as the work of Myonghee Kim, who wrote about education for North Koreans in the resettlement process through the experiences of one female in her 30s who struggles (but ultimately succeeds) in learning English.[21] In all three cases, semi-structured interviews were used without structured surveys, with quotations from respondents used to highlight themes and, where possible, draw out patterns.

Empirical Expectations of Identity and Attitudes

What do we expect to see in the data? We explore two broad strands. One, whether there is identity convergence or divergence between North Korean migrants and native South Koreans. Two, whether there are any within-group differences produced by demographic differences (age or gender) or pre/post-migration effects.[22]

In the comparative literature, it is argued that democratic institutions, like those that most agree are consolidated to a large extent in South Korea, discourage closed or ascriptive conceptions of national identity. Ethnic nationalism is, in other words, incompatible with democratic norms. Existing empirical literature supports this claim, including those which look specifically at South Korean national identity in the democratic era.[23] Based on a study of Korean nationalism, Emma Campbell finds that younger South Koreans feel little sense of national solidarity with other ethnic Koreans on the basis of a shared ethnicity.[24] Accordingly, we expect to see a divergence in identity on this particular dimension. North Koreans, who come from a non-democracy and one that still actively promotes a "cleanest race"-based national identity of ethnic purity, can be expected to put greater emphasis on ethnocultural characteristics of national identity.

In light of the fact that defector-migrants from North Korea are provided automatically with citizenship of the Republic of Korea and receive a package of resettlement expenses that is generous when compared with the treatment of other foreigners arriving in the country, to say nothing of positive comparisons with conditions in North Korea that migrants have left behind, we would further expect North Korean defector-migrants to feel a strong sense of closeness to or pride in the Republic of Korea.

However, this second expectation is caveated through recent research that has tended to highlight the extent of discrimination felt by North Koreans in the process of resettlement, which translates into often rather grave disappointment that a shared Korean ethnicity does not translate into smooth integration.[25] Nevertheless, we would expect the official welcome provided by the South Korean state to trump negative feelings accumulated in daily life, especially for young people, arriving in good time to receive free South Korean higher education, and older people, who benefit the most from South Korea's welfare system. We anticipate these people feeling more positive about their adopted home than the cohort of individuals who arrive in South Korea in middle age.

Overview of Data

Methodology, Data, and Measurement

The survey used in this study is comprised of questions from the "Korean identity survey" jointly administered by the East Asia Institute, the Asiatic Research Institute of Korea University, and the *Joongang Daily* newspaper.[26] As a survey designed for host residents, the original questionnaire does not ask migrant-relevant questions, such as where else they have lived or when they arrived in South Korea, among other questions. These questions were added, making the survey similar to new immigrant surveys, such as the New Immigrant Survey (NIS) in Canada.

Because of problems related to size of case, research into migrants' values and identities using random sampling is difficult even under more ideal circumstances. Targeting new South Korean citizens who defected from North Korea is a difficult task. Given the security vulnerabilities of this group, completely random sampling of North Korean migrants in South Korea is not possible for most investigators. There is a database of all resettled North Koreans in South Korea, but it is inaccessible for security reasons.[27]

Therefore, the research here uses a combination of semi-random and selective, purposive sampling methods. Respondents were recruited by government-supported NGOs who maintain migrant databases inaccessible to researchers and were also selected from the researchers' extant network connections in the North Korean defector-migrant community.[28] Different from completely random sampling methods, which can be used to infer about the population targeted, purposive sampling is pursued when random sampling isn't possible. Accordingly, the sample used in this study is not representative of either the approximately 31,000 North Korean defector-migrants residing in South Korea, or the North Korean population.

Despite its limitations, though, purposive sampling method is still useful as it can be used to test the relationship between key variables. A total of 334 members of the North Korean migrant population in South Korea were sampled, using a mixed-method of face-to-face and online interviews.[29] Those who spent fewer than 12 years in North Korea were excluded from the sample, as their pre-adolescent experiences are unlikely to have had any lasting effect.[30] Table 1 reports descriptive statistics for the sample.

Descriptive Statistics and North-South Comparison

We explore average responses from our sample to three relevant measures of national identity.[31] The averages for the sample are compared with those from native South Koreans surveyed for the 2015 Korean identity survey. A nationally representative, random sample of 1006 respondent participated in this survey. Questions chosen for comparison are identical between surveys. Original wording (provided by the authors in English) for all questions used can be found in the Appendix.

The first variable considers the extent to which ethnocultural characteristics are important to national identity. Respondents were asked to state how important "ancestry" and "history and tradition" are to being "truly South Korean." The ordered responses were combined, resulting in an index ranging from

Table 1: 2016 National Identity Survey of North Korean Migrants in South Korea	
Number of respondents	334
Median age	46
Number of female respondents	240 (73%)
Pre-migration	
Average number of years spent in DPRK	35
Average year of defection	2005
Completed high school or above in North Korea	220 (65%)
Born or lived in borderland province	260 (77%)
Perceived living standard in North Korea	
Upper and upper middle	63 (18%)
Middle	85 (25%)
Low and lower middle	175 (53%)
Post-migration	
Average number of years spent in China	4
Average number of years spent in South Korea	8
Average year of arrival in South Korea	2008
Completed high school or above in South Korea	66 (19%)
Current student	40 (12%)
Fully employed	122 (36%)

Notes: Values rounded to nearest whole number. Missing variables excluded. Provinces in the China-North Korea borderlands are counted as borderland provinces. These include: North Pyongan,Changang, Ryanggang, and North Hamgyong. Rason (Special Economic Zone) is also counted.

2-8. North and South Korea's sense of a shared ancestry and history form the basis of claims for national reunification. Differences in opinion regarding the importance of ethnocultural characteristics would point to a potential schism in an otherwise shared national identity. Figure 2 shows average scores for South Koreans and resettled North Korean migrants. The South Korean sample scores 6.4 and our North Korean migrants sample scores slightly higher 6.5. There is very little to no difference in opinion between the two groups. With an average score greater than 6 for both groups, ethnocultural characteristics are important to both native South Koreans and defector-migrants.

The second variable measures respondents' feelings of "closeness" to the Republic of Korea. Responses are reordered from their original scale as either "close" (combination of "very close" or "somewhat close") or "not close" (combination of "not particularly close" or "not close at all"). How close (or distant) a North Korean migrant feels to South Korea provides a measure how welcome and integral they perceive themselves in their

Figure 2. Importance of Ethnocultural traits

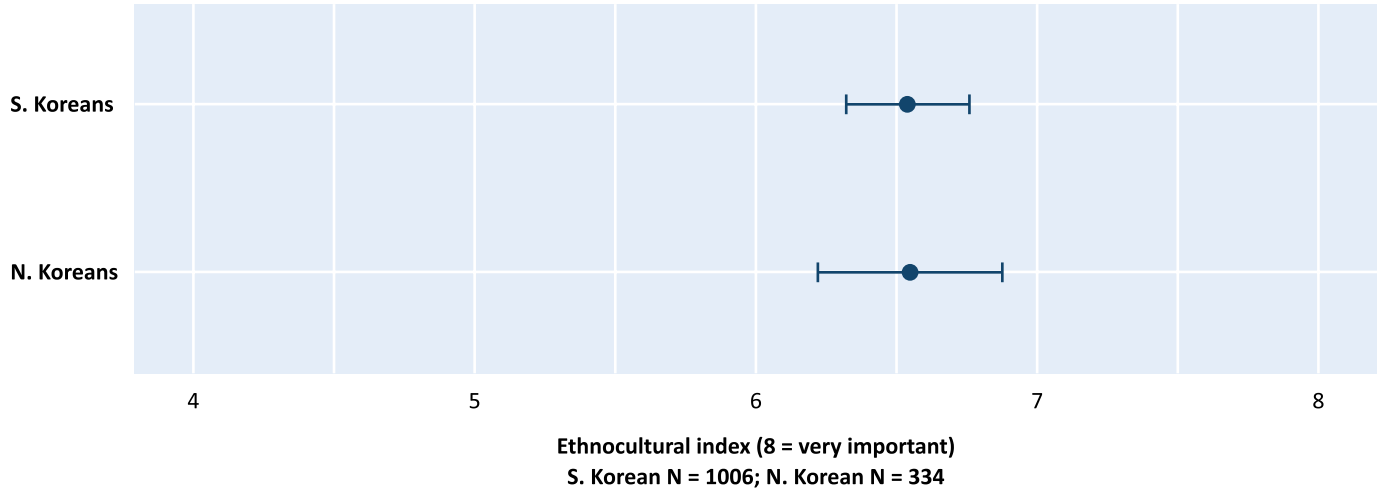
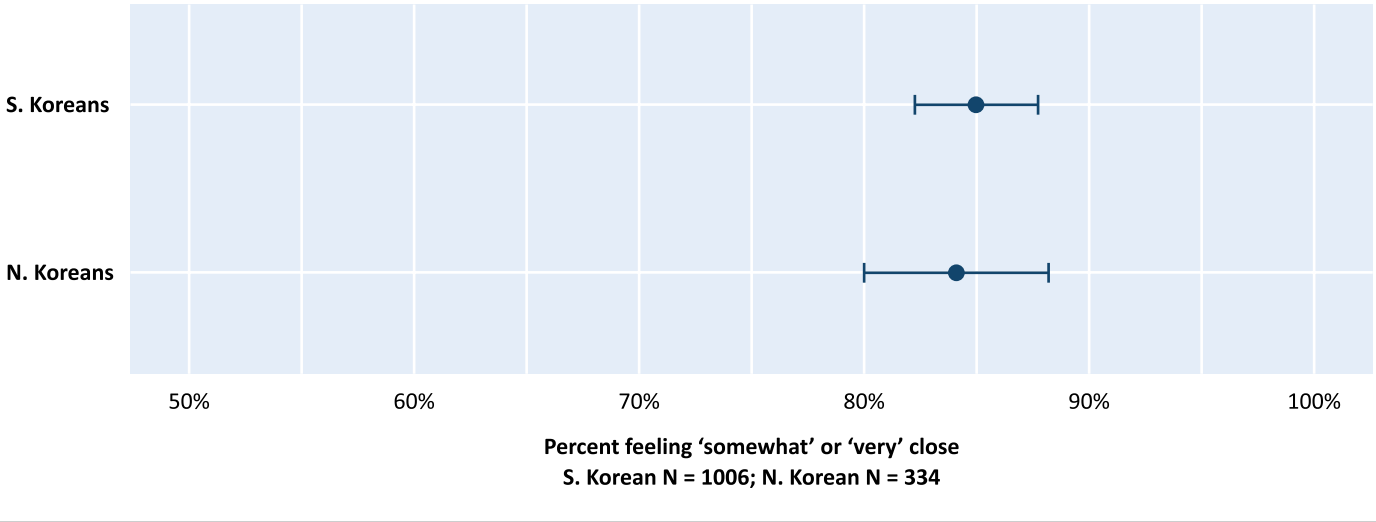


Figure 3. Closeness to South Korea



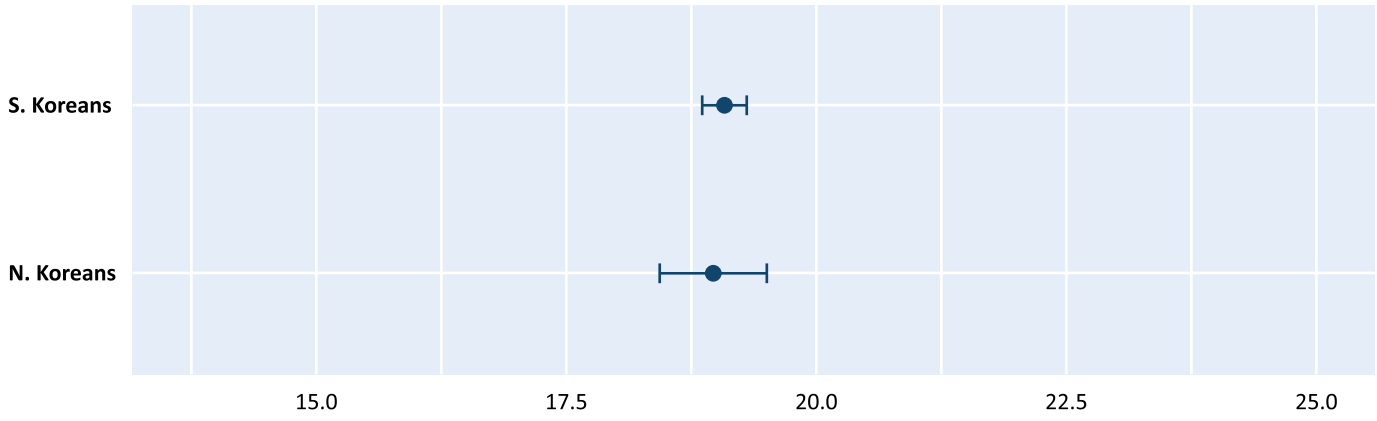
new host country. Figure 3 shows average scores expressed as a percentage. Rounding to the nearest whole number, we see that 84% of defector-migrants and 85% of native South Koreans feel close to South Korea. Again, a small but substantively insignificant difference.

Lastly, responses to questions measuring respondents' level of pride in multiple characteristics of South Korean state and society were combined to create a pride index ranging from 7-28. Items include pride in political influence, economic achievements, scientific and cultural achievements, sports, and military influence (see Appendix for exact question wording). Figure 4 shows average scores for each group. At an average of 18.9 for defector-migrants and 19 for South Koreans, both groups express similarly levels of pride in South Korea.

Deeper into the Data: Regression Analyses

Comparisons of means between North Korean migrants and the South Korean sample show basically no difference in opinions. But how do opinions vary across groups within the sample by demographics and pre-migration and post-migration experiences? Using regressions, we take a closer look at the data on North Korean migrants.[32] Specifically, we consider nine variables. Four variables for pre-migration experiences (education in North Korea; years spent in China; socioeconomic background in North Korea; and place of birth/living), three variables for post-migration experiences (time spent in South Korea, education and employment), and two variables for other demographics (age cohorts and gender). Using regression analyses, we can consider the effect of demographic traits and pre- and post-migration experiences on the variables simultaneously. The dependent variables remain the same, except that ethnocultural is reordered as a binary outcome (1 for important, 0 for not important) for ease of analysis.[33] For the dichotomous outcome variables (ethnocultural and closeness variables) logit regression is used. For the continuous variable (pride) ordinary least squared (OLS) is used.

Figure 4. Pride in South Korea



Error bars = 95% CI. S. Korean N = 1006; N. Korean N = 291

Table 2: Regression Results (standard errors in parentheses)

	Ethnocultural		Close ROK		Pride ROK
	Logit model 1		Logit model 2		OLS model
		Odds ratios		Odds ratios	
Cohort 35-54	0.06	1.07	-0.05	0.96	-1.08*
	(0.32)		(0.44)		(0.60)
Cohort 55+	0.93**	2.53	1.12*	3.06	1.66**
	(0.37)		(0.57)		(0.67)
Female	-0.49*	0.61	1.13***	3.09	0.12
	(0.27)		(0.34)		(0.49)
Education high DPRK	-0.15	0.86	-0.58	0.56	-0.57
	(0.26)		(0.39)		(0.48)
NK Class middle	-0.60**	0.55	-0.50	0.61	-0.74
	(0.28)		(0.40)		(0.51)
NK Class high	-0.23	.80	-0.24	0.79	-0.86
	(0.35)		(0.50)		(0.65)
Lived borderland	0.47	1.59	-0.31	0.73	-0.36
	(0.31)		(0.46)		(0.57)
Time spent ROK (> 6 years)	-0.76***	0.47	-0.41	0.66	-0.46
	(0.26)		(0.36)		(0.46)
Education high ROK	-0.11	0.90	-0.04	0.96	-0.01
	(0.30)		(0.39)		(0.54)
Employed	-0.28	0.76	0.44	1.56	0.16
	(0.26)		(0.38)		(0.49)
Student	-0.64*	0.53	0.07	1.07	-1.25*
	(0.37)		(0.53)		(0.68)
Time spent PRC (> 2 years)	0.27	1.31	0.57*	1.77	-0.03
	(0.24)		(0.34)		(0.45)
Constant	0.69	2.00	1.56**	4.78	20.76***
	(0.50)		(0.71)		(0.91)
N	334		334		334
R-squared					0.09
Adj. R-squared					0.06
Log Likelihood	-215.66		-127.85		
Residual Std. Error					3.87 (df = 321)
F Statistic					2.78*** (df = 12; 321)
AIC	457.33		281.70		
					***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1

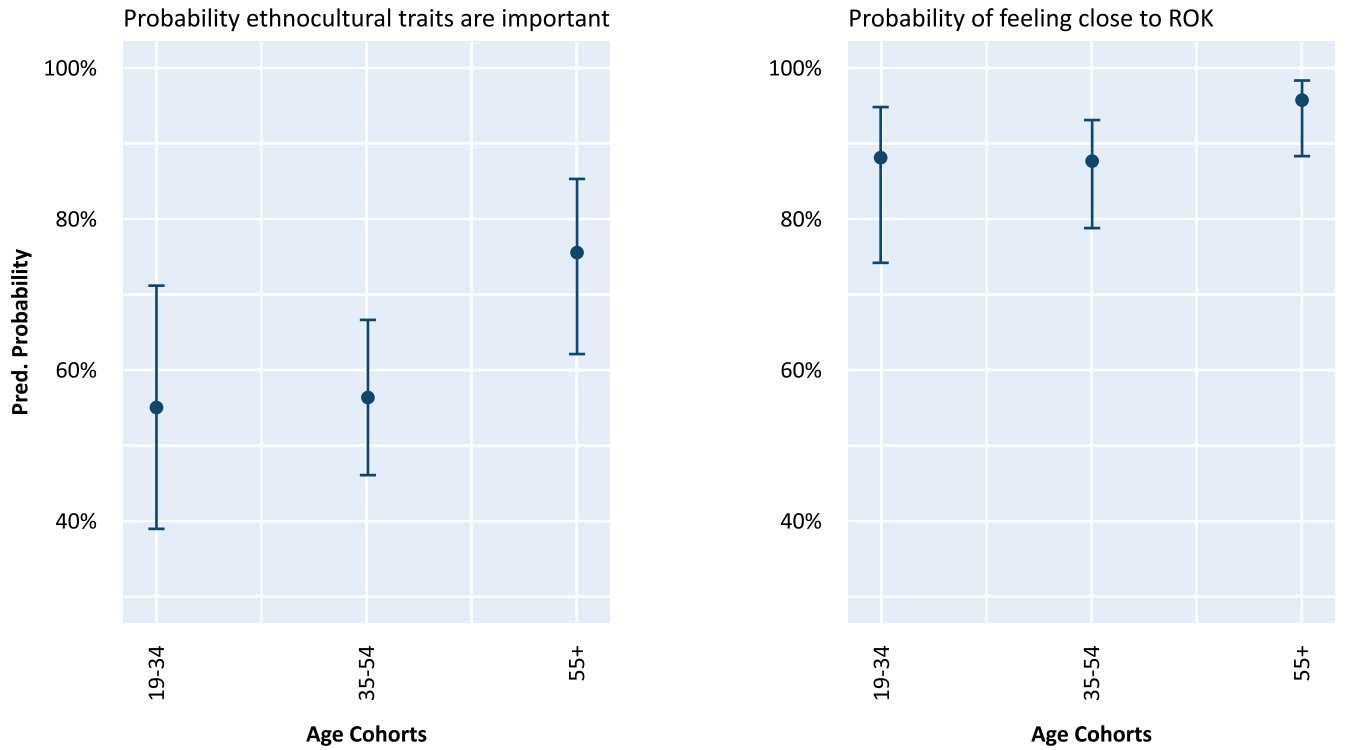
In the first model (logit #1), we see that those from the 55+ age cohort find ethnocultural characteristics of (South) Korean national identity more important than those from younger cohorts. The odds ratios for age cohorts shows that the 55+ cohort is 2.53 times more likely to think ethnocultural characteristics are important to being truly (South) Korean compared to the 19-35 reference cohort. (The effect for belonging to the 36-55 age cohort show a positive impact on the response, but it is not statistically significant.) Notably, there is a negative and statistically significant effect for having spent seven years or more in South Korea. Exposure, in other words, has a suppressive effect on the response; those from North Korea who have spent a "significant" amount of time in South Korea find ethnocultural characteristics of Korean national identity less important.[34] There is also a pre-migration class effect. Compared to those who came from less advantaged positions in North Korean society, those belonging to a "middle class" of North Korea are less likely to think ethnocultural characteristics are important to national identity.

In the second model (logit #2), we see that belonging to the age cohort 55+ has a positive effect on the response variable. This group is more than three time more likely than the 19-35 cohort to feel close to South Korea. Females also feel closer to South Korea than do males. In fact, they are over three times more likely than males to feel this way.

Lastly, for the pride index, model 3 shows results of the OLS regression. The only statistically significant effect is for the 55+ age cohort. The beta coefficient of 1.7 shows that compared to the 19-34 age cohort, older North Korean migrants score almost two points higher – a substantive increase. Notably, the effect for the middle cohort (ages 35-54) is negative by a full point. If we relax our threshold for statistical significance to the .10 level, we could claim a cohort effect similar to that of the 55+ cohort, but in the opposite direction.

Taken together, the regression results indicate that what matters most is the cohort to which one belongs. Specifically, whether one is 55 years of age or older. Those belonging to this group

Figure 5. (error bars at 95% CI)



think significantly different from everyone else, even with pre- and post-migration controls included. We will expound on this finding in the following section.

Before transitioning to the discussion and conclusion, we show predicted probabilities for the logit models (Figure 5) and predicted values for the OLS model (Figure 6) by age cohorts. The figures underscore just how different those 55+ think and feel compared to younger cohorts, while controlling for the effects of gender and pre- and post-migration effects. For the ethnocultural variable, there is a 76% probability that someone 55+ thinks ancestry and tradition are important to being truly (South) Korean. The probability plummets for the 19-34 age cohort (55%) and the 35-54 cohort (57%). For the closeness response variable, the difference is less pronounced, but at a 94% probability, it's almost a sure thing that someone in this cohort feels close to South Korea. Lastly, for the pride index, migrants 55 years-old and above are predicted to score a 21, which is 2-3 points higher than the other cohorts.

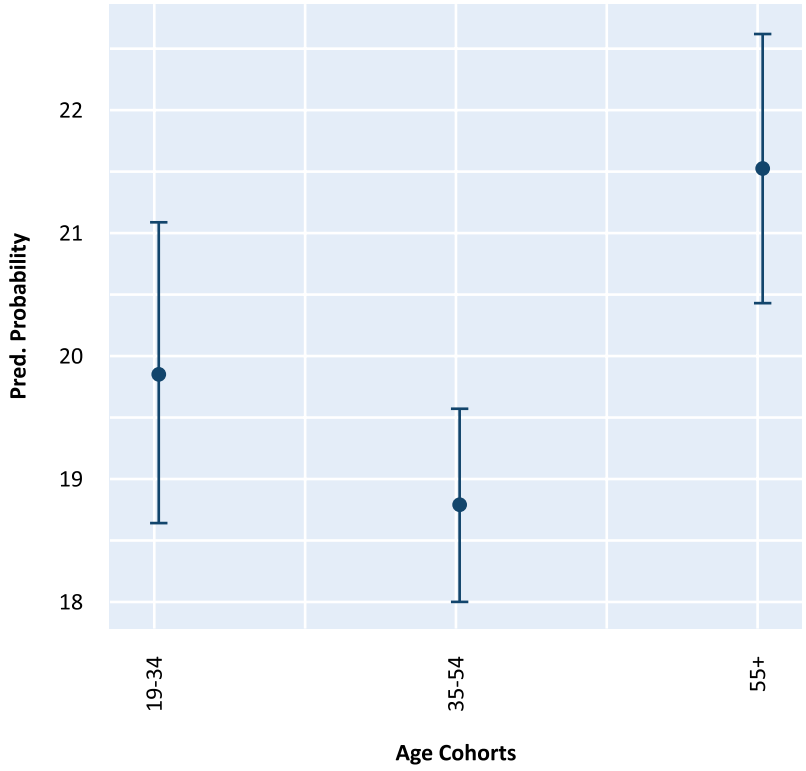
Discussion and Conclusion

What does this analysis tell us that might prove useful for understanding North Korean defector-migrants and unification? And what, if anything, are the broader implications?

First, we note no notable differences between the North Korean migrants and the native South Korean sample. Although North Korean migrants are slightly more likely to think that ethnocultural characteristics of national identity are important to national membership and belonging (not an unexpected finding), there is no substantive divergence in national identities.

Second, while there are no notable differences between incoming defector-migrants and native South Koreans, there are notable in-group differences. We find the existence of significant cohort effects, specifically for the 55+ age cohort. Controlling for pre- and post-migration effects, the factor which matters most is the age group to which one belongs. This group thinks ethnocultural characteristics are more important, feels closer to South Korea, and shows greater pride in South Korea's achievements—they're more patriotic. What does this mean?

Figure 6. Predicted values for pride ROK (error bars at 95% CI)



As new terrain, our findings and their explanations should be taken as preliminary, but several theories immediately present themselves. It is first useful to consider changes in North Korea itself. Those in the 55+ age cohort were born under Kim Il-sung's political regime.[35] This regime promoted a strong sense of ethnic nationalism, or the idea that Korea—both North and South—are one nation. Hence the greater likelihood that someone from this group believes ancestry and tradition are important to being truly Korean. It also follows, then, that this group would feel closer to South Korea—it's part of the pan-Korean nation, after all. And achievements of South Korea would be considered achievements for all (ethnic) Koreans. It is not that the later regimes of Kim Jong-il and Kim Jong-un did (and do) not propagate notions of ethnic nationalism; on the contrary. Only, the task environment changed in the 1990s, and the message stopped resonating like it once did.[36]

Second is the impact of a very wide range of resettlement experiences after arrival in South Korea. Specifically, the 55+ age cohort has a fundamentally different resettlement experience vis-à-vis the younger age cohorts. Most of the respondents from this age cohort need not compete with native-born South Koreans (and other newcomers) for jobs. They do not have to return to school, build a new network, or substantively integrate into South Korean society. Most receive old age living assistance (welfare) and/or have children who work. They tend to socialize within the group. For them, the competitive reality that faces most resettled migrants is never experienced. This may explain why they have a greater sense of ethnic solidarity, feel closer to South Korea, and have more pride in the Republic. This would also explain why exposure to South Korea has a negative effect on respondents' feeling of ethnic solidarity (i.e., thinking ancestry and tradition are important for "Koreaness"). The longer one is in South Korea, the clearer it becomes that shared ancestry and tradition are not sufficient for national belonging. Notably, and contrary to our expectations, we do not find that young people have more favorable opinions than middle-age defector-migrants.

As a study of "unification in practice" (i.e., the resettlement and resocialization of former residents of North Korea), the implications of this research for unification and understanding defector/migrant resettlement are policy relevant. Public discourse on defector resettlement is distorted to a very high degree; partly this is an outcome of politicization, but equally, there is a notable lack of concrete evidence from which public debate might otherwise proceed. Further research such as this is therefore needed to examine and if possible address those deficiencies.

Appendix

Question wording (translated from the Korean by the authors) for defector-migrant survey and native South Korean survey.

- *Ethnocultural variable*. "How important is [ancestry (i); understanding history and traditions (ii)] to being truly South Korean?" Possible answers: "Very important," "Somewhat important," "Not particularly important," "Not important at all"
- *Closeness variable.* "How close do you feel to South Korea?" Possible answers: "Very close," "Somewhat close," "Not particularly close, "Not close at all"
- *Pride variable.* "How proud of the Republic of Korea are you in the following areas?" Areas used: 1) political status on the international stage; 2) economic achievements; 3) technology; 4) sports; 5) art and culture; 6) military power; 7) fair and equal social treatment Possible answers: "Very proud," "Somewhat proud," "Not particularly proud, "Not proud at all"

Variable Construction

Demographics:

- *Age Cohorts.* Defined using the age variable, as described. Age was calculated by subtracting the current year (2018) from the birth year provided.
- *Female.* Males = 0 and females = 1.

Pre-migration experiences:

- *North Korea Education (High).* Dummy variable for those who completed a high school-level education or above prior to leaving North Korea.
- *Class in DPRK.* Dummy variable for those in upper class and those not. Class was determined by a question about respondents' standard of living 3 years prior to leaving North Korea. Five levels were possible (see below). Upper class = levels 1 and 2. Middle class = level 3. Lower class = levels 4 and 5.
    - *Level 1:* I had no problem purchasing expensive things, including: an apartment, car, etc.

- *Level 2:* I had no problem purchasing consumer items, such as a refrigerator. But I had difficulty purchasing very expensive items.
- *Level 3:* I could purchase rice and produce, but I had difficult purchasing consumer items necessary for daily living.
- *Level 4:* I had enough to eat and live, but I had no money to buy new clothes.
- *Level 5:* Surviving each day was difficult.

- *Lived in Borderland.* Dummy variable for those who were born and grew up in a borderland province. Borderland provinces = North Pyongan, Chagang, Ryanggang, North Hamgyong, and Rason (SEZ).

Post-migration experiences:

- *Years in PRC.* Dummy variable for those who spent equal to or greater than the median number of years in the People's Republic of China (2 years).
- *Working/employment.* Dummy variable for those reporting full employment.
- *Student.* Dummy variable for those who report being enrolled in a post-secondary or tertiary-level educational institution.
- *Exposure ROK.* Dummy variable for those who spent equal to or greater than the median number of years in South Korea (7 years).
- *South Korea Education (High).* Dummy variable for those who completed a high school-level education or above after resettlement in South Korea.
- *Employment (ROK).* Dummy variable for reporting employment in South Korea.

Endnotes

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[2] A term meaning those North Koreans who escape from their country and resettle in South Korea, mostly in Seoul and contiguous regions of Gyeonggi Province. We use the term in this paper without any intent to transmit a political message of any kind; only, "defector-migrant" conveys the wide range of possible motivations behind acts of abandoning North Korea for a different life in the South; it achieves this more accurately, we believe, than either "defector" or "migrant" (though we occasionally use "migrant" for readability), the neologism "saetomin," meaning "new settler," or "Bukhan ital jumin," meaning "resident [of South Korea] who left North Korea".

[3] Andrei Lankov, "Why some North Korean defectors choose not to live in the South," NK News, February 20, 2018, https://www.nknews.org/2018/02/why-some-north-korean-defectors-choose-not-to-live-in-the-south/; Jin-Won Noh et al., "The Effects of Discrimination Experience on Life Satisfaction of North Korean Refugees: Mediating Effect of Stress," *Psychiatry Investigation* 15, no. 1 (2018): 49-53; "N. Korean Defectors Complain of Discrimination in S. Korea," Chosun Ilbo, March 15, 2017, http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2017/03/15/2017031501539.html; Myonghee Kim, "A North Korean Defector's Journey through the Identity-Transformation Process," *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 15, no. 1 (2016): 3-16.

[4] We use South Korea and the Republic of Korean (ROK) interchangeably in this paper.

[5] Statistics on arriving defector-migrant numbers are published regularly by the Ministry of Unification. For the latest statistics, see http://www.unikorea.go.kr/unikorea/business/NKDefectorsPolicy/status/lately/. Current numbers of arrivals are considerably lower than in the years 2006-2011, when more than 2,000 defector-migrants arrived annually.

[6] Byung-ho Chung, "Between Defector and Migrant: Identities and Strategies of North Koreans in South Korea," *Korean Studies* 32, no. 1 (2008): 1-27. Chung published his article ten years ago, but the typology remains current. Chung places the focus on changes in the structure of government support for incoming North Koreans, the impact of shifting South Korean societal views of resettled North Koreans on the identity of the defector-migrants, and the (frequently rather negative) ways in which the different groups of incoming migrants view one another.

[7] At time of writing, a resettled North Korean arriving in South Korea is eligible for a leased apt and 13 million KRW ($11,900) in "key money" plus 7 million KRW ($6,400) in cash. The government also subsidizes 50% of the salaries paid by employers who take on resettled North Koreans as staff, while those who are eligible receive free schooling through university level. Academic degrees from North Korean universities are accepted by the South Korean government, but technical qualifications are not, and even where a degree is accepted officially, private employers are often reluctant to follow suit.

[8] The demographic data gathered in our survey asks respondents to categorize their economic status three years prior to escaping North Korea. This is one, but not the only, way to measure the relative social position of respondents. North Korean studies has yet to settle on a shared method of measuring the socio-economic wellbeing of respondents.

[9] The rising prevalence of chain defection in group six shows how the cost of escaping North Korea declined markedly after 2005. Where money is relatively easier to acquire (thanks to comparatively generous resettlement payments) and information (and money) is easier to pass to family members in North Korea (making it less risky for those in North Korea to cross the border as bribes may be paid in advance), grave dissatisfaction with life in North Korea and/or desperation cease to be necessary conditions for departure. See Chung, "Between Defector and Migrant:" 12.

[10] Son Myung-ah and Kim Seokho, "*Bukanitaljuminui gajogijue gwanhan yeongu yeonswaeiju hyeonsangeul jungsimeuro* [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): 59.

[11] Ibid.: 57-81.

[12] The annual surveys and several supplementary surveys of sub-divisions of defector-migrant society are available via the Hana Foundation website: https://www.koreahana.or.kr/eGovHanaMain.do. Another form of a large sample survey is the work of demographer Pak Kyeong-suk at Seoul National University, who used demographic data from the UN census of 2008 and elsewhere to draw conclusions about the development of North Korean society through the famine and post-famine era. See Pak Kyeong-suk, *Bukansahoewa guljeoldoen geundae: ingu, gukga, juminui sam* [북한사회와 굴절된 근대: 인구, 국가, 주민의 삶 / North Korean Society and Its Refracted Modernity: Population, State and the Lives of the People] (Seoul: Seoul National University, 2013).

[13] Korean Social Science Archive (KOSSDA) charges a small annual fee for access to its library of survey data.

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

[15] Kim Byung-yeon and Yang Moon-soo, *Bukan gyeongjeeseoui sijanggwa jeongbu* [북한 경제에서의 시장과 정부 / Market and Government in the North Korean Economy] (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2012)

[16] Kim Byung-yeon, *Unveiling the North Korean Economy: Collapse and Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 96.

[17] Kang Won-taek et al. *Nambukan jeolmeun sedaeui tongilgwan* [남북한 젊은 세대의 통일관 / Political Attitude of South and North Korean Young Generation: A Comparative Analysis] (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2015).

[18] Kang Dong-wan and Pak Jeong-nan. *Saramgwa saram: gimjeongeun sidae bukjoseon inmineul mannada* [사람과 사람: 김정은 시대 북조선 인민을 만나다 / Person to person: Meeting Kim Jong-un-era North Korean residents] (Seoul: Neonadeuri, 2015). The same survey project also yielded a series of articles published by Chosun Ilbo. Published in the form of thematic articles over three days, the survey was done in cooperation with the Center for Cultural Unification Studies between January and May 2014 in Dandong and Yanji. All 100 participating informants were in China on official visas issued after Kim Jong-un came to power: four received their permits in 2012, 53 in 2013, and a further 43 in 2014. Most were in China in order to visit family or close acquaintances, and most also planned to work for between six months and one year before returning to North Korea. For a translation and summary of the articles, see Christopher Green, "Chosun Ilbo Surveys 100 North Koreans," Sino-NK, July 28, 2014, http://sinonk.com/2014/07/28/chosun-ilbo-surveys-100-north-koreans/, Accessed September 10, 2018.

[19] Kim Seok-hyang, *Hoeryeongsaramdeul gieong song iyagireul deullyeojuda* [회령사람들 기억 속 이야기를 들려주다 / Listening to the Reminiscences of the People of Hoeryong] (Seoul: Kookmin University Press, 2013).

[20] 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.

[21] Myonghee Kim, "A North Korean Defector's Journey Through the Identity-Transformation Process," *Journal of Language, Identity and Education* 15, no. 1 (2015): 3-16.

[22] We take into account all possible pre- and post-migration effects that our data allow. For an example of this research design, see Stephen White, Antoine Bilodeau, and Neil Nevitte, "Earning their support: feelings towards Canada among recent immigrants," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38, no. 2 (2015): 292-308.

[23] For comparative literature, a select number of publications includes Juan Díez, "Nation, Citizenship and Immigration in Contemporary Spain," *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 7, no. 1 (2005): 133-156; and Ghia Nodia, "Nationalism and Democracy," in *Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Democracy,* eds. Larry Diamond and M.F. Plattner (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). On South Korea, see Gi-Wook Shin, *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); and Emma Campbell, *South Korea's New Nationalism: The End of 'One Korea?'* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2016).

[24] One of the authors interviewed Emma Campbell about this thesis in 2015. An abridged form of the interview is available here: http://sinonk.com/2015/09/07/rationalizing-identity-change-an-interview-with-emma-campbell/. John Delury makes a similar claim in "The Candlelight Mandate & Moon Jae-in's Inter-Korean Dilemma," in *A Whirlwind of Change in East Asia: Assessing Shifts in Strategy, Trade, and the Role of North Korea,* ed. Gilbert Rozman (Joint U.S.-Korea Academic Studies, Vol. 29, 2018).

[25] See Choe Sang-Hun, "North Korean Defector, 'Treated Like Dirt' in South, Fights to Return," *New York Times,* August 5, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/05/world/asia/north-korea-defector-south-korea.html; and Jay Jiyoung Song and Markus Bell, "North Korean secondary asylum in the UK," *Migration Studies,* mnx074.

[26] The surveyed was administered in 2005, 2010, and 2015. The original datasets can be accessed via the Korea Social Science Data Archive, at: http://www.kossda.or.kr/eng/.

[27] It is used by the Hana Foundation, which is a quasi-government body funded by the Ministry of Unification. The Ministry of Unification selects its board of directors.

[28] Recruitment and survey participation took place in the summer months of 2016.

[29] Participants were compensated for their time, in line with approved practices for surveying and interviewing resettled North Korean defector-migrants.

[30] Twelve years of age is the suggested cutoff point in the socialization literature. More current literature finds support for this cutoff point. See Stephen White, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, and Patrick Fournier, "The Political Resocialization of Immigrants: Resistance or Lifelong Learning?," *Political Research Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2008): 268-281.

[31] Weighted means are reported for both groups. The weights, calculated by the authors, are based on geographic, educational, and gender distributions of the populations under study.

[32] Missing variables were filled using predictive mean matching (PMM), a function performed using the "mice" package in R. No distinguishable pattern was found among the missing variables.

[33] The 8-point variable is divided by the median, with those scoring at or above the median (7) counted as those thinking ethnocultural characteristics are important, else not.

[34] The odds ratio of less than 1 is not as easy to interpret. An easier interpretation would be to consider how likely someone who *hasn't* spent seven years or more in South Korea is to think ethnocultural characteristics are important. Considered this way, the odds ratio is 2.14. That is, those with less exposure are more than 2 times more likely to think ancestry and tradition are important to Korean national identity.

[35] All but one respondent was born and spent the entirety of their post-adolescent formative years (18-25) in North Korea.

[36] This interpretation was confirmed in our follow-up interviews with survey-takers 55 years of age and older. There were distinctive cohort effects among our interviewees traceable to the type of regime they grew up under in North Korea. Due to space constraints, we do not delve into our qualitative interview findings in this paper.

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