Imagining Peacebuilding Citizenship Education:

An investigation of the experiences of North Korean migrants as 'bridge citizens'

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, Mi-cheong Cheong, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

Since the national division of Korea in 1948, successive governments of South Korea have seen reunification as the way to a long- term peaceful settlement. Despite the key role of education in preparing the population for reunification and eventually in ensuring a successful social transformation, the education systems on either side have created conflict-attuned civic identities due to incompatibility. The study hypothesises that North Korean migrants who have experience of acculturation between the two Koreas and possibly experience in adapting to other democratic societies, develop new civic identities. They have the capacity to become bridge citizens who will contribute to peacebuilding. Therefore, this thesis addresses the question: to what extent and how can the experiences and reflections of North Korean migrants who have settled in ROK and the UK contribute to an appropriate educational response to reunification. This study used critical theories, namely, conflict and peacebuilding, habitus, critical peace education and cosmopolitan citizenship education as a framework to engage with literature and to conceptualise the term of bridge citizen. By using a combination of biographic narrative interviewing and digital autobiographic writing, rich narrative accounts of migration journeys and reflections of seven North Korean migrants who shared their experiences of migration and adaptation to a new culture and society were acquired. The data reveal how they transform their civic identities in their life trajectories, the ways they belong and the conflicts they felt with belonging in new circumstances, and how they cultivate new capacities as bridge citizens. Five distinct civic identities emerge: belligerent civic identity, border-crosser identity, *Jayumin* identity, cosmopolitan civic identity and bridging civic identity. The process of transforming their identification develops and results from new capacities for peacebuilding including, realising, enabling, reflecting, reconciling, thriving, transforming and bridge-building.

IMPACT STATEMENT

The research on 'transformation of civic identities and cultivating capacities for peacebuilding on the Korean peninsula' have increased the appreciation for, and understanding of, the nature of transformation in the civic identity of North Korean migrants and the importance of cultivating peacebuilding capabilities in developing the conceptual model of peacebuilding citizenship education in research groups of academics, policymakers and practitioners. I have communicated my findings and insights via academic and public portals. I have included the topic of peacebuilding capacities in the context of Korean reunification and civic identity transformation in transnational migration in a graduate student course on migration studies and doctoral reading group. I have also transferred my specialist knowledge to diverse actors in spaces dedicated to migration studies, peacebuilding citizenship education and human rights education.

Drawing on insights from my research to date, I have published a peer-reviewed article in the *Perspectives in Education* on collective autobiographical reflexivity on active and compassionate citizenship in the COVID-19 crisis. Based on the published article, my colleague and I led a live session, entitled 'digital autobiographical reflexivity: a collaborative and social learning design strategy in UK higher education' at the Learning Ideas Conference 2021 convened by Columbia University.

In addition to these outputs, I have presented my research at panels, seminars, and conferences to diverse audiences. These included speaking on the 'effective responses to the crisis of COVID-19: Building resilience, trust and global solidarity through education for peacebuilding' at the Geneva Peace Week 2020 convened by the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform which is affiliated with the UN Office at Geneva; presenting on 'Challenges to Peace in the Contemporary Times' in the international webinar 2020 organised jointly between Department of Gandhian and Peace Studies, Department of Political Science, Mahatma Gandhi Central University, Bihar-India, Asia Pacific Peace Research Association and Indonesian Institute of Sciences; participating in a colloquium on how human rights education plays a role in fostering good interculturalists, which was hosted by the International Association for Languages and Intercultural Communication; presenting my research at the department seminar at UCL, the British Educational Research Association, the International Conference for Education and Democratic Citizenship, the Asia Pacific Peace Research Association, the British Association for International & Comparative Education and the Scuola Democratica Conference. In addition to disseminating my findings widely, these opportunities also resulted in requests from other researchers on how to plan,

formulate, undertake and analyse research projects that are connected to migrants, human rights and/or peacebuilding citizenship education.

In my role as module convenor for the doctoral training module, called approaches to citizenship education at the UCL Institute of Education, I included dimensions of democratic citizenship education, economic populism, hate speech, peace education and digital citizenship in both the course content and throughout discussions. I continue to teach masters students in Educational Sociology Studies, called Minorities, Migrants and Refugees in the national education system and I presented my research in the final session.

Finally, I advised the formulation of the final project for graduation to undergraduate students at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts London, entitled *'Dream and Autobiographical Narratives'* (see Figure 0.1), based on the autobiographical reflexivity employed in my doctoral project. A virtual exhibition is available at https://graduateshowcase.arts.ac.uk/projects/270671/cover.
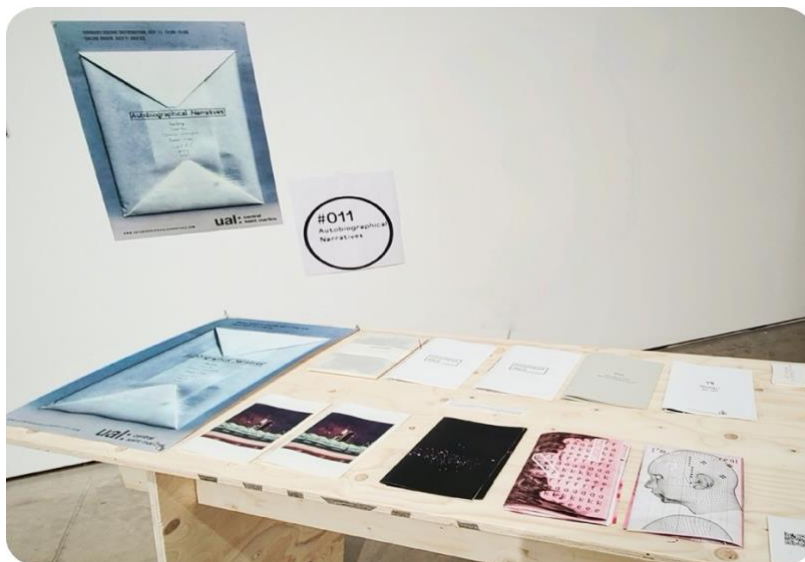

Figure 0.1. Undergraduate students' artworks at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts London(exhibited in the Lethaby Gallery)

(Reprinted with permission from Dain Jeong)

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There are two pathways of life. One is to live thinking that there is no miracle in life, and the other is to live believing that every single moment is a miracle

(Kim B.-A, 2012, translated by author)

As the Korean novelist Byul-ah Kim describes a miracle in her essay mentioned above, I believe in miracles which are a result of every single moment in my entire life, rather than a phenomenon, which is caused by supernatural power. I would say that my PhD journey was a process of experiencing such a daily miracle and I dedicate this thesis to those who allowed me to encounter such miracles.

First and foremost, I appreciate the Lord who leads me never to lose hope, love and peace. Since I named myself 'Stella' as a baptismal name in 2010, I have experienced a myriad of miracles in my entire adult life and my PhD journey was the process of realising the fact that 'with God all things are possible'.

I dedicate this thesis, moreover, to my parents, brother and my uncle who passed away. Without the love and support of my family, I would not have the drive to keep dreaming and to bounce back from every setback in my life. More than anyone else, my mother who is my biggest fan, best friend and teacher. You always encouraged me to discover my potential and uplifted me. Thank you for instilling in me the importance of chasing my dream and supporting me unconditionally in my efforts, imagining a better society.

My older brother, a deputy director of the Korean Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, inspired me to pursue this meaningful project. When you were involved in a historic national project between the North and South Korean government which became well-known as the development of the *Kaesŏng* Industrial Complex later, I was just so proud of you, but I never thought I would be carrying out research on the Korean unification at that time. By seeing your dedication in developing an innovative economic cooperation model between the two states, I think that I really started to envision how I could devise a pedagogical model to achieve peaceful unification and bring my passion together. I owe you a debt of gratitude for instilling in me the courage to complete my doctoral project.

To my uncle and mentor, Jung-hye Kang, I sincerely thank you for making me realise the true values and ethics of life. For me, it was great fun reading texts about Confucianism and Daoism, as well as studying Confucian ethics with you when I was a

teenager. '庖丁解牛' (*Páo Ding Jié Niú* in Mandarin), one of my very favourite Chinese idioms that you taught me became a vision of my life, namely, 'persistence makes all the difference'. These words kept me awake all the time and led me to move forward in any difficult situation. At this moment, I imagine how proud you would have been if you were alive. I miss you so much.

To my supervisor, Professor Hugh Starkey who guided me, inspired me and helped me open up my potential and bear a new vision to be a human rights education scholar throughout my PhD journey at UCL. More importantly, you challenged me to dig deeper about each step of what I really want in this research process. You encouraged me to think critically regarding the Korean division and a new pedagogical approach to avoid Eurocentric epistemology. At the start of the pandemic, your care for my physical and emotional condition helped me overcome all the uncertain situations without losing persistence. Indeed, every single moment with you was a miraculous moment that enabled me to think of the meaning of becoming a good scholar, researcher and bridge citizen. Words cannot express my gratitude for all your consideration and commitment.

To my secondary supervisor, Professor Tristan McCowan, I appreciate all your kindness, sharp intellect and advice on my research. I still remember the first meeting with you. You told me that the PhD journey is a really lonely process at that time. Honestly, I did not make sense of what you mentioned about 'the lonely process' at that time, yet I can now understand why conducting doctoral research is an extremely lonely work. Especially during the pandemic, I finished my thesis at home alone and realised how lonely this process was. Thankfully, the doctoral meetings you had organised every month enabled me to think deeply about the topic of my research, and further, overcome loneliness through such intellectual conversation with you and colleagues who were going through the same challenges. The doctoral meetings gave me a chance to feel solidarity, to gain collective intelligence as well as to reflect on the purpose of the research. Thank you again, Tristan, for seeing it through and being committed to me during my PhD programme.

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meet up with Sr. Veronica. The moment you introduced Ha-young to me in 2016 was a critical moment that enabled me to undertake my doctoral research. Thanks to your support, I was able to collect extensive data from both Seoul and London. At the start of London's first COVID-19 lockdown in March 2020, I was isolated and this made me feel stressed and anxious, yet Sr. Anna, you allowed me to take service with all nuns in the chapel. It healed my soul and helped me concentrate on my work despite these unprecedented times.

Last but not least, I am deeply thankful and blessed for the special, brilliant, compassionate friends and colleagues who support me, uplift me and comfort me. To Professor Boa Rhee at Chung-Ang University, Professor Seong-chun Park at Seoul National University, Professor Young-pyo Hong at Yonsei University, all members of Younghanwoori, both teachers Shin-dong Kim and Jung-hun Byun at YeoMyung Alternative School, Jung-hyun Park, Eun-jung Lee, Eun-da Kim, my God mother, Hyun-jin Kim and Dain Jeong at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts London, heartfelt thanks for all your continued support and consideration. In particular, Daniel Tudor, the former correspondent of the Economist, author of four best-selling books about North Korea and an entrepreneur who established one of South Korea's most visible craft beer producers, your passion and endeavour as a journalist to promote the reality of the Korean peninsula to the world always gave me inspiration that enabled me to carry out this research, not give up the research. Conversations with you made me envision the right direction in the initial stage of this research project. I think you were the first bridge citizen I have met. Thank you for being such a great role model. I am looking forward to drinking a pint of *Taedonggang* beer with you in *Pyongyang*, one day in the future unified Korea.

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Peace be with you all.

MAP

Figure 0.2.The Demilitarized Zone on the Korean peninsula (Emamdjomeh et al., 2017) [Graphic Image]
Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/world/mapping-the-dmz/

The Korean peninsula is a region in East Asia. Since the national liberation from Japanese colonial occupation in 1945, it has been divided into North Korea (officially the 'Democratic People's Republic of Korea,' hereinafter 'DPRK') and South Korea (officially the 'Republic of Korea,' hereinafter 'ROK') after a general election under the UN's supervision in 1948

Although the Korean War (1950-53) was ended by an armistice agreement, the division culture has been fortified by the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) (see figure 0.2) where the largest number of troops (1.5 million) on the planet was still deployed and the two Koreas have technically been at war for over seventy years.

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GLOSSARY

A-Level:	The advanced level of a subject taken in the British school
ASR:	Asylum Seekers and Refugees
BTEC:	The Business and Technology Education Council
DPRK:	Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)
EEA:	European Economic Area
FRG:	Federal Republic of Germany (Western Germany)
GCSE:	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GDR:	German Democratic Republic (Eastern Germany)
Home Office:	The British government department for immigration and national security
IPA:	Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis
MDGs:	Millennium Development Goals
MoE:	The Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea
MoU:	The Ministry of Unification of the Republic of Korea
NASS 35:	Document used by asylum seekers once they moved out of asylum support to prove entitlement to welfare benefits
NIS:	The National Intelligence Service of the Republic of Korea
NGO:	Non Governmental Organisation
NSL:	National Security Law
KWP:	Korean Worker's Party
KPA:	Korean People's Army
OECD:	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PBC:	The Peacebuilding Commission
PBF:	The Peacebuilding Fund
PBSO:	The Peacebuilding Support Office
ROK:	Republic of Korea (South Korea)
SAT:	Scholastic Aptitude Test
SDGs:	Sustainable Development Goals
UNICEF:	The United Nations Children's Fund
UNESCO:	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Vignette: encountering North Korean migrants

I met Mr Yu, who was regarded as a role model among North Korean migrants, when I worked as a volunteer mentor in 2013 at the *Younghanwoori,* a Catholic civic organisation in Seoul. He was working as a civil servant at Seoul City Hall and enjoyed a stable life after settling down in South Korea. I also met him several times as we had mentored young North Korean migrants who had just arrived in the South at the *Younghanwoori*. One day, I heard that the Korean National Intelligence Service (NIS) had arrested him on charges of espionage for North Korea and '*he became an evil spy from a model migrant*' (Choe, 2016, emphasis in the original). I could no longer see him again after his arrest, and I had heard many misunderstandings and rumours about him among my fellow South Koreans and North Korean migrants. Since some South Koreans perceived most North Korean migrants as potential *spies*, whenever news coverage blamed him for breaching the National Security Law (NSL) during his case, most ordinary citizens accepted it without thinking critically, leading to the formation or reinforcement of antagonistic attitudes toward all North Korean migrants at the time. Thus, some of my mentees who attended the meeting watched Yu's trial and expressed their anxiety that they could be accused of spying like him at any time in the name of violating the NSL, and that whenever their South Korean colleagues blamed Yu's behaviour at school and at work, they felt emotionally uncomfortable as if they had been criticised.

Despite calls for the abolition of the anachronistic NSL since the law was promulgated under the North-South confrontation in 1948 (Shin & Lee, 2018), the law indeed causes a division of ideology in South Korean society, referring to North Korea as an 'anti-state organisation' (Lee JH, 2018). Moreover, the law contributes to justifying South Koreans' perception of North Koreans as 'chief enemies' as the law defines (article 3). The law was very often used by conservative regimes to resolve their political crises by using South-South conflict (see chapter two), as well as creating the internal enemy, the so-called 'commies' or 'spies' (Chae SJ, 2017). Yu was acquitted after two years of legal wrangling, and it was found that the conservative regime deliberately generated an ideological conflict by creating the false spy with fake documents to break through their political crisis.

After encountering North Korean migrants, I recognised that there was a big gap between 'what they have experienced in the North' and 'what I have known about the North,'

as well as 'the way former North Korean citizens perceive themselves as South Korean citizens' and 'the way South Korean citizens (like me) regarded North Korean migrants as South Koreans'. Whenever I talked to them, I realised how ignorant I was about North Korea and its people, as well as it being an opportunity to reconsider the meaning of the territorial division and unification, as well as the pedagogical approach for peacebuilding on the Korean peninsula. This made me determined to understand more and research this phenomenon.

1.1. The Research Issues

Understanding of the Korean division and division habitus

Since the people of the two Koreas have lived apart in the Korean peninsula for over the past 70 years, the territorial division has given rise to a unique divided culture, which takes for granted living in a divided state rather than a unified one (An SD, 2014, 2018; Paik NC, 2011; Park YG, 2010) and it seemed to confirm Paik's (2013b:160) view that the division system led Koreans to suffer from "acquisition division awareness deficiency syndrome". Despite the successive Korean governments highlighting the massive benefits of unification to dispel the rather negative attitude or indifferences of citizens that had taken hold, emphasising "unification as a bonanza" (Park & Jung, 2015:20), recent public opinion studies indicate that nearly half of South Koreans show a negative view on reunification (47% of respondents have not agreed 'unification is needed') (Kim HJ et al., 2020). In addition, young people (71.4% aged 20 to 30) have always preferred the opinion that the status quo is the best if the peaceful condition on the Korean peninsula will be maintained over the elderly (44.6% aged over 60) (Lee SS et al, 2021:7). Nevertheless, the issue of division and unification in the Korean context is more problematic as it creates "division violence" (Kim P, 2014:16) which is a root cause of intractable conflict in the Korean context.

In other words, the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) serves as a physical buffer which presents the ideological division between the two Koreas (Jung, Hogg & Choi, 2016), as well as symbolising the "hostile symbiosis" (Park YG, 2010: 371) wherein were embodied the hostility, structural misunderstanding and distrust between the people of the two Koreas (Kim DC, 2013; Park YG, 2010) which Park (2010:371) calls "division habitus".

As Paik (2011) claims in his theory of a division system, the 70-year-long division has been rooted in the everyday life of people living on the Korean peninsula and is capable of self-reproduction to a significant degree. Thus, the division system acts as the root cause

of the intractable conflict in the Korean context by strengthening the dichotomous consciousness regarding the civic identity of the two Koreas, namely, "good self" and "evil other" in their daily lives (Heo JY, 2021:79), constructing collective beliefs and antagonistic attitudes. Indeed, many empirical case studies have demonstrated such identity-based conflict in conflict and post-conflict contexts (Bar-Tal, 2013; Osler & Pandur, 2019; Rosler, 2019; Smith, 2003b).

Contrary to other identity-based conflict settings, however, the Korean identity-based conflict seems more complicated because of the ambivalence of civic identities. Since the national division in 1948, namely, the South Korean government has perceived the North Korean regime as a 'chief enemy', a political identity that has been created of North Korea; at the same time, North Koreans have been viewed as 'ethnic brethren', an idea backed by a strong belief in ethnic, linguistic and cultural homogeneity and even collective memories, lead to holding the ethnic Korean identity as "Koreans are one people" (Ham, 2013; Son S, 2016; Hemmatian & Sloman, 2019:5). Furthermore, as the division is prolonged, the generational difference in conflict-related attitudes and civic identity formation has occurred (Hemmatian & Sloman, 2019).

In the context of Korea, therefore, the division system can be seen as constructing and reconstructing what Johan Galtung (1969a, 1976, 1990) calls structural and cultural violence. I argue that the educational response to this should be what Galtung (2005) calls "peacebuilding," focused on the development of all citizens, peaceful unification, and further societal transformation. Thus, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of civic identities in the deeply divided Korea, which have not yet been explained by empirical research. In sum, this study hypothesises that a better understanding of the nature of division habitus and its impact on conflict-related attitudes may bring forth new approaches aimed at transforming conflicts into peacebuilding, which suggest new civic identities, namely, 'bridging civic identities" that can contribute to foster peacebuilding and societal transformation in a future unified Korea. Such a new approach can be found in pedagogical approaches.

The challenges of educational responses to transform conflict into peace

Considering the intervention for peacebuilding, a great deal of research has emphasised the important role of peace education highlighted in conflict and post-conflict settings (Lewis & Winn, 2018; Murphy et al., 2016; Noveli et al., 2015: Smith, 2011). It has considered developing individual citizens' awareness and sensitivity towards the violence by

teaching values and skills for conflict management and conflict resolution, the importance of mediation, and the benefits of tolerance and cooperation, as well as engaging in democratic participation with democratic values and the civic responsibilities for caring others (Christie, 2009; Tronto, 2013).

In the context of unification, the Korean government has been promoting unification education by officially dividing it into two strands; school-based education and community-based education. Furthermore, "school-based education proposes enhancing the values, perspectives, and attitudes of primary and secondary school pupils to achieve reunification" (MoE, 2016:4). Based on existing studies on unification education in ROK, the following notable features can be found: first, Korean unification education has characterised the nexus among anti-communism education, national security education and peace-unification education depending on unification policy (An SD, 2018; Cho JA, 2007; Kang & Kwon, 2011; Han MG, 2019; Park CS, 2017). Second, unification education does not exist as an independent subject-matter. Third, the Korean Ministry of Unification is responsible for developing the entire plan and policy for school-based education and community-based education. Fourth, the reunification education policy was established based on the nation's reunification policy which has a vast influence on the national and international environment (Lee, 2020). Fifth, Korean unification education focuses only on South Koreans as it is impossible to meet North Korean counterparts due to division (Jong HB, 2002). Lastly, Korean unification education has a key role in preparing the population for reunification by cultivating democratic values, norms as well as global awareness. Further discussion on Korean unification education will be found in chapter two.

Despite the unification education in the ROK being emphasised in peaceful unification and social integration, peace education has not been widely acknowledged in Korean unification education (Kang SW, 2020; Han MG, 2019). The contents of unification education focused on the government's position without considering the various perspectives of students regarding the teaching and learning methods related to school unification education (Kim BY, 2017). While the ultimate goal of peace education in the context of the Korean reunification is to nurture peacebuilding capacity (Cho, JA, 2007), most of the existing research did not confirm the types of peacebuilding capacity components and how to apply them to the Korean unification education system. As a result, peacebuilding capacity culminated in being a normative, ambiguous and arbitrary concept in the unification education initiatives (An SD, 2018). Despite efforts to establish the direction of unification education in connection with peace education, democratic citizenship education, and more recently, global citizenship education, the discussion on how to establish a

relationship between these education approaches has yet to be affirmed (Cho JA, 2007; Cho JA et al., 2019).

Above all, the Korean unification education system has not yet accomplished "conflict-transformation education." namely, peacebuilding education which aims to understand how education delivery can be redesigned to make societies more equitable and just (Bajaj, 2008; Bickmore, 2017, 2019; Novelli et al., 2015; Smith, 2011). As Lewis and Winn (2018) identify, there are four types of pedagogical approach to conflict as follows: conflict-promoting education, conflict-blind education, conflict-sensitive education and conflict-targeted education.

In light of such a conceptualisation, Korean unification education seems to be in transition from "conflict-blind education into "conflict-sensitive education". That is, it deliberately generated "a culture of war to conflict-blind education" (Lewis & Winn, 2018:502) by teaching anti-communism under the dictatorial military regime (Seth, 2012). Under the circumstances, many South Koreans have shown extreme hostility and hatred towards the North Korean regime (Park, Lee, and Jeon, 2017) and newcomers from an ideologically hostile country. Similarly, the North Korean regime has tried to inculcate hatred against Americans and South Koreans in the name of consolidation of national security and patriotism through a strong ideological education (Cho JA, 2015). More critically, the formal education system reinforced in South Korean pupils a stereotype of North Korean migrants as communists, victims of the brutal authoritarian regime, political defectors and recently economic migrants (Kang, 2008; Kim, 2010; Kim, 2012; Kim, 2014).

In this sense, Lederach's (2005) notion of moral imagination can give the insight to interpret constructively peacebuilding education in the Korean context. He (ibid.) sets out moral imagination as the capacity "to imagine ourselves in the acceptance of the inherent risk of stepping into the mystery of the unknown that lies beyond the far too familiar landscape of violence". Likewise, *'peacebuilding citizenship education'*, I suggest in this study, focuses more on peacebuilding capacities as the social imaginary capacity which enables us to imagine our own collective action, creativity, and responsibility to overcome the legacy of division violence and to ensure peace, justice and equity in a future unified Korea which has yet to come.

Features of the North Korean migrants

Literature on the migration of North Korean migrants highlights the dualism of the North Korean arrivals: namely, North Korean migrants are indicative of an aspect of transnational migration (Kang JW, 2020; Jung et al., 2017; Song & Bell, 2019), as well as

representing the specific context of a divided Korean history (Cho et al., 2015; Ham, 2013; Oh WH, 2011). As migrants, they undergo a process of acculturation. The literature on transnational migration highlights that migrants do not reproduce only legal status, but also transform their beliefs, values, language, knowledge and identities (Gonzales & Sigonas, 2017; Waldinger, 2015; Werbiner, 2013). Given the situation of North Korean migrants in the neoliberal capitalist Korean context, there is a sharp distinction in their negotiation process of civic identities. First, North Koreans who fled to the South automatically obtain citizenship under the Korean Constitution unlike other migrants or refugees (Article 3). Thus, these newcomers have qualified as full members of the ROK after the investigation at NIS and graduation from the Hanawon (Go & Sung, 2014; Song & Bell, 2019). In practice, however, they are not accepted as citizens equivalent to South Koreans who stigmatise them as others through the complex process of exclusion and discrimination (Kim KS & Park JH, 2021; Kim SK, 2012, 2014).

Due to the division system, on the other hand, the two Koreas have developed different values, norms and identities for over the past half-century (Choi S, 2011; Kim KS & Park JH, 2021; Paik, 2011). These differences make North Korean migrants stand out in sharp contrast to South Koreans at all levels and it causes emotional discomfort for them, such as loss of pride, alienation and consequently maladjustment to South Korean society (Kim & Jang, 2007). At the same time, the long-standing collective belief in the ethnic homogeneity of the so-called "one single nation" (Lee CM, 2020:52; Hemmatian & Sloman, 2019) or "ethnic brethren" who share common ethnic origins, language, and to some extent a collective memory (Choi S, 2011:53; Son S, 2016) have led to the misunderstanding that it is easy to integrate once the monetary aid is provided to support them settle down in ROK (Kang SW, 2020; Park JH et al., 2020; Son S, 2016).

They are perceived as an opponent in a wider socio-political context, leading them to strictly be monitored and controlled as suspicious communists across the Cold War and the post–Cold War periods (Kang JW, 2012; Kim, 2012; Ham, 2013). As the vignette above has shown, much evidence shows that there was the ongoing process of policing and surveillance for these former North Koreans under the last conservative government. They also became the victims of public power abuse easily and were often marginalised and stigmatised due to their North Korean identity in South Korean society (Kang JW, 2011b, 2020; Kim DC, 2009; Kim SK, 2012). For these newcomers, therefore, becoming South Korean citizens seems more complicated due to identity politics and belonging that they have to negotiate as migrants, and division violence that they have to overcome as former North Korean citizens (Kim SK, 2014; Oh WH, 2011).

In such critical points, the issues of North Korean refugees' transnational migration have been addressed by extensive national and international academics and activists (Bell, 2014; Cho et al., 2016, 2019; Haggard & Norland, 2010; Jung et al., 2017; Park, 2014; Song & Bell, 2019). However, scholarship on North Korean migrants' migration and adaptation issues mainly illustrates various barriers and challenges they experienced during adapting to new societies and few empirical studies have been conducted in terms of the capacity that North Korean migrants cultivated through the migration process (Kim & Yu, 2016). In addition, mainstream discussions on peacebuilding have so far lacked an in-depth engagement with this literature that handles North Korean migrants as assets that can contribute to foster peacebuilding and societal transformation (Cho et al., 2015; Park CS, 2016). Despite the meaning of North Korean migrants' presence finding that they experience the process of unification and social integration in advance (Lee GY, 2005), scholars tend to see them as vulnerable and passive while they argue for North Korean migrants' roles in the age of unification (Kim, 2016; Park, 2014). Above all, there is no empirical research focusing on the North Korean migrants' role in the potential Korean unification. In the context of Korean unification, North Korean migrants' life histories can be a clue to develop a new education framework to prepare for future unification and social transformation after unifying two states because they have experienced two Koreas where the division system exists and beyond the Korean peninsula such as the UK which is located beyond the division system.

By identifying some salient characteristics of the civic identity transformation of North Korean migrants, hence, this study intends to conceptualise the term bridging civic identities that can be used in subsequently demonstrating the core peacebuilding capacities in the context of Korean reunification.

1.2. Research Aims and Questions

This study is an ambitious attempt to delve into the social phenomenon of imagining an appropriate educational model for the future Korean unification as a means of fostering conflict transformation, namely, peacebuilding. In this sense, the primary purpose of the study is to devise an appropriate pedagogical approach to transform conflict-attuned civic identities into peace-building civic identities. To do so, the study aims to identify what core capacities are required for those citizens with inherent conflict identities to shift to peace civic identities and become citizens willing to engage in peacebuilding. The thesis calls these citizens 'bridge citizens' – that is, those who are willing to engage in the social transformation

process toward a peaceful unification in the future by cultivating peacebuilding capacities. Furthermore, the study aims to define the nature of bridging civic identities required by such bridge citizens.

In achieving such purposes, the study focuses on the transnational migration and adaptation experience of North Korean migrants. As can be seen in the case of German Unification has much in common with migration in that it causes institutional reconstruction rather than human mobility. In such situations, people experience an acculturation process (Silbereisen, 2016). In the process of socio-political reconstruction and meeting new citizens, both North and South Korea may experience conflicts between their desire to maintain what they were used to and may have appreciated and their desire to adapt to anxiety from expectations or uncertainties about a good life in the future (Silbereisen, 2016:313). Above all, it seems virtually impossible for citizens of the two Koreas, who have been attuned to conflict identities by more than a 70-year-long intractable conflict to turn into positive peace as soon as unification occurs.

Hence, this thesis explores both the peacebuilding capacities and civic identity transformation developed by North Korean migrants during the migration process which have essential implications for devising a framework of capacities to imagine the peacebuilding citizenship education as a means of preparing the population for reunification and in ensuring a social transformation. Nevertheless, the data were gained by a small number of North Korean migrants. Moreover, some adaptation strategies might not be associated with reunification. Considering the criticism of the 'knowing North Korea' module in the unification curriculum, which focuses on sympathising with North Koreans or emotionally criticising the North regime (Kang SW, 2018), the lived experience of North Korean migrants seems to be essential for people in the whole peninsula who have no migration and adaptation experience for an in-depth understanding. Above all, given that peacebuilding capacities are excluded from the core competencies to be built by the whole population defined in the competency-based curriculum in ROK (Lee, IW, 2019; Park MJ, 2009), it is worthwhile to identify peacebuilding capacities formed through empirical data.

From the standpoint of imagining peacebuilding citizenship education, this study hypothesises that the unique civic identities and forms of capital arise out of the given society, where all North Koreans have participated in the process of socialisation and their civic identities and capital will be transformed throughout transnational migration and acculturation in the new settings. The adaptation strategies that they have developed to acculturate to a new society in the process of migration and adaptation might be associated with the capacities for peacebuilding. Thus, North Korean migrants may nurture the capability for peacebuilding, resulting in becoming bridge citizens who will provide

information and experience in imagining a new pedagogical model for peacebuilding in the future unified Korea. In such a hypothesis, there is an overarching question that I should investigate in this research:

> To what extent and how can the experiences and reflections of North Korean migrants who have settled in ROK or the UK contribute to informing the appropriate educational responses to reunification and societal transformation?

Four subsidiary research questions have guided this study:

1. How do North Korean migrants narrate their formation and transformation of civic identities and capacities before and after escaping their nation?
2. What strategies do they use to enable them to adapt to new societies?
3. To what extent do these strategies contribute to transforming their civic identities?
4. How might these experiences contribute to theorising peacebuilding citizenship education?

1.3. Overview of Methodology

Auto/biographical Narrative Inquiry

Numerous studies on conflict and peacebuilding in ROK have been conducted mainly with quantitative methodologies. A large number of existing researches used quantitative methodology to 'measure' the meaning provided by the respondents and 'identify' the causes of conflicts (Cho et al., 2019; Hemmerine & Sloman, 2019; Park JH et al., 2020). However, whereas these studies effectively showed the overall tendency, there is little known about what capacity plays in transforming conflict into peace, as well as contributing to unification in the future. Furthermore, there is little research on how civic identities that are attuned to the division violence can be transformed into peace-building identities. Little research empirically assesses what kind of capacities can foster conflict transformation and peacebuilding in the context of ongoing intractable conflict or what role peacebuilding education can assume in the context of Korean unification (Kang SW, 2020). Thus, the qualitative approach is employed in this thesis, more specifically, auto/biographical narrative inquiry to respond to the research questions. Since conflicts stem from the emotive charge of social structures and antagonistic reinterpretations of 'collective' memories and

narratives (Desrosiers, 2015:124), a qualitative approach may present an in-depth analysis of individuals and groups' narratives, which are embedded in mundane conflicts of the division in daily life.

Narrative has been considered as a concept central to the study of identity and conflict, since the way in which we make meaning of our life experience is by "telling ourselves and others a coherent account of it" (Hammack, 2011:17). If individual citizens' subjectivity emerges from their interpretation of life experience and the self, understanding their narratives and autobiographical vignettes describing their experience is critical. This subjectivity can be viewed in their storytelling. As subjective authors, this study hypothesises that North Korean migrants can tell their own stories, and in doing so, they narrate who they are and what they can do, or what role they might have to transform society in a future unified Korea.

By using a combination of biographic narrative interviewing and digital autobiographic writing, the life histories of seven North Korean migrants were gathered to explore and describe the autobiographical experiences such as lives in the North, escaping and migration experience and adaptive strategies in liberal democratic countries such as South Korea or the UK. A brief biography of each subject is illustrated below.

Data analysis consists of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and Social Semiotic Multimodal Analysis. Both analyses examine the massive verbal and written narrative data according to an analytical framework. Five distinct civic identities emerge when they recount and generate some meaning of peacebuilding capacities in relation to their experience of transnational migration and developing five strategies for adaptation to new societies: mobility, self-reflection, resilience, learning agility and social networks. While life stories are narrated centring around personal memories of migration, their understanding of identity, constructed adaptation strategies and the peacebuilding capacities are connected with the bridge citizens. The adaptation strategies they developed align with the peacebuilding capacities and bridging civic identities which participants imagine in the process of data analysis and interpretation.

1.4. Thesis Structure

In answering these research questions, the structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter One sets the scene, illustrating my reflection on encountering North Korean migrants and the research interests of North Korean migrants and the conflict in the deeply divided Korea. The chapter aims to go over several points before focusing on research in detail. This information shows the major issues related to the meaning of division and peacebuilding in the Korean context, the role of peacebuilding education for conflict transformation, as well as migration phenomenon and features of North Korean migrants, the aim of the research and the research questions. The chapter concludes with an overview of methodology.

Chapter two first provides an ontological and epistemological grounding of the study: namely, relational social constructivism to which this study contributes. Before moving on to further discussion, I provide contextual information about the Korean division and unification discourses. This includes the historical background, as well as the socio-political and educational differences between the two states and the nature of peacebuilding on the Korean peninsula. The chapter mainly focuses on identifying core components of peacebuilding capacity, which I have framed as an analytical framework, as well as theorising peacebuilding citizenship education through overviewing key debates of critical peace education (CPE) and education for cosmopolitan citizenship (ECC). By providing some features of unification education in ROK, it explores the implementation of the conceptual model of peacebuilding citizenship education.

To conceptualise bridging civic identities, Chapter three grounds the meaning of 'civic identity' at the outset. Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of habitus and capital, Chapter three focuses on reviewing previous studies to frame civic identities, incorporating with the contemporary concept of citizenship. Furthermore, a concept of bridging civic identities is described based on social capital theory, the idea of cosmopolitanism and the concept of imagined identity.

In Chapter four, it presents the research design that shaped this inquiry and lays the foundation for engaging critically and meaningfully with the collected data, which make up four analytical chapters. This chapter introduces a methodological framework, namely, auto/biographical narrative inquiry. I illustrate the rationale of methodological choice and how to adapt the biographical narrative interviewing (Schütze, 1984/2005) and digital autobiographical writing to investigate the formation and transformation of participants' civic identity, as well as the building of forms of social capital in the process of migration and

adaptation to new societies. Particularly, the chapter describes the characteristic of samples and settings. The chapter concludes the epistemological and methodological benefits and challenges.

In Chapter five, the analysis methods, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith et al., 2009) and Social Semiotic Multimodal Analysis (Kress, 2003, 2010) are explicated that are employed in this study to analyse and interpret both interview data and multimodal data. It also addresses data quality issues and my reflexivity on the methodological choice is described.

The focus moves in Chapter six through to Chapter eight which are related to the analysis of data regarding the lived experiences on how to construct the North Korean civic identities, namely, 'belligerent civic identities' in their past lives before escaping the North in Chapter six, as well as how to transform their civic identities such as border-crosser identities in China and the third countries in Chapter seven, *Jayumin* identities in the South in Chapter eight and cosmopolitan civic identities in the UK in Chapter nine, illustrating the unique migration and adaptation experiences. Drawing from their migration and adaptation experiences, the data reveal how they transform their civic identities, the ways they belong and the tensions they felt with belonging in new circumstances, as well as at the same time how they cultivate new capacities. Given the developed adaptation strategies they developed in the process of resolving conflicts and tensions through adapting to new societies, in particular, how they were highly associated with building social capital that enabled them to discover their capacities and develop their potentials.

Chapter nine delineates the perspectives on the Korean unification of participants and their perceived role for potentially unified Korea as the imagined nation. Drawing from the participants' imagined role for future unified Korea and adaptation strategies that informants developed in the process of migration and acculturation, the chapter represents the nature of bridging civic identities as imagined identities, as well as elucidating the peacebuilding capacity creation framework. It illustrates the connection between peacebuilding capacities and five adaptation strategies.

In the last Chapter, it provides methodological, theoretical, and constructive contributions of this work. Through this analysis, the implications of this work for research and policy within the field of peacebuilding citizenship education are described.

1.5 Summary

Starting with my personal story that inspired me to further research, this chapter has provided the major issues in terms of the meaning of the territorial division and division habitus as well as characteristics and challenges of unification education and some features of North Korean migrants' migration phenomenon in the context of the divided Korean peninsula. Since conflicts are intensifying due to the entrenched division, the study seeks answers as to whether it can transform the civic identity attuned to conflict into a peace-building identity by looking into North Korean migrants' lived experience throughout transnational migration through auto/biographical narrative inquiry. By doing so, this study hypothesises that a better understanding of the nature of division habitus which I call 'conflict civic identities' and its influence on conflict-related attitudes may bring forth a new educational approach aimed at achieving peaceful unification.

The next chapter is the first of two reviewing relevant literature underpinning this study. This study explores the possibility of peacebuilding citizenship education as a means of cultivating the peacebuilding capacities that enable both Koreans to overcome division habitus, as well as creating unity habitus which I call 'bridging civic identities.' The next chapter will describe the nature of the conflict in the divided Korea and peacebuilding in detail, as well as defining the peacebuilding capacity in the post-conflict and divided context, illustrating six components of the peacebuilding capacity framework. Thereafter, this thesis will propose peacebuilding citizenship education as an appropriate pedagogical approach to nurture peacebuilding capacities in this context.

CHAPTER II: UNDERSTANDING THE KOREAN CONFLICT AND PEACEBUILDING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter provided the background and the nature of the problems within which the study was conceptualised. This chapter focuses on the review of the literature to clarify and gain a deeper understanding of the division system which is a root cause of the ongoing intractable conflict in the deeply divided Korea, as well as the peacebuilding capacity to theorise a conceptual model of peacebuilding citizenship education.

To investigate the relationship between the peacebuilding capacity and intractable conflict, this study employs a relational social constructivist perspective as an ontological and epistemological orientation. The first section of the chapter deals with a constructivist perspective, particularly, constructive peace and conflict ontology and epistemology. Thereafter, the chapter offers contextual information on the divided Korea and how the division habitus has been constructed within the historical trajectories.

Echoing the theory of division system suggested by Korean scholar, Nak-chung, Paik (1993, 2011, 2013a, 2013b), I describe the meaning of division system and a concept of peacebuilding capacity and its framework that I have devised follow this. The latter part of the chapter discusses peacebuilding citizenship education (PCE) wherein a new pedagogical approach for cultivating peacebuilding capacities to becoming bridge citizens who will be required in the potentially unified Korea, binding critical peace education (CPE) and education for cosmopolitan citizenship (ECC). In order to examine the implementation of peacebuilding citizenship education in the Korean context, the last section provides a review of the literature on Korean unification education. It includes the notion of unification education and approaches to unification education.

2.2. Ontological and Epistemological Perspectives

2.2.1. Ontologies for peace and conflict studies

Recasting for the ontology of peace and conflict studies

Ontology refers to exploring the nature of reality or things that comprise reality (Akinyoade, 2012; Slevitch, 2011). That is, ontological consideration is what is the form and nature of reality and therefore, what can be known about it is "how things really are" and "how things really work" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:108). Every discipline has its ontology. For peace and conflict studies, it answers two fundamental ontological questions identified as follows: peace and conflict.

One of the major arguments about the state of peace is the discourse of negative and positive peace (Barash & Webel, 2016; Galtung, 1969, 1976; Reardon, 1988). While negative peace is the absence of armed conflict or physical violence, positive peace can be defined as the absence of structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1976, 1990; Reardon, 1988). Structural violence refers to social structures such as socio-economic inequity, economical exploitation, social repression, social discrimination, racial profiling and stereotypes (Barash & Webel, 2016; 6) and cultural structures that deteriorate the well-being and development of all citizens (Galtung, 1976, 1990). Structural violence, thus, is associated with social justice and equality and these structures have histories and geographies and manifest themselves in different people, through different systems, in various ways (Galtung, 1976).

In order to inquire into the conditions under which peace can exist in a divided context, we need to discuss another 'real' phenomenon, conflict (Akinyoade, 2012). Conflicts are related to direct, structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1969a,1990). Conflicts deeply involve society members and result in the construction of a conflictive ethos (Bar-Tal, 2000) which provides the dominant affective orientation to the society. The politics of emotions (e.g., hatred, mistrust and hostility, see Zembylas, 2015), forms particular perceptions and collective beliefs and attitudes toward the enemy what Galtung (1990) calls "cultural violence". Moreover, conflicts are not static, but they go through phases (Lederach, 1997). In this sense, peacebuilding activities help a conflict more through different phases until a long last peace can be reached. The goal of peacebuilding is, therefore, not to de-escalate a conflict, but to transform it. Thus, some scholars regard the term 'conflict transformation' as 'peacebuilding' (Lederach, 2005; Paffenholz, 2014). Galtung (1976) frames the original definition of peacebuilding with three dimensions to achieve different kinds of peace:

peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. Compared to other concepts such as peacekeeping (seeking security measures) and peacemaking (identifying mutually acceptable conflict resolution), Galtung emphasises the social aspects of peacebuilding which enable people to achieve well-being and develop the potentials of what he calls "positive peace" (1976:298). This raises the ontological question of under what conditions positive peace will exist in a divided society.

In such ontological positions, sub-fields of peace and conflict studies, such as Peace Education, all make claims about the existence of some specialised concepts to describe the realities of their (its) constituencies (Akinyoade, 2012; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2014). Various forms of peace education include genocide education, human rights education, citizenship education, multicultural education, decolonising pedagogy, which are sometimes typologies or variants of the peace education forms in a certain conflict context (Banks, 2017; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2014; Golding, 2017; Starkey, 2017). That is, pedagogical approachs should consider a necessary connection between different approaches and different contextual conditions that have varied in a particular context. In post-conflict contexts, for instance, education for mutual understanding (EMU) and integrated education has been emphasised in Northern Ireland and Cyprus (Gallagher, 2017; Smith, 2010; Zembylas & Loukaidis, 2021). This is the case for unification education in the context of divided Korea (An SD, 2018; Han MJ, 2019; Kang SW, 2020).

Relational social constructivism as ontological orientation

Paying attention to an ontological position implies that we do not take things for granted, but instead track the relationship between what we perceive and existence (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2014). Within peacebuilding education, this is associated with these questions: How can we more fully describe entities themselves that are claiming their own existence and realness in a world of peace and conflict? And how to explain such entities from a perspective of peace education? To answer these questions, we should consider what constitutes or is constructed as knowledge.

One response to these questions is the perspective that social realities are intersubjectively created (Duranti, 2010; Husserl, 1973; Schulte, 2000). Based on this perspective, the reality is not separate from the world of lived experience (van Manen, 1998). As Merleau-Ponty (1962/2012) notes, what we know is both embedded in social situations, in interaction, and embodied in our experience of our world: it relates to how we live our lives and make meaning with others. Thus, intersubjectivity is the key concept of shared or mutual understanding, as well as being a basic concept for constructing objectivity since "self-

consciousness and self-knowledge are mediated by the other" (Schulte, 2000:535). In turn, knowing is sustained and created in multiple interactions between the personal and the shared self and the others, as well as social practices (Cunliffe, 2008).

The understanding of intersubjectivity has been central to the ontological and epistemological considerations relating to poststructuralism and social constructionism. In particular, some scholars stress that intersubjectivity is the ontological orientations of a relational social constructionist perspective (Cunliffe, 2008). The notion of relational social constructionist research- "how people within a particular setting creat[e] meanings intersubjectively" (Cunliffe, 2008:128), is consonant with the understandings of 'bridging civic identity' construction processes developed, as well as the comprehension of the peacebuilding capacity creation framework in this thesis.

The concept of identity construction is also related to the notion of intersubjectivity. When a person constructs an identity, the identity is constructed based on the expectations and influences of others who belong to the person's concrete networks (Bottero, 2010; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In this sense, identity also has a socially constructed quality, responding to both the interior and exterior world (Gee, 2000; Giddens, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Likewise, the concept of 'bridging civic identities' is related to the notion of relational social constructionism because it implies the quality of interconnectedness and handles civic identity transformation as an outcome achieved by interacting with the different socio-cultural structures surrounded by ourselves (Iedema & Caldas-Coulthard, 2008; Tracy, 2013). In addition, the peacebuilding capacity creation framework proposed in this study distinguishes two interconnected dimensions: seven components of peacebuilding capacity (one capacity, namely, *thriving capacity*, added after data analysis, see Chapter 9) and the adaptation strategies — which together constitute the 'social realm', interplaying closely with each dimension. Thus, the relational social constructivist perspective is very appropriate as a tool to interpret them.

Through a relational social constructivist ontology, this study investigates both peacebuilding capacity and the system of division on the Korean peninsula which Galtung (1969,1976) would call structural and cultural violence. The educational response to this is 'peacebuilding' (Galtung, 2005; Lederach, 1995, 2005). Also, these understandings include the notion of identity as a narrative and storied resource construction (Hammack,2011; Poletti & Rak, 2014). Methodological choices and decisions relating to the ontological position are considered in chapter four.

2.2.2. Epistemologies for Constructive Peace Studies

Social constructivism and Constructive Peace Studies

One assumption of social constructivism is that facts, knowledge and reality have been socially constructed (Boghossian, 2006; Hacking, 1999). That is, what is emphasised by constructivism, hence, the non-inevitability of what is constructed and the idea that what is socially constructed could not have come about by purely natural forces (Boghossian, 2006). Knowledge can be interpreted, reformulated and recreated by individuals and group interests in specific contexts. There is one possible critique of Hacking (1999)'s view on social constructionism; that is, the main interest of social constructionists focuses on how best to understand in that particular reality (Haslanger, 2012). However, a certain trait and belief is socially constructed, but also constitutively (Diaz-Leon, 2015). That is, simply understanding socially constructed knowledge and reality is insufficient to create feasible social strategies for changing those traits and beliefs in those individuals, as well as visioning a future and desirable society.

Epistemology is concerned with how to justify and know, understand and explain things that are said to exist (Akinyoade, 2012:9; Alase, 2017; van Manen, 1998). As discussed in the earlier sections, my ontological position is that the objectivist position is no longer viable, that there is no single truth existing `out there', instead the real or knowledge is relational and socially constructed (Alemika, 2002). Within peace and conflict studies, Galtung (1996:9-10) posits three epistemological branches of Peace and Conflict Studies: empirical peace studies, critical peace studies, and constructive peace studies.

- Empirical peace studies, based on empiricism: the systematic comparison of theories with empirical reality (data), revising theories if they do not agree with data—data being stronger than theory.
- Critical peace studies, based on criticism: the systematic comparison of empirical reality (data) with values, trying, in words and/or in action, to change reality if it does not agree with the values – values being stronger than data.
- Constructive peace studies, based on constructivism: the systematic comparison of theories with values, trying to adjust theories to values, producing visions of a new reality – values being stronger than theory.

In each mode are explicit relationships among data, theory and values. In empiricism, like all traditional, positivist sciences, data prevail over theory; in criticism, values

are superior to data, while in constructivism, values prevail over theories, hence in the data-theory-value relationships in this epistemology of peace and conflict studies (Akinyoade, 2012), such values are based on constructivism: namely, the peace theory provides constructive proposals about what should happen and what might work. It attempts to adjust theories to values, producing visions of a new reality and providing a new approach (Galtung, 1996). If we apply Galtung's (2004) peacebuilding theory when constructing a new conceptual framework in a specific context, it is necessary to consider the local turn, namely, division system in the context of Korean reunification. Discussions of peace and citizenship education have been dominated by Western theoretical frameworks informed mainly by liberal-democratic ideals (Haste, 2004; Kovalchuk & Rapoport, 2018). However, there are limitations of Western conceptual lenses in capturing and interpreting the realities of non-Western society. In this chapter, thus, I move to a discussion of how these concepts can be useful in providing a better comprehension of the relationship between peacebuilding (positive peace) and the division system on the Korean peninsula, drawing on a Korean scholar, Nak-chung Paik's (2011, 2013a, 2013b) theory of division system.

2.3. Context: Conflict and Peacebuilding in the Divided Korea

The features of conflicts in a divided society

The term 'deeply divided' was first used in Eric Nordlinger's (1972) book, entitled *Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies* to refer to the "plural, vertically segmented and communally divided" (Lustick, 1979:325). Furthermore, Dryzek (2005:325) claims a divided society is a product of "boundaries between rival groups… [that are] sharp enough so that membership is clear, and with a few exceptions, unchangeable." He (ibid.) argues that a characteristic of a divided society is that conflict is deep-rooted and existing for generations. The conflicts in divided settings handle a range of issues that are politicised along armament, ethnic, religious and other social cleavages (Dryzek, 2005; Du Toit, 1989; Lederach, 1997).

According to the definition of divided society, literature on conflicts in divided societies identifies some features as follows: (a) The conflicts have long histories across generations (Lederach, 1997; Lustick,1979). Therefore, ordinary citizens suffer from collective trauma over time (Zembylas, 2008, 2015); (b) Identity-based conflicts are

dominant (Nagle, 2016; Rosler, 2019); (c) Conflicts and peace are not static, but they go through phases (Lederach, 1997; Velez, 2019); (d) Intergroup conflicts are exacerbated by the collective beliefs, attitudes and motivations in many divided contexts, resulting in cultivating the politics of an emotion (e.g. hatred, mistrust and hostility) toward the enemy (Bar-Tal, 2013; Maoz & Frosh, 2020; Park JH et al., 2020; Zembylas, 2015).

Given the characteristics of conflicts in divided societies, past studies in the field are extensive as this phenomenon in post-conflict or deeply divided societies has many dimensions. To date, literature on conflict and peace in these contexts has covered two aspects: conflict resolution and conflict transformation (Galtung, 1969a, 1976; Lederach, 1997, 2005; Rambotham et al., 2011). With regard to conflict resolution, structural approaches such as peace negotiations, peace agreements, nation-building, social and civic reconstruction influence conflict resolution. In addition, a large number of theorists and practitioners have produced theoretical and empirical data, that focus on the peace dialogue, reconciliation, transitional justice and peace education, as well as how all issues affect conflict transformation, namely, peacebuilding.

The most representative aspect of conflict in divided countries is that direct, structural and cultural violence are embedded together as the conflict continues for a long time. Although no common definition of such conflict is developed, Kriesberg, Northrup and Thorson (1989) posit that those tractable conflicts can be resolved through negotiations by recognising mutual interests and accepting each other's identity and rights, while intractable conflicts, which are prolonged, involve great animosity and vicious cycles of violence: this type of conflict seems to be" irreconcilable and self-perpetuating" (Kriesberg et al., 1989; Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2013). Consequently, intractable conflicts between groups generate socio-psychological barriers for both individuals and groups, as well as on aspects of social and material conflict; inhibiting the resolution of these conflicts (Hemmatian & Sloman, 2019). The conflicts between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland (Murphy et al., 2016; Rosler, 2019; Smith, 2011) and between Israeli and Palestinian in Israel (Bar-Tal, 1998; Maoz & Frosh, 2020) are cases in point.

The intractable conflicts in a deeply divided Korea

The scholarship on intractable conflict claims that the Korean division system is an example of an intractable conflict for the following reasons (Heo JY, 2021; Paik, 2011; Park JH et al., 2020): first, the division accompanied by physical violence in the form of massive killings and the war fixated the 70-year-long division; second, the division made both Koreans internalise the culture of a dichotomic view of the world and formed a collective

identity, based on the dichotomous consciousness of us and them; third, inter-Korean relations were approached as zero-sum relations, thereby having re-produced social conflicts with the divided situation as a basis (Heo JY, 2021; Park JH et al., 2020). This indicates that division not only accompanies physical violence but also transpires deeper into structural and cultural violence as what Kim (2014) terms 'division violence'.

Thus, successive governments perceived that sustainable peace can be established on the Korean peninsula through legal and institutional peace devices such as peace agreements. Much empirical research has focused on setting up institutional mechanisms for peaceful unification (Jeong JW & Kim YH, 2003; Park JC, 2016). Despite more than 70 years of extensive inter-Korean peace dialogues, however, the Korean conflicts have not progressed to conflict transformation and peacebuilding due to external factors such as North Korea's nuclear threats and the US-DPRK nuclear standoff. There are also internal factors such as the difference in policies of unification between the conservative governments and progressive regimes and the unstable inter-Korean relations. Instead, a consumptive argument between the leftists and rightists was escalated (Lee JH, 2018; Heo JY, 2021).

Considering the constant direct violence that has happened on the Korean peninsula, including military exercises in ROK, regional military tensions and North Korean provocations (e.g., North Korean attack on Yeonpyeong Island and vessel Cheonan incidents in 2010), these institutional devices alone show that they cannot guarantee a conflict transformation. Whenever those military tensions and conflicts occurred, they led South Korean people to strengthen a strong image of hostility and vigilance towards the North Korean regime and North Korean migrants. In South Korean society, therefore, conflict culture and conflict narratives were institutionalised in society, which seems to have greatly affected the psychology and emotions of individual citizens and the Korean citizenry. Some studies assert that it is a division habitus and citizens of the two Koreas, who have experienced division for more than 70 years, have now internalised their conflict identities by amplifying the antagonistic attitude and hatred toward each other (Cho HB, 2004; Park YG, 2010; Park JH et al., 2020).

In North Korean society, on the other hand, this is deeply affecting direct and structural violence, based on the North regime's aggressive policies such as military-first policy (*Songun*-politics in Chosŏn'gŭl) and dual policy (*Byungjin* in Chosŏn'gŭl) which means a parallel advance of nuclear development and economic construction (Kim SS, 2006; Ford, 2018; Easley, 2019). Conflicts over the nuclear deterrent are based on direct and cultural violence, since having nuclear weapons was considered to be the ultimate option for survival by the North Korean regime (Watson, 2020; Ford, 2018; Paik, 2011), In particular, the

military trends have created political, economic, social and cultural violence structures, given that North Korea has encouraged nuclear development (Ko YE, 2015). Despite international concerns over North Korea, the North has conducted a total of six nuclear tests by 2017, resulting in tightening sanctions from the UN Security Council and the North Korean regime's diplomatic isolation (Easley, 2019; Ford, 2018).

Similar to South Korea, hatred for the U.S., Japan and ROK inherent in the North Korean citizens has been used as a powerful tool to maintain the unique North Korean governance, the so-called 'Suryong Dominant Party-State System' (Kim KS, 2008:87) and promote patriotism toward the North Korean regime and its 'great leaders', Kim Il-sung and Kim Jung-Il, and more recently, Kim Jung-eun since the end of the Korean War. Furthermore, the strong ideological education plays a pivotal role in constructing North Korean civic identities, the so-called 'a new Juche type person', and instilled such hatred and bigotry among North Koreans, based on Suryong -centred absolutism and Juche ideology (Ford, 2018; Institute for Unification Education, 2017; Paik, 2011).

In this sense, Galtung's (1976, 1990, 2008) conflict triangle—as the absence of physical violence, cultural violence, and structural violence— offers useful insights to interpret the conflict and peace phenomenon in the Korean context. The interesting part of the conflict triangle is the theory that peace can only be sustained if we can overcome all forms of violence. In order to achieve positive peace, namely, peacebuilding in the context of Korea, the strategy of conflict transformation should be developed in two directions. One direction is to deal directly with efforts to substantially resolve the conflict that impairs peace, namely conflict resolution. The conflict, which has conflicting interests, is resolved by finding ideas that can generate mutual benefits and suggesting ways to cooperate with each other. Nevertheless, in order to build a positive peace, a socio-psychological intervention is also necessary to resolve the intractable conflict formed by the division of Korea through handling collective trauma, trust-building and reconciliation. Therefore, this is why it is essential to develop individual citizens' peacebuilding capabilities to resolve intractable conflicts, and further, building a sustainable peace regime in the context of Korean reunification.

Consolidation of the division of civic identities between the two states

Historically, Korea had been a unified ethnic nation for more than 1,000 years prior to the Potsdam Agreement in 1945 that led to territorial and sovereign partition along the 38th parallel on the peninsula (National Institute of Korean History, 2002). Hence, both Koreas have shared ethnicity, language, history and culture for a long time. However, the two Koreas took dramatically different paths following the establishment of each nation-state

in 1948 and the end of the Korean War in 1953 (An SD, 2018; Jung et al., 2016; Kang JW, 2020; Paik, 2011). As can be seen in table 2.1, the 70-year division made the two countries completely different lifestyles, ideologies, identities, economy, political systems and languages.

Table 2.1.Highlights of differences between DPRK and ROK

Country Name Abbreviation conventional short form Korean	Democratic People's Republic of Korea **DPRK** **North Korea** *Choson-minjujuui-inmin-konghwaguk*	Republic of Korea **ROK** **South Korea** *Taehan-min'guk*
Government type	*Suryong* Dominant Party-State System (Kim KS, 2008:87**)**	Presidential Republic (Liberal Democracy)
Constitution	Previous 1948, 1972; latest adopted 1998 (during Kim Jong Il era) Amendments**:** proposed by the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA); passage requires more than two-thirds majority vote of the total SPA membership; revised 2009, 2012, 2013, 2016, 2019	Latest passed by National Assembly October 12 1987, approved in referendum October 28 1987, effective February 25 1988
Government	The rule of the US Military Government (1945~1948)	
	Kim Il-sung (1948-1994) Kim Jung-il (1995-2011) Kim Jong-un (2011- present)	The Transitional Regimes (1948~1963) • Rhee Syung-man (1948~1960) • Chang Myon (1960~1963) The Military Dictatorial Regimes • Park Chung-hee (1963~1979) • Chun Doo-hwan (1981~1988) Democratic Regimes (1988~1998: conservative governments) • Rho Tae-woo (1988~1993) • Kim Yong-sam(1993~1998) Democratic Regimes (1998~2008: progressive governments) • Kim Dae-jung (1998~2003) • Rho Moo-hyun(2003~2008) Democratic Regimes (2008~2016: conservative governments) • Lee Myung-bak (2008~2013) • Park Geun-hye (2013~2016) Democratic Regimes (progressive government)

		• Moon Jae-in (2017~Present)
Ruling Ideology	*Juche* Ideology	*Hongik Ingan* Ideology
Citizenship	Citizenship by descent only: at least one parent must be a citizen of North Korea	Citizenship by descent only: at least one parent must be a citizen of South Korea
Population (July 2021 est.)	25.8 M	51.7 M
Age structure (2020 est.) 0-14 years 15-24 years 25-54 years 55-64 years Over 65 years	20.47% 14.68% 44% 11.2% 9.65%	12.77% 11.18% 44.66% 15.47% 15.92%
Life Expectancy at birth (2021 est.) Total	71.65 years	82.78 years
Ethnic Groups	Homogeneous; there is a small Chinese community and a few ethnic Japanese	Homogeneous
Language	Chosŏn'gŭl (N. Korean)	Han'gŭl (S. Korean)
Education expenditures	N/A	4.3% of GDP (2016)
Schooling system	**[Compulsory education]** A year of pre-school Four years of primary school Six years of secondary school or two or three years of technical school **[Post-compulsory education]** College (4 years) or University (4–6 years), and from the latter on to postgraduate studies Distance Higher Education	**[Compulsory education]** Two or three years of pre-school Six years of primary school Three years of lower secondary school Three years of upper scondary school Distance Education **[Post-compulsory education]** Two years of college or four years of university Postgraduate studies (two years of master degree and six years of doctoral degree) Distance Higher Education Lifelong learning
Economic system	Public Distribution System	Capitalism
GDP per capita	$1,700 (2015 est.)	$ 42,765 (2020 est.)
Real GDP (purchasing power parity)	$40 billion (2015 est.) Note: country comparison to the world, 123 rank	$2.276 Trillion (2019 est.) Note: country comparison to the world, 10 rank

(Source: CIA Factbook [Online] Available at https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/korea-north/#introduction; https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/korea-south/#introduction; Cho JA, 2009; Haggard & Norland, 2009; Kim KS, 2008:87; Lee IJ, 2021; So KH, 2020; World Bank [Online] available at https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?locations=KR)

Since the signing of the 1953 armistice agreement, the two sides have remained polarised culturally, economically, politically and ideologically (An SD, 2018; Kang JW, 2020; Kwon HI, 2020). Separate political and civic identity formation processes have consolidated the identities of citizens of each side in opposition to the other (Kang JW, 2020; Jung et al., 2016). Typically, ceasefires are starting points for peace processes (Kaldor & De Waal, 2020) and transitional periods for nation-building and peacebuilding (Paik, 2013b); however, in the Korean context, the civic identity division between the communist North and the capitalist South has in fact become more fixed over the course of period. Such an entrenched system of division has led Koreans to form a "division habitus" (Park YG, 2010:373) that has led to the internalisation of civic identities shaped by the conflict. Literature on division habitus states that it is a disposition and beliefs in which divisional order and divisional governance are carved into the body by symbolic violence (Cho HB, 2004; Park YG, 2010).

In light of the confrontation between the two Koreas, DPRK and ROK have developed different socio-economic and political systems in their own way (Cumings, 1995; Fields, 2019; Ford, 2018; Paik, 2011, 2013a). In contrast to other socialist countries, Kim Il-sung established the "Suryong-Dominant Party-State System" in 1967 (Becker, 2005; Kim KS, 2008:87), namely, the relations among the Korean Worker's Party (KWP; the country's ruling party), the government, and the Korean People's Army (KPA) cannot properly be analysed without considering the supreme power of the great leader (*Suryong* in Chosŏn'gŭl) over decision making in North Korea. Such a strict leader-oriented political system has significantly contributed to the North Korean regime's recovery, which was destroyed by the civil war. As a result, South Korea grew to be the world's 34th largest economy throughout the 1980s (Ford, 2018:4). While North Korea remains a unique authoritarian regime, ROK was democratised in 1987 (Kim KS, 2008:87; Fields, 2019; Ford, 2018).

When it comes to their economies and living standards, they could hardly be more different. The ROK as a well-established capitalist democratic model and a powerhouse of culture and technology achieved extraordinary economic growth from the 1960s to the 1990s (Tudor, 2012; Cornell University, INSEAD, and WIPO, 2020). Whereas DPRK which was a "global communism's poster boy" (Ford, 2018:4) by the late 1960 became a collapsed communist nation and nuclear-armed state (Easley, 2019; Watson, 2020). It has been under economic sanctions from the UN Security Council for over twelve years. For instance, the per capita GDP gap between the two Koreas widened more than twenty-five times in 2020 (see Table 2.1). Therefore, the economic and political superiority of

ROK and the diplomatic isolation of DPRK led away from the reunification and social integration of two Koreas (Moon CI, 2012:181).

Finally, the Korean language, which originally had the same etymology and shared the same alphabet, was marked visible difference by the 70 year-long division (Park MY, 2021). North Korean has changed little since the national division, keeping the original Korean language whereas South Korean has evolved rapidly due to exposure to foreign cultures and technology in the aftermath of globalisation. There are now many spelling and pronunciation differences, and North Korean can sound old-fashioned to South Korean speakers (Lee et al., 2016:293). In ROK, some comedians run YouTube that makes fun of North Korean dialects by posting parodies of northern pronunciation (see Psick Univ,Retrieve from https://youtu.be/cXcfVlFcGH4). As a result, communication problems have been highlighted as one of the biggest obstacles to North Korean migrants' adaptation to new life in South Korean society (Park MY, 2021).

The education system as a means of amplifying the division of civic identities

Civic identities between the two states became significantly different by establishing the different ideologies which are embedded in the national curriculum. In other words, North Korea created the *Juche* ideology, which serves as a ruling ideology to build the North Korean style socialism in 1948, whereas *HongIk-Ingan* ideals have been chosen as a fundamental educational ideology in the South since 1945 (Suh BG, 2014; Kim T, 2018). Further discussion on *HongIk-Ingan* ideals will be found in chapter three.

In the North, the education system was systematically developed to foster civic identity to maintain Juche ideology. In contrast to other communist allies, the history curriculum in the 1950s and 1960s was based on *Juche* ideology, seeking the goal of national independence and 'self-reliance' and 'self-determination' (Kim P, 2011; Institute for Unification Education, 2017; Kang JW, 2012b). The concept of self-determination was presented as a genuinely Korean concept, different from Marxism-Leninism, based on revolutionary practices and Kim Il-sung's activities (later Kim Jong-Suk, who is Kim Il-sung's wife and Kim Jong-Il, more recently Kim Jong-un was added to the Revolutionary History) (Cho JA, 2014; Kim BY & Kim JS, 2020). According to this concept, humans can control and influence the world through their own will, thereby creating revolutionary changes. Such creative activities are only possible under the guidance of an exceptional leader who leads the country to a loyal, loving and submissive family. The subject of Revolutionary History was aimed at developing the ideology (Institute for Unification Education, 2017).

In North Korea, the education system aims to nurture its citizens as the "new *Juche* type persons" who are able "to be fully armed with the ideology of Kimilsungism-Kimjongilism which is interchangeable with *Juche* ideology since Kim Jung-un had taken office in 2011 (Institute for Unification Education, 2017); to consider the benefit of society more important than the benefit of the individual; to have a revolutionary and optimistic mind; to actively participate in social works" (Education Law in DPRK, 1999; Common Education Law in DPRK, 2011; Higher Education Law in DPRK, 2011, cited in Institute for Unification Education, 2017:218). Also, "*Suryong*-centred absolutism," which means unity around the leadership, emphasises supporting the *Suryong*-Dominant Party-State System. This demands adherence to the "Ten Principles for the Establishment of a Monolithic Ideological System," and "socio-political body (the unified trinity of the Suryung, Party and the Masses)" (Institute for Unification Education, 2017:279).

Furthermore, the North Korean regime developed unique teaching and learning strategies and subject matter, the so-called 'Revolutionary History.' From the early 1960s until the early 1990s, the life and teaching of Kim Il Sung were highlighted in ideological education. Thus, it handled the resistance against the Japanese during the colonial occupation and the history of triumph in the Korean War of their supreme leader, Kim Il Sung (Koo & Nahm, 2010). It is divided into four books based on a certain amount of distorted historical evidence regarding victory on the battles of Kim's family members including Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Sook (Kim Il Sung's wife), Kim Jung Il, and Kim Jung Un who was recently added. All North Korean people have been taught it as a compulsory module (Institute for Unification Education, 2017). Moreover, individual subjects were regarded as components of an integrated curriculum underpinned by *Juche*. From mathematics, physics and biology to languages and, in particular, history, every subject was used to foster a Juche mindset and suryong-centred absolutism (Frank, 2016; Ryang, 1992).

While DPRK has focused on ideological education to maintain its regime and bolster the loyalty of the leaders, the education system in ROK has been considered one of the major sources of economic growth and social development in the South (Kim GJ, 2002; OECD, 2008; Seth, 2012; So, 2020; Tudor, 2012). As shown in Table 2.1, the government invests a significant portion of its GDP in education (4.3% of GDP in 2016), resulting in competent human resources. These results can be attributed to the reform of the education system at government level and the educational culture, the so-called "education zeal" at individual level (Kim & Park, 2008; Seth, 2012). Meanwhile, moral education has been underscored in light of the aspiration of building a democratic nation after the establishment of the first national curriculum in the South in 1954. Yet, moral education included democracy as well as nationalist ethics and anti-communism education (Seth, 2012; So KH,

2020). Arguably, the war and military tensions between the two Koreas led to a demand for ideological training after the Korean War. Thus, social studies and history texts emphasized political themes, and 'anti-communism became a central theme of moral education' (Seth, 2012:17). Above all, nationalistic leaders in the transition period and the dictators in the dictatorial military regimes used anti-communism to grant them to take a legitimate power (Kim DC, 2009; Paik, 2011) and discussing and sharing communism became a taboo in South Korean society. Also, the aforementioned NSL that was enacted under the anti-communist doctrine, resulting in triggering (leftist and rightist) ideological conflicts within South Korean society, namely, South-South conflict (Kwon DS, 2019). Furthermore,having the law stipulating North Korea as its main enemy, ordinary citizens whose family members or relatives remained in the North had to hide their family stories in a social atmosphere where they were regarded as potential spies during the military dictatorship (Kwon HI, 2020). In the North, North Koreans who had lived in South Korea and served there prior to the war were actually punished and discriminated against and their family by assigning a low *Songbun* status (Collins, 2012; Lankov, 2014).

A large number of South Koreans were born and grew up under such social circumstances, and they have a sense of antagonism towards blind followers of the *Juche* ideology (Kim DC, 2014). Just as North Korea and its people have become major enemies of South Korea, North Koreans armed with *Juche* ideology have also formed hatred for the United States and South Korea. As a result, both ideological education in the North and unification education in the South have served as the so-called 'conflict-blind education' or 'conflict sensitive education' (Lewis & Winn, 2018) which contributes to construct the collective identities in the Korean peninsula.

From the perspective of the theory of constitutive peace (Galtung, 2005), therefore, intractable conflicts arising from the ongoing division of the Korean Peninsula contributes to structural and cultural violence that undermines positive peace on the Korean Peninsula (Heo JY, 2021). Given the complex structure of the division system, conflict transformation is not easy to accomplish due to such protractible conflict over a lack of an agreed plan for the unification, a conflict between South and North Korea due to a non-fulfilment of agreements and an absence of confidence, as well as a conflict of nations and the world system (Lee KW, 2015). Therefore, accurately analysing the system of Korean division is the groundwork to transform conflict and achieve positive peace.

2.4. Theoretical Foundation of Peacebuilding Capacity

2.4.1. Theory of Division System

Overview of the system of division on the Korean peninsula

The Korean division system in its simplest definition is a territorial partition along the 38th parallel. However, the regime (sovereignty) division between the ROK and DPRK, the civic identities division between the citizens of North and South Korea and the ideological division relating to socialism and capitalism encompass all aspects of life on the peninsula (An SD, 2018; Kang SW, 2020; Paik NC, 2011). At the same time, the division system should be defined with the complexities of interrelations among "the world system, the Cold-War system and the North-South Korean system" (Paik, 2011:6). Thus, Paik (2011 :7) illustrates the dynamics of the division system by comparing the "world-system, the division system within it, and the two systems" that constitute the division system which are realities belonging to different levels while having specific relationships among one another. As Figure 2.1 demonstrates, the system of division which is adapted to this study are summarised as follows:
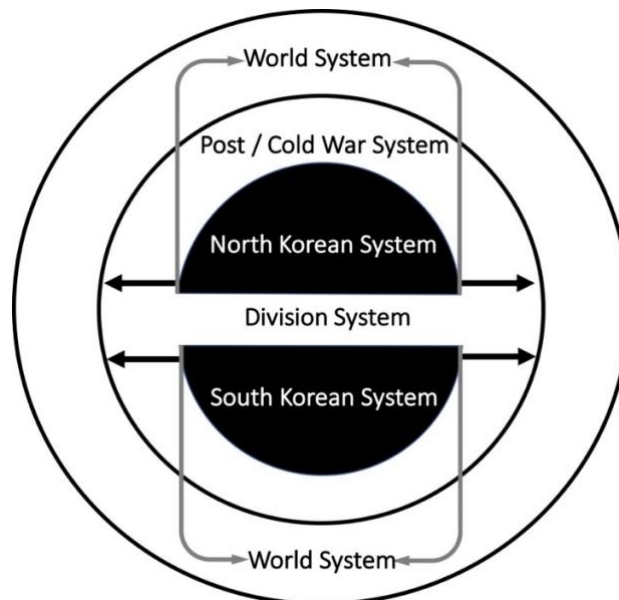
Figure 2.1. A division system on the Korean peninsula

(Source: author reconstructed division system, based on Paik's (2011, 2013 a, b) theory of division system)

As can be seen in Figure 2.1, Korea's division system exists within the framework of the world system. The world system escalates the division system in the Korean context (Moon CI, 2012; Paik, 2011, 2013b; Watson, 2020; Ford, 2018). The most important contradiction of the division system is found in the "outside forces" (Paik, 2013b:280) rather than within the two Korean states. That is, the interests of its three neighbouring Northeast powers—China, Russia and Japan— and its relationship with the U.S. continue to add complexity to the Korean conflict (Kim S, 2006; Kim DJ, 2018; Paik, 2011, 2013a). After the 2000 Declaration, for instance, the two progressive administrations (c.f., Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administration, see table 2.1) strengthened the economic exchange and humanitarian cooperation between DPRK and ROK. However, this new rapport was not allowed to flourish due to the international sanctions placed on North Korea and the interference of the US (Kim S, 2006). More recently, the DPRK- USA summit in Singapore in 2018 highlighted a possible new era of peace and relations, from DPRK-USA belligerence to DPRK-USA cooperation, that created a comprehensive and in-depth exchange of opinions on the issues related to the formulation of 'complete denuclearization' and a peace agreement (Park JH et al., 2020; Watson, 2020).

In addition to the world system, the Korean partition has been overwhelmingly dominated by the Post-Cold War system which is determined by the aftermath of the US-USSR ideological rivalries during the East-West Cold War regime (Kang SW, 2020; Kim DJ, 2018; Paik, 2011, 2013b). Therefore, the antagonism between two systems is intensified by the fact that each advocate one of the opposing ideologies (Paik, 2011). Paik (ibid.:7) posits that the North-South confrontation played an important role in the birth of the division situation and in becoming a system of society within the Cold War regime. The "rivalry between the two systems" created a "Cold War identity" (Kang J, 2017: Kim S, 2006:16) which weakened inter-Korean identity politics, reinforced mistrust and engendered an intractable conflict with increased political tensions on the Korean peninsula (Kim S, 2006; Park, 2015).

Unlike Germany, which achieved unification along with the end of the Cold War (Kim DJ, 2018; Silvereisen, 2016), both Koreas are now faced with a new challenge of synthesising the national identity with a new regional and global identity after the end of the Cold War. Having a far better position and additional preparation for managing the forces of globalisation and liberal democracy (capitalism) in its identity politics (Kim S, 2006), ROK seems to be transforming into a new kind of identity politics from the "Cold War hub" to a "regional bridge state" (Watson, 2020:4; MoU, 2019). However, DPRK is still struggling with economic-diplomatic isolation globally. In this sense, the division system as the legacy of the Cold War system can be a task to be resolved in the age of peaceful unification.

As discussed above, both division and reunification mutually rely on the world system and Cold War system. However, the most salient characteristic of the division system is a North-South Korean system. A large array of conflicts has mainly been exacerbated as a consequence of the North-South Korean system. The literature on ideological-based conflict in divided society highlights the ideological beliefs which are crucial in the context of major intergroup conflicts because they influence the way individuals interpret and experience conflict-related events. Such interpretations and experiences affect how people form collective emotions toward others who are perceived as an enemy, namely, the politics of emotions (e.g., collective hatred and antagonism) is more salient (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2011; Goldenberg et al., 2020; Hemmatian & Sloman, 2019). Ideological-based conflict is reinforced by the North-South Korean system and it is the main cause of intractable conflicts, such as 'South-South conflict'.

The term South-South conflict was first used by the Hankyoreh Daily in 1997 to describe the perspectives of the government unification policy to South Korean citizens. In ROK, the progressive and conservative regimes have maintained different unification policy lines: namely, progressive governments in Seoul generally have strived for full-fledged engagement with North Korea, bilateral summits, and expanded non-governmental contacts and exchanges, but they also have a penchant for papering over vast differences in the two sides' respect for human rights. In contrast, conservative governments have tended to emphasise deterrence and security, dialling down inter-Korean exchanges, emphasising the U.S.-ROK alliance (Huh et al., 2012; Lee CM, 2020). The right-wing media's coverage generates public hostility or cynicism about such unification policy of the progressive government (e.g., Sunshine policy) on the whole (Paik, 2011). The mainstream discourse of the South-South conflict is both a disagreement over North Korean policy and a dispute between conservatives (Rightist) and progressives (Leftist) (Kim KS, 2007; Lee JW, 2018). In turn, it represents the ideological approach towards unification agendas and causes a consumptive argument between the leftists and rightists, leading to exacerbating a protracted conflict in South Korean society (Kang & Kwon, 2011; Kang SW, 2020; Kim KS & Park JH, 2021).

Since the source of conflict may come from within each level of the division system, therefore, it is hard to articulate the peacebuilding capacities without understanding each system. It is also difficult to draw an appropriate educational response to nurture capacities that enable the people of two Koreas to transform conflict into peace without a complete understanding of such multi-layered division. In the next section, I demonstrate the meaning of peacebuilding capacity and core components of peacebuilding capacity.

2.4.2. Theoretical foundation of peacebuilding capacity

Meanings of Peacebuilding

Although peacebuilding is most often used as an umbrella term to encompass other terms such as conflict resolution or transformation (Schrich, 2008), the concept of peacebuilding, introduced for the first time by Galtung (1976) has evolved over time into a synonym for major international intervention in the realm of peace and conflict studies. More recently, peacebuilding has been redefined as a dynamic process which can occur throughout society intentionally and it comprehensively encompasses, generates, and sustains "the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable and peaceful relationships" (Lederach, 1997: 40).

In the so-called concept of 'post-conflict reconstruction' in the UN Agenda for Peace (Boutros-Ghali, 1992), attention was focused on peacebuilding as a long-term and comprehensive social transformation with the end of the Cold War. Afterwards, the UN definition determines that peacebuilding is the activities of rebuilding societies during the process of social reconstruction (Lederach, 2014). Since post-conflict peacebuilding is based on a framework of humanitarian intervention (Graf, Kramer & Nicolescou, 2007), it has been associated with "activities aimed at strengthening peace to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992: 823). Given the fact that the UN peacebuilding architecture —
the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF);
the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC); and the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO)—
emphasises the activities which enable nations and citizens to prevent the recurrence of violence, the humanitarian approach underscores the support for the solution of the structural causes of violence, the strengthening of new democratic institutions, as well as regenerating peaceful cooperation and partnership in the post-conflict contexts (Ben-Porath, 2006; Stamnes & Osland, 2016; Boutros-Ghali, 1992).

Notwithstanding the achievement of post-conflict peacebuilding preventing recurrent violence, literature on post-conflict peacebuilding has pointed out some limitations (Graf, Kramer & Nicolescou, 2007; Hughes, 2016). As such, the one-size-fits-all peacebuilding initiatives and practices are often poorly implemented in a specific conflict context. Peace agreements can often be attributed to a major use of armed force, but the enmity between societies and populations remains significant. There are limits where outcomes of peacebuilding practices are hard to assess (Novelli, Lopes-Cardozo & Smith, 2015; Geneva Peacebuilding Platform, 2015; Sigsgaard, 2012). Above all, post-conflict peacebuilding practices are led by policymakers and diplomatic elites. Yet, peacebuilding

seeks to change the way of dealing with conflicts by empowering parties and enhancing mutual recognition to minimise the use of violence, it involves dealing with direct and indirect/structural causes and aspects of conflict, requiring multiple processes at all levels of society and including grassroots peacebuilding, mid-level, and top-level actors (Lederach, 1997). Criticising such a top-down approach, Lederach (1997) emphasises the need for a bottom-up approach. Ramsbotham and associates (2011) offer a cosmopolitan conflict resolution model that sympathises with peacebuilding in a bottom-up approach that involves individual citizens in the process of peacebuilding praxis.

The Nature of Capacities

The definition and measurement of human development remain contested, but the thesis examines a range of approaches to the definition of development as involving 'needs' and 'capabilities' (Galtung, 1985, 2005; Nussbaum, 2006; Sen, 1999, 2003).

Structural violence as formulated by Galtung is a Maximalist's approach to peacebuilding (Chetail, 2009). Thus, structural violence is viewed as the negative consequences of the uneven distribution of power and resources. However, he sees that violence is largely avoidable through the efforts of individuals and groups and is understood as a highly destructive social process (Galtung, 1976, 1996). In such conceptualisation, Galtung emphasises the social aspects of peacebuilding that enables people to achieve well-being and develop the potentials of what he (1976:298) calls "peacebuilding."

Underlying Galtung's (1985: 146) notion of structural violence is a concern for 'basic human needs' provision, informed by the basic needs approach to development that emerged in the mid-1970s. Thus, for Galtung, structural violence "could also be taken as a point of departure for development studies as for peace studies" (1985: 147).

According to one of the major arguments about the development principle, it highlights individuals' development that ensures sustainable positive peace by eliminating social structures that cause a deterioration in the well-being and development of individual citizens (Bajaj, 2015, 2019; Bickmore, 2017, 2019; Galtung, 1969a, 1996, 2005). Moreover, Galtung asserts that well-being means achieving "peace and development by fulfilling the four basic needs for well-being: survival, wellness, freedom and identity" (2005:483).

Another perspective of human development argues that the focus of development should be on "the freedom to live the kind of life one would like"(Sen, 1989:4). The idea of living such a life comes from two important notions: functionings and capabilities. Functionings are ways of being or doing that an individual may value, while capabilities are defined as "the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value … the various

combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve" (Sen, 1992:49). In such conceptualisation, Sen explains as follows: "capability is thus a kind of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations (or … lifestyles)" (1999:75). Thus, well-being should be understood in terms of people's capabilities and functionings.

Sen's approach to capability asserts that the need to remove the hindrances that people face through the efforts and initiatives of people themselves. In doing so, the claim is not only that human lives can go very much better and be much richer in terms of well-being and freedom, but also that human agency can deliberately bring about radical change through improving societal organisation and commitment to make a better society (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009; Sen, 2004).

Sen's (1985) core message on capabilities echoes in the field of conflict and peacebuilding. That is, that focus relates, on the one hand, to a clearer comprehension of how, and in what ways, human lives can be much better and, on the other, to a fuller understanding of how this betterment can be brought about through a strengthening of human agency (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). Sen's (1999) conceptualisation, then, includes the capability to create particular ways of being that are seen as valuable, as well as an ability in identifying the freedoms that are required to achieve a valuable life.

On the matter of peacebuilding, Sen's (1999, 2003) capability approach gave this study inspiration to conceptualise the peacebuilding capacities. Namely, merely conceiving a peaceful mind--which is a major aim of peace education-- is not a guarantee of real peacebuilding. Peacebuilding creates a platform that enables a just society through peacebuilding praxis. It changes the structure of society, providing restoration of systems, structures, underlying conditions and skills needed to accept dissent, address conflict constructively, and build positive networks (Galtung, 1976). Thus, the peacebuilding process is an opportunity for the development of individual capability by participating in these social transformations and provides a platform for developing individual and group capabilities to make a just society or freedom in the sense of Sen (1999). This is why this thesis pays special attention to peacebuilding education, an education that develops the capacity of individuals and groups to achieve social change through conflict transformation.

Following Galtung's and Sen's critical points, this thesis employed Galtung's (1976, 1985) theory of peacebuilding as a theoretical framework for capacity building with Sen's (1999) capability approach. Thus, peacebuilding capacity can be defined as the capabilities of both individuals and groups as peacebuilders and moral agents who are willing to engage in changing society (Galtung, 2005; Sen, 1999; Snauwaert, 2020); to empower individuals and reconcile with an enemy (Novelli et al., 2017; Smith, 2005;

Zembylas, 2015); to collaborate with the people and resources for a conflict transformation (Bickmore, 2019; Lederach, 1997; Miall, 2004).

2.4.3. Key components of Peacebuilding Capacity

Galtung (1969a:168) defines structural violence as the distance between "the actual realisations and the potential realisations." This definition allows me to interpret what is actual and potential in relation to the concept of peacebuilding capacity in the Korean context. The division system is the actual realisation that is the root cause of structural violence and reunification can be one of the potential realities that can be achieved by overcoming the division system. Such subjective understandings of what 'is' as well as what 'could be' are important in constructing the key components of peacebuilding capacity as it can help to determine what kind of capacities are needed both at present and in the future to defeat the division system which contribute to constructing division habitus to reach the ultimate goal on the Korean peninsula.

From a long-term perspective, the quality of society and the acceleration of the reunification process depends on the peacebuilding capacity of the people of the two Koreas, and it can be fostered by peace education (Cho JA, 2007). Therefore, the study proposes that peacebuilding citizenship education can equip both North and South Koreans with the peacebuilding capacity which will be required to be bridge citizens who are willing to foster their peacebuilding capacities to bridge the gap between the North and South Korean civic identities socially, culturally and ideologically; to transform division habitus (conflict civic identities) into unification habitus (peace civic identities); to contribute to building a more just, compassionate and peaceful society. By identifying the peacebuilding capacities from the existing studies, I propose key components that will be used as an analytical framework for the peacebuilding capacities that research participants, namely, North Korean migrants might developed in the process of migration and adaptation to a new society.

Peacebuilding Capacity Framework

Having suggested the relevance of constructive peace studies to this divided context, it can be hypothesised that the two divided states will need different levels of increased capacity in order for both Koreas to build positive peace in a future unified Korea. Considering conflicts that may arise in a future unified Korea, such as the inner unity issue of

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East-West Germany after German unification, at the same time, an extensive peacebuilding capacity should be considered in this imagined nation.

Based on existing literature on peacebuilding capacities, I have devised a framework with six components: *realising, enabling, reflecting, reconciling, transforming and bridge-building*. The framework can help us think about what is needed in education to cultivate peacebuilding capacity to be bridge citizens, encapsulating more specific and relevant capacities that are required to prepare for successful Korean reunification, and further, social transformation.

As Figure 2.2. shows, the framework of peacebuilding capacity articulated here is interrelated and iterative rather than unidirectional and discrete. Peacebuilding capacity focuses on dynamics at the individual, collective, and societal levels.

The unification of the Korean peninsula will be a conflict transformation process that will shape and influence social change at a macro level and will be a collective reconciliation process in which individuals participate in internalising a culture of peace. Thus, peacebuilding capacities will be required to fulfil both processes, and thus, ultimately link into a civic development of both Koreas. The feature of each capacity is summarised as follows:
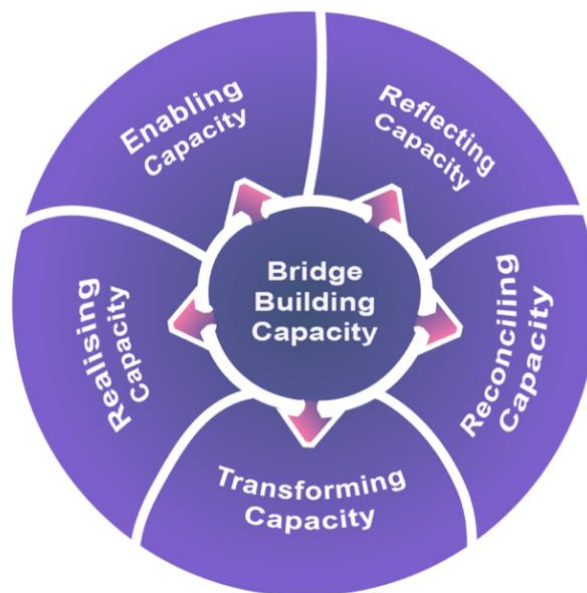
Figure 2.2. Peacebuilding Capacity Framework

Realising Capacity

Realising the root causes of the conflict and recognising the differences of other groups can be the first step of achieving positive peace. Since identity-based conflicts have commonly arisen in divided settings, identity factors are important to understand their influence on escalating conflict and effect on all levels of society (Cho HB, 2004; Park YG, 2010; Son S, 2015; Smith, 2011; Zembylas, 2015). Research demonstrates that it tends to reinforce inner group conflicts which can be a hindrance to social, cultural and political integration due to the complexity of identity in divided contexts, (Bar-Tal, 2013; Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2007; Lederach, 1995). As noted earlier, whenever military tensions and conflicts occurred on the Korean peninsula, they led to South-South conflict. Contrary to the leftists' (Liberals) attempt to resolve the conflicts in the way of peace and coexistence, the rightists (Conservatives) provoke collective beliefs, illustrating a strong image of hostility and vigilance towards North Korea and North Korean migrants in the name of anti-communism and national security initiatives.

Therefore, realising capacity can be defined as the ability to recognise the underlying causes of conflict and the surface manifestations, as well as appreciating both particularities and differences of each group to resolve conflicts and pursue peaceful coexistence. Thereby, as core skills of realising capacity, this study proposes peaceful problem-solving techniques, critical awareness, optimistic view, intercultural sensitivity and paradoxical thinking (Jäger, 2015; Bickmore, 2019; Hameiri et al., 2014; Lederach, 1995).

Enabling Capacity

Enabling capacity can be defined as the ability to empower people to engage in the process of peacebuilding at a local and global level with knowledge, legitimacy and a sense of agency as contributing community members (Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011; Bickmore, 2017b; Davies, 2008; Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015; Parker, 2016; Magee & Pherali, 2019).

The capacity is similar to Bourdieu's (1986a) concept of cultural capital which is embodied by the knowledge and skills and is institutionalised by academic qualifications. In the context of civic development, embodied civic knowledge and civic skills, namely, civic competencies can equip people with the capacity and confidence they need to be good citizens. In the Bourdieusian sense, these competencies can act as the code of behaviours, memberships, practices of belonging where good citizens have to acquire the new rule of the game to be "good players of the game" (1986b:112). If we acquire enabling capacity, we are more likely to develop feelings of belonging and participate in civic sociality (Anthias, 2018), and thus, a strong sense of belonging contributes to forming robust civic attachments,

resulting in a formal and informal political participation with a sense of agency (Anthias, 2018; Hart et al., 2011; Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008; Pakulski & Tranter, 2000). In a sense, enabling capacity may call 'democratising capacity.'

In the scholarship on civic development, it emphasises a sense of agency in the process of peacebuilding. Bickmore (2017b) identifies two competencies of a well-informed agency that can handle social conflicts: knowledge (e.g. conflict awareness and communication and motivations, dialogue skills, and altering structures to affirm justice) and motivations (e.g., hope, commitment, and moral judgment to make difficult choices). Smith's (2010) assertion on peacebuilding capacity highlights a sense of agency which enables people to engage in social change for positive peace and leads people to have the confidence to be non-violent citizens. Furthermore, Senghaas (2004) suggests six conditions that can guarantee peace and core skills are summarised as "a critical inquiry for democratic engagement, empathy and solidarity, conflict dialogue skills, empowerment, conflict transformation skills and ongoing reflective practice." Additionally, this engagement requires reflection on one's actions and responsiveness with others and active discussion about choices (Fesmire, 2003:2). In this sense, enabling capacity is link to reflecting capacity.

Reflecting Capacity

Reflecting capacity can be defined as the internal capacities to interpret, to make sense, to respond to vis-à-vis events, situations, people and experiences with the respect of fellow human beings in the process of peacebuilding.

Snauwaert (2009:14) describes self-reflection as referring to the capacity to be aware of and to ethically respond to the inherent dignity of every human being, as well as "internal self-transformation". In this respect, reflecting capacity is consistent with the visions of the cosmopolitan which emphasises the moral agents (Appiah, 2007; Nussbaum, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2005; Snauwaert, 2009).

During the peacebuilding process, reflecting capacity is vital as it allows people to resist "selective, biased, and distortive information processing that is prevalent during the conflict" (Bar-Tal, 2013) by self-reflection. As a result, peacebuilding can be ensured through the core skills of reflective capacity, including reflective-inquiry, critical thinking, empathy and solidarity (Bajaj, 2015; Davies, 2008; Dewey, 1916/1944; Readon & Snauwaert, 2011; Snauwaert, 2009). Since reflective thinking is associated with the capacity to respond to others empathetically with respect and care, it helps people to put themselves in another position and take the perspective of another (Waghid & Davids, 2012; Nussbaum, 2001). By responding to others, people also can judge themselves through critical self-examination and

contemplative reflection which enables people to reconstruct their meaning, value and belief (Haste, 2004; Snauwaert, 2009).

Reconciling Capacity

Reconciling capacity can be defined as an ability to understand collective behaviour and memory on hatred history, to repair damaged relations to start the process of restoring trust and to be willing to engage in the healing process by sympathising with collective pain and trauma.

As noted earlier, individuals and groups in a divided society suffer from collective trauma exacerbated by the long-lasting collective beliefs and emotions across generations (Zembylas, 2008, 2015). The collective beliefs and attitudes toward the enemy promote cultural violence which hinders the achievement of positive peace (Galtung, 1990). The substantial empirical research affirms the negative impacts of collective beliefs and behaviours as "a shared psychological state" that often contributes to tragic consequences such as war (Bar-Tal et al., 2007; Goldenberg et al, 2020:155; Zembylas, 2008, 2015). More recently, it affects not only negative emotional attitudes (e.g., collective action, conflicts, polarization, panic, and collective mourning), but also positive attitudes (e.g., trends, hype, and collective celebrations) (Goldenberg et al., 2020). It also formulates particular dispositions, values, and emotional attitudes which make distinctions between 'us' and 'them' (Zembylas, 2015) while overcoming barriers needed to build trust between groups (Gallagher, 2004; Hughes et al. 2010; Osler & Pandur, 2019). Thus, reconciling capacity would be a fundamental competency within the processes of reconciliation in post-conflict societies.

Among a wide range of possibilities of essential skills concerning reconciling capacity, human relations skills (e.g., anger management and impulse control), emotional awareness (reconciliation, forgiveness, empathy and solidarity), imaginative skills, and problem-solving skills (Bajaj, 2015; Bickmore, 2018; Harris, 2010; Nussbaum, 2010; Zembylas & Bekerman, 2013; Zembylas, 2008, 2015).

Transforming Capacity

A transforming capacity can be defined as having the ability to handle conflict peacefully and to support the transformation of relationships, systems of governance, and

discourses embedded within structural violence, as well as to engage in constructive conflict communication and conflict transformation.

Generally, the peacebuilding process is the progression of a long-term multi-track transformation of a conflict system into a just and sustainable peace system, contributing to social, economic and political social change (Bickmore, 2019; Lederach,1997, 2006; Miall, 2004; Paffenholz. 2014; Smith, 2010). The seminal works on conflict transformation by Lederach (1997, 2005) are some of the most comprehensive to address it: namely, conflict transformation can be defined as "the process of reinforcing the inherent capabilities and understandings of people related to the challenge of conflict in their context and to the generation of new, proactive, empowered action for desired change in those settings" (Lederach, 1997:109). For conflict transformation, multiple resources such as human and cultural resources are needed to accomplish long-term transformation working with the people and resources within the conflict setting (Miall, 2004).

Thus, the literature illustrates the salient features of transforming capacity: (a) it mirrors systems and capacities in each society, for instance, Reardon (2000:418) distinguishes transitional capacity from transformational capacity and the transitional capacity is the ability to change both oneself and society by "recognising and moving out of present cultures into spaces where transformed cultures can be intentionally cultivated." Based on the concept of transitional capacity, transitional capacities were suggested, as such: ecological awareness; cultural proficiency; global agency; conflict competency and gender sensitivity. (b) peacebuilding efforts take a long time and affect different system levels because conflict transformation entails "a constructively changing relationship, attitudes, behaviours, interests and discourses in violence-prone conflict settings" (Berghof Foundation, 2012:23; Lederach, 1997). (c) peacebuilding through conflict transformation heavily relies on communicative abilities "to exchange ideas, find common definitions to issues, and seek ways forward toward solutions" (Lederach, 2005:27).

Given the fact that peacebuilding can be advanced by individuals' transformational beliefs and abilities to act as peace builders, it also links to enabling capacity. The core skills of transforming capacity can be outlined: conflict dialogue skills, empowerment, critical thinking and analysis, ecological awareness, cultural proficiency and conflict sensitivity (Bajaj, 2015; Bickmore, 2019; Lederach, 1997; Parker, 2016; Reardon, 2010).

Bridge-building Capacity

Bridge-building capacity can be defined as the capacity to build networks that enable people to create new values and norms with the aim of bringing the gap between different ideology, values, social norms, and identities; to propose a utopian perspective of transforming a nation that can be more just, inclusive and peaceful; to collaborate with others across fundamental differences that have divided us.

Drawing on the theory of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000), Putnam's concept of bridging social capital was applied to construct the term 'bridge-building capacity.' The theory of social capital recognises two approaches: the social cohesion approach and the social network approach (Moore & Kawachi, 2017). In contrast to Bourdieu's (1986) notion of social capital as social networks between groups of people, Putnam (2000) describes social capital as a collective relational resource that resides at the community level with "features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (Putnam, 1995:1). He categorises these into two types of social capital, namely "bonding social capital and bridging social capital" (2000: 22-4). In contrast to bonding social capital, it is a more inclusive capital which plays a part in linking external assets and for information diffusion. It allows people to link to another context, culture, experience, values, knowledge, and thus, it helps people to make sense, reflect on differences with more interconnected views and put oneself in another's position with more inclusive perspectives (Putnam, 2000). Moreover, the concept of bridge-building capacity borrowed the idea of "bridge figures," who can broker connections between cultures (Zuckerman, 2013:171). Zuckerman (ibid.) emphasises the interconnectedness of bridge ties as social capital, drawing on Burt's (1992:8) concept of "players" who act as brokers "between disparate groups, and end up generating individual creativity by sharing perspectives and different ways of thinking" (Zuckerman, 2013:181). A detailed discussion on bridge figures will be presented in chapter three. Furthermore, some research highlights that strong bonding ties tend to create solidarity and support, and thus provide an effective adaptation strategy for refugees to a new environment (Snyder, 2011). In turn, bridge-building capacity is the linkage capacity which is ensured by connecting each capacity —realising, enabling, reflecting, reconciling and transforming. It is the capacity that encourages us to realise the causes of conflict; to engage in non-violent social change with a sense of agency; to participate in reconciling process through others' perspectives; to urge for transforming conflict into positive peace; to move together with no matter how hard.

2.5. Imagining Peacebuilding Citizenship Education

2.5.1. Peacebuilding Citizenship Education in the context of Korean reunification

The articulation of the peacebuilding capacity framework and demonstration of its applicability is valuable for considering peacebuilding citizenship education more generally in the context of division and unification on the Korean Peninsula. If peacebuilding capacity does not define clearly and does not hone an individual's capacity for building peace, education might contribute to create negative consequences such as social exclusion and polarisation, politics of emotions (e.g., hatred, hostility) (Davies, 2005; Smith, 2010; Zembylas, 2015). In response to such challenges, I propose a new education framework: namely, peacebuilding citizenship education with a critical peace education (Bjaj, 2008, 2015; Bickmore, 2019; Galtung, 2008, 2018) and cosmopolitan perspective (Appiah, 2007; Beck, 2012; Nussbaum, 2006; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2005).

Critical Peace Education (CPE)

Citizenship education may contribute to a link between the construction of civic identities and peacebuilding (Bajaj, 2015, 2019; Bickmore, 2008, 2017b; McGlynn et al., 2009; Velez, 2019). Peacebuilding education has been integrated with these two goals. It serves as an approach to building the social fabric and pursue a variety of goals (Bajaj, 2018; Bickmore, 2017; Frieters-Reermann, 2013). It is based on the perspective that achieving a sustainable and positive peace requires coordinated collective efforts by both the government and civic society to transform the hostile situation into a peaceful society through promoting the empowerment and engagement in peace in a variety of conflict-affected settings (Bajaj, 2015; McGlynn, Zembylas, and Bekerman, 2009). Although it is an expansive category that can encompass a wide range of approaches and content, it is mainly used in reference to instruction to prevent conflict. The United Nations Children's Fund defines peace education as "the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level" (Fountain, 1999:3). However, some

scholars argue that peace education is overly focused on individual knowledge, skills and disposition without having deep consideration for structural and cultural structures that prevent people from ensuring social justice and equity, namely, peacebuilding in the sense of Galtung (Bajaj & Hantzopoulos, 2016; Bickmore, 2017; Galtung, 2018).

In response to such criticisms, literature on peace research is developing critical peace education, mainly drawing from Freirean critical pedagogy (Bajaj, 2008, 2015). Critical pedagogy emphasises building on the knowledge and lived experiences of the learners to explore and understand and then to challenge the systems of oppression (which ignore, silence or dismiss) and move on to transformation through dialogue, exchange and creative practices (Giroux, 2011). Thus, critical peace educators criticise that education for peace is more focusing on making people less violent by changing people's minds and behaviours by "providing a curriculum without being critically involved in conflict dynamics" (Lewis & Winn, 2018:502). As discussed earlier, however, the goal of critical peace education should be to understand how education delivery can be redesigned to make societies more equitable and just (Bajaj, 2008; Bickmore, 2019; Novelli et al., 2015; Smith, 2011) if peacebuilding aims to create a platform that enables a just and equitable society. Drawing on Galtung's (1976, 1996) concept of peacebuilding and a perspective of critical peace education, thus, peacebuilding citizenship education is conceptualised in this study. Some scholars also point out that the potential for global citizenship education to overcome prejudice and community divisions is particularly important in the context of divided and post-conflict societies (Davies 2005; Magee & Pherali, 2019). From this standpoint, I will now argue that peacebuilding citizenship education in the context of Korean reunification can take inspiration from education for cosmopolitan citizenship.

Education for Cosmopolitan Citizenship (ECC)

Generally, citizenship is a way of understanding one's associations with and connections to others. This is a transparent social construction because citizenship cannot exist without societies. The liberal idea of citizenship focuses on a legal condition of rights and a national identity (Delanty, 2010; Marshall, 1950/1992; Starkey, 2012). Mainstream citizenship education has been focused on nationalistic citizenship and civic identity which have contributed to the reinforcement of exclusionary national identities, resulting in discrimination, alienation and exclusion of groups (Smith, 2003; Starkey, 2017).

Literature on peace and citizenship education in a divided setting such as Israel-Palestine, Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina clarify the influence of citizenship

education and formation of ethno-national identity for building peace (McSharry & Cusack, 2016; Osler & Pandur, 2019; Reilly & Niens, 2014; Niens et al., 2013). Particularly, it strengthens national identity in the name of nation-building and unity in post-conflict societies. In the Korean context, the existence of differing civic identities presents its own challenges (Paik, 2011, 2013b; Son S, 2015). Hence, it seems to be currently impossible to construct the concept of one common national identity on the peninsula. A growing number of studies thus pay attention to the impact of global citizenship education in divided settings as global citizenship education could facilitate the formation of an overarching humanising identity that bridges community divisions and ultimately contributes to peacebuilding (Davies, 2005; Levine & Bishai, 2010; Reilly & Niens, 2014).

Cosmopolitan citizenship ('*kosmo politês' in* Ancient Greek) originated from cosmopolitanism which means interconnected and shared humanity (Appiah, 2007; Nussbaum, 1996, 2002; Snauwaert, 2009:14). Osler and Starkey (2005) have rearticulated a meaning of citizenship as a feeling of belonging, a practice and a status. In the light of their concept of citizenship, cosmopolitan citizens recognise a *status* where every person is entitled to universal human rights (Nussbaum, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2003) and one should acknowledge and respect oneself as fellow human beings in what Waghid (2007:537) calls "universal hospitality" in a neo-Kantian sense. According to cosmopolitanism, there needs to be knowledge about one another, and citizens need to be able to mutually affect each other's lives (Appiah, 2007). Hence, cosmopolitan citizens can *feel* a sense of solidarity with others through their mutual understanding. Cosmopolitan citizens *engage in activities* to fight abuses of human rights, including racial discrimination as well as political and social struggles for justice and equality (Osler & Starkey, 2010). In line with the notion of cosmopolitan citizenship, education for cosmopolitan citizenship (henceforth, 'ECC') encourages feelings of solidarity; provides a way of looking at oneself as a member of the world community and making judgments on the basis of the universal standards of human rights. By reconciling global phenomena with local conditions (Appiah, 2006, 2007; Osler, 2011), ECC develops capacities to promote equality and justice from the local to global (Osler & Starkey, 2005).

Smith (2010) claims that the nationalistic concept of citizenship is contested in divided contexts because there is no comprehensible consensus on nationality. In response to such a challenge, some divided and post-conflict nations employ the ECC. As can be seen in the citizenship curriculum (e.g., Local and Global Citizenship) in Northern Ireland, the Northern Ireland government emphasises the cosmopolitan values such as diversity, equality and human rights within a divided society emerging from violent conflict, rather than ethnic, religious or cultural identity (Leonard, 2007; McSharry & Cusack, 2016; Smith, 2003,

2010). A consequence of the effort of the Irish government helped to decrease national identity discourse and to increase awareness of cultural difference and recognition of fellow citizens (e.g., European identity) (Niens & Reilly, 2012).

Peacebuilding Citizenship Education (PCE)

Unlike the ethno-nationalistic concept of citizenship, cosmopolitan citizenship can construct "universal moral inclusion", based on a promise that all human beings should be seen as equal in dignity and rights (Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2005; Reardon, 2013:3; Snauwaert, 2009). However, such cosmopolitan consciousness cannot be nurtured naturally. For this reason, some of the cosmopolitanism thinkers argue that cosmopolitan citizens are not born, they become cosmopolitan citizens through formal and informal education (Osler & Starkey, 2005; Pherali, 2016; Starkey, 2019) and they argue that education for cosmopolitan citizenship (ECC) plays a key role in shaping cosmopolitan consciousness.

Under the influence of globalisation, cosmopolitanism has been introduced as a new framework to improve citizenship education in the Korean context. (Presidential Committee on Education Reform, 1995; MoE, 2012; KEDI, 2012). The idea of cosmopolitanism in the educational reform plan is summarised into three fundamental ideas: "human beings living together with others, human beings with wisdom, and human beings with an open view of the world" (Presidential Committee on Education Reform, 1995:8). In practice, however, Korean citizenship education has focused heavily on cognitive civic competencies such as the acquisition of civic knowledge (KEDI, 2010a; Kim & Chang, 2010; Hong & Hyun, 2013). As a result, the school civic curriculum focuses on learning at the superficial and abstract conceptual level as knowledge to memorise and direct civic instruction has little influence over students' formation of affective and behaviour civic competencies (Jang, 2002; KEDI, 2015) as capital that enables young people to cultivate peacebuilding capacities. As discussed earlier in chapter one, furthermore, unification education in ROK has reinforced ambivalent civic identities because it is underscored by both division system and a culture of peace, based on the unification policy and inter-Korean relations in each regime (Cho HB, 2010; Kang SW, 2020). As Freire (1973:38) usefully points out, in turn, it can be said that Korean citizenship education did not "offer the means for authentic thought by giving the student formulas to receive and store". Namely, it failed to give an opportunity to implement and critically reflect on civic knowledge acquired in the classrooms to nurture peacebuilding capacities. In this respect, I argue that the cultivation of the aforementioned peacebuilding capacities in order to develop new civic identities should

be the primary aim over the peacebuilding citizenship education. In this respect, I argue that the cultivation of the aforementioned peacebuilding capacities in order to develop new civic identities should be the primary aim over the peacebuilding citizenship education.

As a new pedagogical approach, I offer the concept of peacebuilding citizenship education (PCE), combining two dimensions of critical peace education (CPE) and education for cosmopolitan citizenship (ECC). Since peacebuilding can pursue transformative social change in the process of societal reforms, as well as the nature of peace in everyday lives, choices and actions that individuals take as members of social actors, that individuals need to (re)interpret, act, reflect, make decisions for themselves or others, and analyse and form identities embedded within dynamic developmental and social contexts (Bickmore, 2002, 2007; Velez, 2019). Through the involvement of the conflict resolution process, CPE can create new forms of educational praxis in social contexts (Bajaj, 2015). Also, the cosmopolitan perspective could benefit greatly from critical peace education theory and practice within a holistic framework for analysing violence and possibilities for peace (Bajaj, 2015, 2019; Golding, 2017). In other words, cosmopolitanism offers an underpinning background about peacebuilding education with its values: the most important aspect is linked to it being made between the tolerance and mutual respect of cosmopolitanism on the one hand, and the idea of peace as reconciliation and justice in conflict-affected contexts on the other hand (Goetze & de Guevara, 2014). Moreover, the literature on the correlation between cosmopolitanism and conflict resolution highlights mutual respect based on a shared sense of humanity which is essential for critical peace education to foster understanding and compassion across the diverse areas of human identity (Nussbaum, 2001; Starkey, 2019; Waghid & Davids, 2012). Empirical research affirms the importance of cosmopolitan value that contributes to resisting injustice and violence and to promoting robust peace with moral consideration for all human beings (Osler & Starkey, 2003). A detailed discussion on cosmopolitan perspective will be provided in chapter three.

Finally, CPE and ECC are both intensively civic development processes, and thus, they contribute to (re)shape individuals' attitudes and civic identities through the process (Bickmore, 2007). Given the maintenance and re-emergence of conflict and the intractability in a divided society, many scholars stress that peacebuilding requires processes for analysing and evaluating various forms of conflict with their capacities, resources and relationships within the local, national and global. Thus, peacebuilding citizenship education (PCE) encourages people to participate in the process of conflict transformation so that solutions will last (Bajaj, 2015; Bickmore, 2002, 2007; Hantzopoulos & Bajaj, 2016). Therefore, this study proposes peacebuilding citizenship education (PCE) that

can improve Korea's unification education, which still remains in 'conflict-promoting education or conflict-blind education'.

2.5.2. Four Approaches to Unification Education in South Korea

As can be seen in the Unification Education Support Act, Korean unification education aims to cultivate the values and attitudes necessary for achieving unification, based on "belief in a liberal democracy, awareness of national community, and sound security" (extract from Article 2). From this, unification education has been developed to inculcate people to consider that the political system (liberal democracy) is that the South is superior to the *Juche* socialism in the North (Han MJ, 2019). As discussed earlier, peace education has not yet been acknowledged and integrated officially into public education system by the authority. In the aftermath of the success of the US-DPRK summit and North-South Summit in 2018, however, the current government announced a new unification agenda, called the 'peace and prosperity policy', along with progress on the peace process on the Korean peninsula. Peace-oriented unification education reshaped by the authorities, as well as post-division education, paid attention to bridge the gap between policies and practices, overcoming the division system (Kang SW & Kwon SJ, 2011; Kang SW, 2020; An SD, 2018). By mentioning North Korea and North Korean citizens as companions to living peacefully, it clarifies the aim to foster the attitude necessary to achieve participatory reunification while promoting positive inter-relations (MoU, 2018; Han MJ, 2019).

With regard to the approach to unification education in ROK, this study characterises four approaches: (1) national security-oriented approaches, (2) socio-cultural approach, (3) integrative approach and (4) convergent approach. The details of the unification education policy are summarised in Appendix E.

Prior to democratisation in 1987, unification education took an anti-communist security-oriented approach (Kim DC, 2009; Paik, 2011; Seth, 2012:17), which emphasised the superiority of liberal democracy over the *Juche* ideology in the North (Han MJ, 2019). The formal education system reinforced South Korean pupils' stereotype of North Korean migrants as communists, victims of the brutal authoritarian regime, political defectors, and economic migrants (Kang, 2008; Kim, 2012; Kim, 2014). However, this approach still has an impact on the collective attitude and beliefs of South Korean citizens, which stoked antagonism among some South Koreans towards blind followers of the *Juche* ideology who

were described as "commies" (Kim DC, 2014:50), a hostility that was thus directed not only to the North Korean regime (Park, Lee, & Jeon, 2017), but also to arriving migrants from North Korea who had settled in South Korea.

In contrast to the security-oriented approach of the first decades after the war, the current approach has been more oriented towards humanitarian and pragmatic approaches for peacebuilding, reflecting the mood after the North-South Joint Declaration of 2000 (Moon CI, 2001:296–301). The most distinguishing feature of the policy is that peace education, political education, and democratic citizenship education are integrated to form the direction and content of the approach, which aims to nurture democratic citizens who have a reunification-oriented mentality, enabling them to lead their own life after the eventual reunification (Cho JA, 2007; Han, MJ, 2019; Park CS, 2018:178). Within the past few years, this approach has also incorporated global citizenship education and post-division education (Cho et al., 2019; Kang SW, 2020; Kwon HB & Park CS, 2020).

Considering inter-Korean relations, the unification education policy can be posited as a new paradigm of education. The most distinguishing feature of this policy is that the direction and content elements are integrated with the lens of peace education, political education and democratic citizenship education, aiming to nurture "democratic citizens" who have a reunification-oriented mentality, enabling them to lead their own life after the reunification (Cho JA, 2007; Han MJ, 2019; Park CS, 2018:178). In the 'integrative' approach, persisting themes in the whole school unification curriculum include a number of essential topics such as conflict resolution, unification sensitivity, intercultural sensitivity, restorative justice, human rights and equality (Han MJ, 2018; Jong HB et al., 2002; Lee UY, 2020). Furthermore, unification education was reshaped by adding new themes, including environmental and gender peace education in the wake of rising environmental and gender equality issues (Cho et al., 2019). More recently, there have been attempts to incorporate global citizenship education into unification education since the adoption of the Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity and Reunification of the Korean peninsula in 2018 (Cho et al., 2019; Kang SW, 2020; Kwon HB & Park CS, 2020; Han MJ, 2019; Park, 2020).

Based on the current unification policy, one promising trend in the literature is the idea of a 'convergent' approach because efforts to create peace·unification education are recently being made, focusing more on values of peace than existing unification education initiatives (Cho et al., 2019; Kang, SW, 2018), as well as seeking to discuss global citizenship education and post-division education to mitigate intractable conflicts (An SD, 2018; Cho et al., 2019; Park CS, 2020; Kwon et al., 2018). The convergent approach emphasises the convergence of the rationale and inclusive principles of unification education

by highlighting global citizenship education contents based on understanding national security and global awareness of critical peace education (Park CS, 2020).

The Korean reunification pursues the integration of either territory or sovereignty and the integration of the values, norms, and lifestyles (Cho et al., 2019). More recently, the meaning of reunification has been expanded to build a sustainable peace on the Korean peninsula beyond the unifying two regimes, and further, reconstruction of a new civic identity has been discussed (Cho et al., 2019; Kang SW, 2020; Han MG, 2019). In light of this trend, peacebuilding citizenship education as a conflict-transformation education, as suggested in this thesis, can be a pedagogical model for cultivating the peacebuilding capacity of citizens who can engage in transforming conflicts into positive peace, and further, leading to creating new identities for future unified Korea.

2.6. Summary

The role of education has received considerable attention in the post-conflict and divided countries as it contributes to strengthening the competencies to resolve conflicts and developing peacebuilding (Lewis & Winn, 2018; Novelli & Smith, 2015; Pherali, 2016; Smith, 2010). However, some scholars point out that education can exacerbate conflict by manipulating education for political purposes (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). The so-called 'unification education' related to the conflict and peace in the ROK, is an example to demonstrate how education has shaped conflict identities or division habitus.

By describing the socio-political, economic and educational features between DPRK and ROK, the chapter has offered contextual information on why the two Koreas have polarised socially, politically, ideologically and culturally and, above all, how and why the division habitus has been constructed within the historical trajectories as well as how the educational approach between the two Koreas contributed to the formation of collective identities. Whereas conventional studies on the division system present diverse approaches to the conditions, its dimensions, and impacts on such protracted and destructive conflicts, there is little research to identify specific capacities for peacebuilding and civic identities to transform intractable conflicts into positive peace through pedagogical approach.

To imagine the peacebuilding citizenship education, I suggested six core components of peacebuilding capacity. Through the process, the ultimate goal of this thesis is to conceptualise the peace-building identities that I call 'bridging civic identities' and the capacities required by bridge citizens who will contribute to foster peacebuilding and social transformation in the potentially unified Korea. Thus, the next chapter will identify the nature of bridging civic identities and conceptualise the term bridge citizens.

CHAPTER Ⅲ: CONCEPTUALISING BRIDGING CIVIC IDENTITIES

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter provided an ontological and epistemological position, an understanding of two different approaches to peacebuilding and an introduction to concepts, central to this study, of how peacebuilding citizenship education works. In this chapter, the Bourdieusian conceptual tools - habitus, field and capital - are reviewed critically to frame civic identities. For a further understanding of civic identity formation in ROK, the characteristics of Korean civic identities are reviewed, based on the existing studies. The features of bridging civic identities within and across the critical theories such as Putnam's (2000) concept of social capital, cosmopolitan perspectives (Appiah, 2007; Beck, 2012; Nussbaum, 1996a, 1997; Reardon, 2013) and Norton's (2013) conceptualisation of imagined identities are also explored. In this chapter, I present 'bridging civic identity' as one example of a constructed identity that has the potential to meet bridge citizens' identity notions while contributing to peacebuilding capacities.

3.2. Framing Civic Identity

Habitus originally stems from a Latin word that means a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularly of the body, namely, 'a way of being' (Lechte, 2003). On the other hand, habitus, referred to by Bourdieu (1977a:82) as "collective practice," is a structural notion related to the way individuals and classes inhabit the world, rather than simply referring to habits that mean a conscious repetition of action (Bourdieu,1990b:66-79). According to Bourdieu (1990b), habitus provides an understanding of how people interact with themselves and their environments to construct perceptible identities, as well as the potential to build our behaviour and social world, but also to be affected by what we build (Bourdieu, 1986). Consequently, habitus internalises the legitimacy of inclusion or exclusion in a given society. In this regard, habitus can be a barrier to people who are marginalised (Pettit, 2016), such as North Korean migrants, in a specific field. Given the nature of habitus can be transformed in a new social environment, however,

it enables individuals to transform their habitus when they encounter disparate fields with different capitals (Bourdieu, 1984/2010).

Considering civic development, I hypothesise that North Korean migrants formed unique civic identities in the North, namely, 'new *Juche* type persons' under the unique socio-political system as a field, yet their civic identities have transformed in the process of transnational migration (see Chapters six throughout nine). Therefore, the concept of habitus and field helps to explain how and why North Korean migrants adapt, perform and enact certain civic practices and interpret the role of transnational migration and experiences in the multiple social boundaries, which enables them to transform their civic identities. This approach is particularly crucial in conceptualising the new civic identities, so-called 'bridging civic identities', that focuses on civic development for peacebuilding in the potentially unified Korea. This section offers the concept of civic identities, based on both Bourdieusian conceptual tools and citizenship education theory.

3.2.1. Bourdieusian conceptual tools: Habitus and Field

Habitus

In the process of understanding civic identity, Bourdieusian conceptual tools of habitus, capital and field are potentially useful because they provide tools to investigate the relationships between objective social structures (e.g., institutions, discourses, fields and ideologies) and individual citizens' social actions (e.g., learning, building capital and producing everyday civic practices) (Schirato & Webb, 2003). Since capital, habitus and field all work together to generate social actions (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990), understanding of the relationship between habitus and capital, in particular, cultural capital can be the first step towards conceptualising civic identities. With regard to cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986) differentiated between three forms of cultural capital: embodied (e.g., dispositions and competencies), objectified (e.g., possession of books) and institutionalised (e.g., educational qualifications). In particular, *embodied cultural capital* as "the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and the body", entails socialisation, personal effort and time investment, and becomes a part of the individual's habitus (Bourdieu, 1986:244). Thus, habitus is neither a result of free will, nor is it determined by structures, but arises from the interplay between them over time: past events and structures shape dispositions, and at the same time shape current practices and structures, and even condition our very perceptions of these (Bourdieu, 1984: 174).

Habitus becomes the internalised cultural and ideological beliefs, namely, "*doxa* or *doxic* beliefs" (Bourdieu, 1990b:20), the character of fundamental, deeply embedded and unconscious beliefs (Koh, 2014; Pettit, 2016), which "structure and underpin the different social fields" and they are inscribed in our bodies, namely, "*bodily hexis*," as noted by Bourdieu (1984:474). In essence, a concept of *bodily hexis* emphasises the way in which habitus works to internalise unconsciously learned functional characteristics: accents, gestures, emotions, tastes, styles of the flesh which are rooted in an agent's position in social structures but also allows those relations to take on "the appearance of a law of nature" (Bourdieu, 2001:23; also see Pettit, 2016).

Fields

In Bourdieu's view, moreover, social structures are composed of *fields*, structured social arenas in which people interact, manoeuvre and struggle to acquire all forms of *capital* (Agbenyega & Klibthong, 2015; Bourdieu, 1997; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In a particular society, many different social and political institutions such as families, schools, universities, judiciary and army act as fields that help individuals work together to instil in all the citizen's similar principles, norms, and values of thinking and acting in a given society. These social norms – incorporating ways of knowing and codes of conduct – provide the framework and rules informing an individual member of specific fields how to act and behave (Koh, 2014). Their actions as citizens are shaped by habitus (Koh, 2014; Pettit, 2016). Such a habitus makes the citizens of a nation-state competent members of a particular community, the so-called "good players of the game" in the Bourdieuian sense.

Contrary to these micro-level activities, at a macro level like bordering contexts, fields should be conceptualised as changing, fluid, and dynamic rather than prescribing a narrowly confined specific social structure. In such conceptualisation, habitus can be defined as "a system of durable and transposable dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1986:53) and the fluid nature of habitus allows citizens to transform their habitus when they interconnect with different forms of capital and other fields (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014).

In addition to the transformation of habitus, Bourdieu (1984) claims that reflexivity on one's habitus is essential to the reframing of the *habitus* which can lead to better practices and better practices can provide an opportunity to all forms of *capital* acquisition that enable citizens to make a better society (Tanyanyiwa, 2014). In this sense, habitus is determined by internalised embodied social structures (Bourdieu, 1977b; also see Jenkins, 1992) and is constructed by hierarchy, habits, reflexivity and internal agency simultaneously (Agbenyega & Klibthong, 2015). A critique of the habitus is that it is the largely unconscious formation, as well as a prescriptive and fixed entity determined by the

norms, standards and structures that prevail in a given environment (Couldry, 2005; Pettit, 2016; Sayer, 2010). Nevertheless, habitus can be defined as reflective and a more transformative concept, as well as "organised practices and representations" by individual citizens' deliberations and practical sense (Agbenyega & Klibthong, 2015; Bourdieu, 1984/2010:170; Tanyanyiwa, 2014).

3.2.2. Defining civic identities

The notion of civic identities

Drawing on Bourdieu's (1984, 1990b) concept of habitus, habitus and identity overlap in the sense that they respond to the world around us in similar ways. Habitus is "the outcome of history and accumulation of cultural knowledge, values and dispositions" (Lechte, 2003:103-4), yet it is mediated and reproduced only through individual bodily experience, resulting in forming individuals' ways of speaking, looking and interacting with others, as well as being shaped and reshaped in the process of socialisation (Bourdieu, 1990b). Likewise, identity is internal to the individual but socially constructed yet at the same time a process of internalising external norms and conditions and, the outcome of the process which is embedded individual values, beliefs and tastes, namely, "*bodily hexis"* (Bourdieu, 1984:474). Projecting this onto civic identities, civic identity can best be understood as a sense of civic self-fostering by interplaying socially constructed norms and conditions in a given society and individually internalised values, beliefs, tastes, dispositions and experiences which enable individual citizens and the collective citizenry to practise and engage in a particular context (Abbott, 2019; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1990b; Hart et al., 2011; Gee, 1990; Stokamer, 2011).

In the context of civic identity formation, current sociological explorations of civic identity generally fall within three categories of research – civic elements, civic competences and civic engagement– each of which includes a series of related topics (Jenks, 2013; Hart et al., 2011; Levinson, 2005; McCowan, 2011; Starkey, 2017, 2019).

Limits of the liberal concept of civic identities

The literature on civic identities deals with several civic elements such as citizenship and a sense of belonging (Ben-Porath, 2011; Galston, 2012; Hart et al., 2011; Haste & Bermúdez, 2017; Osler & Starkey, 2005, 2010; Stokamer, 2011). Regarding civic

elements, traditional and liberal approaches of rights and identities assume that the individual, as the subject of rights, has a fixed identity which determines the entitlement of rights in a certain nation (Benhabib, 2004). Such traditional approaches to citizenship focus on a precondition for a formal membership which carries with it a plethora of legal rights and obligations (Benhabib, 2004; Galston, 2012; Kymlicka, 1997; Tomasi, 2001). Many scholars have challenged traditional conceptions of citizenship, arguing that citizenship is more closely related to identity and a sense of community (Banks, 2008, 2018; Osler & Starkey, 2005; Starkey, 2019) and the liberal concept of citizenship includes neither marginalised populations such as stateless people (Benhabib, 2004, 2013; Yoon IS, 2020; Kingston, 2019) nor multiculturalism (Banks, 2008; Kymlicka, 2017). Moreover, constructing polarised collective identity reinforces identity-based conflicts in post-conflict settings (Bar-Tal, 2001; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Ross, 2007; Zembylas, 2015). Discussions of citizenship and citizenship education which has been dominated by liberal-democratic epistemologies are difficult to capture and interpret the different nature of citizenship of non-Western contexts which stemmed from " the Confucian hierarchical relationship between fathers and sons, husbands and wives, and rulers and subjects" (Choi MS, 2016; Koh, 2014: 37; Kovalchuk & Rapoport, 2018).

In response to the limitations of the liberal perspectives of citizenship, research expands an understanding of citizenship to multicultural, peacebuilding, post-national and cosmopolitan citizenship (Appiah, 2007; Banks et al., 2017; Bickmore, 2002; Osler& Starkey, 2005; Pieterse, 2006; Soysal,1994). As discussed earlier, citizens' actions are shaped by embodied and socialised norms and beliefs (Bourdieu 1980; Koh, 2014; Pettit, 2016) and civic participation is linked to experiences and practices of belonging. If you are accepted in society, you are more likely to develop feelings of belonging and participate in civic sociality (Anthias, 2018). Therefore, a more inclusive notion of who belongs is vital in generating feelings of belonging (Osler & Starkey, 2010) and a strong sense of belonging contributes to forming robust civic attachments—personal, emotional, cultural and social aspects (Banks, 2017; Jenks, 2013; Krzyz˙anowski & Wodak, 2008).

Critical approaches to civic identities

In contrast to the traditional approach of civic identity formation, contemporary trends on civic development emphasise civic competences and civic engagement (Banks, 2017; Kingston, 2019; Putnam, 2000; Velez, 2019).

Civic competences are defined as the capacities associated with the construction of a free and autonomous person, aware of his or her rights and duties in a society where the power to establish the law and where the appointment and control of the people who exercise this power are under the supervision of all the citizens (Audigier,2000:17). Many scholars call for civic competence to be based primarily on cognitive, affective and behavioural (Bandura,1997; KEDI, 2010a; Koo & Park, 2011; McCowan, 2011; Stokamer, 2011). In other words, cognitive civic competence may include civic knowledge and skills and affective civic competence may categorise numerous pillars, such as political attitudes and trusts, values, disposition, identities, civic self-efficacy, responsibility and commitment (Audigier, 2000; Hoskins & Crick, 2010; Hart et al., 2011). The literature on affective civic competence agrees that it is strongly related to capacities for action which play a crucial role in becoming an active citizen. Amongst affective civic competences, a sense of civic efficacy is seen as an indicator to predict the future civic identity that may contribute to taking part in future political engagement (Bandura, 1997; Stokamer, 2011; Velez, 2019).

The components of civic competence are interrelated and mutually reinforcing civic competencies, nurtured by engaging in particular rights and practices associated with civic elements (Knefelcamp, 2008; Jenks, 2013: Wells, 2014; Stokamer, 2011). Since civic identities are dynamic and flexible, they are shaped and reshaped through formal and informal civic practices associated with civic competencies and civic engagement (Hart et al., 2011; Vihalemm & Masso, 2003). The forms of civic engagement refer to participation in both formal political activities such as voting, discussing politics or jury duty and types of informal sociability such as engaging in reciprocal relations of trust and mutual care for others which Putnam (2000) calls "civic skills." Engaging in acts of informal sociability not only builds social capital, but enhances the trust of others, being trustworthy and a sense of agency as a civic actor (Hart et al., 2011; Haste & Bermúdez, 2017; Jenks, 2013). More recently, civic participatory culture has expanded owing to the new media and young citizens appear to be exhibiting a great tendency for creative expression and media sharing (Zuckerman, 2014).

Thus, civic identities also indicate having a positive attitude towards the responsibilities of citizenship and seeing oneself as a socially responsible citizen with the capacity for active and effective participation in a democratic society (Nussbaum, 2010; Starkey, 2019). As Haste (2004) notes, therefore, civic development is inherently connected to the agentic construction of identity: rather than being regarded as passively "socialised," the individual actively constructs and co-constructs with others by engaging in a wide variety of civic participation.

If the nation-state is the 'imagined community' where each member "who will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear them" (Anderson, 1983/1991: 6), nationalist ideologies that contribute to shaping collectivity and homogenisation might be more tenuous and meaningless in the transnational context (de Haas et al., 2019; Hart et al., 2011; O'Connor & Faas, 2012). Notably, the challenges to nationalistic civic identities that arise from migration are related to marginalised groups (e.g., migrants and refugees) who are often denied full membership and social benefits such as education, resulting in socio-economic inequality and discrimination (Benhabib, 2008; Delanty, 2008; Starkey, 2017; Tonkiss, 2014).

Criticising nationalistic civic identity, a growing number of studies on citizenship points out that the exclusive notion of nationalist civic identities should be augmented by the universal model of post-national identities (Delanty, 2010:113; O'Connor & Faas, 2012; Soysal, 1994). The post-national theory argues that the post-national identities explore the possibility of shared democratic rule in non-national contexts, based on non-national global solidarity and "de-territorialised notions of persons' rights" (Aleinikoff, 1999: 242; Benhabib, 2008; Soyal, 1994; Tonkiss, 2014). Thus, post-national identity should be regarded as inclusive and democratic citizenship that can be negotiable and fluid rather than determined and homogenised (Hart et al., 2011; O'Connor & Faas, 2012). In such conceptualisation, cosmopolitan citizenship is seen as more related to the universal model of membership, based on universal notions of human rights (Appiah, 2006, 2007; Benhabib, 2004, 2008, 2013; Held, 1995; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2005; Starkey, 2017). Further discussion on cosmopolitan civic identities will be found in section 3.4.2.

3.3. Existing Gaps and Ways Forward

In regards to empirical works on Korean civic identities, existing studies examine the features of North Korean identities, the patterns and formation of national identity among North Korean migrants (Kim J, 2014; Jun et al., 2011; Yu et al., 2012) identity formation and citizenship education (Lee BS, 2014; Park JS, 2012). Moreover, more recently, division habitus and unification education (An SD, 2018; Cho HB, 2004; Park YG, 2010), comparison of national identity between North Korean migrants and South Korean citizens (Kwon SH, 2018), formation of value systems (Jung et al., 2019), the possibilities of being global citizens (Park YA, 2020), construction of North Korean migrants' identity in Western countries (Cho et al., 2015; Jung et al., 2017; Park HJ, 2014; Song & Bell, 2019) and inter-group conflict and social integration in the new era of Korean unification (Lee & Lee, 2016; Park et al., 2020; Yang MS et al., 2019; Silbereisen, 2016).

However, I argue that there are three apparent gaps to date. First, these studies suffer from the lack of critical examination of the division system and its relevance to Korean civic development. Also, most of the studies are heavily focused on forming national identity among North Korean migrants. Although a few researches deal with a concept of global citizens (Park CS, 2020; Park YA, 2020), it can be said that it is still an extension of studies related to the formation of national identity as global citizenship is in line with national identity in which it is a concept "framed in an international or diplomatic perspective," rather than focusing on the perspective of individual citizens in the world (Starkey, 2017:45). Second, these studies do not handle North Korean migrants' civic development throughout the whole migration trajectories. These include multiple boundary experiences, transnational ties and their influence on North Korean migrants' civic development, formation and transformation of their civic identities, and relevance to becoming new citizens. Third, Korean unification should now be prepared as a social transformation, not by natural events as a result of more than seventy years of division and intractable conflicts (Kwon & Park, 2018). In this regard, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) is often seen as a model for successful post-conflict reconstruction, but many studies point out a failure to establish a new civic identity as a reason for the difficulty of social integration since German unification (Lee & Lee, 2019; Mushaben, 2010; Silvereisen, 2016). However, there is scant research that has paid attention to the construction of new civic identities and peacebuilding capacities to resolve inter-group conflicts in post-conflict contexts such as Germany (Park JH et al., 2020; Yang MS et al., 2019).

There are more salient features on the Korean peninsula in Korean civic development, where differing civic identities present their challenges due to the division system. Thus, this section reflects the complexity of the debate about the identity formation and transformation of North Korean migrants and sets out implications for theory and practice.

3.3.1. The interpretation of the Korean civic identities

The ambivalence of Korean civic identities

Despite the people of the two Koreas sharing an ethnic identity which is based on a common system of Confucian values and a common culture, history, language and even shared memories of trauma, ambivalent civic identities of both "division habitus" (Cho HB, 2004:56) or "Cold-War identities" (Kim S, 2015) and 'unity habitus' are constructed by the division system (Cho HB, 2004; Paik NC, 2011; Son S, 2016) and the rivalry of systems between the two Koreas created "division nationalism" (Suh JS, 2004:28). Moreover, the educational response, particularly unification education, has reinforced the division habitus that became a barrier for peacebuilding during the militorial dictatorship and cultivated unity habitus which I call '*peace civic identities'* during the democratic regimes simultaneously.

Despite the end of the Cold-War, wars of national identity between the East Asian region and its neighbouring far West power, the U.S. remains on the Korean peninsula (Kim S, 2006). It causes the Cold-War identities which reinforce distrust and conflicts (Kim S, 2015). Simultaneously, the Korean education system also promotes peace civic identities (e.g., reciprocal and solidary attitudes) based on democracy and humanitarian ideals (*Hongik Ingan* in Han'gŭl). In ROK, Korean citizens learn this value-ridden goal from childhood: at school, where it is embedded in the Korean education system since the national liberation against Japanese colonisation in 1945 (Suh BG, 2014; Kim T, 2018), and by reading *Dangun* mythology retold as children's fairy tales. In contrast, DPRK developed the *Juche* ideology and incorporated it into the national curriculum to cultivate the new *Juche* type persons. Thus, the different ideology may strengthen the ambivalent civic identities between the two Koreas. More detailed discussion on *Hongik-Ingan* ideals will be found in section 3.4.2.

As discussed earlier in chapter one, the collective belief in ethnic homogeneity, namely, "a sense of oneness" (Son S, 2016:180) between the North and South Korean citizens makes South Korean people misunderstand that North Korean migrants might be easily integrated into South Korean society as long as they were given protection measures and financial supports (Kang SW, 2020; Son S, 2016). For North Korean migrants, such perspection makes them expect the love of compatriots from their southern cousins (Son S, 2016). However, the reality is that South Koreans regard North Korean migrants as perceived enemies and such an antagonistic perspective discourages them from living the same as South Korean citizens in the south even if they are South Korean legally and politically (Bell, 2014; Jung et al., 2017; Song & Bell, 2019; Oh WH, 2011).

In the context of Korean reunification, the idea of the ethno-national identity would no longer work as the two Koreas have developed completely different lifestyles, ideologies, political systems, and perceptions for over 70 years due to the division system. It eventually means that the whole generation will only know the divided Korea during their lifetime. Therefore, reunification should consider the practicalities of bringing two states together under a single political system and merging two peoples psychologically, culturally and forging a joint, multidimensional new form of civic identity as a necessity. In such an assumption, understanding who North Korean migrants are and how they interpret and negotiate their situations and experiences throughout the transnational migration trajectories will demonstrate the in-depth understanding of their civic identity transformation. Based on such understanding, it is expected that the concept and characteristics of the 'bridge citizens' who will be required on the future unified Korean Peninsula, namely bridging civic identities, can be defined.

3.3.2. The Lessons of the German Unification for inner unity

Germany was partitioned in 1945, but no civil war followed and German citizens accepted the national partition as a punishment for Nazi Germany's aggressions. It then turned into a centrepiece of the East–West cold war regime. However, it was resolved once that international regime came to an end (Kim DJ, 2018; Paik, 2013b). Although Germany has many differences from the Korean peninsula in the process of division and unification, it is necessary to take a careful look into the case of German reunification, given the possibility

that various social issues such as those in Germany could arise after unifying the two Koreas (Kim DJ, 2018; Lee & Lee, 2019). That is, the German case testifies that different 'cultures' and identities are not easily integrated even when people who speak the same mother tongue come to share a single set of legal, political, economic and social institutions (Mushaben, 2010). Despite the completion of institutional restructuring and partial economic coordination after 10 years of reunification in Germany, East and West Germans have yet to achieve a sense of 'innere einheit' ('inner unity' in English) (Misselwitz, 2016; Mushaben, 2010). It became clear that East and West Germany had different political cultures. Various social indicators have shown signs that the level of acceptance of democracy may be lower in East Germany due to unequal sharing (Jaskulowski, 2010). For example, East Germans' confidence in the democratic system has actually fallen dramatically since 1990 (Misselwitz, 2016) and the five eastern German states are still called the Neue Bundslnnder ('new states in English).—Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Saxe-Anhalt and Turingia still vote very differently from Western voters even though more than 30 years since the reunification of Germany (Schultheis, 2021).

After World War II, Germany's political education played a major role in shaping and spreading a democratic culture in German society. It is also regarded as the foundation for completing German unification and forming a democratic unification community. This policy of political thought education has been pursued consistently since World War II until the collapse of East Germany in 1989. On the other hand, the German Democratic Republic (henceforth 'GDR') which is known as East Germany, and its political thought education policy, ideologically enlightened students to complete a socialist state throughout Germany. In contrast to Billy Brandt's Eastern policy in the early 1970s in West Germany, the direction of unification education has changed. "Communist education asks students to teach Marx-Leninism with greater confidence," said Erik Honecker, Prime Minister of East Germany at the 1976 Ninth Party Congress, after the signing of the Treaty on Framework (Bruen, 2014; MoU, 2016). Initially, the economic repercussions of unification dominated political life while questions surrounding education policy were neglected. However, it quickly became clear that the education system of the GDR, tasked as it was primarily with the creation of "socialist personalities," was incompatible with the education of citizens of a newly reunified, democratic German state. As a result, reform of the eastern German education system became a political priority (Bruen, 2014).

The Federal Republic of Germany (henceforth 'FRG') carried out political education reform and German political education scholars reached an agreement, known as 'Beutelsbach Konsens' on three principles of political education in the southern German town of Beutelsbach in 1976. It was agreed by political education scholars to solve the

problem of political education (Westphal, 2018:12). It was originally adopted as a guideline for political education for students, but it is now considered the constitution of German political education as it has been expanded to all German citizens (Christensen & Grammes, 2020; Kenner, 2020; Waldmann, 2019:28-9). Since 1993, moreover, when the psychological integration of East-West Germans appeared as a social problem, the Federal Political Education Centre was emphasising the 'Innere Einheit' in political education. Thus, the psychological integration between East and West Germans is primarily being promoted as a political education curriculum.

Considering the appropriate development of citizenship education, thus, the Voitelsbach agreement provides important implications for peacebuilding citizenship education that I have suggested as a means of cultivating a new form of civic identity in future Korean unification. It is imperative to imagine civic identities and the peacebuilding capacities of individual citizens and collective citizenry that will contribute to building a sustainable peace regime. This is because even if unification is achieved, the long-held inter-group conflicts may lead to the confrontational emotions and attitudes the two Koreas have toward each other bringing about new types of social problems as can be seen in the case of German unification, the so-called 'innere einheit' ('inner unity' in English) (Misselwitz, 2016; Park JH et al., 2020; Yoon CG, 2016). In relation to societal transformation, this thesis, therefore, asserts that it is essential to foster new civic identities that enable both Koreas to contribute to transforming conflict civic identity into peace civic identity in the new era of unification (Lee & Lee, 2016; Park JH et al., 2020; Yang MS et al., 2019; Silbereisen, 2016).

3. 4. The Conceptualisation of Bridging Civic Identities

3.4.1. The meaning of Bridging Civic Identities

To conceptualise the new term of bridge civic identities, I borrowed Ethan Zuckerman's (2013:171) concept of "*bridge figures*", who "engage in the larger process of cultural translation, brokering connections and building understanding between people from different nations." In such conceptualisation, the idea of bridge figures seems to be highly associated with the concept of *"bridging social capital, "* which connects external and internal assets and creates new civic values such as trust and reciprocity (Putnam, 2000:23). I also offer the concept of '*cosmopolitan civic identities'*, drawing on modern cosmopolitan thinkers' idea of cosmopolitans, as a feature of those who "recognise themselves as cosmopolitan citizens as both moral agents and participatory civic agents for social change" (Appiah,

2007; Reardon, 2012) and who aim to "accomplish a peacebuilding mission" (Harvey, 2009). Lastly, the bridging civic identities are inspired by Bonny Norton's (2013) notion of '*imagined identities'*, which refers to "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (ibid.:4).

In the context of Korean reunification, brokering connections and building understanding between people from different *fields* are crucial components of being bridge citizens. Literally, bridge means a facility to be able to make a connection between other places, namely, "from edge to edge and to link the two edges" (Simmel, 1994). I use the term bridge to metaphorically understand the nature of bridging civic identities as social capital, more specifically, bridging social capital (Putnam, 1995, 2000). That is, it enables people to link to another context, culture, experience, values and knowledge. Thus, it helps people make sense, interpret and reflect on differences with more inclusive perspectives, and more interconnected views. People might easily develop social capital if they meet those who can make a connection or people who have a wide variety of experience and knowledge regarding a specific social structure.

Furthermore, Korean reunification will be the macro-level conflict transformation processes that shape and influence social change and the collective reconciliation process that enables the citizens of the two Koreas to overcome division habitus and ultimately reconstruct new civic identities. Moreover, echoing Beck's (2008:795) idea of a bridge, bridging two different "people, their groups, communities, political organisations and cultures implies to be reformulated, but should be remained different in the conflict transformation and reconciliation process," and thus, "those bridges must be primarily erected in human heads, mentalities, imagination ('cosmopolitan vision'), but also in normative systems (human rights), institutions and domestic global politics." Reflecting on Nussbaum's (1996a: 57) concept of "compassionate imagining", a compassionate citizen can be understood as "one who not only recognises the vulnerability and otherness of someone else but also acts humanely towards others who might experience the vulnerability" (Waghid, & Davids, 2013:5). Such a cosmopolitan vision implies the recognition of "citizen of the world," acknowledging other citizens' lives and "affecting each other, no matter how different they are" (Appiah, 2007:87; Beck, 2008).

Anderson (1983/1991) refers to imagined communities as groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination. In a similar vein, bridge citizens are those who "feel a sense of community with people they have not yet met, but perhaps will meet" (Kanno & Norton, 2003:241) one day in a future unified Korea. The notion of imagined identity helps us explore how the participants

in this study project themselves into an imagined future life, notably, potentially unified Korea, within the new and challenging societies and conceptually position themselves as bridge citizens who will contribute to peaceful reunification, and further, societal transformation.

3.4.2. What make bridging civic identities?

Humanising Identities: Cosmopolitan Civic Identities

The reason we need cosmopolitan ideals is that peacebuilding is not a matter confined to any particular country. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Korean division system as a legacy of the Cold War also has had the task of solving problems related to political, social and ideological relations between countries for more than half a century. Nussbaum (1996a) emphasises the development of cosmopolitan civic identity because a more thorough understanding of the Earth's neighbours and ourselves, therefore will lead to further progress in solving international problems. Therefore, Nussbaum (ibid.) is not satisfied with citizenship education, which simply encourages basic and weak respect for everyone's human rights, while developing a strong civic identity that is meaningful only within specific borders. In doing so, it is important to feel connected to another world (Darvin & Norton, 2015). In this sense, bridge citizens require the awareness and cultivation of a cosmopolitan civic identity that can help people around the world recognise and take responsibility for this moral obligation.

Cosmopolitan scholars in citizenship and citizenship education offer a range of strains of cosmopolitan identities, including the global socio-cultural condition (Delanty, 2008; Beck & Sznaider, 2006), universal human rights (Appiah, 2006, 2007; Benhabib, 2008; Nussbaum, 1996a, 2001; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2005) and forms of capital (Jung et al., 2017; Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Weenink, 2008).

Appiah's (2007:87) key concept of cosmopolitanism, so-called "citizens of the world," implies ethical identity. Appiah (ibid.) proposes two conditions of the cosmopolitan citizens: "knowledge about the lives of other citizens and the power to affect them." These conditions require consideration of the national and global duties as global citizens and an appreciation of universal human values such as global justice and human rights (Beck, 2008; Goetze & de Guevara, 2014; Nussbaum, 1996a; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2005; Waghid, 2007). Thus, cosmopolitan identity can best be understood as "universal moral inclusion" (Reardon, 2012:3). Following such a cosmopolitan vision, Benhabib (2008) posits that

cosmopolitanism involves the "recognition that human beings are moral persons entitled to legal protection in virtue of the rights that accrue to them not as nationals, or members of an ethnic group, but as human beings as such." In this sense, cosmopolitan citizenship can serve as a human rights framework for marginalised people, and cosmopolitanism necessitates a global level of solidarity and justice and promotes broader social transformation (Benhabib, 2013; Beck & Sznaider, 2006;Osler & Starkey, 2005; Starkey, 2017).

Notwithstanding that cosmopolitan citizenship has contributed to the paradigm shift in the ethno-national centric model of civic identity, critique of the universal cosmopolitan vision arises at the theoretical and practical levels. Most of all, the cosmopolitan norms do not include the colonial and peripheral perspectives such as African and Asian cosmopolitan norms and values (Goulding, 2017; Mignolo, 2000). Also, cosmopolitan values are historically, socially, and institutionally rooted in the West (Goulding, 2017; Mignolo, 2000; Goetze & de Guevara, 2014; Pieterse, 2006). Also, it overlooks the specific cultures, territories and people for the sake of universality (Beck, 2006; Benhabib, 2008; Goetze & de Guevara, 2014; Harvey, 2009; Osler, 2008; Osler & Starkey, 2012). The third criticism is that the universal aspiration of normative cosmopolitanism mainly leads to being abstract and a generalisation (Pieterse, 2006). Although the cosmopolitan vision asserts that all human beings, including the socially vulnerable populations are worthy of respect and can claim their needs and rights as moral agents, it does not propose a way to ensure a social and legal protection framework for marginalised groups (Benhabib, 2009; Yoon IS, 2020).

In order to conceptualise the bridging civic identities, as well as overcome limitations from the universal cosmopolitan perspective, I first propose cosmopolitan civic identities as humanising identities, drawing on contemporaty cosmopolitan ideas by incorporating the Korean educational ideology, so-called '*hongik-ingan*' ideals. There are many reasons why it is fruitful to examine the cosmopolitan lens for creating the concept of bridging civic identities in the Korean context. First, cosmopolitanism thinkers encourage us to reflect on alternative visions of cosmopolitanism beyond Eurocentrism (Mignolo, 2000; Goetze & de Guevara, 2014; Santos, 2017, 2020). Pieterse (2006:1255) turns our gaze away from the "Eurocentric hegemony" and "historical parochialism" and he urges us to look at more expanded worldviews. In support of grassroots movement versions of cosmopolitanism and beyond the Eurocentric Doxa, Korean reunification can be understood as a cosmopolitan vision: namely, in order to end the division system and propel forward a peace regime, Paik (2011, 2013 a,b) suggests the concept of participatory unification indicates the popular front would fulfil unification as civic agents, and further, new civic

identities as humanising identities could be constructed by restoring the *'hongik-ingan'* ideals in the future unified Korea.

Secondly, cosmopolitan thinkers argues that cosmopolitanism should be acted as experience and action rather than as general ethical standards (Nussbaum, 1996a; Pieterse, 2006; Reardon, 2012). In such a conceptualisation, Pieterse (2006.:1254) pays attention to migrants and refugees' transnational migration because "theirs is the cosmopolitanism of experiencing, practising, making world citizenship" by migrating and adapting to new circumstances. In addition, the cosmopolitan perspective plays an important role in the moral imagination of sociological theories in shaping the activist vision of humanitarianism and human rights (Nussbaum, 2001; Waghid & Davids, 2013). Moral imagination is a primary theoretical framework developed by Dewey and Nussbaum. Nussbaum (2001:299) discusses imagination in relation to civic identities; she emphasises that compassionate imagination – taking the perspective of another – can help people treat others equally and humanely. Likewise, the vision of cosmopolitanism presupposes cosmopolitanism as a desirable disposition at the local and global level and such cosmopolitan disposition can be cultivated by imagining others as the same human beings regardless of "the distinction between foreigners and nationals, or citizens and non-citizens, and their status concerning different kinds of rights" (Beck, 2006:27; Pieterse, 2006). From this standpoint, cosmopolitan civic identities can be best understood as the overarching humanising identities. Therefore, some scholars stress the need to strengthen education for cosmopolitan citizenship (ECC) to nurture a cosmopolitan citizen as a moral agent by internalising cosmopolitan values such as peace, human rights and democracy (Osler & Starkey, 2005; Starkey, 2019).

Hongik-Ingan ideals and cosmopolitan civic identities

This study considers *Hongik-Ingan* ideology as a means of an alternative cosmopolitan vision beyond Eurocentrism. According to *Hongik-Ingan* ideals, a productive area of inquiry is understanding humanity through the following questions, who is a human being? How do we conceive of relations among human beings? On what grounds can we act to enhance the quality of life of all humans? In ROK, *Hongik-Ingan* ideals have been integrated into the national curriculum. The Education Act states in detail the principle of education regarding the ideals of *Hongik-Ingan* in ROK. Article 2[1] reads:

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[1] This Article Wholly Amended by Act No. 8705, Dec. 21, 2007

Education shall aim at enabling every citizen to lead a life worthy of humankind and to contribute to the development of a democratic state and the realisation of an ideal of human co-prosperity, by ensuring cultivation of character, development of abilities for independent life, and necessary qualities as a democratic citizen under the humanitarian ideal.

As shown in the Education Act, the objectives of education, under the ideals of *Hongik-Ingan*, are to help all people perfect their individual characters, develop the self-sustaining ability to live independently, participate in building a democratic state, and promote the prosperity of all humankind (UNESCO, 2006). The Korean scholar Kim Bu-sik (1145) introduced the time-honoured traditional ideology of *Hongik-Ingan* which stemmed from the *Dangun* stories about the *Gojoseon*, the mythical beginning of Korean history over 4,300 years ago (Suh, 2014). The major concern in *Hongik-Ingan* ideology is what it means to be a human being. *Hongik-Ingan* literally means people who contribute to the "universal welfare of humankind" (Jeong, 2010:34). The ideals of *Hongik-Ingan* aim to enable people to sustain their lives and fulfil their civic responsibility in relation to the government and the socio-political system, and thus, contribute to development and prosperity both individually and civically (ibid.). *Hongik-Ingan* stresses the importance of community, altruism, solidarity, humanism, equality, peace, self-discipline, sharing and harmonious cooperation for the prosperity of human society (Cartwright, 2016; Kim et al., 2020; Suh, 2014). In turn, *Hongik-Ingan* advocates mutual respect, reciprocity, hospitality, and connectedness as providing the ethical foundations of a just society. Hence, *Hongik-Ingan* ideals have a clear affinity with the prevailing definition of emancipatory cosmopolitanism as moral agents and participatory civic agents.

Interconnected Identities: Bridging social capital

Within the research strand of transnational migration, building social capital has drawn more attention than others because it is the most crucial element in shaping the choice of destination; finding appropriate adaptation measures and acquiring information and resources which are available to migrate and adapt to the new country; engaging in civic sociality; overcoming particular disadvantages and cultivating social norms and civic skills. Furthermore, social capital contributes to reconstructing civic identity and developing capacities (Keegan, 2017; Koh, 2014; Sanghera & Thapar-Bjorkert, 2017; Snyder, 2011).

In the literature on social capital, Bourdieu's (1980; 1986a) concept of social capital depends more on the individualistic perspective and notion of interlinked forms of capitals and sociability. In contrast, Putnam (1995) describes social capital as a collective relational resource that resides at the community level with "features of social life that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" and he (ibid.) categories these into two types of social capital: bonding and bridging social capital. The bonding (exclusive) social capital can be defined inward-looking and characterised by strong ties that reinforce exclusive identities, promote homogeneity and create strong in-group loyalty; whereas bridging (inclusive) social capital is outward-looking, involves weaker ties and promotes links between diverse individuals and groups (Putnam, 2000:22-4). While strong ties foster high levels of trust, solidarity, loyalty and social cohesion among community members, several critiques of Putnam's work on bonding social capital include: it can constrain individuals' actions and choices (Portes & Landolt, 1996); it can deepen the divisions, reinforcing 'them versus us' mentalities (Cheong, 2006; Leonard, 2004; Pickering, 2006). Similar to national identity focusing on the exclusive groups' interest (Paffenholz & Spurk 2006), bonding social capital limits newcomers' inclusion by strengthening the exclusive ties to their ethnic and language group (Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006).

Contrary to bonding social capital, bridging social capital works as a type of moral resource—trust, reciprocity and social norms— which is mainly created in relationships among individuals within groups. Additionally, bridging social capital would involve identity capital invested and utilised across space through the network with other groups (Côté, 2005; Putnam, 2000). Côté (2005:227-8) identifies identity capital as social connections developed among a particular group who play a role in acquiring and enhancing identity capital. Identity capital is obtained through an individual's investment in a specific identity and involves reciprocal exchanges with others. Thus, those without sufficient identity capital or social capital are apt to experience identity problems associated with alienation and marginalisation.

In this regard, the literature on bridging social capital asserts that it primarily serves as the core strategy for disadvantaged populations to adapt to a new society (Leonard, 2004; Snyder, 2011). In particular, religious capital has served as building effective networks that enable minority groups to develop their competencies through church-based practices (Mohamed-Saleem, 2020; Putnam, 2000; Sanghera & Thapar-Bjorkert, 2017). Leonard's (2004) work shows the effectiveness of bridging social capital in divided context: it positively impacted identity-based conflict in Northern Ireland. As a study shows on the process and impact of second-generation Pakistani Muslim women in Bradford accumulating faith-based social capital, for example, participants had a chance to build

religious capital with like-minded women (and men) through various religious practices such as meeting at Islamic conferences, book readings, prayer sessions, resulting in building faith-based social capital that helped them to gain access to educational opportunities and thereby improve their life opportunities (Sanghera & Thapar-Bjorkert, 2017).

One of the main discourses regarding the social capital of marginalised populations is the role of social networks in transnational migration. These social networks could encompass family, ethnic kin, friends, teachers, civic organisations, transnational migratory networks and faith-based networks (de Haas et al., 2019; Keegan, 2017; Putnam, 2000). Especially, many scholars broadly value the role of kinship networks in shaping identity and successfully adapting to new societies (Keegan, 2017; Koh, 2014; Jung et al., 2017). Transnational ties served as an essential civic resource to migrant youths by developing social trust with family members across borders (Keegan, 2017). In the case study of Malaysian transnational migration, "family migration capital" can be clearly seen as the citizenship habitus of migrants (Koh, 2014). Jung and her colleagues (2017) see that the kinship network is essential for the on-migration of North Korean migrants in Australia.

It is imperative to note that intercultural contacts contribute to developing civic skills. Through these intercultural contacts, young migrants may develop social trust with people of different ethnicities or religions which is an essential democratic disposition (Keegan, 2017; Sanghera & Thapar-Bjorkert, 2017; Werbner, 2005). Keegan (2017:219) indicates transnational ties as a civic resource. The second generation develops civic skills (e.g., care, respect and trust) that enable them to reshape their identities and social trust with the extended sense of family members across borders. In the case study of the after-school programme for migrant children, migrant children can acquire transcultural habitus in the transcultural "contact zones" which welcome diverse languages and cultures and allow them to encounter various forms of language and culture brokers (Faulstich-Orellana, 2016) and school mainly serves as a space where social capital can be created, in which relations between students and teachers offer a network of support and care that contributes to a sense of belonging (Peguero & Bondy, 2015; Torney-Purta et al., 2006). More recently, a burgeoning line of scholarship in migrants' social capital emphasises that the capacities to operate transnationally, moving people, finances, ideas, values, identities, organisations and such, across national, regional, and global borders are viewed as an asset. These would be potentially useful for peacebuilding by participating in the post-conflict reconstruction, building strategic connections with diverse resources and gaining trust-building measures and confidence (Mencütek, 2020; Snyder, 2011).

Imagined Identities

As the oldest divided nation on earth, the Korean peninsula has been separated from all social, economic, cultural, and ideological structures since the artificially divided territory, and citizens of North and South Korea are living without realising how different they have become. As discussed earlier, the division does not simply end in the separation of territory and sovereignty. As a process of "becoming, or avoiding becoming a certain citizen" (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007:590), it is an experience of identity transformation because it "transforms who we are and what we can do" (Wenger, 1998:215). Largely speaking, such civic identity division was the root cause of intractable conflicts and tensions between the two Koreas. Therefore, I believe that a potential remedy for conflict and negative attitudes towards either side is to establish a new civic identity that can create bridges, to encourage and facilitate interaction across group boundaries (Bezabih et al., 2021; Putnam, 2000). Such identities do not exist now, but it is an imagined identity that will be encountered in a unified Korea as an imagined community in the future.

The term imagined communities are originally created by Anderson (1983/1991). He (ibid.) defines a nation as an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. He uses the word 'imagine' as almost synonymous with 'see' or 'visualise', and does not imply a 'false consciousness'. That is, a community is 'imagined' does not mean it is 'imaginary' (Tønnesson & Antlöv, 1996). Anderson's analysis presents imagination as a social process, emphasising the fact that those in power oftentimes do the imagining for the rest of their fellow citizens, offering them certain identity options and leaving other options "unimaginable" (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007:590).

Anderson's notion of imagined communities inspired Norton (2008, 2013). To explain the relationship between the development of participants' peacebuilding capacities and their civic identity transformation throughout transnational migration, this thesis employs Norton's (2013) notions of imagined identity. She used 'identity' to refer to 'how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future' (ibid.: 4). This conceptualization shows the fluid, shifting, and multilayered nature of identity, revealing the possibility of forming self-identities not only in past and present contexts, but also in a future, imagined community. In that sense, Kanno and Norton (2003: 248) argue that identity "must be understood not only in terms of our investment in the real world but also in terms of our investment in possible worlds". They (ibid.) theorised that future membership could shape how one perceives the value of language and educational practices. This notion of imagined identity helps me explore how the participants in this study project themselves into an

imagined future unified Korea within their new societies and conceptually position themselves and their peacebuilding capacities and adaptation strategies in line with that *bridging civic identity* as prospective identity.

3.5. Summary

In order to conceptualise the new term 'bridging civic identities,' this chapter investigated the nature of civic identities by reviewing the critical theories such as habitus, (social) capital and cosmopolitan citizenship, particularly, emancipatory cosmopolitanism and the concept of imagined identities. Bridge citizens are willing to become involved in the process of social change as participatory civic agents and reflecting on being humans as moral agents, continually asking themselves the following question: "what kinds of people might comprise a better society?" (Levitas, 2013:140). The detailed description of bridging civic identity will be presented in conjunction with the peacebuilding capacity creation framework in chapter nine.

In the next chapter, the research methodology and analysis methods that were employed in the study will be described. Then, I address how they transform their civic identities throughout the migration and adaptation experience to new societies and how they react, interpret and adapt to new environments by presenting the findings from each participant's biographical interview data sets and autobiographical writings and combining them as a whole.

CHAPTER Ⅳ: METHODOLOGY

> After encountering young North Korean migrants, I realised that there were substantial discrimination, marginalisation and heartbreak. I had never heard about these ordeals and challenges in their life from media, books or my fellow South Koreans. Above all, I was fascinated by their life histories.
>
> (5 February 2018, author's reflective journal)

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapters identified peacebuilding capacities and theorised peacebuilding citizenship education. Based on the earlier studies on civic identity and transnational migration, this study conceptualised the term 'bridging civic identity' as humanising, interconnected and imagined identity. In order to explore peacebuilding citizenship education as a potential pedagogical model to prepare for successful reunification and social transformation, first of all, the study identifies the salient characteristics of civic identities that have transformed following the transnational migration of North Korean migrants. It will also identify the adaptation strategies developed by informants during the migration process and the peacebuilding capability developed based on them. To do so, this study documents seven different life histories of North Korean migrants who live in the ROK and the UK by using a combination of biographical narrative interviewing and digital autobiographical writing methods.

On the basis of a common feature of the autobiographical narrative approach, the chapter begins my philosophical stance. The details of the research questions will be presented including the research aim and rationale of the methodological choice. The following section addresses the sample with the detailed biographies and settings where I have conducted the fieldwork. Thereby the data collection method will be described, as well as providing detailed data collection procedures. The chapter concludes with epistemological and methodological benefits and challenges.

4.2. Philosophical Assumptions

Within and across the ontological and epistemological orientation, namely, relational social constructivism, this study mainly employs the constructivist worldview and values its importance. To expound on the relevance of social constructivism in the research briefly discussed in Chapter two, this view proposes that the world does not exist independently and our knowledge and experience are socially constructed (Boghossian, 2006; Hacking, 1999). Above all, what we know relates to how we make meaning with others (Merleau-Ponty, 2012). Therefore, such epistemological stances form part of broader qualitative research approaches such as narrative and biographical approaches. This approach has been characterised by its critical stance regarding positivism, a wider redefinition of the concept of human sciences, focused on interpretation and on the construction of meaning, as well as the use of qualitative research methods and techniques such as biographical interviews and life stories (González Monteagudo, 2017).

The methodology of biographical research starts from the premise that social phenomena concerning human individuals should be interpreted and analysed in the overall context of their life stories (Rosenthal, 2014:176). Therefore, the auto/biographical narrative approach has been regarded as a useful tool to interpret reconstructed life stories based on both social reality and can be used to capture individuals' experiential world as narrative (Chamberlayne, Rustin, Wengraf, & Breckner, 2002; Fischer-Rosenthal, 1989; Merton, 1984; Rosenthal, 1993). The core of relational social constructionist research is associated with "how people within a particular setting creat[e] meanings intersubjectively" (Cunliffe, 2009:128), and notably, for this study, the auto/biographical narrative approach is the best way to understand individual life histories, as well as to interpret a social process where the individual experiences the meaning-making (narratives) about migration and adaptation.

The narrative procedures used in this study draw on the work of Fritz Schütze (1984/2005) to make sense of what informants said as a third person approach. At the same time, the autobiographical writing method was applied to collect the first-person views which are rich, personal descriptions of individual lived experiences. Combining two different approaches does not mean simply integrating into the conventional genre between biography and autobiography (Stanley, 1993). By intermixing autobiographical writing and biographical interviewing, it enables researchers to capture sophisticatedly how participants make sense of their lived experiences, as well as to analyse and interpret comprehensive patterns of the life out there and the particularities of a subject's experiential world by using the combination of biographical narrative and autobiographical reflexivity (Bertaux, 1981; Chamberlayne et al., 2002; Davies, 2012; Stanley, 1993). Moreover, since ontological

relativism in relational social constructivism values the multiple realities experienced by different individuals, I aimed to capture multiple memories, emotions and experiences about the multiple mobilities and adaptation through a collective auto/biographical approach. As argued by Wright (2019), specifically, one participant cannot thoroughly grab collective identity complexities hence, I collected seven informants' auto/biographical expressions to understand identity formation and transformation individually and collectively in the process of transnational migration.

Since relational social constructivism acts as the primary paradigm in this research, reflexivity played a pivotal role in constructing the main concepts— bridging civic identities and peacebuilding capacities— yet challenging to apply in practice. The collective autobiographical approach I had chosen posed practical and analytical challenges that demanded a considerable level of reflexivity for both the researcher (s) and the participants throughout the study (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Ruokonen-Engler & Siouti, 2016; Wright, 2019). As a researcher, I expected each informant to recall what had happened, put the experience into a sequence, find possible explanations for it, and play with the chain of events that shapes individuals to confront ordinary everyday life by writing and telling. Thus, after interviewing and monitoring participants' digital journals, I also wrote a research journal, asking myself, for instance, "how can this reflection be implemented as part of research practice?" (Ruokonen-Engler & Siouti, 2016:749). For participants, on the other hand, it was indeed a hard process to reflect critically on their life because they had never written a self-reflective journal or retrospectively looked back at their life in the past or even the present in their entire life. Hence, I had to help them to reflect on what they said during the interview and encourage them to record their reflection on their digital journal.

To conclude, the relational social constructivist paradigm provides the ontological and epistemological lenses to explore the distinctive characteristics of North Korean migrants' life trajectories. This led to articulating their transformation of civic identities throughout transnational migration, as well as identifying salient adaptation strategies and social networks that they had developed in the process of transnational migration.

4.3. Research Questions

The primary purpose of the study is imagining peacebuilding citizenship education as a potential pedagogical approach to achieve peaceful reunification, and further, social transformation in a future unified Korea. In doing so, the study examines core capacities for peacebuilding that North Korean migrants might develop in the process of

migration and acculturation in China, the transition countries, ROK and the UK. A further aim is to conceptualise the term 'bridge citizens' who have the bridging civic identities—malleable, interconnected and overarching humanising — leading to transform division habitus (conflict civic identities) into unity habitus (peace civic identities)

In the study, biographical narrative interpretative interviews and a digital autobiographical writing method were employed to collect data, seeking to understand North Korean migrants' experience and adjustment from their memories, emotions, activities and perspectives throughout the transnational migration. Moreover, the use of digital autobiographical writing exemplifies collaborative and participatory research that can both engage and empower such unique refugee populations. The following overarching research question guided the study:

To what extent and how can the experiences and reflections of North Korean migrants who have settled in ROK or the UK contribute to informing the appropriate educational responses to reunification and social transformation?

More specifically, it explores the transformation of North Korean migrants' civic identities and forms of capital for cultivating a peacebuilding capacity in the process of migration and adaptation to the new societies. Thus, the subsidiary research questions are proposed as follows:

1. How do North Korean migrants narrate their formation and transformation of civic identities and capacities before and after escaping their nation?
2. What strategies do they use to enable them to adapt to new societies?
3. To what extent do these strategies contribute to transforming their civic identities?
4. How might these experiences contribute to theorising peacebuilding citizenship education?

4.4. The Rationale for the Methodological Choice

The term life writing research has been used in the mixed terms of life history, biography, and autobiography in biographical research because of "their interchangeable use" (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992:129). Moreover, the classic distinctions "between author and subject, autobiography and biography, fiction and fact" become more and more blurred (Plummer, 2001:12). In this study, therefore, the term biographical research will be used to

denote work, which is biographical data and other personal materials in the form of life stories relating to a sequence of situations and events within its social context (Breckner & Rupp, 2002; Roberts, 2002; Rosenthal, 1993).

Biographical approach has a long history (Bertaux, 1981; Misch, 1973; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918). Various versions of the autobiographical approach – from Mertonian sociological autobiography to the contemporary approach of socio-biographical studies – have been used in sociology research (Bertaux, 1981; Chamberlayne et al., 2002; Davies, 2012; Merton, 1972; Stanley, 1993).

Although biographical research has been used extensively in migration studies (Chamberlayne et al., 2000; Ruokonen-Engler & Siouti 2016; Thomas & Znaniecki 1918), investigating transnational migration phenomena, biographical research remains relatively under-used (Apitzsch & Siouti, 2007; Ruokonen-Engler & Siouti, 2013; Wieczorek, 2016). Moreover, there is very little empirical material regarding biographical research presently available on the migration phenomena of North Korean migrants (Jung, 2015) and no studies have been conducted to date looking specifically at autobiographical reflexivity of North Korean migrants. Limited research has been executed to explore the implementation of the digital autobiographical writing method to capture the migrants' multifaceted experiences in the process of migration and acculturation (Pandya, Pagdilao, & Kim, 2015). Thus, the research aims to bridge the gap between auto/biographical research methodology and migration phenomenology on North Korean migrants.

Scholarship on peace and conflict studies have posited the efficacy of using autobiographical reflexivity approaches to the identity transformation in the process of migration (Blanco, 2020; Hammack, 2010; Porter, 2015). More recently, life biographies have become increasingly integrated into the study of peacebuilding (Scambary, 2019). Since the need to contextualise the meaning of violence and its relationship with these groups to understand the root cause of conflict, auto/biographical reflexivity is widely acknowledged as appropriate for peacebuilding research. It allows contextualising a person's life (Gardner, 2002; Scambary, 2019) and the participants' autobiographical accounts are often wealthy and nuanced (Gardner, 2002). Moreover, a narrative inquiry has been affirmed as a suitable model, given that understanding of long-term patterns of social conflict can only be captured through more in-depth analysis (Blanco, 2020). In addition, Porter (2015) also emphasises the use of narrative as a tool for exploring the deep structures of human thinking and behaving in peace and conflict research.

In this study, on the one hand, I adopted the biographical narrative interview (Schütze, 1984/2005) to formulate what informants said as a third person approach and on the other hand, I applied a digital autobiographical writing method to collect the first-person

views providing a rich, personal description of lived experience. Combining two different approaches does not mean merely integrating between biography and autobiography (Stanley 1993). That is, I attempted to intermix autobiographical writing as a personal (ideographic) form and biographical interview as a social (nomothetic) form to generate data, which are available to represent what Atkinson (Atkinson, 2007:238) calls a "unique-to-universal continuum". Moreover, it enables researchers to capture how participants make sense of their lived experiences by telling and writing, as a biography mainly uses the verbal resource, while an autobiography is literacy based on memory which a first-person account (Jolley, 2001).

In a nutshell, auto/biographical method and narrative interviewing is one of the life history methodologies, and life history research clarifies the complex link making an educational phenomenon. Therefore, life history research creates an opportunity which understands the educational phenomenon's context from the participant's life story (Kim & Han, 2012). By writing and telling, people recall what has happened, put the experience into a sequence, find possible explanations for it, and play with the chain of events that individuals confront in ordinary everyday life.

4.5. Characteristics of the Samples

The purposeful sampling used in this study was utilised to recruit participants to ensure that they met the specific criteria for the study (Ims, Lorås, Ness, & Finlay, 2021). In my autobiographical narrative interviews and digital autobiographical writings, I am keen on not only the participants' life trajectories and reflections on the past, present and future, but also their social networks and migration and acculturation experiences. In order to recruit my target group, I used three recruitment techniques: first, I established contacts who would later become my informants at M alternative school in Seoul where I have been involved in volunteer activities since 2014; second, I attended events organised by the [North] Korean migrants' community in New Malden; and third, I disseminated research inquiries on community web sites such as religious organisations in both Seoul and New Malden and student associations of higher educational institutes by way of the social media platform Facebook.

Initially, I had planned to select all participants from the above-mentioned M alternative school in Seoul. However, I changed my mind to recruit participants who grew up under circumstances of a different ascribed *songbun* status - career and educational background - because their life experiences and escape drives in North Korea have been

determined by the unique songbun status. Also, my research was based on the hypothesis that the experience of North Korean migrants acquired in the adaptive process of their life trajectory can contribute to the development of peacebuilding capacities where I devised and reconstructed their civic identities. Therefore, the selected sampling measure provided participants who were able to describe rich, relevant data from their experience of the phenomenon (see table 4.1). My efforts eventually amounted to a snowball procedure, through which I tried to sample my target subjects in such a way as to limit the chance of constructing an overly biased data set. Since the exchange of bio-databases between South Korea and the British government became possible in 2010, one limitation of my sampling strategy, however, lay in my inability to recruit those North Korean migrants who enter the UK since 2010 as those migrants who have been granted South Korean citizenship were not allowed to enter the U.K. illegitimately.

Consequently, the seven participants selected were between the ages of 18 to 32 years old, except for one 40-year-old female informant, who had migrated through China and transitional countries such as Cambodia, and acculturation in ROK or the UK. I recruited four informants in Seoul, South Korea and three participants in New Malden and Surbiton, United Kingdom. Officially, I interviewed each participant on approximately five occasions between October 2017 and February 2018 in South Korea and the second fieldwork conducted between March and December 2018 in the UK. Four females and three males took part in the study. Among them, four subjects (two samples in ROK and the UK, respectively) wrote down their autobiographical writing on Google Docs (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Profile of research participants

Participant name	Gender Identified With	Age	Songbun Status	Year of escape	Home town	Year of Arrival in ROK	Year of Entry in the UK	Place of residence	Current Job	Data Collection Methods
Geum	Female	31	Wavering Class (New entrepreneurial class)	2008	Kyŏng sŏng (North Hamgyong)	2009	N/A	Seoul (ROK)	Florist	Biographic narrative interviewing & Digital Autobiographical Writing
Hyang	Female	21	Wavering Class	2013	ChongJin (North Hamgyong)	2013	N/A	Seoul (ROK)	Student (Business Management)	Biographic narrative interviewing & Digital Autobiographical Writing
Ju	Male	26	Core Class to Wavering Class	1st attempt (2005) 2nd attempt (2008)	Kyŏng sŏng (North Hamgyong)	2011	N/A	Seoul (ROK)	Students (Political Science)	Biographic narrative interviewing

	Gender	Age								
Kweon	Male	26	Father: Core Class Mother: Hostile Class	2012	**Hamhung** (South Hamgyong)	2013	N/A	Gyeonggi-do (ROK)	Student & Painter (Fine Art)	Biographic narrative interviewing
Hae	Female	25 (28)	Hostile Class	2000	**ChongJin** (North Hamgyong)	2002	2005	Surbiton (UK)	Student (Politics and International Relations)	Biographic narrative interviewing & Digital Autobiographical Writing
Ha-young	Female	40	Hostile Class	1997	**ChongJin** (North Hamgyong)	2002	2007	New Malden (UK)	Housewife	Biographic narrative interviewing
Min-seok	Male	19	N/A	He was born in Yanbian Korean autonomous prefecture in China	N/A	2002	2007	New Malden (UK)	Student (Computer and Internet Engineering)	Biographic narrative interviewing & Digital Autobiographical Writing

Note. All participants have been granted pseudonyms to ensure anonymity, as per the Research Ethics Committee of the Institute of Education at UCL's Code of Ethics, 2017 and some personal details have been removed to protect participants' identities.

As can be seen in table 4.1, there are several characteristics of the samples. First of all, each participant came from a different *songbun* status—from core class to hostile class—which enabled me to take a deeper look at life in North Korea. Literally, the Korean word '*songbun*' means ingredients or material (as in substance). The North Korean political structure uses the term to refer to one's socio-political background. It has established two types of songbun: *chulsin songbun*, or *songbun* based on origins, which refers to the socio-economic background of one's family, including that of one's parents, siblings, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins; and "*sahoe songbun*," or societal *songbun*, which refers to one's individual socio-political and economic behaviour and performance. Another word is associated with a class background is "*todae*," a more general reference, which is almost the same, and used interchangeably with "*chulsin songbun*," or foundation (Collins, 2012:6). *Songbun* status is categorised into three main classes based on "one's actions or one's ancestors' actions during the colonial period and the Korean War" (Armstrong, 2016:165): the core class (*haek-sim- gye-cheung* in Chosŏn'gŭl), the wavering (basic) class (*gibon-gye-cheung* in Chosŏn'gŭl), and the hostile (complex) class (*gyo-yang-dae-sang* in Chosŏn'gŭl) and they are divided into forty-five subcategories. The core, wavering and hostile class are estimated to constitute about 28%, 45%, and 27% of the population separately (Baek, 2016; Collins, 2012; Institute of Unification Education, 2017). Technically, the core class is accorded to the descendants of those who participated in the anti-Japanese movement during the colonial period, veterans of the Korean War, and those that rendered distinguished services to the protection of the DPRK. Furthermore, the wavering class is the

basic class of the *songbun* system that exists between the 'core' and 'hostile' classes. Ordinary workers, farmers, technicians, office workers, and lower-class staff are in this class. Lastly, the hostile class as the lowest status accorded to the descendants of those who are born on foreign soil in addition to large landowners, descendants of capitalists, religious persons, those released from correctional labour camps and the remained family of North Korean escapees (Baek, 2016; National Human Rights Commission of Korea, 2017; Tudor & Pearson, 2015).

In this sample, three informants (Ju was downgraded from core to wavering for which it was quite hard to recruit such a case) came from "wavering", with three informants who were hostile class. One subject was shifted from wavering into the "new entrepreneurial class" (Tudor &Pearson, 2015:166). It was also mentioned as the "Nouveau Riche members" (Institute for Unification Education, 2017:285) which is best known as the emerging *songbun* category who accumulated wealth through monetary activities in the black-market system, so-called '*Jangmadang*' (Haggard & Norland, 2011; Tudor & Pearson, 2015). The failure of the government provision system led people to create a new form of marketisation and the authority had to tolerate it or risk an uprising. "Those with corn made corn noodles; those with beans made tofus" and they sold these noodles and tofus at *Jangmadang* for survival (Fifield, 2017: n.d.; Tudor & Pearson, 2015). Citizens who did not have food ingredients crossed the border to seek food and money from their relatives or compassionate ethnic Korean Chinese who lived in the border regions without permission of the state, particularly, the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. These days, plenty of young North Korean migrants belong to this category and they are often called the '*Jangmadang* generation' (Tudor & Pearson, 2015).

Secondly, given that each country's education system plays an essential role in constructing civic identities, values and norms, it is imperative to look at the schooling experience of participants in North Korea and its impact on the forming of North Korean civic identity. Although I could look into a range of research related to the education system in the North that was conducted by the South Korean research centres (e.g., Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI), Institute for Unification Education (IUE) and Korea Institute of National Unification (KINU), I preferred to gain authentic information and experiences from my participants who had diverse schooling experiences including home schooling experiences in the North. Amongst my participants, one female informant graduated from upper-secondary school and one male informant dropped out of art school. One female participant was trained at a technical school. The rest of the informants dropped out of primary school or did not receive compulsory education in DPRK at all. After coming to the ROK or the UK, three participants are studying at universities in ROK. Of the two subjects

who grew up in the UK, one achieved a BECTA certificate and the other achieved an A-level certificate to enter a UK university. More detailed discussion will be given in Chapter seven and eight.

A final set of important features of the sample are the date when participants left North Korea, how much time they spent abroad before fleeing to the South, and how much time they have spent in either ROK or the UK. The date of escape from the North is crucial in methodological terms, because it becomes a decisive clue to the story of the social, economic and political situation at the time of leaving DPRK and how it affected the formation of their civic identity.

4.6. Description of the Settings

In South Korea, there were over 33,000 North Korean migrants in 2020, with over 45% of them being children and young adults aged 10 to 29 (The education support centre for North Korean migrant youths, n.d.). South Korea hosts the largest number of North Korean migrants, except for China since the initial mass exodus in the mid-1990s (Statistics Korean Government Official Work Conference, n.d.). Except for Northeast Asia, the largest North Korean population lives in Britain (Song & Bell, 2019). Since 2000, more than 1,300 North Koreans have applied for asylum in the UK. Approximately 500 North Korean migrants have settled in New Malden, South-West London, living alongside a substantial and established community of over 10,000 South Korean immigrants (ONS, 2015; Song & Bell, 2019). I have collected data from both Seoul, ROK and New Malden, UK.

4.7. Data Collection Methods

4.7.1. Biographical Narrative Interview

Highlights of Biographical Narrative Interview

Compared to other methods, the biographical narrative interview data are quite distinct due to several key features of biographical research. First, the biographical data involve a wide variety of the 'documents of life' (Plummer, 1983, 2001) such as diaries, letters, autobiographies, biographies, memoranda and other materials (Denzin, 1989). Those authentic individual resources allow researchers to make a comprehensive and general

pattern of original narration in the process of analysis and interpretation (Fischer-Rosenthal and Rosenthal, 1997; Rosenthal, 1993).

A reconstruction of the narrated life story can be the second feature of the biographical data. In a biographical narration, Schütze (1976: 179) argues that "the structure of experiences reproduces itself in the structure of narration". By creating this general pattern of narration, biographical approaches provide an opportunity to reinterpret events that were already 'out there' (in a sense of Bourdieu's realist notion of 'field') by restructuring the subjects' experiential world (Breckner & Rupp, 2002; Wieczorek, 2016).

Since the Schützean approach distinguishes the role between narrators and researchers, the researcher is primarily a listener, whose "role in guiding the direction and nature of the issues picked up is a limited one" (Domecka et al.,2012:43). In contrast, the narrator (subject) acts not only as the actor of their life story but also as the author of their narration, assuming the perspective of an agent-self in shaping their life and narrative (Schütze, 1992, 2007). Thus, several scholars point out that collaboration between the researcher and the subjects on a long-term research relationship is crucial in biographical research (Roberts, 2002). This is the third feature of biographic research methods, which is why the researcher's collaborative and reflexive role while analysing and interpreting the reconstructed biographical data is emphasised (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Roberts, 2002; Siouti, 2016). Therefore, biographical reflexivity makes sense of adjusting oneself (Siouti, 2016). Furthermore, it can avoid selecting or arbitrarily disposing of individual experiences by the biographer or researcher through exercises in reflexivity (Rosenthal, 1993).

Interview Process

The first phase of interviews took place in Seoul, South Korea, where four participants live. Afterwards, the second phase of interviews were held with three subjects who live in New Malden and Surbiton, United Kingdom. Among them, I piloted in advance with one female participant in New Malden before commencing the fieldwork in 2017. After the fieldwork was completed, her interview data were analysed again along with the entire dataset.

All participants spoke Korean very well, and one subject sometimes chose to speak in English. Each interview lasted approximately 3-4 hours. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim in South Korean (I took memos on each transcript whenever I heard about specific North Korean dialects or some North Korean terms which needed to be interpreted). Schütze's narrative interview comprises five stages: (1) starting the interview; (2) prompting the story through a generative question; (3) the telling of the story without any interruptions until a 'coda', an ending-formula, is used by the narrator; (4)

asking questions; and (5) bringing the interview to an end (Schütze, 1984/2005). Drawing on Schütze's narrative interview, an interview in the study involved the three following steps:

1) **Rapport formation** - I explained the purpose of the research, confidentiality issues and entire interview themes based on the interview schedule (see table 4.2). It then began with a very general question, such as informants' memory of their hometown. These questions could allow respondents to feel emotionally comfortable and get ready to recall their childhood before escaping North Korea.

2) **Interviewing** - participants were invited to talk about their recollections of living in North Korea, fleeing to ROK and moving to the UK, including their first memories and impressions. Furthermore, questions were asked about the challenges they faced and the support they had received. Participants were allowed to express any potential concerns they might have and what they felt they could contribute to unify two Koreas.

3) **Debriefing** - it was challenging to listen to the story and simultaneously identify its structural frame to develop relevant questions for the sub-sessions. Hence, I created a form, integrating into transcriptions and field notes, putting many memos to create pertinent questions that can be applied to subsequent analysis or something of particular importance that I was unaware of during interviews. Mainly, I placed my exploratory comments and additional questions that emerged after interviewing on the document's right side. For instance, the researcher's memos regarding further questions for the sub-session: Why does the South Korean government provide some social benefits to help North Korean migrants settle down to South Korean society for five years? Is this similar to the British government? Again, additional questions needed to ask participants in the sub-session because the informant described the process of entering a university entrance exam in North Korea briefly. In particular, I continued writing my reflective journal regarding my own reflections on each subject's responses and feelings, including non-verbal expressions such as sighs, gestures and tearful eyes and put these personal reflections on the final version of life stories for the debriefing with each participant.

After transcribing, I reconstructed their whole life stories to connect individual experiences relevant to the research questions. I then asked interviewees to look at the final version of the document in the debriefing session. Moreover, the interview schedule was developed based on the chronological sequence. Doing so allowed interviewees to recall the experiences and events that had taken place in the past easily, as well as it might help them relate some specific situations and different events in temporal order based on the "gestalt

sense of biography" (Rosenthal, 1993:61). Moreover, I expected that I could reconstruct the past and the present meanings from this Gestalt.

Table 4.2. Interview schedule

Stage I: Rapport formation

Explain the purpose of the research and confidentiality issues. Help the respondent to relax make sure the first questions are easy to answer. For instance, can you tell me about your hometown in North Korea?

Stage II: Interviewing

(1) Experience of life in North Korea

<Subcategory>

- Story of relationship with (a) family members, (b) friends and (c) teachers in North Korea.

- The salient cultural and social features in North Korea.

(2) Schooling experience in North Korea and/or China

(3) Migration experience

(4) Adaptation experience in South Korean or British society

<Subcategory>

- Adaptation of the school system to South Korean or British society

(5) General settlement experience in South Korea or the UK

<Subcategory>

- The current life story of South Korea or the UK in general.

(6) Personal perspectives about the potential reunification on the Korean peninsula

Stage III: Debriefing

After transcribing, I reconstructed the narrated life stories to formulate individual experiences which are relevant to the research questions, adding memos and questions. Finally, I asked interviewees to look at the final version of the document in the debriefing session.

Transforming talk into text

All the interviews were digitally recorded. I transcribed the "whole" interview (Potter & Wetherell, 1987:165), including the participant's responses to my questions and non-verbal communications. This was because I appreciated my "active and constructive" part in the interview process (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). I did not produce a "clean" or

"sanitised" transcript (Elliott, 2005:52), but instead included "repetition, false starts and non-lexical utterances such as 'umms and 'errs'" (Elliot, 2005:52) as well as "non-verbal communications such as teary eyes, hand gestures, tone of voice" (Ims et al., 2021:6) and pauses. The inclusion of such material is important to gain an understanding not only of the content but also the process of the talk in action. Within two weeks of the last interview, I reorganised all participants' interview data into individual life histories based on major research topics, reviewing comments or revisions to be added with participants in the debriefing session.

From March to April 2017, I piloted the interview process with Ha-young, who is living in New Malden and with the first interview I arranged, which was Min-seok's who was Ha-young's oldest son. The interview with Min-seok resumed in March 2018 after coming back to London. Details of the aspects evaluated through the pilot process are given in Section 4.6.2 on developing a digital autobiographical writing platform.

Table 4.3 confirms details of the schedule of the interviews and data volume with each of the research participants. Each interview lasted between three and four hours, and the duration of the debriefing session ranged from one hour 30 minutes to two hours.

Table 4.3. Full and selected interview data details

Participants	Interview Schedule	Original Data Volume	Reconstructed Data Volume (for debriefing)	Recorded Interviews Time
Geum	1st: 25 October 2017 2nd: 31 October 2017 3rd: 7 November 2017 4th: 29 November 2017 5th: 13 Feb 2018 (debriefing) 6th: 26 May 2018 (additional debriefing)	1st: 7589 words 2nd: 8768 words 3rd: 9545 words 4th: 4986 words 5th: 11564 words 6th: 2396 words	30438 words	About 14 hours
Hyang	1st: 12 October 2017 2nd: 9 November 2017 3rd: 30 November 2017 4th: 7 December 2017 5th: 14 Feb 2018 (debriefing)	1st: 4332 words 2nd: 14724 words 3rd: 14428 words 4th: 22540 words 5th: 15881 words	55608 words	About 14 hours
Ju	1st: 14 October 2017 2nd: 23 October 2017 3rd: 3 November 2017 4th: 17 November 2017 (Included debriefing)	1st: 5566 words 2nd: 7956 words 3rd: 9947 words 4th: 5026 words	25912 words	About 9 hours
Kweon	1st: 1 Nov 2017 2nd: 9 November 2017 3rd: 7 January 2018 4th: 14 January 2018 (Included debriefing)	1st: 4495 words 2nd: 6337 words 3rd: 7015 words 4th: 9197 words	22879 words	About 10 hours
Hae	1st: 17 May 2017 2nd: 23 June 2018 3rd: 18 July 2018	1st: 8167 words 2nd: 9244 words 3rd: 12355 words	72509 words	About 18 hours

	4th: 31 July 2018 5th: 8 September 2018 6th: 24 December 2018 (debriefing)	4th: 9090 words 5th: 11501 words 6th: 11030 words		
Ha-young	1st: 29 March 2017 2nd: 5 April 2017 3rd: 19 April 2017 4th: 28 April 2017 (Included debriefing)	1st: 13523 words 2nd: 15007 words 3rd: 19723 words 4th: 11240 words	46597 words	About 8 hours
Min-seok	1st: 19 April 2017 2nd: 8 March 2018 3rd: 23 March 2018 4th: 31 March 2018 (Included debriefing)	1st: 6857 words 2nd: 4246 words 3rd: 8340 words 4th: 8500 words	30440 words	About 8 hours

4.7.2. Digital autobiographical writing

Highlights of the digital autobiographical writing method

Various versions of the autobiographical approach – from Mertonian sociological autobiography to the contemporary approach of socio-biographical studies – have been used in sociology research. Autobiographical narratives allow sociologists to analyse and interpret both comprehensive patterns of the life out there and the particularities of a subject's experiential world (Bertaux, 1981; Chamberlayne et al., 2002; Davies, 2012; Friedman, 1990; Merton, 1972; Stanley, 1993).

The traditional autobiography has been seeking self-formation and self-reference (Smith & Watson, 2010). However, with the advent of various forms of online writing, a new form of self-representation is rapidly expanding, conveying some truths about an 'authentic' self by digital technologies (S. Smith & Watson, 2017). Digital life writing gives a chance to formulate online self-presentation (Arthur,2009; Pandya et al., 2015; Smith and Watson, 2017).

In particular, digital technology has opened up new spheres for the construction and publication of autobiographies (Arthur2009; Hardey, 2004; Plummer2001) because technical advances enable biographical materials to be compiled, stored, edited and shared with new devices easily (O'Neill, Roberts, & Sparkes, 2015). Moreover, the digital form of life writing allows people to illuminate the multimodal narratives through multimedia such as sounds, film clips, images and archives that are linked to personal stories (Cardell, 2017; Plummer, 2001; Slevin, 2000). From the socio-semiotic point of view, these multimodal forms or modes include more than language; images, animations, music, gestures, speech, and writing are all considered the modes of multimodality (Jewitt & Kress, 2003; Kress,

2010). Thus**,** several scholars emphasise the function of digital autobiographical writing as an "assemblage of digital archives" (Plummer, 2001) and "autobiographical curating" (McNeill & Zuern, 2015).

Technically, the autobiographical approach provides an appropriate way to present the narrator's construction of his or her past, present and future life (Rosenthal, 1993, 1997). Such narratives make it possible to analyse traumatic and painful experiences in the past and their consequences for the present and the anticipated future (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Domecka et al., 2012). This quality enables participants to synthesise their life experiences in the past, present and future, formulating a wide range of information through digital media (Brown, Sellen, & O'hara, 2000).

Compared to a written autobiography, more recently, digital life writing becomes more user-friendly because of a seamless connectivity between devices, where it is possible to harness the ubiquity of smartphones (Lev-On & Lowenstein-Barkai, 2019; Liegl & Bender, 2016) so that participants can be "always-on" their writing platform (Liegl & Bender, 2016:1). As a result, it allows them to write their feelings, thoughts and experiences at every single moment. Above all, these "new communication tools" (Lejeune, 2014:247) enabled a new form of digital autobiographical reflexivity, which helped writers (informants) and readers (researchers) reconstruct the life they recorded through these multimodal resources and became a powerful tool for researchers to interpret the authentic life stories of individuals. In this sense, Poletti (2020:19) posits that digital autobiographical reflexivity enabled us to "radically expand our understanding of what kinds of artefacts count as autobiographical".

Despite the compelling advantages of the approach, there are also new ethical challenges, such as protecting privacy (Hardey, 2004; Sikes, 2016) and managing and analysing "instability of data" (Kennedy, 2017:410).

Developing a digital autobiographical writing platform

The research is closely related to examining young North Korean migrants' pivotal moments, which they have experienced from their life trajectories from North Korea, China and third countries and liberal democratic societies such as ROK or the UK. Hence, I attentively considered how I could create the digital writing platform to freely and candidly promote each participant to write their life history. I have applied user experience design on the digital journal platform to capture those complex emotions and multifaceted experiences.

The digital autobiographical writing platform was developed through the theoretical framework of human-computer interaction (HCI) theory which can be assessed as the effectiveness, efficiency, safety, utility, learnability, memorability and satisfaction of web users (Dillon, 2002; Sharp, Preece, & Rogers, 2019). In particular, it focuses on the

user experience (UX) design concept to promote the personal point of view in each subject's digital journal. It consists of pilot research, visual and interaction design, content and analysis strategy.

(1) **Pilot Research**: Before commencing the fieldwork in 2017, I tested the feasibility of my research methodology and sought to develop an appropriate digital life writing format based on the concept of user experience design. After piloting, I adopted an unstructured diary approach (Bartlett & Milligan, 2015) and a free association writing that reveals the narrators' sense of Gestalt, which is a central concept of biographical narrative (Hollway & Jefferson, 2012). Participants were given a set of themes such as life experiences in North Korea and the migration experiences from the North to the ROK or the UK. Also, I asked them to record their experiences, events, actions, thoughts and feelings with those themes. However, participants were free to include other issues that may not be part of the predefined themes, but they feel important to them concerning the study aims.

Before undertaking the pilot research, I planned to use Evernote as a digital autobiographical writing platform. However, I changed the writing platform for digital writing from Evernote to Google Docs. During the pilot research, Min-seok, who was proficient in ICT ability and was familiar with managing mobile applications, had to register Evernote to use it as it was not well-known to him. Evernote did not provide a function for encrypting personal data, yet encryption was essential for protecting informants' digital writing data in the study.

Furthermore, the interface of Evernote was not straightforward compared to Google Docs. On the other hand, Google Docs was relatively easy to use. Since Google Docs is stored online, subjects can work anywhere from any computer or mobile phone with an Internet or mobile connection. Participants were more likely to revisit their work if they wanted to correct the contents they had generated. To insert some photos, images and YouTube links, participants insert image files and hyperlinks where they would like to explain the feelings and thoughts related to several incidents. I chose several vital functions (e.g., encryption, voice recording and drawing function), which allowed participants to write their life stories on the digital life writing format easily and developed interaction design and content and analysis strategies.

(2) **Visual design**: all menus on Google Docs are easily recognised. There was no need to design some specific functions of the writing platform; rather, I provided these functions in the instructions on the first page of each informant's digital journal form.

There is considerable evidence that online diary research enables people to unveil more private emotions and feelings than might be possible with other methods (Arthur2009; Cunningham & Jones, 2005). Hence, I paid particular attention to designing a personalised writing template to sincerely and candidly write their memories, emotions, thoughts and self-reflection.

The UX design concept prompts interaction design, which constitutes social interaction and emotional interaction (Sharp et al., 2019). Since I used a ready-made digital writing platform, namely, Google Docs, I developed the strategy for the interaction between contents and participants and participants and researcher to encourage active participation. Although I tried to keep a distance by not interrupting while writing their digital journal, I contacted them regularly through KaKaoTalk, which is well-known for a mobile messenger application in South Korea (See figure 4.1 (a)). After monitoring their digital journal, I wrote my comments in their digital journals to prevent them from feeling lonely in the digital space and encouraged them to recall relevant events described in the past or present. Figure 4.1 (b) shows the participants' writing section (A) and the researcher's response section (B). As shown in figure 4.1 (b), I could highlight some essential comments in the document's body, and they would appear on the right side of the page.

(a) Screenshot of KakaoTalk

(Reprinted with permission from Geum)
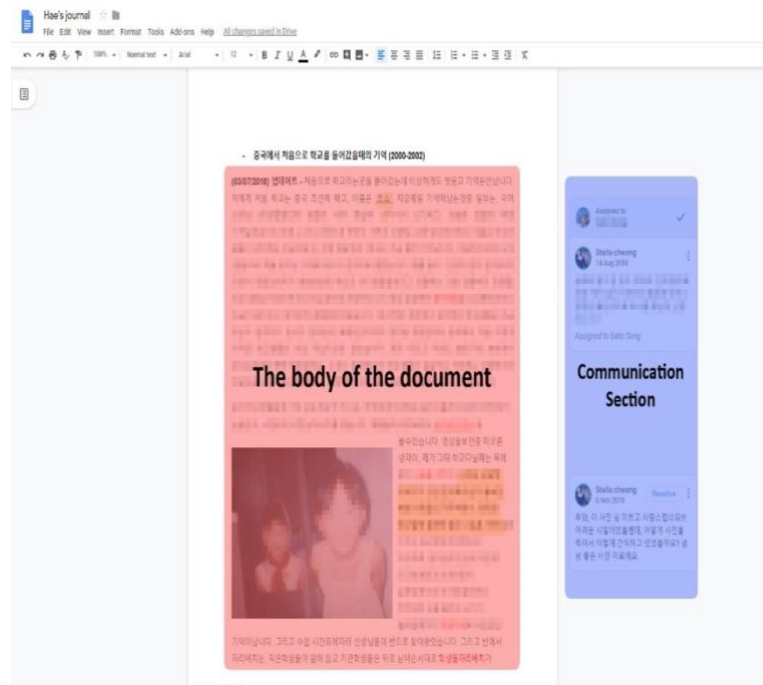
(b) Screenshot of Hae's digital journal (Internet mode)

(Reprinted with permission from Hae)

Figure 4.1. Screenshots of interaction design

(3) **Content Strategy**: digital autobiographic writing that is applied in this study relied on participant-generated content. Hence, I provided explicit instructions to participants to make them more likely to comment on what is essential to researchers. As many studies emphasise, the anonymity influence makes the virtual platform an ideal space for people to narrate their personal experiences, thoughts and opinions honestly (Bosangit, Dulnuan, & Mena, 2012). Therefore, I tried to encrypt all data on this principle by using the encryption function on Google Docs to keep data secure and added it on the instruction page (see figure 4.2 (b) & (c)). Also, digital autobiography enables people to illuminate a wide variety of biographical expression, utilising various multimedia (Arthur2009; Cardell, 2017). Before they wrote the digital journal, I asked participants to use a wide range of multimedia to write their feelings and emotions and install some Google Doc add-on applications (e.g., drawing function). This enabled me to collect a wide variety of multimodal resources. I thought that photographs would be an alternate means of journaling if they are not proficient in writing. Furthermore, I designed the much more simplified content structure of the digital journal format, categorised into three sections: (a) a brief overview of the research (introduction), (b) instruction, (c) the autobiography of research informants with predefined themes (Content).
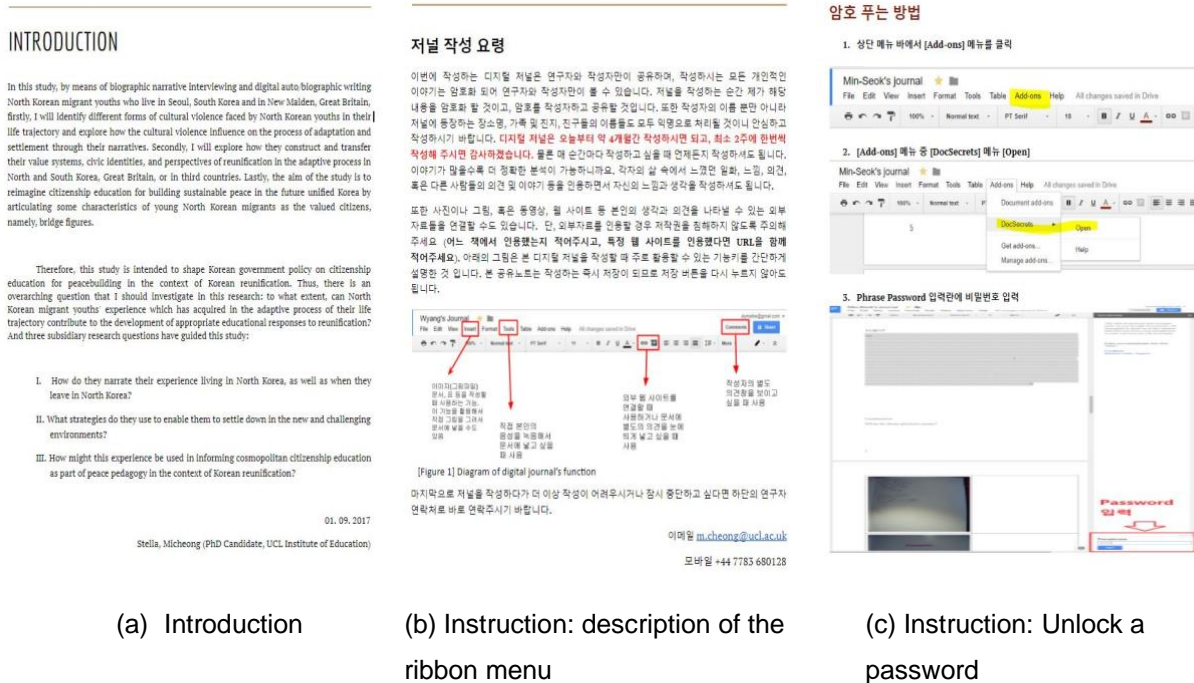

(a) Introduction

(b) Instruction: description of the ribbon menu

(c) Instruction: Unlock a password

Figure 4.2. Screenshots of the sample content strategy: introduction and instruction pages

As discussed earlier, the autobiography methods can be reconstructed with the support of digital technologies. The advance of digital infrastructure enables users to be connected seamlessly (Liegl & Bender, 2016) so that all informants could generate their life stories through the Internet and mobile network, using PC and mobile phone. In this study, I informed them to install the Google Docs mobile application on their mobile phone to write their digital journal wherever they go and whatever comes to mind. Thus, participants could show the same interface on their computer and smartphone.

Finally, this methodology also required a high level of reflexivity from the researcher. To implement my reflections into my research, I developed a platform for writing the field notes, using Share Point. I then wrote the field notes on my Share Point account after interviewing and monitoring each participant's digital journals. I also kept writing my thoughts and feelings on the research reflective journal. Sometimes, I recorded instantaneous emotions and thoughts that came to mind by using a voice recording application on my mobile to record all my reflections on my informants' interview data, autobiographical writing, and a wide variety of discussions that I shared with my colleagues and other scholars whom I met at seminars and conferences throughout my research journey. I describe fieldwork protocol and procedure on OSF: https://osf.io/zxskv/.

Table 4.4. shows the detailed autobiographical written (multimodal) data which are gathered through the digital autobiographical writing method. Autobiographical written data was converted into a word format to merge interview data.

Table 4.4. Full and selected multimodal data details

Participants	Duration for Journaling	Original Data Volume	Number of images	Number of hyperlinks	Number of drawings
Geum	1 October 2017 ~ 3 June 2018	5018 words	5	1	0
Hyang	16 September 2017 ~ 1 November 2017	3552 words	3	0	0
Hae	25 June 2018 ~ 29 August 2019	12060 words	41	14	0
Min-seok	24 April 2017 ~ 27 August 2018	4974 words	9	5	1

4.8. Epistemological and methodological benefits and challenges

Within the epistemological position, my role is to "understand the multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge" (Robson, 2011:24) within a relational social constructivist approach. Constructivism is perceived to be an appropriate epistemological position as the North Korean migrants were viewed as having constructed their own meanings around the experience of moving to liberal democratic societies such as the ROK or the UK. An epistemological perspective is also crucial as it helps the researcher decide on the most suitable research design. Given the fact that I have chosen auto/biographical research methodology, several benefits and challenges are summarised as follows.

4.8.1. Benefits

The effective data collection and management tool

Bartlett and Milligan (2015:3) claim that the "solicited diaries" are useful research methods to gain rich insights by capturing personal events, motives, feelings and behaviours and beliefs over a period of time under the direction of an individual researcher. In keeping with new moves in diary-based research theory (Bartlett & Milligan, 2015; Brown et al., 2000), diary research is a useful means to collect a rich data set for researchers, particularly in the light of digital technologies.

Digital writing form is more likely to encourage participants to write their life stories as often as they needed until they felt comfortable with the device and the items' meanings (Bartlett & Milligan, 2015). In particular, a major source of autobiographical narration is the memory of the subject (Jolly, 2001). In this sense, the autobiography approach provides an excellent way to present the narrator's construction of his or her past, present, and future life (Fischer-Rosenthal & Rosenthal 1997; Rosenthal, 1993). Hence, it allows researchers to approach a privileged personal memory in a past, present and future, which makes "it possible to analyse the past, especially traumatic and painful experiences and their influence on present patterns of action, and the importance of current actions for the anticipated future" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1990; Domecka et al., 2013).

Different types of devices also allow participants to capture a wide range of information and media (Brown et al., 2000). In this study, the digital journal enables all informants to generate multimodal texts with photos, YouTube videos, some autobiographical vignettes to synthesise their life experiences in the past and present, as well as their hopes and expectations for the future in the assemblage of digital archives, as noted by Plummer (2001). It was precisely autobiographical curating, as emphasised by McNeill & Zuern (2015), as well as "modal ensembles" (Bezemer, 2016:6). In a sense, a social semiotic multimodal analysis was incorporated to analyse and interpret the meaning of a wide variety of chosen multimodal data.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the digital journaling platform enables researchers to speed up and enhance the analytical process by reducing the amount of time required to prepare the data set (Bartlett & Milligan, 2015). In the case of this study, I could save transcription time by converting Google Docs (four informants' digital journals) into word format. Notably, various appropriate software or applications are commonly used to manage data systematically.

Authentic records of the experiential world

Each subject wrote down their digital journal differently depending on personality, different life experiences, and how they can make sense of these incidents; sometimes, their stories are mirroring how they acknowledged some social phenomena.

As shown in figure 4.3, Hyang mainly addressed her feelings; notably, she indicated a deep-rooted sense of inferiority toward her Southern counterparts. Interestingly, she did not mention life in the North or the past, even if she is the latest migrant among participants (see figure 4.3(a)). On the other hand, Geum recorded plenty of her experiences in North Korea. She wrote down a wide variety of stories in the past compared to other participants. I assumed that Geum had lived in the North longer than any other informants and graduated from secondary school so that she had many experiences in her hometown. Most of her stories noted her nostalgia, childhood memories, memorable events and a few supportive teachers. At the same time, she wrote down some activities that she has done in South Korea to adapt to her new life. I could gather a variety of information about the North and schooling system from her autobiographical vignettes. Indeed, she was a brilliant storyteller (see figure 4.3(b)).

In contrast, Min-seok focused on the present, namely, schooling life in the UK, and I recognised his feelings and thoughts about the British culture (he showed a strong sense of North Korean identity even if he has never been there). At the same time, he very

often criticised some social issues in ROK such as school bullying, the Korean Scholastic Aptitude Test and even some newly coined words such as Geezers/oldies or false teeth (see figure 4.3(c)). Hae noted her life histories chronologically and formulated various migration and acculturation stories, drawing on effectively a visual, textual and digital to illustrate her own subtle emotions and more profound feelings (fear, anxiety, or relief) that she had experienced throughout transnational migration (see figure 4.3(d)). As can be seen in Figure 4.3(d), for instance, Hae has recorded her feelings of how she struggled with a high level of uncertainty and anxiety while crossing the Mekong River to go to Vietnam, and further, moving on into the unknown world, along with a captured image of the identification document in her digital journal. From Hae's vignette, I could fully feel a 10-year-old girl's feelings, concerns and even expectations.

Day 1 (16 / 09 / 2017)

열등감

나도 모르게 자라난 것이 있다. 처음엔 비교 의식이었고 다음엔 차별감 같은 거리감이였다. 하지만 나중에 내가 정확히 고민한 결과 그것은 바로 열등감이었다. 열등감이 생기게 된것은 바로 여명학교 졸업하고 나서 인것 같다. 그전에는 북에서 온 친구들과 같은 경쟁을 하니 열등감이며 비교의식이며 이런 것들을 느낄 이유는 못끼지도 못했다. 결국 대학교에와서 한국학생들과 경재를 시작하니 점점 비교가 되어지고 내가 하찮아 지고 또 내자신이 북에서 왔다고 하면 더 불쌍히 봐주었으면 하는 자세였다. 그러니 당연히 열등의식은 생기게 마련이다. 그래서 아마도 많은 탈북 학생들이 대학교를 자퇴하고 심리치료를 받는 이유가 여기에 있었다는 것을 난 이제 깨달았다. 그래도 난 포기는 없다. 포기는 개나 저버려.

Day 2 (17 / 09 / 2017)

그랬구나.. 바빠 연락하지 못한점은 이해가 되는데..

주님 안에서 귀한 동생 ▓

너를 아끼는 마음으로 몇가지 않좋은 생각과 습관에 관해 이야기해주고 싶구나.

▓가 얼릉 고치고 하나님 앞에서 바른 사람이 되어 복받는 삶을 살아가게되기를 바래요..

읽게 약속을 어기는일이 이번 한번이 아니라 몇달째 되풀이 되고있는 일이라 너라는 사람이 점점 않좋게 변해가는게 너무 걱정스럽구나..

벌써 못본지가 넉달이 되어가면서 항이가 나온다는 약속을 스스로 어긴게 몇번인지 ▓ 스스로 한번 확인해 보기를 바래요..

계속해서 ▓ 스스로 말한 약속을 이렇게 쉽게 어기고 신뢰를 깬 다음에 이유를 말하는건 매우 잘못된 습관이 되어버린것 같아 아쉽고 걱정스럽다..

앞으로는 언제나 자기가 약속한 것은 반드시 지키고자 하는 책임감을 좀 더 가지고 어쩔수 없이 어길것 같으면 약속 시간 전에 미리 연락하여 양해를 구하기를 바래..

이건 남한 사회와 성도들에게 너무 기본이 되는 질서이며 상식적인 법이니 ▓ 다른 사람에게 무례한 사람이자 몰상식한 사람이 되어 지탄과 욕을 먹지 않도록 꼭 유의하여 스스로 지켜가기를 바래요.

(a) Hyang's digital journal (ROK)

Day 10 (27일 / 04월 / 2018)

어제 원예심리치료사 강의시간에 교수님이 토피어리를 재료를 가져오셔서 만들어봤는데 그때, 교수님은 그리운사람을 생각하면서 만들라고 하셨어요, 개구장이 같이 생긴 토피어리를 보니 내가 가장 개구장이 같았던 시간이 떠올랐고, 그시간으로 돌아갔을때 가장 떠오르는 사람은 담임선생님이었어요 옆자리에 앉은 친구가 물어봤어요, "▓▓▓ 은 누구예요?"

중학교때 담임선생님, "그러면 드릴수없네요?" "응.."

그런데 오늘 아침에 뉴스에서 문재인 대통령과, 김정은은 밝은 얼굴로 서로 손잡고 남북한의 경계선을 넘어갔다 넘어오는 모습을 보고있는데 그 순간 너무도 쉽게 38선을 오고가는 모습에 눈물이 났습니다 심장이 뛰고 설레서 더 보고있으면 심장이 멎을 것 같아 더이상 못봤습니다

혼자서 설레는 맘을 진정시키면서 뉴스에서 봤던 장면들을 생각해보면서 모든국민이 이곳을 자유롭게 다녀갈수 있기를 소망한다는 내용이 자꾸 머리속에 맴돌았고, 만약 북한을 방문할수 있다면 대한민국 여권을 가지고 가야지 가져가서 자랑해야지 라는 생각도 해보았고, 기차가 연결되면 기차타고 고향가고, 몽골가서 온하수도 보고 말도타고,러시아로 가서 씨비리아도 가보고, 프랑스에서 런먼까지 갈수 있지 않을까? 라는 상상도 해보았습니다.

무엇보다 어제 만들었던 토피어리를 선생님께 드릴수도 있는 날이 올수도 있겠구나 라는 희망에 많이 설렜던것 같아요,

그러나 너무 기대하지는 않습니다 북한이 또 언제 맘을 바꾸어 변덕스럽게 나올지도 모르니까요?

또한 저는 탈북자 즉 북한정부에서 말하는 민족반역자 나라를 배신한 배신자 등으로 불리고 있을테니까요

그런데 제가 정말 북한정부 입장에서는 그들이 엄격하게 취급하는 정치범인가요?

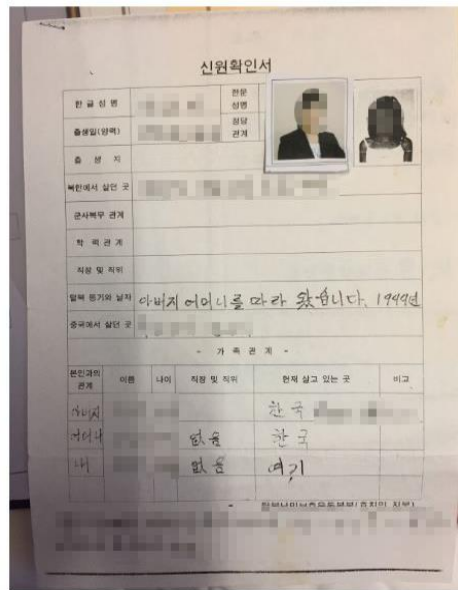(b) Geum's digital journal (ROK)

Who I am ?

(How would you define yourself? Think about things that are especially important to you in how you think about yourself and how you like others to see you)

-I am a heterosexual male, age of 20 in Korean standards, with my blood rooted in North Korean, regardless of my current national identity, which is British. I wish to emphasise on the fact that I am North Korean by blood, because as a person whose existence is a result of many sacrifices that my mother and my father made, I do not wish to abandon my origins and I want to do everything in my power to represent the better future that I wish North Korea to have. I do believe in God, and I also want to represent many rational Christians in the world that are discouraged by the reputation that the vocal fundamentalist minority have put forward, and especially in Korea where Christianity, especially Protestantism is derogated as a 'dog's religion'(개독교), I wish to bring back what Christianity originally stood for(love, being a light and salt of the world, following the footsteps of Jesus). I'm in love with creativity as well as rationality that humans can bring to better the society, so I also love music, dancing, art as well as loving science, technology, philosophy. When I die though, I firmly do wish to be remembered as a 'good Christian'.

(20/01/2019 Update)

중국을 떠나 베트남으로 해서 캄보디아를 거쳐온 시간.

신원확인서

중국에서 처음
베트남국경을 넘
새벽이었고 이슬
내리고있었습니
베트남에서 만난
브로커들은 오토
타고 할머니와 저
뒤에태우고 어느
집(?)으로 데리고
기억이 납니다.
이슬비가 내리고
두근두근 거리던
뚜렷하게 기억이
또 어떤 일이 나
일어날지, 어디로
가고있는지, 그리
거기에는 어떤사
있을지. 초조하고
마음들로 마음이
두근 거리고
복잡했습니다.

(c) Min-seok's digital journal (UK)			(d) Hae's digital journal (UK)	

Figure 4.3. Screenshot of each participant's digital journal

(Reprinted by permission of all participants)

A therapeutic capability

The literature on auto/biography methods emphasises that the autobiographical writing and biographic narrative is a way of healing people's trauma and a psychological healing process (Cardell, 2017; Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011; Liggins, Kearns, & Adams, 2013) by engaging in self-reflection and self-analysis.

During an interview with Min-seok, for instance, I felt that he over- emphasised what a hard time his parents had had from North Korea to the UK mainly because of him and I also discerned his mother ('Ha-young') consistently told him the reason why they came to the UK. Since he is aware of his mother's extraordinary life experiences, he seemed to be willing to accept the sacrifices his parents had made for him. It did not seem to be a manageable challenge at his age. As I expected, he wrote his emotions and concerns in his journal, and he admitted writing his feelings and reflecting on his life were helpful to cure his mind.

In engaging in biography work, narrators gained an understanding of their own actions and often, for the first time, discussed difficult moments in their lives. They attempted

to justify the violent behaviours that they have committed or experienced (e.g., school bullying) in the North and commented on their decisions to act in specific ways during the migration. In this way, the process of constructing their biography can be argued to have had potentially more than transient therapeutic value. Many interviewees commented on the interview as their first opportunity to talk about their lives to someone else (e.g., experiences regarding stealing, sexual harassment, and self-denial).

4.8.2. Challenges

Demanding a high level of biographical reflexivity

The literature on reflexivity as a methodological device has become more popular in the field of qualitative social science (Finlay & Gough, 2008; Fletcher-Brown, 2020; Ruokonen-Engler & Siouti, 2016). Since the Schützean narrative interview approach requires the unique reciprocity and reflexivity between the narrator (participant) and the researcher, it is said that it can be one of the method's strengths (Szczepanik & Siebert, 2016). Nonetheless, the researcher should continuously be involved in a certain reflexivity imposed by the need at all times to avoid as far as possible imposing interpretations suggested by one's own social, cultural and emotional particularity. This reflexivity called for "conscious and consistent efforts to view the subject matter from different angles" (Alvesson, 2011: 106), working with multiple interpretations (Adams, 2006; Crewe, 2014; Riach, 2009), being suspicious of their own presuppositions (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009). By reflecting the meaning of biographical narratives which are created by narrators, as well as implementing the biographical reflection of the researcher's own experience in the research process, it enabled me to (re)construct what narrators (subjects) have recounted as well as written life histories, and to make the account of the narrator valuable for analytical purposes.

In addition, the point of reconstructing the life courses is to reproduce remembered event sequences that reveal the remarkable continuity of life as experienced by the narrator. Concerning the narrators in the study, I helped them reflect upon their own actions and experiences before and after escaping the North and throughout the transnational migration. By doing so, as an investigator, I could gain detailed information about something that has happened.

I have learnt that biographical reflexivity was not always easy, yet it is necessary to establish the connection and real meaning between individual migration experiences and the social context. Auto/biography as a research method was critical to this process because

it gave me a creative platform to document and deeply explore my own experience as a researcher, human being and another bridge citizen.

Dilemmas to handle the unfinished data

There are several criticisms regarding the use of continuously changeable texts on digital platforms (Kennedy, 2017). As a result, the digital form of life writing is somewhat vulnerable due to the changeability of data in comparison with the printed texts. Although this is not necessarily unethical (Sikes, 2017), it might be a significant barrier to determine which data were the truth (s) needed to analyse, interpret and respond to the research questions.

Regarding data validity dilemmas, hiding a specific life story might be another critical issue. Considering the sensitivity of this research dealing with North Korean migrants, I ensured the anonymisation of personal data from the study participants' narratives, using pseudonyms and non-identifying initials and informing all informants at the initial data collection stage. Nevertheless, I noted that Hyang had revised her autobiographical accounts, and I was able to do this because Google Docs keeps the record of changes she made.

The matters of making of stories

In this study, I took a stance as a sociologist-as-biographer. Therefore, a person's entire biographical experience should be reconstructed and analysed as something sociologically relevant (Rosenthal, 1993). This is the essential aim of social biography. Expressed more broadly, biography scholars should make an overall, general pattern of original narration through analysis and interpretation (Rosenthal, 1993). However, such stories require a case-by-case approach to create stories (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

For this reason, interpretative work itself is grounded and creative, as well as "the way through the hardship" (Riessman, 1993:ix). Simultaneously, many biographical scholars are struggling with keeping a balance between imaginative writing and analytic forms of writing (Merrill & West, 2009). After analysing a data set, I have put considerable effort into giving readers greater access to the accounts I investigated and exposed them more fully to my interpretation. Moreover, I intend to make stories pedagogically valuable with North Korean migrants' extraordinary migration and acculturation experiences related to the research aims.

4.9. Summary

This chapter has confirmed the epistemological and methodological commitments of the methodology and method applied in the study. The first part of the chapter has discussed the rationale of methodological choice. The processes of selecting the research participants, settings, and collecting data through biographical narrative interviewing (Schütze, 1984) and digital autobiographical writing were explained. Since relational social constructivism essentially led the study, the auto/biographical approach was considered as appropriate for inquiry because it allowed me to analyse and interpret comprehensive patterns of the reconstructive narrated life story of participants and the particularities of a subject's experiential world. This led to constructing the new concept of bridge citizen which is one of the aims of the study, as well as refine the peacebuilding capacities are devised in chapter two. Google Docs was used as a digital autobiographical writing platform that helped me to collect genuine personal stories, as well as participants to create a wide variety of autobiographical expressions by formulating unique migration and adaptation experiences with various multimodal resources. Hence, the details of the data collection methods—developing a biographical narrative interview schedule and features of a digital autobiographical writing platform—were demonstrated. Nonetheless, the methodological approach posed practical and analytical challenges that demanded a high level of reflexivity, dilemmas when handling the unfinished data, and making stories. The methodological benefits and challenges were illustrated at the end of the chapter. The next chapter describes the detailed analytical procedure employed to explore the seven subjects' auto/biographical data. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and social semiotic multimodal analysis that I adapt to the data analysis and the peacebuilding capacity framework (figure 2.1) are accommodated to analyse and interpret the entire data.

CHAPTER V: Approach to Data Analysis

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter elucidated the methodology employed to generate the auto/biographical data. In this chapter, an overview will be given of the principles and practices of analysis methods, which are the interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) and social semiotic multimodal analysis employed in this research. The chapter concluded with the trustworthiness of this research, ethical considerations and my reflexivity as a researcher and a bridge citizen.

5.2. Data Analysis Methods

This study adopted an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach to guide data collection, analysis and interpretation (Smith, 2017; Smith., Flowers., & Larkin., 2009) and multimodal analysis (Kress, 2003; Kress and Bezemer 2016). Specifically, this thesis posits that an auto/biographical research design aligns well with the ontological and epistemological foundations of the interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) method to highlight a distinctive qualitative methodology (Smith et al., 2009) within an interpretivist orientation. This qualitative research approach is committed to examining how participants make sense of their personal and social worlds and the meaning that experiences within those worlds hold for them (Smith et al., 2009).

IPA is now comprehensively being used in qualitative research, ranging from humanities, social sciences, developmental psychology, and health sciences (Charlick et al., 2016; Chatterjee, 2018; Gallagher, 1997), yet at the same time, given the uncertain methodological steps and the failure to distinguish from phenomenology as a philosophy, it has been criticised for being neither a scientific approach nor phenomenology (Giorgi, 2010; van Manen, 2018; Zahavi, 2019). Nonetheless, I found the practical guidelines in the IPA literature useful in helping me to think about an interpretation-focused coding strategy (Adu, 2019). Thus, I drew on IPA methodologies to reach the essential meaning of the empirical indicator identified in the fourth and fifth stages of IPA without fully adapting them.

5.2.1. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

An overview and characteristics of IPA

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was considered the main data analysis method for this study because of several key features. Namely, it is beneficial when significant life events happen in people's lives and serves to shape their identities (Abbott, 2019; Smith et al., 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2015). Thus, I thought it was the most appropriate analysis method to fulfil the purpose of the research, which identifies some salient characteristics of North Korean migrants' process of formation and transformation of civic identities and forms of social capital to conceptualise the term 'bridge citizens.' In addition, the core of IPA is concerned with exploring personal experiences on their own terms and paying attention to how they make sense of their experiential world (Smith et al., 2009). As a result, it enables subjects to interpret the events, actions, and feelings they have experienced. At the same time, it allows the researcher to capture the informant's interpretation to understand social phenomena.

Phenomenology originates from philosophy which was largely developed by Husserl in the late 19th century to study phenomena as they appear through self-consciousness (Finlay1999). With the philosophical heritage, phenomenological research has evolved into a range of approaches including first-person accounts, descriptive phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology (Finlay, 2009). Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) has an explicitly phenomenological commitment to discerning individual meaning-making within qualitative data and has a clear idiographic emphasis (Lyons & Coyle, 2016: 15). However, migration research(ers) also sought approaches that allowed not just a phenomenological understanding of experience but also a critical understanding of the social and economic factors which determined migration experience (Allport et al., 2019; Marie Skandrani, Taïeb, & Rose Moro, 2012). In this sense, IPA has three main features: idiographic, phenomenology and hermeneutics (Ims et al., 2021; Lyons & Coyle, 2016; Smith, 2004). Firstly, it is idiographic. That is, the main concern of IPA is to focus on one or a few individuals to generate a rich and detailed description and understanding of each participant's account (Ims et al., 2021). Therefore, each case is investigated individually in their unique contexts in great detail (Smith & Osborn, 2007, 2015).

Secondly, IPA is phenomenology; phenomenological theorists have been developed in a different way to explore the lived experience (Finlay, 1999). The theorists

offer different directions in phenomenology (see. Heidegger's (1962/2010) hermeneutics, Merleau-Ponty's (1962/2012) existential phenomenology and Schutz (1962)'s social phenomenology, aiming to discover the world as it is lived and experienced. Phenomenology can seem as if merely looking at what we take our own experience to be (Russon, 2016). However, it is the very definition of the "phenomenon of perception, that without which a phenomenon cannot be said to be perceived at all" (Russon, 1994:294). In particular, Merleau-Ponty's (1962/2012) existential phenomenology contributes to finding out what method can adapt to empirical research.

As stated above, it proposes to acquire knowledge on how the participants make meanings of their experiences. Also, the researchers using this methodology are expected to be flexible and open to any emerging new topics and questions/issues and include them in the analysis (Smith, 2004). Above all, the method requires a high level of reflexivity that allows the researcher to engage more fully in the participants' experiences and ensure ethical conduct and methodological integrity (Ims et al., 2021). In light of the role of reflexivity, IPA is beyond a simple descriptive analysis; rather, it emphasises the interpretative aspect of the analysis (Ims et al., 2021; Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006). It places a great emphasis on the interpretations which derive from the participants' accounts, fusing the participants' words and experiences with the interpretations carried out by the researcher (Finlay, 1999; Ims et al., 2021; Smith et al., 2009).

Analytic procedures

Following the five stages outlined by Smith and his colleagues (2009, 2015), combining the multimodal analysis (Kress, 2003; Kress and Bezemer, 2016), I analysed the interview data and multimodal data.

Stage 1. I focused on the individual with microscopic details, focusing on the participants' experiences on integration. In other words, I transcribed interview data, which consisted of around 80 hours of recorded interviews, as well as converting four digital autobiographical texts into MS word format and then reading and re/reading the transcript.

Stage 2. After multiple reading, next was the initial noting of anything of interest from the data. Initial noting involved extensive annotation that resembled a free textual analysis. A broad spectrum of utterances such as non-verbal communications (tone of voice, hesitation and pauses) was incorporated in the analysis (Ims et al., 2021). The reflective journal was revisited to incorporate the immediate remarks about informants' feelings and my reflections on the data in the initial analysis process.

Stage 3. This is a pre-coding stage, where I became as familiar with the data as possible. In this close analysis, the goal is to take notes and make exploratory comments on the data in four main ways: descriptive, linguistic and conceptual (Smith et al., 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2015) and multimodal (Kress, 2003, 2010; Kress and Bezemer 2016).

Stage 4. This is a coding stage. Based on the interpretation-focused coding strategy (Adu, 2019; Saldaña, 2016), I tried to identify the empirical indicators for making meaning. In other words, when I identified a significant word, phrase or statement in the original transcriptions, I asked myself, as such, what does it mean? What does the participant mean, considering his/her background and migration trajectories? What does the participant want to narrate? (Adu, 2019). Throughout identifying the indicators for making meaning, I generated the emergent themes, linking to the exploratory comments regarding descriptive, linguistic and conceptual features. Taking Ju's account regarding his dream, for example, namely, 'becoming a lawmaker in the future unified Korea', the emergent themes are identified (see Appendix H). These are: becoming a congressman; having a sense of fulfilment; showing a strong sense of community (camaraderie); gained knowledge about democratic values and diplomatic strategies in ROK; being eager to contribute to transforming North Korea into a democratic state; seeing his civic identity as a benefit that enables him to connect between North and South Korea; looking beyond the division system.

Each of the emergent themes could be independently applied (e.g., single-use) to identify empirical indicators and assign nodes (or codes) on NIVIVO12 to them (Adu, 2019). In the case of the aforementioned Ju's account, particularly, I also assigned codes to each emergent theme, based on the refined peacebuilding capacity framework. These are: acquiring enabling capacity, transforming capacity, bridging-building capacity and reconciling capacity, including the long-term goal of life and a sense of community. New lists were allocated to gather and re-evaluate the emergent themes. Some of the themes were clustered together. Hence, this step can be a preliminary interpretation (Smith & Osborn, 2015). This process was repeated until the themes appeared explicit and covered the account's major results in a meaningful way (Ims et al., 2021) and coded with NVIVO 12.

Stage 5. In this final stage, I generated the emergent themes, superordinate and subordinate themes, looking for connections across themes and searching for cross-case patterns. As Smith and his colleagues (2009) suggest, IPA involves getting as close as possible to the participant's personal experience. It has a strong theoretical basis in hermeneutics (interpretation) for both the participant and the researcher. Thus, I tried to make sense of what they recorded on their personal experiences, feelings and activities. To get an overview of the data, I marked with different colours for each participant and their

personal experiences, feelings and activities, respectively, over the NVIVO 12. I modified the last step of the analysis to interpret the entire data set and transforming codes into categories and patterns, leading to creating stories accordingly. Throughout the process, I formulated analysis chapters based on the superordinate themes, revealed inter-relationships and connections.

As Smith and Osborn (2015:39) assert, this pattern represents a circular pattern, which means the "individual pieces of analysis slowly come together in clusters and patterns. One ends up with another full" understanding of the participant's experience. Therefore, the circular pattern of analysis was reflected throughout this research process, and five subordinate themes emerged from the final analysis process: (1) becoming new *Juche* type persons with belligerent civic identities; (2) border-crosser identities: denying North Korean habitus in the multiple borders; (3) *Jayumin* identities, tensions with belonging and not belonging in the ROK (4) cosmopolitan identities: migrants' lived experiences of living in the ethnic enclave in the UK and (5) becoming bridge citizens, imagining bridging civic identities. In response to the research questions, the analysis chapters were reorganised by the migration trajectories of all participants to illustrate the transformation of the North Korean migrants' civic identity throughout the transnational migration based on five subordinated themes. That is, transforming civic identities: Part 1; becoming new Juche type persons with belligerent civic identities and Part 2. border-crosser identities: denying North Korean habitus in the multiple borders (see Chapter Six), *Jayumin* identities, tensions with belonging and not belonging in the ROK (see Chapter Seven), cosmopolitan civic identities: migrants' lived experiences of living in the ethnic enclave in the UK (see Chapter Eight) and becoming bridge citizens, imagining bridging civic identities (see Chapter Nine).

5.2.2. Social Semiotic Multimodal Analysis

A brief overview of a multimodal analytic framework

Technological advances are transforming the way we present, construct, perform, shape and reshape different senses of the self-online through linguistic means (Barton & Lee, 2013), and these multimodal forms are beyond language. Namely, images, animations, music, gestures, speech and writing are considered (Jewitt, Kress, & Mavers, 2009), 2009; Kress, 2010; Kress & Jewitt, 2003). Since the digital autobiographical writing method was employed in this study, subjects recorded these unique lived experiences and memories that they have been shaped in the transnational migration trajectories on their digital journals, curating a wide variety of multimodal resources to make meaning of their experiences. Thus, multimodal analysis (Kress, 2003, 2010; Kress & Bezemer, 2016) was used as a subsidiary analysis method to analyse and interpret the personal feelings and reflections on the migration and adaptation experiences that participants recorded.

Gunther Kress and his colleagues (Kress, 2003, 2010; Kress & Jewitt, 2003; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001) proposed the framework of a social semiotic multimodal approach, emphasising the sign-maker and their situated use of modal resources. Of course, several scholars developed a range of analytical frameworks, such as a systemic functional multimodal discourse analysis (SF-MDA) (O'Halloran, 2004, 2008) and multimodal interactional analysis (Scollon & Suzie-Scollon, 2003). Although all of these framework focuses are valuable, it is found that Kress' (2003) concept of design is beneficial to understand how participants engage in curating multimodal resources as designers of their life stories.

Design and cultural affordance

Kress's (2007) multimodal social semiotic theory of communication focuses on understanding how meaning-makers (designers) design meanings. This shows that communication happens by orchestrating various modal resources (e.g. written texts, images, videos, movements and gestures) to make meaning and ensure coherence (Jewitt, 2014).

From a social-semiotic point of view, modal affordance is associated with the material and the cultural, social-historical use of the mode (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2010) as learners/designers rely on their material socio-cultural and personal experiences to construct interpretations of these semiotic resources. Hence, knowledge is seen as a capacity to use an established order of signs and engage in the world in a meaningful way. In such a view, Halliday (1978) believes that learners should be active designers of meaning by engaging them to formulate their memories, feelings and thoughts, orchestrating various multimodal ensembles.

From this standpoint, learning can be defined as a capacity to use signs and engage meaningfully in different situations (Selander, 2008; Selander & Svärdemo-Åberg, 2009). The multimodal perspective focuses on affordances and cultural capital that enable learners/designers to engage in multimodal composing and communication as active agents (Kress, 2003; van Lier, 2004). In terms of cultural affordance, it is noteworthy that each subject relied on their modal and cultural affordance while they have put their stories on their digital journals and it seems to be highly linked to the abilities as "the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and the body" which Bourdieu (1986:244) calls "cultural capital". Compared to Geum and Hyang, for instance, Hae and Min-seok, who acquired a relatively high level of cultural capital as a result of the British higher education system and the transnational migration experiences, could be likely to enhance their capacity to design more various forms of multimodal resources to make meaning of what they had experienced. It has been confirmed that Hae and Min-seok could create stories of their lives using much richer and more multimodal resources through recording on their digital journals.

A multimodal analytical framework was incorporated to interpret and make meaning of autobiographical vignettes based on the analysis process mentioned above. The orchestration patterns of modal resources were first located by examining the participants' digital autobiographical writing. Echoing Kress's (2003, 2010) notion of design, moreover, I compared with the emerged themes to interpret participants' selection and orchestration of multimodal resources in their autobiographical written data. Gazing at the curation patterns of modal resources on the digital journal of each participant, I interpreted how meaning-making was unique as to how North Korean migrants made meaning of the signs they encounter in the migration and acculturation process. If I had to explore more about why they developed their digital story the way they did, I asked informants additional questions related to multimodal data during the interviews.

In this study, Google Docs enabled the informants to curate multimodal resources such as photos and videos to illustrate their life experiences, feelings and actions. As shown in table Appendix I, for example, Hae recorded her feelings on some propaganda songs that she had learnt in the North, attaching the YouTube videos and illustrated her reflections on them. It shows how she made meaning, putting relevant hyperlinks to describe some propaganda songs that enabled her to recall the memorable moments of her childhood, which led her to feel happy whenever she had heard those songs. At the same time, she said it was weird because she could feel a lively rhythm and atmosphere just like yesterday whenever she listens to these songs. During the interview, I had noticed that she automatically sang a song in a propagandistic tone that she had learned over a decade ago. In addition, she confessed that 'it was even creepy that the lyrics came out naturally without even thinking about it.'

To analyse and interpret the meaning of the chosen multimodal resources, I listened to the music on YouTube several times. After synthesising the raw data, the emergent themes from the written and multimodal data were identified, which are: increased her own ambivalent emotions (both a nostalgic feeling and creepiness); overwhelmed by the North Korean strong ideological education; metaphoric way of being indoctrinated by the cult of the great leader in the North; seeing a song as a powerful brainwash tool; showing a multimodal authoring process, namely, orchestrating video clips and hyperlinks to find a meaning of her reflections on the propaganda songs that she had learnt in DPRK; gained a capacity to interpret the implied meaning in a lyric that is associated with both *Juche* mindset and *Suryung* centred absolutism.

In the multimodal analysis process, I paid attention to discovering some multimodal and linguistic features. Afterwards, I acknowledged plenty of North Korean cultural symbols such as a typical North Korean girl's customs, font colour in red over the YouTube thumbnail and music videos, as well as the unique propagandistic tone of the songs. Moreover, I downloaded a note of a specific song, called 'I am a flower bud' on the website Hae noted in her journal and translated it into English. I found it full of metaphors that highlighted the *Juche* mindset and *Suryung* centred absolutism. After multimodal analysis, I confirmed that her vignette associated with one of the subordinate themes : becoming new Juche type persons with belligerent civic identities. Furthermore, I acknowledged that she demonstrated her critical reflections on the rigid ideological education in the North, orchestrating the appropriate multimodal resources to make meaning. It also presented the high degree of cultural capital that she had cultivated.

5.3. Trustworthiness

Reliability, validity, generalisability and objectivity are principal concerns for quantitative researchers. For qualitative research, however, the role of these dimensions is blurred. Strictly speaking, quantitative criteria such as objectivity and validity are not deemed applicable to qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Hence, some scholars argue that credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability need to be established to ensure the 'trustworthiness' of qualitative research (Morrow, 2005; Sinkovics et al., 2008). According to Cope (2014), triangulation uses multiple sources to enhance the authenticity and trustworthiness of qualitative research. Some strategies can be employed in the qualitative inquiry, such as prolonged engagement, persistent observation, debriefing, negative case analysis, archiving of data, member checks, observation, reflexivity and CAQDAS (Cope, 2014; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2000; Loh, 2013; Odena, 2013).

In the study, I paid attention to triangulation to ensure authenticity and trustworthiness. Data were drawn from multiple sources: biographical narrative interviews, digital autobiographical writing, informal conversation, researcher's field notes, reflective journals and confirming conversations with participants in the debriefing session. In particular, some researchers utilise a debriefing process to produce scientifically valid data (Sommers & Miller, 2013). Hence, I took advantage of a debriefing session to check participants' reconstructed life histories and whether they would contain any distortion or misunderstanding or omit data after transcribing. This was an essential process to ensure trustworthiness because biographical research relies on making sense of the subjects' lived experiences by understanding that reconstructed data are associated with the social reality and the experiential world interpreted by participants. In addition to debriefing, I discussed a summary of themes that emerged after finishing the initial data analysis and requests for feedback from all subjects. Throughout this process, I could accurately interpret the entire data set, as well as maintain the authentic data.

Furthermore, computer-assisted analysis was used for enhancing trustworthiness. More recently, research advocates that the use of computers for qualitative data analysis is deemed to help substantiate the analysis and interpretation of textual interview data (Odena, 2013). Some researchers especially argue that using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) enhances the trustworthiness and the quality of qualitative inquiry (Hutchison et al., 2010; Odena, 2013; Sinkovics et al., 2008). Although formalisation and the aim to establish trustworthy research results do not necessarily presuppose CAQDAS, it not only helps researchers in their pursuit to systematically organise qualitative data (e.g., providing analysis replication and tracing back

and forth thinking paths and the sharing of coded files) (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019), but also aids collaborative work and the researchers' memory limits (Odena, 2013). From this standpoint, I mainly used NVIVO 12 and partly Max QDA as a data analysis tool, repeating the reading–building coding structure–revisiting nodes- refining process until all nodes were compared against all verbatim transcriptions and multimodal resources. Moreover, the coding structure was discussed on an ongoing basis at supervision meetings.

Given the features of auto/biographical research that heavily relies on the stories that participants provide, there is a special challenge as it is often very difficult to check the accuracy and validity of biographical data. For instance, since research has pointed out that North Korean migrants tend to exaggerate or lie about their life in North Korea or migration experiences to create dramatic stories (Jolley, 2014), I endeavoured to keep checking the accuracy and validity of interview data and autobiographical data that my informants recounted and recorded to minimise any possible data errors by interviewing South Korean authorities such as at the Ministry of Unification and South Korean embassy in the UK when I needed to double-check the stories I had heard from my participants.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that efforts to prevent the inevitable loss of meaning due to misinterpretation ensure data reliability in biographical research (Breckner & Rupp, 2002). The researcher's interpretations can sometimes lead to different outcomes. As previously mentioned in chapter one, the Korean language used in the North and the South exhibit differences in pronunciation, spelling, and vocabulary because of division (Lee, 1998; Reddy, Kang & Coleman, 2019). As a result, the discrepancy between the North Korean language and the South Korean language was one of the challenges in the process of translation. Thus, in this study, I exerted great efforts to translate from North Korean language ('Chosŏn'gŭl') into South Korean language ('Hangŭl') and again translated into English to avoid arbitrary translation and distortion of data. For instance, it was resolved by recording the linguistic features on the exploratory comments of the transcribing form when I found some new terms that I had never heard during transcribing.

5.4. Ethical Considerations

The core of the biographical interview is story-telling, which above all allows narrators to engage in biography work. Thus, creating specific conditions that enhance security and trust in the narrators and researchers is crucial (Schütze, 1992, 2007). Therefore, the researcher must take a position which is both friendly and flexible but distant (Szczepanik & Siebert, 2016). It matters to keep a balance between narrator and

investigator, focusing on the central theme. Meanwhile, I acknowledge that in person-to-person contact with the participants, I experienced ambivalent emotions related to thinking that my interlocutor is an 'ordinary' human being. Throughout the research process, however, I tried to avoid falling into the trap of a sympathetic mindset regarding the challenges and adversities against which the participants have struggled, and further, eliminate personal faith that could interfere with my objective ability in the process of data interpretation and reconstruction of stories. Instead, I focused my attention on my understanding of the formation and transformation of civic identities and capacities throughout their migration.

In terms of ethical dilemmas, confidentiality is always a significant issue in biographical research (Domecka et al., 2012). I ensured the anonymisation of personal data from the participants' narratives using pseudonyms and encryption of the entire data. I informed all informants of this at the initial stage of data collection while obtaining informed consent from the participants. As many studies emphasise, the anonymity and lack of researcher influence make the virtual platform an ideal space for people to narrate their personal experiences, thoughts and opinions honestly and candidly (Bosangit, Dulnuan & Mena, 2012). By ensuring the encryption of written data with Google Docs' add-on function, I encouraged participants to write their life stories candidly. Nevertheless, I realised that one subject very often revised her autobiographical accounts on her digital journal, sometimes, intentionally hiding some stories while I conducted interviews and monitored the digital journals. However, I then realised the reason why she hid them. Since Hyang escaped North Korea only with her mother, other family members remained in North Korea and she was afraid that it might threaten the family's security in North Korea by narrating and writing about her life in the North and her personal opinions. Thus, I repeatedly explained to her about the strategies for anonymity and data security and excluded the data that she was reluctant to publish from the final transcription for her life trajectory during the debriefing session. However, this process was applied equally to all participants in reviewing their final transcripts, and any content that participants did not want to publish was omitted by negotiating with all subjects.

Given the fact that the transnational migration of North Korean migrants is related to illegal border crossing and migration that is associated with illegal smuggling organisations or migratory networks (Jung et al, 2017; Park, 2014; Song & Bell, 2019), the detailed description of the process and strategies for the transnational migration of participants could have a fatal impact on participants' current lives. In this sense, I faced a dilemma: to what extent should such sensitive autobiographical vignettes and verbatim be represented in my thesis? In light of dealing with such sensitive data, the details of the entry

into the UK were also excluded from the analysis unless it was closely related to the research topic after a conversation with those informants after the debriefing session.

5.5. Researcher's Reflexivity

There is a growing body of scholarship on reflexivity as a methodological device in the field of qualitative social science (Archer, 2012; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Finlay & Gough, 2003; Ruokonen-Engler, & Siouti, 2016). Reflexivity in research can be best defined as the use of a critical, self-aware lens to interrogate both the research process and our interpretation of participants' lives in our social world (Finlay, 2017). Thus, reflexivity refers to the acknowledgement by the researcher of the role played by their interpretative framework or positioning of research (including theoretical commitments, personal understandings and personal experiences) in creating their analytic account (Finlay & Gough, 2003; Fletcher-Brown, 2020).

The literature on North Korean migrants points out that "trust, confidence, and shame play out in a complex manner, depending on who the researchers are" and mentioned the importance of positioning between researchers and participants (Song & Denney, 2019:454). Autobiographical reflexivity applied in this study is a top priority, given participants' trust in this research and that participants should be able to record their whole-life histories with confidence and voluntarily share their life experiences with researchers in their autobiographical journals as subjects of the study. As Ha-young said, for example, it would not have been easy for her to talk about discrimination and alienation that she had experienced in China and South Korean society and the illegal migration process with unlawful documents to the UK to "*a young bourgeois doctoral researcher who seems to be unable to understand the pain and agony of her entire life*" in the first meeting. However, at the same time, since she also expected me to record her life histories that no one would remember after she dies. Hence, I had to play out as an investigator of my research, as well as a biographer to record the precious life stories of my participants.

Another challenge related to positioning is derived from my civic identity: namely, as a South Korean citizen who does not have migration and asylum-seeking experience, I applied reflexivity to eliminate the deep preconceptions or sympathetic views of the North and North Korean migrants, already formed through South Korean social norms and education. The researcher's autobiographical reflexivity also was an effective device that allowed me to "overcome preconditions and misinterpretation of data" (Lyons & Coyle,

2016:71) by any pre-assumption of North Korean migrants or North Korea throughout the research process, as Finlay (2009) argued.

The biggest challenge was negotiating different perspectives about the research question alongside participant memories of, and feelings about, a range of challenges and opportunities they had encountered throughout transnational migration. As a researcher with no experience in migration and asylum-seeking, the use of reflexive procedures was powerfully supported to gain a phenomenological understanding of participants' transnational migration experiences and how those experiences affected their transformation in civic identity and building social capital. In this case, reflexivity supported my position as researcher-biographer so that my subjective experiences and hypothesised contributions to the interview relationships were integrated into the data, rather than separated from it or managed.

While writing a reflective journal separately from the field notes, in particular, the multiple listening and readings of participants' autobiographical data and interview data enabled me to cross-check seven informants' data to see whether participants speak and write overly subjective content, relying on old memories, or whether they exaggerate or distort their experiences excessively.

This reflective journaling supported deep immersion with the material and added an experiential component to the data analysis that I believe allowed me to approach a more embodied form of reflexive writing. For instance, Ha-young explained that she threw her [South] Korean passport into a litter bin as soon as she arrived at Heathrow when she described the transnational migration process. Honestly, I did not fully comprehend what she said at first due to a sort of limit for an investigator lacking unlawful migration experiences, and I passed it in a trivial way. However, it was not until Hae, another participant who entered the UK at a similar time, read her entry into the UK detailed in her journal that she could understand the process of Ha-young's humanitarian visa application.

At its best, this reflection has helped me find potential thematic relational clues that seemed to bind either participants' transnational migration and adaptation experiences or my interpretations of shared stories together in the process of adapting to a new society. I would call such experience the "coexistence" experience that Merleau-Ponty (1962/2012) notes.

Thus, researchers' reflexivity may take various forms according to the purpose of the study, methodology used, and epistemological approaches (Finlay, 2016; Goldstein, 2017), but most importantly, the hypothetical connections between the participants' migration histories and patterns, their civic identity transformation and new social relationships were, in some cases, interconnected by the material of my reflexive activities. I believe that

researcher reflectivity supported the focus of the study to define the peacebuilding capacities required for bridge citizens and contributed to correctly interpreting the results.

5.6. Summary

The chapter gave details about data analysis and interpretation processes, involving both interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith et al., 2009) and the social semiotic multimodal analysis (Kress, 2003, 2010). These methods and the research focus on how the transformation of North Korean migrants' civic identities were emergent and the process of interpreting the data. The criteria for evaluating the trustworthiness of this research, including triangulation to ensure authenticity and trustworthiness, are considered. The chapter concluded with ethical considerations such as positionality, confidentiality, dealing with sensitive data and translation.

The next chapter presents seven subjects' biographies. Chapter Five focuses on the life histories of their past and present life, which helps readers understand why and how they escaped the North and how they transitioned to the final destinations. Afterwards, the analysis chapters from Chapter Six through to Nine will be illustrated based on five superordinate themes.

CHAPTER VI: THE FIRST STEPS TOWARD TRANSFORMATION OF CIVIC IDENTITIES

6.1. Introduction

This study aims to identify the characteristics of civic identity that North Korean migrants can transform throughout transnational migration, ultimately conceptualising the bridging civic identities in future unified Korea. In exploring response to the purpose of the study, the data analysis was guided by three questions: (1) How do North Korean migrants narrate their formation of civic identities and forms of capital before and after escaping their nation? (2) What strategies do they use to enable them to adapt to liberal democratic societies? (3) To what extent do these strategies contribute to transforming their civic identities and forms of capital? (4) How might this experience be used in constructing a model of peacebuilding citizenship education in the context of Korean reunification?

Therefore, this chapter illustrates how participants form the North Korean civic identities before escaping the North and how to transform their civic identities after crossing borders. In the first part, it investigates the notion and nature of the new *Juche* type persons which are formed by the *Juche* ideology and the unique political system, the so-called '*Suryong* Dominant Party-State System.' Such civic identities are framed as 'belligerent civic identities.' In the second part, it sheds light on how multiple bordering experiences affect reconstruction of their civic identities and what kind of factors contribute to transform the civic identities of participants. The findings indicate that all informants experienced the critical moments of self-awareness regarding the national identity and citizenship in a cross-border context, leading to hide North Korean identity which can be a source of exclusion, discrimination and risk of repatriation to North Korea. They ended up reconstructing new identities which I call 'border-crosser identities,' echoing DeChaine's (2012:2) terms "border symbolism." At the same time, it gave them a chance to realise their legal status and develop social capital by encountering various supporters.

6.2. A brief biography of the participants

This study is guided by seven informants' life histories below. There are some salient features of their lived experiences in their life trajectories to fully understand and one of the distinctive features is its social classification system, *Songbun,* which is one of the social control systems in the North and every event is officially determined by the songbun status (Collins, 2012). Thus, it is necessary to understand it first because it determines the past life experiences of each participant in the North. As mentioned in chapter five, I would like to highlight that most of the participants' *songbun* was wavering (Geum and Hyang) or hostile (Kweon, Hae and Ha-yong). One informant (Ju) was core class, yet his *songbun* was downgraded to wavering class after his mother's defection. All participants were granted pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

(1) Geum

Geum was born in 1986 as a wavering class. Her maternal grandmother was a descendant of the civilian victims' family from the Korean War so that her maternal grandmother's songbun was pretty high. In contrast, her maternal grandfather was in the Korean Volunteer Army in the Korean War and he remained in the North.
When Geum's mother recognised her pregnancy, unfortunately, her father died due to an accident, so her mother brought Geum up alone, and it was hard for her mother under a series of difficulties. However, her mother tried to give her a chance to attend a university, but notwithstanding her mother's support and expectation, she could not enter the university. It was the first moment she realised a limitation of her *songbun* status and inequality in society. After graduation, she helped her mother's business at *Jangmadang*, where the legitimised market places popped up during the Great famine in the 1990s when the regime could no longer provide sufficient foods for the people, the so-called 'no supply provision period' in the North, which is well- known as the 'Arduous March' in the world. Owing to her mother's business success, her mother and Geum became the 'Nouveau Riche members' and were able to live relatively well (Tudor & Pearson, 2015). She was the only participant who graduated from a secondary school among the research participants. In addition, she got a glimpse of the affluent lives of her southern cousins (e.g., Korean dramas and film DVDs) that her mother had smuggled from China through these anti-socialist products.

After her mother succeeded in escaping North Korea in 2008, she also fled from the North soon after. She lived with her mother in Yanji, capital of *Yanbian* Korean

Autonomous prefecture for one year. She and her mother arrived in Seoul in 2008. She travelled to London to earn a diploma to become a florist from a specific British flower academy. After graduation from the academy, she came back and opened up her flower shop in Seoul in 2018.

(2) Hyang

Hyang was born in 1996 as a waiver class. She suffered from a rare sickness when she was a child. Instead of entering primary school, she became literate by home schooling by her mother, who was a Maths teacher in a secondary school. As a result, it was hard to achieve academic attainment when she entered a secondary school. Soon after she joined the school, her family members suffered from extreme poverty as did other North Korean people under the nation's economic crisis, well known as an 'Arduous March'.

To make matters worse, her mother had sole responsibility for supporting her family after Hyang's father became sick. Finally, her mother quit her job and went into business by selling some noodles at *Jangmadang*. Hyang also dropped out of her study to help her mother. Since she was 15-year-old, she followed her mother and sold various products at *Jangmadang*. Thus, she got the information about South Korea and China from the returners at the market grounds. Afterwards, she was eager to escape her hometown. In 2013, she and her mother succeeded in fleeing to South Korea with the help of her aunt who had already settled down in the South, yet her father and other siblings are still living in the North.

After graduating from M school, an alternative school for North Korean migrant youths, she attended the A University in Seoul to study business administration because she dreams of opening her business in her hometown after unifying the two nations.

(3) Ju

Ju was born in 1991 as a core class, which is the highest in the ascribed social classification system in DPRK. His maternal grandfather was in the Chinese People's Volunteer Army who had participated in the Korean War in 1950. After the Korean War, his grandfather married his grandmother and lived in North Korea. Kim Il Sung treated the Chinese People's Volunteer Army with respect so that all Chinese People's Volunteer Army members remaining in North Korea after the war became a core class. His paternal

grandparents were also in core class. His father became a director of K observatory after graduating from university, and his parents were members of the Workers' Party of North Korea.

As soon as his mother defected, however, his family's *songbun* status was immediately downgraded from core class to waiver class, and his father had resigned his post. After his father's remarriage, he wandered here and there in his relatives' houses, and he dropped out of primary school and no longer had schooling experience in the North. After his mother was arrested and deported back to North Korea again, she lost her sight in her left eye due to severe torture, and it was a crucial moment to him. He decided to escape from the North with the help of his mother in 2005. Unfortunately, his first attempt failed and he was deported back to the North. Owing to his grandfather's friend, he could be released and he carefully prepared to flee to South Korea and finally succeeded in 2011. Before fleeing to the South, he had lived in Shanghai where his relative lived for two years so that it provided an opportunity to gather some information about South Korea and study Mandarin. He studies in political sciences at B University in Seoul, hoping to become a congressman in his hometown after the reunification.

(4) Kweon

Kweon was born in 1991 as a waiver class, but his family's *songbun* status was downgraded after his aunt fled from the North. In other words, his father was a descendant of a core class, but his mother was a descendant of a hostile class. In DPRK, the family members' escape is regarded as a betrayal of the nation. It harms all family members in almost all areas of their life when the *songbun* investigation occurs. For this reason, his father decided to divorce his mother. Kweon, his older sister and his mother, faced many challenges to live in DPRK after his parents' divorce and his aunt's defection. Nonetheless, his mother sent him to the nation's prestigious art school because his mother hoped Kweon would be a painter. In North Korea, a painter was a desirable job because they can make a fortune if they are a prestigious painter who can draw a portrait of their supreme leader, Kim Il Sung. Thanks to his relative's help and his mother's endeavour, he could study fine art, yet he realised that it required a lot of money to keep painting and becoming a famous painter was an impossible mission due to his *songbun*. Thus, he decided to escape from the North with his mother and older sister and arrived in South Korea in 2013.

He studies fine art at C University in Seoul and is working hard to support his study by himself. Yet, he claims that he is satisfied with his current life because he found his freedom and happiness in ROK.

(5) Hae

Hae was born in 1990 as a waiver class and lived in North Korea until she was eight years old. She was the only participant who did not have any schooling experience in North Korea. Her father did not send Hae to school because he was afraid that she would be brainwashed by *Juche* ideology. Thus, she became literate by home schooling. She finally entered primary school after coming to China after fleeing from North Korea. It gave her a chance to learn Mandarin and the Standard Korean language in Chosùw, a primary school for ethnic Korean Chinese in Mǔdanjiāng, China and join numerous extracurricular activities in China.

Because her father failed to find secure migration courses several times, she had to move around several cities such as Mìshān Shì, Xin'an, and Mǔdanjiāng in China and even she went to a town close to the border of Russia. This short migration across China often separated her from her parents, which negatively affected her personality. She confessed that she is still often anxious and became a sensitive person.

Before moving to the UK in 2005, she had lived in Bucheon for around two and a half years. She studied in politics and international relations at F University in the UK and is preparing for an MA programme. She is longing to contribute to the reunification of the Korean peninsula by enhancing knowledge and her skills.

(6) Ha-young

Ha-young is currently living in New Malden, but her hometown is Ham-Kyong Province in North Korea. She was born in 1976 as a hostile class. In 1997, she left her homeland because of human trafficking, her friend's brother deceived her, and thus, she crossed the border. After she realised she was unable to return to her hometown, she ended up marrying an ethnic Korean-Chinese man (*Chaoxianzu* in Chinese or *Chosǒnjok* in Han'gǔl) to settle in Yanji. However, this only added to her troubles since her husband was fired after getting married, so she became entirely responsible for supporting her family. Additionally, she had to take responsibility for healing her son's ('Min-seok') asthma by

herself because her husband refused the medical treatment for her son because of his religious beliefs —*Fǎlún Gōng*. Since her marital status was not legally acknowledged due to her stateless status, tragically, her sister-in-law reported her as a North Korean escapee to the Chinese police authorities, so she was deported back to the North. Moreover, her two-year-old son was required to stay in China when she was sent back to DPRK. After her release, she returned to China to meet her son and fled from China to the South with the help of the South Korean broadcasting station. Although she has tried to adapt to the new society after arriving in South Korea in 2002, she ended up moving to the UK due to the constant discrimination and marginalisation in the South.

In 2007, Ha-young arrived in the UK as refugee status and lived in Swansea, Cardiff and then moved to Glasgow in 2008 and finally to New Malden in 2010. Nonetheless she continues to encounter challenges while adapting to her life in England, she said that she was satisfied with her life in England because she can feel genuine freedom. In 2017, she and her husband were granted British citizenship.

(7) Min-seok

Min-seok was born in 1997 in Yabian, China and he fled to Inner Mongolia with his mother to head to South Korea when he was four-years-old. He lived in Seoul until 2007 and moved to England. He is now studying Electronic Engineering at M university in the UK. He is quite ambitious and mature and he has dreams of becoming a computer engineer. Since he is aware of his mother's extraordinary life experiences, he tends to be willing to accept the sacrifices he has had to make.

In South Korea, he recalled that Korean teachers regarded him as a loser, yet he became a high performer at school in the UK. However, similar to any adolescent who has experienced a transnational culture, he has struggled to adapt to the new environment and has some difficulty creating new relationships. Luckily, he met some kind teachers at the secondary school in New Malden and they were willing to help him to overcome challenges.

Meanwhile, he shows a high level of intercultural sensitivity, cosmopolitan habitus (e.g., English skills) and a high level of resilience. He can judge the British school's traditional mores, as well as some perceptions regarding academic credentials and work ethic in South Korea as a critical thinker. However, he has a fear of loss and tends to stick to his morality which may cause a feeling of alienation at the same time.

Part 1. Formation of the belligerent civic identities

> *It's impossible!* I mean… changing (rigid) thoughts of North Korean citizens who firmly believe in the *Juche* ideology is totally impossible. You know what? Because a majority of North Koreans are still worshipping the *Juche* ideology over the past half-century. They firmly believe that it is the best in the world and live in a Utopia till they die
>
> (Ha-young, 21 April 2017, UK)

While Ha-young told me about her childhood in her hometown, North Korea, I wondered whether the education, particularly, democratic citizenship education, could help most North Korean citizens change their civic identities. As Ha-young's account above shows, *Juche* ideology seems to be a powerful tool to construct North Korean habitus — beliefs, norms, behaviours and even fantasies — and to shape the unique North Korean civic identities as communist human beings, so-called 'New *Juche* type persons.' Therefore, this part explores the meaning of the New *Juche* type persons and the extent to which *Juche* ideology contributes to constructing the North Korean civic identities and how the new *Juche* type persons are raised.

6.3. What does the new *Juche* type persons mean?

As discussed in chapter one, both Koreas claim independent sovereign states since the establishment of two Korean states in 1948. The national contexts in DPRK are commonly characterised by authoritarian or a "*Suryong* Dominant Party-State System" (Kim DJ, 2018; Kim K, 2008:87; Fields, 2019; Ford, 2018). To maintain the *Suryong* Dominant Party-State System, namely, *Suryong* dictatorship, Kim Il-sung, founder of North Korea, developed a range of socio-political systems, including *Juche* ideology, a constitution enshrined ideology characterised by the goals of national independence and self-reliance (Kang JW, 2012b).

Similar to other socialist allies, materialism and determinism are emphasised by the education in the North (Falls, 2011). Based on the *Juche* ideology in DPRK, however, there is an emphasis on *Suryong-centred absolutism* which means the socio-political body, the unifying trinity of the Great Leader (*Suryung* in *Chosŏn'gŭl*), Party and the Masses and *Juche* mindset which seeks the goal of national independence and self-reliance (Ford, 2018;

Institute for Unification Education, 2017; Paik, 2011). After the death of the founder, Kim Il-sung in 1994, a successor, Kim Jung-il reformed the political system and presented "the three-base theory of socialism," focusing on its political-ideological base, military-first policy (*Sungun* politics in *Chosŏn'gŭl*), economic base, and "the theory of three pillars of a powerful state," (Kim KS, 2008:90) which gave priority to ideology, the military, and science and technology (Cho M, 2011). In this regard, he reinforced the power of the supreme leader, so-called '*Suryong*' and reformed all kinds of the socio-political system, including the ideological education system, seeking regime stability. In the post-Kim Jung-il era, *Suryung* dictatorship has been strengthened for regime security and economic matters were treated as secondary to military security matters, resulting in an inevitable disregard for public living standards and human rights (Cho M, 2011).

6.4. Belligerent Civic Identities

Ben-Porath (2006: 11-15) has argued that civic identities are reformulated as "belligerent citizens" in war times, as a public response to perceived threats to national and personal security. In this sense, I frame the New *Juche* type persons as belligerent civic identities as formulated by Ben-Porath (2006) to describe the distinctiveness of citizenship in wartime:1) the overpowering form of patriotic unity that ensues from the sense of threat, 2) the suppression of deliberation and diminution of the public debate through the mass surveillance system. 3) Suppression of diversity. Likewise, the new *Juche* type persons as North Korean civic identities can be framed as 'belligerent civic identities' as defined by the notion of the new *Juche* type persons. It emphasises security issues, national survival, and patriotic duty and loyalty at the forefront of public debates. Obligations and sacrifices are reinforced for the sake of national security and the *Suryong* Dominant Party-State System. One's deliberation is suppressed and a full national unity is mandated. Drawing from the participants' reflections on North Korean civic identities, thus, it can be characterised by the *Juche* mindset, us-vs-them mentality, as well as mistrust and inhumane doxa.

Juche mindset

Research on the effects of ideological education in North Korea has argued that the innate autonomy of North Koreans is removed and they internalise the ideas of the absolute deification of the great leader and conformity with the regime because of strong

ideological education (Cumings, 2012; Institute for Unification Education, 2017). As Ha-young said, the indoctrination of *Juche* ideology is simply not brainwashing, but a powerful channel to equip most of the North Korean citizens with *Juche* mindset; to identify with the dreamed-about imagined nation and eventually to make all citizens believe that their leaders Kim Il Sung and Kim Jung Il are invincible beings who 'were able to move Mount Everest as swiftly as they could in any other direction' as Geum said.

According to participants' vignettes, ideological education in North Korea seems to be robust and well-organised to fulfil the regime's objective of nurturing North Korean citizens. In particular, the systematic adjustment to this system started in the nurseries and ended in school with Revolutionary History training. As Geum explained about the ideological education and Revolutionary History, once all North Korean citizens enter public school, ideological education is reinforced. In primary and secondary school, over one-third per cent of the entire curriculum is dedicated to ideological education. The rule governing life at school ensures that ideological education continues during morning recitations and organisational life and self-criticism sessions after school. In addition, the pupils had to pass the Revolutionary History module with a high mark to apply for the university. In particular, there is an emphasis on Kim Il Sung and Kim Jung Il's personality cult (Ryang, 1992).

During the nation-building, Kim Il Sung consolidated his power in the late 1950s "by eliminating rival factions with ties to China or Russia and began to emphasise loyalty first to the Workers Party of North Korea, thus creating a cult of the great leader" (Choi, 2015:130). Moreover, ideological education is not confined simply to Kim's personality cult, but it instils pupils and young people how to be political actors. As Hyang remembered about her entire schooling expereince, all pupils have learnt 'the great leaders' superman status, endlessly extolled in epic sagas of his patriotism, heroism, many miraculous deeds, and his boundless love for his people' in the class and extra-curricular activities, and further, learning more broad themes such as "patriotism and anti-imperialism and North Korea-led unification of the Korean Peninsula" (Institute for Unification Education, 2017: 287) with a wide range of educational materials from mythology, memoir and novel to national curriculum and extra-curriculum. Hyang recalls about a 'million-page reading campaign,' recounting how the ideological education is strong and effective to instil Kim Il-sung's personality cult at the same time how excited she was when she read a memoir, entitled 'With the Century.'

Therefore, it controls all citizens from early childhood throughout their lives. Thus, North Korean children have instilled in them a sense of the leader's kindness in day care and pre-school. Each child is taught that everything they are given is a gift from the leader, and there is the repetition of the idea that if he did not exist, neither would these gifts.

This stage of the ideological control process aims to build a mentality of absolute worship toward the North Korean leadership (Institute for Unification Education, 2017). For instance, all informants recalled specific memories related to the gift they are given to celebrate their supreme leader's birthday when they were children and how it impressed them. All of them still remember his birthday, package design, an egg candy and brick-shaped cracker.

While other communist allies which support Marxism-Leninism followed "the basics of scientific socialism, socialist ethics and morality, the duty to the community, and contribution to its welfare" (Bruen, 2014:316), Kimilsungism or Kimjoungilism replaced Marxism-Leninism in North Korea (Institute of Unification Education, 2017). After Kim Jong Un took power, the regime has exerted more efforts on developing ideological education by strengthening the instillation of *suryong*-centred absolutism and "five-point education" (c.f. education in the greatness of the Kim Il Sung lineage, Kim Jong Il's patriotism, revolutionary faith, anti-imperialism and morals) (Institute for Unification Education, 2017:288).

The us-vs-them mentality and 'Songbun Status'

Ha-young introduced herself as a descendant of families of the punished ('*Cheodanja gajok*' in *Chosŏn'gŭl*), which means her ancestors were wealthy bourgeois (or landowners) when Kim Il-sung established North Korea and created a new social classification system in 1948. In light of the new class system, namely, *songbun* status, her grandparents were punished after the communist state was established because they were simply landowners. Technically, families of those punished included the 'hostile class' which is the lowest of the *songbun* system in North Korea. They are not permitted to engage in formal political participations such as joining the Workers' Party of North Korea and civic duties such as entering military service.

Since the *songbun* system is highly linked to ascribed status, "one's *songbun* status will determine the opportunities available in almost all areas of one's life" —education, career prospects, marriageability— and millions of North Koreans must have long suffered egregious human rights abuses and discriminations that *songbun* brings to their daily lives (Baek, 2016:8; Collins, 2012; Tudor & Pearson, 2015). Thus, Geum failed to be selected for a teacher's college due to her unfortunate background, Hyang dropped out of school and Kweon gave up his dream to be a painter because of their low *songbun* status. Moreover, Kweon's father ended up getting a divorce with her mother because of her low *songbun*. In Ha-young's case, her grandfather graduated from the University of Tokyo so that the government regarded her grandfather as a pro-Japanese collaborator, hence the North

Korean authority did not permit her to apply for any universities in North Korea as a sort of punishment. *Il-ho* schools which are special schools for talented children are full of the children of those with good *songbun*. However, Ha-young said she was unaware of the unfair condition because all North Korean citizens have internalised these kinds of discrimination. Ju also related how no one spoke out about it, never in the past, nor now, because nobody thought it was a weird and outrageous situation when they lived in the North.

Hyang and Ju highlighted how *songbun* status made a distinction between core class and wavering/hostile class in everyday life in the North. Ju described how living was as a core class, as such, Pyongyang in the North:

> Only 1.2 million people (among 25 million citizens) can live in Pyongyang and capital city dwellers always enjoy the privileges such as receiving a high-quality education service. That's why all North Koreans are envious of Pyongangites and most of North Korean migrants hoped to be allocated a house in Seoul when they came to ROK

> (Ju, 3 November 2017, ROK)

These reflections are supported by the literature on the objectives of '*songbun* status' in North Korea. That is, the *songbun* system aims to sustain the rigid social class structure, protecting the privilege of the core minority (28% of the population) who demonstrated loyalty to the Korean Workers' Party and the "cult of worshipping the Great Leader, *Suryung*" (Institute for Unification Education, 2017; Oh & Hassig, 2000:133; Tudor & Pearson, 2015). Concerning citizenship, only core class and wavering class can be a 'civic citizen''(*Gongmin* in Chosŏn'gŭl, 公民 in Chinese) who is eligible for social benefits, rights and obligations such as doing military service. Theoretically, *Gongmin* stressed the individual's participation in the public life of his or her community, participation that could be formalised in political institutions or expressed through social action or cultural expression in the public sphere (Culp, 2007, cited in Koh, 2014:37). It seems to be consistent with the concept of citizenship in modern Western nations. Ironically, the North Korean regime refers to *gongmin* as their citizens and I assume that the government names their citizens as '*gongmin'* because the government highly values the citizens' engagement of a range of socio-political participations such as self-criticism, red-scarf group which are controlled by the Work Party in the North.

Thus, North Korean citizens seem to be accustomed to the "differential exclusion," as noted by Castles (1995), which prevailed at all levels of society and all North Korean citizens publicly respond to dichotomies between 'us' and 'them.' For instance, only 1.2 million North Korean citizens were entitled to living in Pyongyang, the capital of DPRK, enjoying a range of privileges such as quality education services, and even when the famine broke out in the mid-1990s when a huge population was estimated to have died, none of them questioned why *'they'* were able to enjoy those privileges as Ju and Hyang said. Echoing Schmitt's (1996) view on friend and enemy distinction, it might lead them to judge someone as their friend or foe unconsciously, and such (absolutistic) dichotomous thinking might be the North Korean habitus, which hinders them from adapting to South Korean society. Ha-young, Hyang and Hae confessed that thinking and working like South Korean counterparts were pretty hard due to their North Korean habitus such as a binary way of thinking. Hyang's account shows her genuine difficulties due to her 'us vs them' mentality.

> I always divided 'us' and 'them' whenever I encountered issues with the Southern pals, you know what? I've never thought about 'them' as 'us', which means 'my friend' (…) I used to compare myself to them in every single moment, and it made me feel miserable when I feel inferior to 'them', South Koreans

> (Hyang, 14 February 2018, ROK)

Because "the primary purpose of *songbun* is to isolate and/or eliminate perceived internal political threats" (Collins, 2012:6), in particular, a person's *songbun* status is investigated by the government based on one's presumed value as friend or foe to the regime and **"**the *songbun* system identifies, assesses, categorises, and politically stratifies each North Korean citizen as a political asset or liability to the socialist revolution and the regime in general" (Collins, 2012:6; Tudor & Pearson, 2015). Also, it is far easier to have one's *songbun* downgraded than upgraded because "one simple political mistake could bring one's whole family into a lower class" (Tudor & Pearson, 2015:163). This is the case with Ju.

Ju was born as a core class, which is the highest in the *songbun* system in North Korea. Thus, he recalled a conventional, affluent, and relatively undramatic childhood. However, life for seven-year-old Ju changed dramatically once his mother escaped North Korea. His mother's defection was sensational news in his home city because it was the first case of the defection from the core class at the time. Consequently, the *songbun* status of his family was downgraded from the core class to wavering class. This incident destroyed his childhood and his father's entire life. He was discriminated, bullied and lived as an

outsider of the community, so this led him to escape his unfortunate reality in the North and meet his mother who settled down in the South.

All North Korean migrants know that their family members who remained in North Korea must have their *songbun* status downgraded as hostile class based on the *songbun* investigations after other family members fled to other countries (National Human Rights Commission of Korea, 2017). It means the family members who they left behind struggle with financial hardship, intensive surveillance and discrimination. Hyang, thus, feels a sense of guilt about the remaining family members in DPRK. Kweon recalled how hard he and his mother struggled after his aunt left the North.

As other informants insist, the lower *songbun* status could affect a person's life in a very diverse range of ways and it seemed to be a Sisyphean fate that must be obeyed eternally once they live in North Korea.

Mistrust and Inhumane doxa

> We were always under stress from authorities' constant monitoring after my aunt had escaped the North. Afterwards, other neighbours didn't have to, yet we should report to a head of *inminban* whenever we leave home
>
> (Kweon, 18 January 2018, ROK)

As shown above, Kweon shared his experience in relation to the severe surveillance that he suffered after his aunt had escaped North Korea. It seems to be incarceration within his community, particularly for the remaining family members of North Korean escapees. His evidence shows that the authorities regarded the remaining family members as potential criminals according to DPRK Criminal Law, namely, 'treason against the nation' if one of the family members escaped the nation and the degree of surveillance of the remaining family members tend to be intensified (National Human Rights Commission of Korea, 2017). Ju also highlighted that the difference might be that prison inmates are aware of the isolation and punishment they are subjected to. In contrast, North Koreans are unconscious of their systematic surveillance because it was internalised through their daily life. This seemingly confirms Foucault's (1991) view that society is no different from prison in the sense that both are incarcerated confinement where normative power is at work. His view almost precisely represents the present North Korean society.

Fundamentally, *suryung* dictatorship is supported by continually supervising all citizens, excluding information from outside and pushing citizens into a constant self-policing

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through a wide range of control mechanisms for mass surveillance (Armstrong, 2016; Baek, 2016; Institute for Unification Education, 2017). There is strong evidence that mass surveillance in the North is tightly constructed and fabricated by systematic administrations and three-layered institutions. At the governmental level, there are three prominent organisations for mass surveillance: the Workers' Party of North Korea, the Ministry of People's Security, and Ministry of State Security (Bureau No. 27). The Workers' Party of North Korea is the organisation that controls political life, whereas the Ministry of People's Security exerts control over workplace life and violations of the laws of socialism. The Ministry of State Security is the organisation which deals with plots against the government and political trends and ideological alienation (Institute for Unification Education, 2017). At the community level, there is a range of devices such as *Inminban*, Political Organisational Life, Central Anti-Socialism Group, Habitation Inspection, and Life Review Session (Armstrong, 2016; National Human Rights Commission of Korea, 2017). In such a systematic mechanism for surveillance, Lankov (2015) point out that a similar mechanism was unknown in other communist countries. Through the recollections of the participants, I was able to access how such surveillance systems controlled systematically and thoroughly North Korean citizens in their daily lives. For example, Ha-young recalled her friend's violation of anti-socialism rules such as an incident of a wedding veil (*Nuwool* in Chosŏn'gŭl).

> Most attendees were all impressed as soon as they saw a *Nuwool*. Yet, someone reported it to an officer at *the central anti-socialism group* and they blamed for her anti-socialism behaviour. It's a shameful as she must walk around the town with putting the nuwool for a month as a punishment

> (Ha-young, 28 April 2017, UK)

As shown above, the authorities were concerned about what they called 'bourgeois mentality' or 'anti-socialist culture'. All participants pointed out a wide variety of anti-socialist activities such as singing pop songs in karaoke, wearing jeans and listening to enemy's broadcasts such as South Korean broadcasts. Those kinds of behaviours may be regarded as a misconduct that is linked to act against *Juche* socialism (Kimilsungism-Kimjungilism later on). Thus, the authorities inspect the behaviour of individual citizens systematically, as well as forcing the citizens to watch out themselves and over their fellow citizens simultaneously. In turn, such surveilliance and self policing systems seem to have strengthened distrust among citizens and uncompassionate civic habitus.

Amongst self policing devices, political organisational life ('*Chochik Saenghwal'* in *Chosŏn'gŭl*) and life review sessions ('*Saenghwal Chunghwa*' in Chosŏn'gŭl) play the dual

purpose of indoctrination and surveillance (Lankov et al., 2012). It means that the indoctrination of the whole society with *Juche* ideology is not only provided through formal education but also continuously carried out systematically in all areas of life by various group activities such as Korean Youth Corps ('*sonyeondan*' in *Chosŏn'gŭl*), the Youth League (*Cheong Yeon dongmaeng*' in *Chosŏn'gŭl*),' the Worker-Peasant Red Guards ('*ronong jeogwidae*' in *Chosŏn'gŭl*) and the Korean Democratic Women's Union ('*Joseon minju nyeoseong dongmaeng*' in *Chosŏn'gŭl*) (Institute for Unification Education, 2017:241).

In particular, Saenghwal Chunghwa acts as a powerful way of self-policing. In general, all North Korean citizens have to participate in regular meetings to assess and criticise their own behaviours and their colleagues and friends' behaviours bi-weekly and monthly. It is divided into two different forms: mutual criticism session and self-criticism session (National Human Rights Commission of Korea, 2017). Lankov and his colleagues' (2012) indicate that self-criticism has always been presented as an essential part of communist party activities: however, "the mutual criticism session reached a unique level of formalisation and acquired features not found elsewhere" (p.206).

As illustrated by all informants' account, *Saenghwal Chunghwa* forces all North Koreans to publicly confess bi-weekly and monthly his or her faults and sins (of disloyalty to the Great Leader, Kim Il-Sung, Kim Jong-Il and now Kim Jung-un) and report on others' wrongdoings after reflecting on one's ideas and acts according to the 'Ten Principles' (Lankov et al, 2012; National Human Rights Commission of Korea, 2017). Since the review process is simply not reporting their wrongdoings but is designed, based on the ten principles which are associated with *Juche* ideology, all citizens easily internalised *Juche* mindset during a reflection on their behaviours and words that they have done. Furthermore, it affects the shape of the unique civic habitus of the North Korean citizens which I call belligerent civic identities, namely, mistrust and inhumane citizens.

Given the [South] Korean education system based on the *HongIk Ingan* ideals, more critically, the South Koreans had learned to talk with others politely, respecting others rather than directly criticising their opponents. Thus, the North Korean way of speaking and thinking was constructed by self-policing that could be barriers to adapting to new societies and making a relationship with the Southern counterparts. In practice, Geum, Hyang and Ha-young related that they found it hard to communicate and work with South Koreans at the initial stage of settlement in the ROK because they sometimes misinterpreted what their colleagues said and their intent. Likewise, their Southern colleagues also misunderstood their aggressive and direct way of speaking.

Apart from social and political circumstances, a nation's financial crisis seems to contribute to constructing belligerent civic identities: inhumane doxa. Ha-young reflected back on the most unforgiving times of her life in the mid-1990s as follows:

> Maybe, we could share any food with others once, what are we going to do next? (…) We had to fight and steal someone's food. Life in DPRK eventually was a war to eat. 'HUMANITY'? or 'COMPASSION'? I absolutely know such beautiful words, yet those words must be only for the core class, not for 'us'

> (Ha-young, 21 April 2017, UK)

It is known that approximately 30 million North Korean people died due to the great famine and the nation's economic crisis which is well known as the collapse of the public distribution system or the second 'Arduous March'(Amstrong, 2016; CIA World Factbook, n.d.). All participants born in this terrible era or who spent their childhoods always suffered from hunger. Only core class and individuals who were able to achieve the economic capability to survive independently could survive and it caused a new form of the market system, namely, *Jangmagang*, which enabled the citizens to sell or exchange products at the illegal marketplace (Haggard & Noland, 2010; Tudor & Pearson, 2015). The individual citizens had to conduct economically deviant acts such as smuggling and stealing for survival. As Ha-young highlighted, the term compassionate and humanity were far from their real-life at the time.

In this sense, I argue that the Bourdieuan framework—habitus, capital and field— helps to interpret North Koreans' civic development. In the Bourdieuan sense, that is, all North Korean citizens grew up as "the good players, who are as it were the embodiment of the game, is continually doing what needs to be done, what the game demands and requires" (Bourdieu, 1986b: 112), inscribing *Juche* ideology as a code of conduct in their mind and body. As new *Juche* type persons, they firmly believed that the ideology was best, socio-political structures were perfect, their great leaders were truly remarkable and North Korea was a utopia. However, they realised that all things were not real soon after crossing borders and they recognised that they had to learn and respond to the new rule of the game to be the good players in a different socio-political system (in a sense of Bourdieu's fields).

Part 2. Border- crosser identities on the multiple borders

> It's my dark secret, you know? DARK SECRET! (…) I had to keep hiding North Korean identity while I lived in *Mǔdanjiāng*, China. I always pretended myself as ethnic Korean-Chinese or South Korean (…) and now I am still living a different person here in London, honestly, *Hae* is not my real name.
>
> (Hae, 18 July 2018, UK)

As Hae's account above shows, despite it having been a long time, she dealt with an identity matter cautiously when she said and wrote stories about escaping the North and moving on to the UK that was her 'dark secret' in her life as even now she is living in the UK, hiding her real name and date of birth. This part illustrates the reason why most North Korean migrants tend to hide their original identities and how this action affects transforming their civic identities throughout the migration process.

Considering civic development, the first part explored how belligerent civic identities formed in North Korea under the *Suryung* dictatorship. The second part will look into the main drives of leaving DPRK and how multiple border experiences have affected the construction of the border-crosser identities which I frame, following DeChaine's (2012:2) concept of "border symbolism," and furthermore, the features of the border-crosser identities. This approach is particularly crucial in this thesis aiming to conceptualise the new civic identities that focus on cultivating the civic capacities for peacebuilding in the potentially unified Korea.

6.5. The mass exodus, for survival or aspirations?
6.5.1. Diverse motivation of leaving North Korea

The initial stage of escaping for survival

In the post-Kim Jung-il era, the *suryung* dictatorship was strengthened for regime security and economic matters were treated as secondary to military security matters, resulting in an inevitable disregard for public living standards and human rights (Cho M, 2011). A great deal of research asserts that economic factors such as searching for food and smuggling were the primary reason for North Korean migration in the mid-1990s (Cho et al.,

2014 ;Harggard & Noland, 2010; Lankov, 2006; Tudor & Pearson, 2015). In the initial stage of the mass exodus, North Koreans, particularly residents near the borders such as Yanggang, Chagang, and North Hamgyŏng are well-known as being greatly impoverished as a rust belt in the North and had started to leave their hometown in search of food and money from their relatives who live near the border in China (Cho et al., 2014 ;Harggard & Noland, 2010). As can be seen in the North Korean-Chinese Borderland (see Figure 6.1), this happens in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Changbai Korean Autonomous County, Harbin and Liaoning.

Figure 6.1.The North Korean-Chinese Borderland

(Source: Cartography: O. Kim, edited by author)

Ju's and Geum's mother seem a typical case of North Korean migrants in the first wave of migration. Ju's mother left her hometown for the first time in 1997 and crossed a border again in 1999 to seek help from family members in China, and she got back home with money, medicines and food. Afterwards, the regional security officials always inspected her and her family members. Thus, she left her hometown again in 2000 when she had reached the end of her mental endurance and had lived in *Yanji* for around two years, but she was again deported back to the North in 2002. Ju recalled when his mother was sent back to her home city again and she was detained for four months after regional security officers arrested her as follows:

I was just a ten-year-old boy, but I just asked myself, 'why does my country inflict my mum with pain? Why can't I live with my dad and mum anymore? Why is my family so sunken in tragedy?' After my mum left again, I also attempted to escape the North and ended up meeting with her in Seoul after a decade

(Ju, 14 October 2017, ROK)

As can be seen in Ju's case, the initial migration rush was a consequence of being forced to choose for survival, but sometimes led to the demotion of *songbun* status and a tragedy of family history: however, it was also an opportunity to create wealth for some cases. This is the case with Geum. Most of the refugees had crossed the border illegally, yet a few citizens who have family members in China to earn foreign currency were eligible to apply for the certificate of crossing the border officially (*Doganjeung* in *Chosŏn'gŭl*) and Geum's mother had a '*Doganjeung*' that is available to commute from the North to China for business. By smuggling some used clothes to sell in *Yanji*, she opened her shop in a '*Jamadang*' as soon as she came back to her hometown. After leaving firstly in 2007, she visited Yanji once a year freely and she met her birth mother and stepsister there. Most of all, she saw the powerful result of marketisation in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture which led her to leave her nation permanently.

Similar to Ju's and Geum's mother, the majority of escapees did not intend to flee to South Korea, but aimed to survive until the end of financial hardship in DPRK in the initial stage of mass exodus (Lankov, 2006; Tudor & Pearson, 2015) and a new form of market system called *Jangmadang* was created to make a living by selling goods (e.g., daily necessities) smuggled from China and by providing service (e.g., brokering) and information. Thus, some scholars argue that Jangmadang trading was the main driving force to transform a planned government economy system into a public-private partnership (Harggard & Noland, 2010; Tudor & Pearson, 2015:34). Above all, it led to the creation of an emerging class who were able to accumulate wealth by engaging in illegal market trading (Institute for Unification Education, 2017;Tudor & Pearson, 2015).

According to recent research, the number of workers involved in *Jangmadang* was estimated to reach 1.1million, which accounts for around 4.5% of the total population and it means quite a significant number of North Korean citizens are engaged in market-related works (Hong, 2018:34). Plenty of ordinary citizens are actively involved in Jangmadang trading and at the same time a wide variety of information about a high standard of living in China was disseminated by many returners from China (Cho et al., 2016; Hong, 2018). Eventually, the North regime ended up permitting the non-official markets in the 2000s (Hong, 2018; Tudor & Pearson, 2015).

Judging from participants' anecdotal evidence, most participants (e.g., Hyang, Geum, Ju and Kweon) who became involved in those kinds of illegal market activities had an opportunity to see some high-quality products made by ROK and to gather information about spectacular economic growth in China. In contrast, they could not see any hope in their country and they realised that it was impossible to move up the social mobility ladder due to their *songbun* status. It seems to be a motivation to escape their nation for the *Jangmadang* generation. Kweon said that his colleagues and friends including himself had expected a young leader, Kim Jung Un when he took office might drive some drastic changes in North Korean society, at least the economy, because he had studied abroad in mostly capitalist countries. However, Kweon was frustrated soon after as the young leader merely followed his grandfather's style and stuck to his father's ridiculous policies and was immersed in developing nuclear bombs. Thus, he never looked forward to seeing any hope in his nation. As Hyang confessed, she realised that she could not develop there as long as she lived in North Korea, and dreamed of escaping North Korea from the age of 14. Geum's accounts give more hard evidence to support this opinion. Owing to the success of her mother's small business, she lived relatively well in North Korea as a 'nouveau riche'. Although she enjoyed a relatively affluent lifestyle, it was unfortunate to continue living in North Korea, where there is no dream or future. Therefore, chasing their life dream has become one of the main reasons for leaving their country.

This trend is highly linked to recent North Korean migrants' demographic change. In South Korea, there were over 33,000 North Korean migrants in 2020 and nearly 40% of them being children and young adults aged 10 to 29 (The Education Support Centre for North Korean Migrant Youths, n.d.).

6.5.2. Characteristics of the migration phenomenon of North Korean migrants

The role of kinship network and supporters as a core resource for successful migration

When it comes to the features of North Korean migration, the act of migration requires resources and planning and is rarely done "without some support, either from

friends, family, or experienced brokers motivated by financial gain, political conviction, or religious fervour"(Chang, Haggard, & Noland, 2009:7). According to the migration courses and kinship networks that all informants used during migration (see Appendix K), Ha-young, Min-seok and Hae left North Korea in the initial stage of migration in the late 1990s. Ha-young had no kinship networks in China and could not return to North Korea, so she merely thought that settlement in China was the best way to survive there and lived in Yanbian for five years after marrying an ethnic Korean man. Although Hae had some relatives in China, she continued to move on to several cities in China (e.g., Mìshān Shì, Xin'an, Mǔdanjiāng) while her parents had looked into a secure migration route.

On the other hand, Geum, Ju, Kweon, and Hyang had family members either in China or the ROK so that they could access some resources such as information and money to escape from North Korea or cross the borders toward Southeast Asian countries. If migrants had ties with their relatives either in China or the ROK, fleeing to China and South Korea was much more comfortable and safer than others, who have no kinship networks outside of North Korea.

However, some ethnic Koreans and Han Chinese who they met near the border area were great sources of constant support for them and at the same time, some of the locals who live in the Northeastern part of China took advantage of those very vulnerable refugees due to their illegal status in China by kidnapping and trafficking (Choi E, 2014; Chong, 2014; Davis, 2006).

Leaving North Korea by trafficking: Ha-Young's story Vs Geum's story

Another distinctive feature of the migration phenomenon of North Koreans is related to the significant proportion of female North Korean migrants. According to past studies, approximately 80 to 90% of female North Korean refugees in China are suspected to be victims of human trafficking, sexual exploitation and human rights abuses (Kim et al., 2009; Choi, 2014; Lankov, 2004; Yoon IS, 2020). In most cases, human traffickers kidnap a significant number of North Korean women, and marriage brokers contact North Korean women and their families and arrange their trips across the border to get married to Han Chinese or ethnic Korean men (Lankov, 2004).

Figure 6.2 shows the number of North Korean migrants entering the South since 1998, and the percentage of female North Korean refugees who make up the overwhelming majority of people who leave North Korea since 2002. Therefore, demographic features

show that they are closely related to cross-border human trafficking in North Korean women (Kim et al., 2009; Yoon IS, 2020).
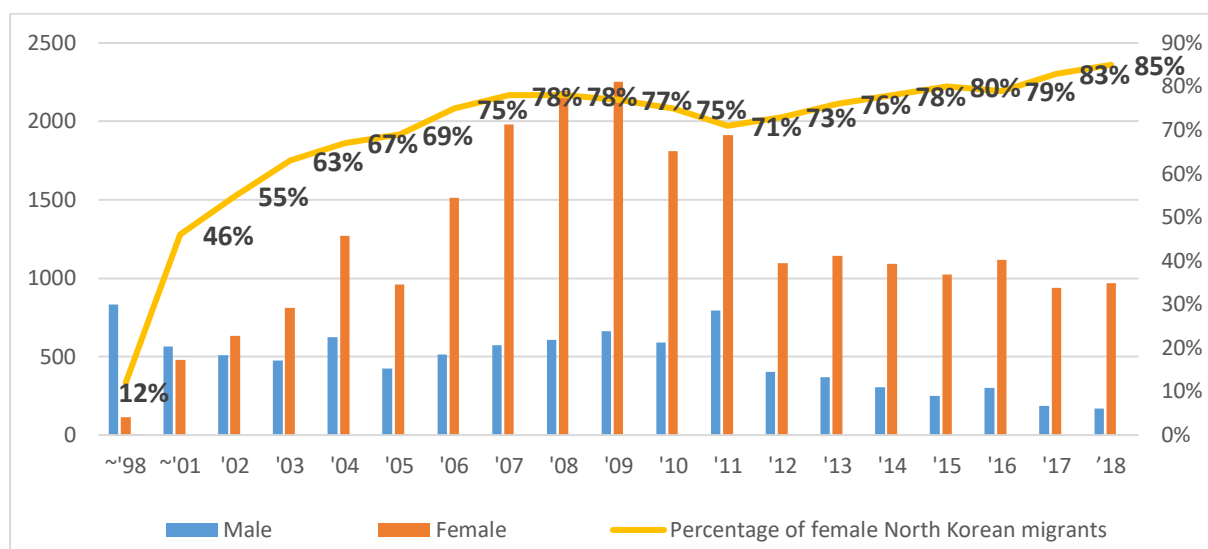

Figure 6.2. Percentage of women in the total number of North Korean migrants entering the South since 1998

(Source: Ministry of Unification, 2019, edited by author)

Amongst the participants, two female informants are cases of trafficking. Although the process of leaving the North of two participants by human traffickers differs from the usual cases, Ha-Young left North Korea, having been seized by a trafficker who was her acquantance in the initial period of the migratory wave in 1997, while Geum left her hometown with the help of traffickers in 2007. These anecdotes illustrate well such characteristics of the migration phenomenon.

One day, Ha-young bumped into her close friend's brother on her way back home, and he asked her to bring a document to someone who lives in Yanbian, China. Moreover, he told her that he would give money to her when she brought it back to them. He deceived her and sold her to human traffickers to earn money for survival in North Korea. However, Ha-young did not suspect his promise because she never suspected that he could sell her to traffickers and firmly believed she would come back home soon so that she crossed the border. Then, two Han Chinese men, who were human smugglers, captured her and brought her into an empty house nearby the Tumen River. After barely escaping from the traffickers that night, she met an ethnic Korean taxi driver and he introduced his friend to her. She got married to him to survive in China. Since the Chinese government did not recognise brides who were married to a female Korean escapee as their citizens, however,

she had lived in China as a stateless person for five years and she could not get back home before being deported back to the North in 1999.

In contrast, Geum took advantage of a trafficker as she fled to China in a smart way. After Geum's mother returned to the North, Geum and her mother agreed that Geum should also flee to Yanbian alone after her mother had settled down in Yanji. In doing so, she looked for appropriate brokers who could help her flee to China successfully. Since the regional security officials had already supervised her carefully since her mother left a year before, she had to cautiously prepare for escaping to the North and she describes why she hired a female trafficker as follows:

> I asked her about the plan B for the perilous situation and she replied, 'Do stay in a detention centre for three days, then me and my colleagues will get you out of there.' As soon as I heard that, I could build trust with her. Yeah, I know the business is business! So, I asked her to let me get there, *Yanji*
>
> (Geum, 25 October 2018, ROK)

According to the testimonies of two participants, it is said that women who left the North by human trafficking suffered abuse and constant threats from traffickers and husbands due to their stateless status and the lack of institutional recourse to aid their situations which not only created a victim mentality, but also caused psychological disorders such as post-trauma (This confirms the findings of Yoon IS (2020)). The most problematic aspect of this phenomenon is that it forces them to hide their painful and shameful past life in China (especially those who flee to ROK alone, leaving their children in China) or to hide their North Korean identity in the process of adapting to a new life in South Korea or Britain.

Diverse migration routes

Regarding mobility, the migration routes of refugees to South Korea are diverse. Moon (2004) suggests several different courses such as: entering Korea illegally by way of coastal cities of China, the Russia route, China-Mongol route, China-Southeast Asia route or coming via diplomatic establishments located in China. As can be seen in table 6.1, all informants have chosen different migration routes. In the initial exodus, North Korean escapees could take advantage of the Mongolia route while the largest number of North Korean migrants have followed the courses of fleeing to Southeast Asia because these routes are less vulnerable to forced repatriation because of the distance of travel, cost, and lower levels of government control these days (Lee, 2013). This is the case for Ha-young

and Min-seok. As early North Korean refugees, Ha-young and Min-seok succeeded in escaping through the China-Mongol route. Although Hae had some relatives in China, she moved to several cities in China (e.g., Mìshān Shì, Xin'an, Mǔdanjiāng) while her parents had looked into a secure migration route and she fled to ROK through the China-Southeast Asia route (Vietnam and Cambodia). On the other hand, Geum, Ju, Kweon, and Hyang who left the North in the mid or late -2000s had family members in either China or ROK. Thus, they could get some resources such as information and money to escape from North Korea or cross the borders toward Southeast Asian countries such as Cambodia (Geum) and Thailand (Hyang, Ju and Kweon).

Table 6.1.Migration Routes and Relocation history

Participants	Gender Identified With	Age	Year of Defection	Migration Routes (Birth to present)	Relocation history
Geum	Female	31	2008	*Yanji, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (China)→ Phnom Penh* (Cambodia)→ Seoul (ROK)	1 year in China 4 months in Cambodia 10 years in ROK
Hyang	Female	21	2013	Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (China)→ Laos →Bangkok (Thailand) → Seoul (ROK)	1 Months in Thailand 6 years in ROK
Ju	Male	26	1st attempt (2005) 2nd attempt (2008)	Yanji, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (China)→ *Shanghai (China)* →Chiang Mai (Thailand)→ Gwangju (ROK) → Seoul (ROK)	2 years in China 6 months in Thailand 8 years in ROK
Kweon	Male	26	2012	Changbai Korean Autonomous Prefecture (China)→ Laos →Bangkok (Thailand)→ Gunpo (ROK)	1-3 months in Thailand 7 years in ROK
Hae	Female	25 (28)	2000	[ROK] **Mǔdanjiāng (China)** → Hanoi (Vietnam)→ *Phnom Penh* (Cambodia) →**Buchun (ROK)**	2 years in China 1 month in Russia 1 week in Vietnam 2 months in Cambodia 2.5 years in ROK
				[United Kingdom] New Malden → Raynes Park → Chessington → Surbiton	14 years in the UK
				[ROK]	5 years in China

Ha-Young	Female	40	1997	*Yanji, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture* (China) → Ulaanbaatar (Inner Mongolia) → **Seoul (ROK)**	1 month in Mongolia 5 years in ROK 12 years in the UK
				[United Kingdom] Swansea → Cardiff → Glasgow → New Malden	
Min-Seok	Male	19	N/A	[ROK] *Yanji, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture* (China) → Ulaanbaatar (Inner Mongolia) → **Seoul (ROK)**	4 years in China 1 month in Mongolia 5 years in ROK 12 years in the UK
				[United Kingdom] Swansea → Cardiff → Glasgow → New Malden	

6.6. Constructing Border-Crosser identities

6.6.1. Border Symbolism

A great deal of literature on border studies define the border as physical territory and as an ideological concept for defining terms of inclusion and exclusion (Cisneros, 2020; DeChaine, 2009, 2012). Historically,a border plays a key role in creating the symbolic power of social sense-making, the structure of belief, cultural code or moral standard that allows citizens to form identity (DeChaine, 2012; Soguk, 2007; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018). DeChaine (2012) defines it as 'border symbolism.' In a conceptualisation of border symbolism, the function of border acts as a powerful form of social sense-making which DeChaine (2012:2) terms a "public Doxa." In other words, the border symbolism creates and recreates a public doxa, which contributes to constructing the ambivalent identities of border(ed) subjects who are "radically excluded, being denied citizenship, are also automatically denied the material conditions of life and the recognition of their human dignity" (Balibar, 2001:16) due to their legal and moral status.

Simultaneously, as Yuval-Davis and her associates (2018) note, belonging tends to be naturalised and to be part of everyday practices. It becomes articulated, formally structured and politicised only when it is perceived to be threatened. Thus, border-crossers who take part in constantly life-changing threats consider belonging and not belonging to a specific society through the processes of bordering, and always differentiate between "those who are in and those who are out, those who are allowed to cross the borders and those who are not" (ibid.:231).

Under stateless status, wage distortion and extreme inequality have become common among North Korean refugees, and kidnapping into prostitution or marriage has become common among female North Korean refugees (Harggard & Noland, 2010; Song& Bell, 2019; Yoon IS, 2020). Their bordering experience in China and the third countries very often forced them to hide their original identities which were a major source of exclusion, discrimination and perceived crime (Jung et al., 2017). Hence, they deliberately tried to rid themselves of their North Korean habitus and learn South Korean habitus. Afterwards, a great number of North Korean migrants suffered isolation and constant fear of deportation after acknowledging their status as illegal aliens. Hae's narrative above demonstrates that they always pretended they were ethnic Koreans or South Koreans in public. As long as they denied their North Korean identity, nobody could distinguish them as North Korean refugees because the accent and tone of ethnic Korean were the same as them, or their parents used to train their children to hide their North Korean nationality and habitus during sojourning briefly or living in China.

At the same time, as they moved to other countries, they had a chance to reshape individual capital that Bourdieu (1986, 1990) and Putnam (2000) have identified: (civic) habitus and social capital. That is, those former North Koreans were born in a nation that was apathetic and overwhelming mistrusting, leading to form belligerent civic identities, equipped with the *Juche* mindset. Once they escaped their nation, however, they were not belonging anywhere, as well as not belonging to North Korea as those had lost their legal and juridical status. Such a border-crossing experience literally led them to deeply reflect on the politics of belonging as a civic attachment (Yuval-Davis, 2011:157) by asking themselves the essence of "who they are" and "what is their location in the world" (Pink, 2012: 143). Furthermore, it promoted them to develop capacities that contribute to realising their potentials, reflect on their past and future life and eventually transform their civic values and civic identities, acknowledging vulnerability, critical awareness, and mutually empathic relationships with supporters who met on the borders and their fellow North Korean migrants whom they encountered in the process of migration. These capacities are consistent with three core peacebuilding capacities in the peacebuilding capacity framework (see figure 2.1): realising, reflecting and transforming. In a nutshell, for North Korean migrants, the border crossing experience served as self-denial, as well as a critical moment of self-awareness, leading to transforming new civic identities which I term 'border-crosser identities.'

6.6.2. A meaning of denying civic identities

It was a bitterly cold October evening in 2008 in Hoeryŏng. Geum felt that the temperature of Tumen River seemed to be nearly minus-20 degrees, yet she had to swim to cross the cold river, and it was a torment for her, but it was the only route to escape her country. She eventually succeeded in crossing the Tumen River into Yanji city, the capital of Yanbian Korean Autonomous County and the place where she firmly believed she would be encouraged to develop her potential and to enjoy the freedom that she had never experienced in her country. Similar to Geum, all participants said that they used to feel a sense of heroic fatalism after they escaped their country and overcame overwhelming obstacles to other transition countries such as Cambodia. Soon after, however, they realised their stateless status as illegal border crossers and were significantly frustrated. Geum confessed that she was devastated soon after realising the stateless status and she could not do anything as a North Korean refugee in Yanji. The only thing she could do was work in a job recommended by her mother's stepsister, hiding that she was a North Korean refugee.

For them, the only way for North Korean refugees to avoid the stateless state is to be repatriated to the North or flee to other counties such as ROK because the Chinese government refuses to grant them any political membership. Moreover, they cannot retain North Korean citizenship once they leave North Korea as the regime makes it illegal to leave the country without state permission and it refuses to provide the legal protections to North Korean escapees (Kwan, 2017; Neaderland, 2004; Yoon IS, 2020). They struggled with the constant fear and anxiety of being arrested and deported back to North Korea. They tended to pretend they were ethnic Korean Chinese or South Koreans in public to avoid arrest, resulting in severe psychological states such as loneliness, depression and identity crisis (Chang et al., 2009; Oh WH, 2011). In these circumstances, hiding their original civic identities became one of the distinctive features of North Korean civic identities to survive in China and the transition countries such as Cambodia and Vietnam (Kim et al., 2018).

Like Geum and Ju, furthermore, migrants who escaped their country because of the glass ceiling or lack of social mobility made a wrenching decision to leave their country to find any opportunities that enabled them to achieve their potential. However, the reality facing them in China was different. This added to their troubles since they were regarded as illegal border-crossers under Chinese policy. Thus, it was much more severe after they had realised their status as illegal aliens in China as Geum recalled below.

> WHAT THE HELL… It's not my desire. I felt it seemed that I was stuck in an invisible trap. It seemed hopeless. (…) One day, one of my colleagues told

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me that her sister-in-law, a North Korean refugee, went to South Korea, which was the only country willing to grant citizenship to North Korean refugees.

(Geum, 25 October 2017, ROK)

As Geum said, as long as she lived in Yanji, she realised that she might have to live without belonging to any country as neither a Chinese nor an ethnic Korean nor a North Korean, resulting in greatly threatening to them. It became a significant drive to flee to South Korea in comparison with most of the early border-crossers who just crossed the border to seek help from their relatives in China and quickly returned to North Korea with provisions for their families (Lankov, 2004; Lee, 2013; Neaderland, 2004).

6.6.3. Critical moments of transforming the civic Identities and developing peacebuilding capacities

Developing transnational capital

Notwithstanding the high level of risk regarding migration toward the third countries, it could not stop them from fleeing to South Korea because they had realised that they could not live in China with stateless status. It was the sole opportunity for many North Koreans seeking a new life away from the DPRK. Thus, some refugees have more actively engaged in transforming their North Korean habitus into South Korean habitus. For example, I could distinguish North Korean accents and dialects between my participants who had lived in China for over one year and those who had fled directly to South Korea. All participants knew that the North Korean accent could be a source of discrimination and risked the danger capture and deportation, and thus, they tried to correct their North Korean pronunciation by watching many South Korean TV shows and serial dramas repetitively during their stay in China and Southeast Asia. As a result, participants who had lived in China for over a year could catch up the Southerner's way of speaking (e.g., accents, slangs and idioms). In contrast, informants who had directly fled to South Korea are still talking with a North Korean accent. The past studies support their actions that removing North Korean habitus serves as a strategy for these migrants to adapt to a new society practically and psychologically (Cho et al., 2015; Oh WH, 2011).

More critically, the research emphasises the role of transnational migration as a chance for vulnerable populations to enhance their cultural and social capital, as well as reshape their identities (Cho et al., 2015; Jung et al., 2017; Oh WH, 2011). In a similar vein, this study found that most participants had critical moments to discover their potential and acknowledge the truth about North Korea and build transnational capital which was an essential competence to transform their civic identities.

The majority of informants (except Geum) dropped out of school in the early stage or did not have schooling experience in North Korea because the nation's economic collapse in the 1990s and subsequent food shortages caused the vast majority of North Korean citizens to focus on seeking the basics (e.g., foods and medicines) instead of developing their potential. This study identifies borderlands as a space which produces ambivalent identities that force them to deny their original identities, responding to daily realities shaped by economic and political inequalities and marginalisation (DeMendez & Naples, 2014), and even perceived their identities as criminal "others" (DeChaine, 2012). Simultaneously, the border-crossing experiences witness a vast acceleration of voluntary efforts to construct their transnational capital (DeChaine, 2012; Moghaddari, 2020).

Drawing on Bourdieu's work on capital creation, Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004: 1008) introduce the concept of the "transnational social field" to understand migrants' contradictory social processes. Since then, a growing body of research explores the transnational dimension of migrants' social mobility (DeMendez & Naples, 2014; Moghaddari, 2020; Sawaya, 2018). In creating transnational capital, critical literature identifies two defining attributes of transnational capital: (a) location-specific capital, which is locally relevant cultural and social capital (Nowicka 2013; Cederberg 2015). (b) migration-specific capital, which is created through resources that draw on migrants' racial, ethnic, and cultural identifications (Erel, 2010). Theoretically, both location- and migration-specific resources are crucial in migrants' creation of capital throughout transnational migration (DeChaince, 2012; Moghaddari, 2020). However, the study acknowledges that participants built up location-specific capital during sojourning in China and transiting toward the third countries. Given the North Korean habitus is regarded as a major source of discrimination and even a crucial risk factor of being arrested by the Chinese police, their embodied cultural capital should be hidden or denied. The findings also indicate that their cultural capital is shifted as a symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) which allowed them to use it as an adaptation strategy after acculturating into the ROK and the UK. Thus, mobility affects the development of both location-and migration-specific capital in both ROK and the UK. A detailed discussion will be given in chapter eight.

For participants (Geum, Ju, Hae and Ha-young) who have lived in China for more than a year, a location-specific capital was clearly developed. For instance, Ju lived in Shanghai where his cousin lived so that it gave him an opportunity to gather some information about South Korea, as well as study Mandarin. Moreover, Ju saw a genuinely successful marketisation result in Shanghai, one of the most progressive cities in China and a sense of freedom that he had never felt. Similarly, Hae could experience a wide variety of culture in the migration and it could be an excellent opportunity to nurture intercultural sensitivity and openness. Ha-young also cultivated the capacity to adapt to new environments and build resilience while living in Yanji for five years. Geum was the only person who achieved a high school diploma among the research participants. She could enjoy the affluent lifestyle in North Korea as a Nouveau Riche, as well as becoming familiarised with the culture and lifestyle in the South by watching some Korean films and serial dramas then accepted a fantasia toward South Korea, yearning to go to the South. After escaping the North and living in Yanji for a year, she also developed language proficiency (Seoul standard language) and ICT proficiency by learning computer skills.

Border-crossing experience as a moment of self-awareness

Furthermore, bordering experience allowed them the opportunity for critical self-awareness. That is, what they had heard and seen about South Korea during staying or living in China and transition countries was opposite to the views regarding capitalism that they had learnt in schools: namely, *'miserable and impoverished lives in the ROK as a slave of United States'* (Kweon). For the first time, most of them said that lives in the ROK from the serial dramas or films and some information they encountered through the Internet were unbelievable truths even if some of them had already watched some Korean cultural products while they lived in their hometowns. For instance, Kweon was shocked after learning some information about the economic growth of South Korea as the 11th economy in the world. He thought at the time: 'I have lived in the incredibly crazy authoritarian country so far and then I wanted to go to South Korea even if I might live as a slave of the US'. Hyang also explained, 'How could my country lie so wholly? I felt a sense of betrayal of my nation whenever I have checked, full of lies and distorted historical evidence.

In terms of critical self-awareness, the transgressive act of unauthorised border crossing tends to produce a double exclusion: it renders migrants both legally aliens and morally illegals (DeChaine, 2009:45). Furthermore, once North Korean migrants left their

nation, they felt deep shame as they were not only former North Koreans, but also stateless people. The shame can best be defined as "an intensely painful feeling or experience of believing we are flawed and therefore unworthy of acceptance and belonging" (Brown, 2006:45). However, participants reported that in experiencing an empathic response to their shame experience, their sense of connection and power was often increased, restored and/or sometimes strengthened. Through such an empathetical response, participants could intensify a high degree of resilience which Brown (2006:45) terms "shame resilience". The empathic response appears to be most powerful when it comes from another person; however, the participants did acknowledge that engaging in self-empathy can increase shame resilience, but not to the same degree as connecting with someone else (Brown, 2006). For example, Geum expressed her pain when she discovered unfortunate situations of her peers who had escaped North Korea or had sojourned toward the transition countries through a blog, namely, 'New settlers' (*Saeteomin* in Han'gŭl) Oasis.' It said that a high number of female North Korean refugees have struggled with sexual violence and human trafficking on their way to Laos or Cambodia and others were shot and killed on their way to Thailand. Thus, Geum wondered 'why lots of North Koreans had to live miserable lives'. Such fundamental questions led her to symphasise with her fellow North Koreans, and at the same time, she could attain the high level of realising and reflecting capacity through mutually empathetical relations with supporters, as well as fellow North Korean migrants. Although my female informants (except Ha-young) did not experience such horrible incidents when they escaped their home cities, Geum was in danger of trafficking on her way to Cambodia and Hyang's mother was almost raped by a taxi driver in Yanbian. There was a wide variety of crimes and hazards on the road for female North Korean refugees.

Transnational networks as a form of social capital

The research demonstrated that social interactions in transnational contexts could reshape new or different identities (Côté & Levine 2008; Kachuyevski & Olesker, 2014; Tilly, 1995, 2005) and provide an opportunity to develop capacities for refugees through transnational activities and intercultural contacts (Mohamed Saleem, 2020; Sahin-Mencutek, 2020; Snyder, 2011).

Drawing from all participants' accounts, the thesis has acknowledged that they met plenty of supporters such as ethnic Korean -Chinese, Han Chinese, South Koreans, Christian missionaries, NGOs, volunteer groups and even some brokers. Through their support without rewards, they have learnt the underlying meaning of trust, compassion, and

sympathy that Putnam (2000) calls "civic skills." All informants indicated that they had learnt trust and compassion by encountering those devoted supporters. Hae recalled some people who helped her and her family transfer from China to Russia or South East Asia, and she learned some values such as sympathy from them through her migration experience. In a similar vein, Ju remembered some brokers and strangers who helped him flee to the South and even some of them led him to reflect on his future life.

As Hae has shown below, she retrospectively recorded her grateful memories related to the life during her stay in China and encounters with people who were willing to help her and her family to make successful transition. Such empathetic relations that they built in the multiple borders contributed to forming social capital. By building new forms of social capital, more specifically, they learned and acquired new knowledge, values, and norms required to adapt and flourish in the new societies (Putnam, 2000).

For Geum, crossing the border as a 21-year -old girl alone was never easy because it was a kind of a betrayal of her nation and 'The Almighty Leaders,' Kim Il Sung and Kim Jung Il. It was a painful procedure of removing the *Juche* mindset, which had been instilled into her body and mind for her entire life. Of course, it was a kind of taboo, most of all, it meant she must embrace a sense of fear and anxiety of deportation as an illegal border-crosser. However, she neither wanted to come back to North Korea as treason nor live in China as a stateless person. Geum confessed that she suffered from severe loneliness and anxiety. According to her boss's recommendation that she would be able to meet young people her age if she went to church, she went to a church for the first time in her life in *Yanji* even though she knew the high risk of being arrested. Surprisingly, she could not hold back her tears as soon as she read 'The Lord's Prayer' on the wall that she found in front of the church as she said:

> Suddenly, my heart is filled with gratitude, and I have discerned an abundance of blessings that the God offered to me. I forgot how desperate I felt when I crossed the Tumen River a year ago, I prayed for God even though I didn't know the Lord at all, *'Just let me make it, Just let me make it'*

> (Geum, 7 November 2017, ROK)

As shown above in Geum's recollection, she discovered an abundance of blessings that God offered to her although she had suffered from discrimination in North Korea and a series of challenges and tensions in China.Throughout the migration, Geum acknowledged that she had become a more resilient person than before. Also, Christian missionaries and organisations continued to help her arrive in South Korea and settle in South Korean society.

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6.7. Summary

In this chapter, I addressed what kind of motivation makes them leave their hometowns and how they responded to the multiple borders. I also articulated how these experiences of border-crossing affect the transformation of their civic identities and build social capital.

As the anecdotes have illustrated, the borderlands where all participants stayed or lived temporarily acted as a field, wherein they had to embrace many contradictions, uncertainty and self-denial. These are associated with direct, structural and cultural violence that Galtung (1969a, 1990) has identified, at the same time, they could cultivate their potential and capacities that Galtung (2005) calls "peacebuilding" by critically reflecting on their past lives in the North and overcoming a series of challenges in multiple borders. Furthermore, the borders they had to cross to gain the legitimacy of rights and freedom served as a field, where they had a chance to build transnational capital and to realise the genuine meaning of civic skills (Putnam, 2000) by mutually empathetic relations with both fellow North Korean migrants and other 'bridge citizens'. Consideration of the concept of border symbolism has thus allowed me to formulate new civic identities on the border: border-crosser identities.

In the next chapter, participants who have obtained citizenship as South Korean citizens will now explore how to form new identities which I term '*Jayumin* identities' and how such new civic identities contribute to developing peacebuilding capacities while relieving tensions that they belong to or do not belong to in the South Korean society.

CHAPTER Ⅶ: '*JAYUMIN*' IDENTITIES, TENSIONS WITH BELONGING AND NOT BELONGING IN SOUTH KOREA

7.1. Introduction

In response to a sharply growing number of North Korean migrants since the mid-1990s, the South Korean government has developed a wide variety of supporting policies to help North Korean migrants to settle down in a new society, encouraging socioeconomic integration (Cho et al., 2015; Jung et al., 2017; MoU, 2019). In light of the Sunshine Policy, a range of policies and Acts for supporting these newcomers have been established in the name of humanitarian aids since the mid-1990s (Son KY, 2006).

Notwithstanding the efforts of the government, their adapting experiences in ROK come with a series of challenges. Some migrants seemed to adapt successfully to the new community, whereas others are unable to adapt to South Korean society. As a result, some of them have chosen the second migration to Western countries such as England, yet their life in the UK seemed to be more challenging (Bell, 2014; Pattison, 2018; Song & Bell, 2019). This chapter explores the shift of civic identity of these new citizens, namely, *Jayumin* identities. *Jayumin* in Han'gŭl means people who came to the South, seeking freedom and justice and the study demonstrates how the newcomers handle the tensions with belonging and not belonging to South Korean society. Furthermore, it explores how they shape *Jayumin* identities by looking into characteristics of educational support and systems that all participants have experienced through their educational trajectories.

7.2. Becoming the '*Jayumin'* in South Korean society

> For me, adaptation is becoming South Korean by *getting rid of my North Korean identity*. On the other hand, the settlement means getting a job to support my family members and having my own house to live safely

> (Ju, 17 November 2017, ROK)

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I use '*adapt*' in a sense that I will get myself to work as a member of the society I am affiliated to. I use '*settlement*' in the sense that I fully integrate to the society I am affiliated to. I do think there is a difference that adapting is what I do when reality hits me, and settling is what I did when they said reality meets my ideals (finding good friends, for example)

I guess I use them in the same way people distinguish between a 'house' and a 'home'

(Min-seok, 19 April 2017, UK)

All participants distinguished adaptation from a settlement. As the above quotes make clear, Ju and Min-seok define the term for both adaptation and settlement, distinguishing the concepts with two plausible interpretations, a 'house' and a 'home.' Ju who lives in the South regards adaptation as assimilation, getting rid of North Korean identity, while the settlement is to sustain his daily life without financial hardship. For Ju, the house as an economic capital enables him to start everything that he aspires to in new settings. On the other hand, Min-seok who lives in the UK, understands adaptation is the ongoing process to acculturate into the different cultures, lifestyles and perceptions of British society. For him, whereas settlement seems to be heavily associated with integrating into British society as a British citizen. I asked myself where these different perspectives come from and how I interpret and make sense of these differences regarding civic identity transformation.

Tensions with the politics of belonging

Generally, the whole idea of the home is linked to feelings of familiarity, comfort, security, and attachment (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Theoretically, Yuval-Davis (2011) draws a distinction between a sense of belonging and the politics of belonging through the conceptualisation of the home: namely, a sense of belonging relating to emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home'. On the other hand, the politics of belonging is associated with the right of possession regarding who has a right to share the home and who does not belong there. In a nutshell, the politics of belonging comprises specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivities, which are themselves being assembled in these projects, within specified boundaries (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018). Considering Yuval-Davis's (2011) concept of the politics of belonging, North Korean migrants encounter another border symbolism (DeChaine, 2012) in the settlement process of the South, the so-called 'division habitus.' That is, border symbolism that surrounds North

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Korean migrants in the ROK is highly implicated in the intractable conflicts within ideological fractures, ambivalent civic identities, and politics of belonging that shape how people view either side by dividing those who belong from those who do not. The division system defines 'us' and 'them,' resulting in structures of exclusion that fracture the South Korean society.

In response to such ambivalent aspects of civic identities in the ROK, nonetheless, participants have shifted their identities by negotiating tensions with the politics of belonging in South Korean society. Such negotiations of belonging to Korean society are constantly formulated and reformulated by the social, cultural and symbolic boundaries to these newcomers. As noted earlier, the Korean government creates these social, cultural and symbolic boundaries by referring to the North Korean arrivals in various ways. South Korean society distinguishes them from the rest of South Korean society by referring to them as residents from North Korea ('*bukhan it'al chumin*' in Han'gŭl) even if they have obtained South Korean citizenship. During the fieldwork, however, I heard that North Korean migrants named themselves '*Jayumin*' (in Han'gŭl) which means citizens from North Korea, seeking freedom and justice. The study found the '*Jayumin*' identities from the adaptive experiences of participants who successfully adapted to South Korean society because these informants no longer remain passive (re)settlers who highly rely on the settlement package given by the government. In contrast, they developed ways to accomplish the short-term and long-term goals with a range of social resources such as education and social networks that allows them to adapt successfully to South Korean society, and further, develop their own strategies to overcome a series of struggles.

7.3. The challenges of adapting to Korean educational system
7.3.1. Educational support for North Korean migrants

In light of the 1997 'Support Act' and the Unification Education Support Act which was established in 1999, the Korean authorities have been developing education policies to help these refugees adapt to the Korean education system and furthemore to help them to integrate into a new society. Table 7.1 shows an overview of the educational support for North Korean migrants in South Korea. The programmes constitute five sub-modules, focusing on regaining emotional stability, overcoming cultural differences, and finding the motivation to become socially and economically independent (MoU, 2019). These modules

are categorised into five parts, including further voluntary participation: promotion of an understanding Korean society (standard programme over 97 hours and specialised programme over 70 hours), career counselling and job exploration (standard programme over 103 hours and specialised programme over 70 hours), emotional stability and health care (51 hours), support of early settlement (58 hours) and life-design programme (27 hours).

Table 7.1. An overview of educational support for North Korean migrants

Classification	Programme	Description
Social Adaptation Education	Social Adjustment Programmes	* *Hanawŏn-* seven classes based on age and gender: pre-schooler, kindergartener, grader, teenager, adult male, adult female, and senior classes
	Supplementary programme	* Voluntary participation (363 hours)
		*Language, English, Driving, Computer, Singing class, parent education and family visits etc
Compulsory Education	Structure of the schooling system by settlement phases	**[Initial settlement stage]** * Preschool/Primary school level- *Samjuk* primary school * Secondary school level- *Hana-dul* school **[Transition stage]** * Secondary school level- *Hangyeore* school (Boarding school funded by a Buddhist organisation) or Cooperative school (Inclusive education) **[Settlement stage]** *State-funded schools in each domicile *Alternative schools
	Social benefits	Tuition for a primary and secondary level of schools exempted.
	Other funding (e.g. Hana Foundation, Migrant Youth Foundation, NGOs, religious organisations)	Provision of scholarships, support for alternative educational facilities (e.g. alternative schools, after-school learning centres), and provision of English learning programmes (in-house or online learning) and homeschooling workbooks

Classification	Programme	Description
Post-compulsory Education	Special admission and school transfer	Special admission and transfer to colleges (based on college-specific special admissions outside and usually fixed quota)
	Social benefits	The tuition fee for national and public universities exempted; 50 per cent of tuition fee subsidised for private universities.
	Other funding (Hana Foundation, British Council, NGOs, Religious organisations)	Provision of scholarships, operation of leadership programmes for college students, provision of English learning programmes (in-house or online learning), study abroad programmes

(source: education system related excerpts extracted from Unification White Paper (Ministry of Unification, 2019) and North Korean Defector Students Education Support Plan (Ministry of Education, 2017)

In 2020, there were over 33,000 North Korean migrants in South Korea with 39.7% (13,314) of them being children and young adults aged 10 to 29 (see table 7.2). As the number of migrant children and young people was increasing gradually, the government has been developing various educational policies for them. For instance, support systems, psychological and emotional support networks and career counselling services in the early stage of an adaptation, curriculum and textbook development, teacher training, guidance for parents, connection of local community and operation of transition schools (MoE, 2017; Moon, 2012; Yoon, 2001).

Table 7.2. The North Korea secession resident statistics

(accumulated total number of North Korean migrants as of March 2020)

Identification	Aged 0-9	Aged 10-19	Aged 20-29	Aged 30-39	Aged 40-49	Aged 50-59	Aged over 60	Sum
Male	650	1,692	2,598	2,136	1,374	566	339	9,354
Female	645	2,093	6,932	7,498	4,557	1,431	991	24,147
Sum	1,295	**3,784**	**9,530**	9,634	5,931	1,997	1,330	**33,501**

source: open data portal, Available at https://www.data.go.kr/dataset/15019661/fileData.do?lang=en (accessed 3 December 2020)

In terms of operating transition schools, *Hana-dul* school provides children and youths up to the age of 24 with education, tailored according to achievement levels in consideration

of their age and academic background. Pre-schoolers and primary schoolers have classes with South Korean pupils at *Samjuk* primary school and participate in basic modules such as Korean language, Mathematics, History, Social Studies, PE and extra-curricular activities (KEDI, 2015). These schools aim to make them adjust to the Korean school climate before they are allocated to state-funded schools.

After North Korean pupils completed modules at *Hana-dul* school for three months, they are eligible to be admitted into state-funded secondary schools or alternative schools. Moreover, they can attend *Hangyeore* secondary school following educational guidance and constant consultation by homeroom teachers.

As the number of youths born in third countries such as China has dramatically increased since 2015, more recently, the 2016 Plan provides Korean language education by dispatching a bilingual teacher who can speak Chinese to the *Hangyeore* school, which is a transition school (MoE, 2016). Extra Korean language education tailored according to ages and academic achievement levels has been extensively implemented.

7.3.2. The nature of struggles

Almost all participants recalled their first impressions of Incheon International Airport that was the portal of entering another border, South Korea being perceived as the final destination. All of the participants recalled the moment of arriving at Incheon International Airport and being overwhelmed due to the extremely luxurious, clean, magnificent size of the airport which they had never seen before. Thus, Hyang thought that she must remove her shoes because there seemed so clean.

> Finally, I crossed the borders from China to Mongolia with my son, hoping to end my sufferings. You know what? When a flight landed at Incheon International Airport, I felt so relieved, and it's a really miraculous moment in my entire life

(Ha-young, 19 April 2017, UK)

From Ha-young's account presented above, one can imagine how much happiness she felt the moment she arrived in the ROK. Although she had to pass the interrogation at NIS, she was able to learn useful information about settling into a new life in South Korean society and building up new social ties from her fellow North Korean migrants at *Hanawon*. Above all, she was able to start her life as a legally guaranteed member of

Korean society that she had dreamed of through various social benefits supported by the Korean government.

However, South Koreans and the actual South Korean society they met when they arrived at their assigned residences were very different from what they had imagined. Kweon's evidence that he dreamed of becoming a painter in DPRK clearly explains how hard it was to actually belong to South Korean society even if they had legally become South Korean citizens immediately after graduating from *Hanawon*.

Kweon had studied fine art to become a painter in the North for over 10 years and he was still dreaming of being a painter, yet he realised that there was a huge gap of becoming a painter between the two Koreas. For instance, he had never heard about *Kandinsky* who is best known as a pioneer in avant-garde art worldwide because Kweon had only acquired information controlled by the North Korean regime (see figure 7.3). Additionally, he had never learnt or practised the technique of drawing an abstract artwork that it is not embedded in the North Korean art education system. For him, becoming a painter in the South means to learn and relearn all techniques, contexts and knowledge in relation to Western fine art and adapt himself to *'the whole new world'*.

Table 7.3. Figurative artwork vs non-figurative artwork

(a) Example of figurative artwork	(b) Example of abstract artwork

Propaganda poster in DPRK
(Source: Google Image)

Composition VII-1913 Painted by Wassily Kandinsky
Courtesy of WassilyKandinsky.net

However, this issue was not only for him, but for all participants who had been struggling with adapting to South Korean society although they completed a three-month 'one-size-fits-all' training programme to adapt to a new society, and received a wide range of settlement packages and social benefits. Thus, 'they should look for appropriate supporters and information which helps them to adapt to the new society smoothly by themselves'.

At the same time, they had to overcome other implicit, verbal, and physical manifestations of discrimination, prejudice and stereotype (e.g., incompetent migrants or communists) which act as structural and cultural violence to them. As a result, the participants negotiate their way through all environments in which they are frequently assumed to be communist by public discourses and practices.

Such issues confirm the results of the past research on challenges of adaptation to the South for these Northerners, including the government-driven policy on the basis of the perspective of a sense of oneness between the North and South Korean citizens that North Korean migrants might be easily integrated into South Korean society as long as they were given protection measures and financial support (Kim, 2017; Son SA, 2016). In this sense, a growing body of scholars suggests that the supporting policies for initial settlement are inadequate, and they claim that there is little practical support for the people who are in the process of adapting to South Korean society (Kim et al., 2018; Shin H, 2018; Song & Bell, 2019). Therefore, identifying distinctive challenges with which they struggle can provide a more proper and practical approach to supporting them.

North Korean habitus

Although they obtain South Korean citizenship as soon as they arrived in the South, they realised that it was not easy to belong to South Korean society socially and emotionally and the North Korean habitus is a visible obstacle to becoming South Korean citizens.

All the participants distinguish South Korean habitus from North Korean habitus based on their adaptive experience. First, the different ways of thinking and speaking were the salient features of South Korean habitus. As noted in chapter six, North Korean migrants become used to blaming others' behaviours and attitudes directly because of the life review session practices, for instance. In contrast, they saw that South Korean people have learned about democratic values such as reciprocity and respect for fellow citizens since the time they were children at home and school. As a result, they tend to speak politely, respecting others' thoughts and words. Interestingly, most participants described such South Korean way of speaking with a metaphoric expression, using the phrase 'cunning as a fox.' They perceive that South Koreans were hypocritical as Southerners did not speak as straightforwardly as they did. Second, one of the North Korean civic identities can be identified 'us vs them mentality.' This dichotomous thinking style that they had constructed in

the North affects their daily life in the South. Hyang always compared herself with her Southern counterparts and she felt that they were different from her. Geum struggled with talking to her Korean friends and colleagues due to her speaking habits formed by the life review session. While she used to criticise her colleagues' behaviours and words, categorising 'us' into 'them', her Korean colleagues merely regarded her as their friend, so they must have been hurt whenever she criticised her colleagues straightforwardly, pointing out their mistakes. Hae was also surprised by watching Korean soap dramas and films that there were no more or less a 'good people and bad people' setting.

In a similar vein, the South Korean school system emphasises critical thinking. The curriculum is designed to encourage pupils to think critically, providing a wide variety of topics and educational resources, rather than answering them directly. While these newcomers find it hard to think critically, they are more likely to lose their track without an answer. Hae's reflection shows how difficult it must have been to adapt to the new education system.

> I was shocked by seeing the artwork, wait a second! I forgot a title (pause). 'The scream of nature (Edvard Munch, 1890-91).' When a teacher showed the picture, I just waited for the teacher's explanation. Wherease my Korean peers spoke about the painting, their feelings, and a painter's brief story.

> (Hae, 31 July 2018, UK)

As indicated in chapter two, the North Korean accent may be the most problematic. A growing body of research points out the significant differences between North Korean and South Korean, resulting in causing discrimination and alienation (Park MY, 2021; Lee et al., 2016). Although the Southern and Northern language share the Korean alphabet and linguistic structure, there are noticeable differences (Lee et al., 2016). For example, given that language is a major medium that enables the populace to indoctrinate the ideology and to construct social identity (Davison & Norton, 2014; Norton, Lawson, 2001), the North Korean language has developed a variety of vocabulary for efficient delivery of *Juche* ideology.

Since the South Korean government is aware of the language problem, language education is operating as a submodule of "Understanding of South Korean Society," one of the adaptation programmes run by Hanawon. North Korean migrants learn the differences between the two Korean languages, including standard pronunciation, foreign language, and basic English at Hanawon (Park MY, 2021). However, speaking habits are not habitus which can be changeable within a three-month long educational programme. After tremendous

efforts, some participants spoke almost the Seoul standard language while they had stayed in China and the third countries, but in the case of Hyang and Kweon, who had recently entered the country, they still spoke in North Korean dialects.

Like Hyang's account, language differences made them feel isolated as they very often could not communicate with their Southern counterparts and misinterpreted what they said:

> It's funny, when I've heard about 'Wi-Fi' for the first time, I thought it's an edible pie like apple pie (Laughs). They very often chatted, using newly coined slang words like 'school lunch pack rippers' (*Gupsikchung* in Han'gŭl) which are used to describe the adolescents. Whenever they communicated with each other, I couldn't understand at all

(Hyang, 9 November 2017, ROK)

Ha-young perceived that it may be the main source of discrimination against South Koreans, thus, she never used the North Korean dialects at home because she was afraid that South Korean children might be prejudiced toward her children when they talk about the dialect of North Korea. As a result, these North Korean migrants tried to change the North Korean accent, and even Hyang told me that she seriously considered registering a cram school for speaking training.

In turn, their North Korean habitus caused considerable hindrances when they tried to adapt to South Korean society. As some accounts reveal, they often feel an invisible wall that is quite hard to demolish. Consequently, Geum and Ha-young thinks that they live on a deserted island with many people, or it makes them think South Korea was another foreign country where they were able to communicate in the same language but were regarded with suspicion or hostility.

Division habitus

As noted in chapter two, division habitus that resulted from the division system has shaped conflict civic identities since the end of the Korean War in 1953 (An SD, 2018; Cho HB, 2010; Paik, 2011). Moreover, a legacy of the Korean War promoted a 'Cold War identity' (Kim SS, 2006) for both Koreas which weakened inter-Korean identity politics, and reinforced the mistrust and an unsolvable conflict and political tensions on the Korean

peninsula (Kim, 2006; Park, 2015). The study has reaffirmed the division habitus caused structural and cultural violence for North Korean migrants in South Korean society and it affects their lives on a daily basis. In particular, informants who entered the ROK in the early 2000s were significantly exposed to structural or cultural violence caused by division habitus (e.g., Hae , Ha-young and Min-seok). In fact, Ha-young was convinced that the discrimination she and her family had suffered resulted from their North Korean identity. Her recollection is strong evidence for this claim, for example, that she studied hard to obtain insurance-related certificates and joined the Korean insurance companies, but experienced sarcasm, neglect and discrimination by South Koreans every moment. On the other hand, participants who entered South Korea in the mid-2000s or more recently felt relatively little discrimination due to the division habitus, but still experienced constant alienation.

On the matter of adaptation, division habitus seems to make collective attitudes legitimize enmity as "cultural violence" which Galtung claims (1990: 291) between North and South Koreans and it plays a central role in reinforcing their struggles to adapt to the Korean community. For instance, Ha-young arrived in the ROK in the initial stage of migration in 2002 and recalled that she experienced significant levels of cultural violence while working with her Korean colleagues. More critically, Ju criticised the current Korean education system, which focused more on highlighting the antagonistic attitudes towards North Korea that engendered the gap between the people of the two Koreas and reinforced the division habitus. He argues that education should enable North and South Koreans to imagine that they will do something after the reunification on the Korean peninsula.

> The current Korean education system focuses on criticising North Korea and Kim's regime. Anti-communism, [I would say as] anti-North Koreanism, and hatred are still pervasive at all levels of society. It is not appropriate preparation for the successful reunification. I think the Korean government should be prepared for a stage wherein they can test unification.

(Ju, 17 November 2017, ROK)

As Kim (2006) points out, the liberal conceptions of citizenship have been interpreted as an exclusive political status, rather than an inclusive, positive and emancipatory state due to division habitus.

Structural barriers of the Korean education system

In terms of the Korean education system, systematic disadvantages remain for North Korean migrant youths. For example, grade placement is the central issue for young

North Korean migrants in the South Korean school system (Kim, 2009; Institute for Korean Democracy, 2016). Many migrants missed months or years of education while living as refugees during their sojourning period in China and the third countries (Kim, 2009; Lee, 2006), as well as the majority of young North Korean refugees dropping out of school when they lived in the North. This situation places students two or three grades lower than their age level, leaving them to study with younger South Korean pupils. The fact that malnourished young North Korean migrants are often noticeably smaller than their South Korean classmates contributes to their being considered outsiders and different from their classmates (Kim, 2009; Kim & Jang, 2007; Ham, 2013). The research reported that many young North Korean migrants are more likely to take a GED (General Equivalency Diploma) test to acknowledge their primary or secondary school equivalency diploma, which allowed them a chance to gain admission into college, rather than enrolling in compulsory education. However, it might discourage them from adapting to the higher education system subsequently and harder to integrate into South Korean society (Kim, 2016). This is the case with Kweon and Ju. They were already 22 years old when they arrived in South Korea so that both of them were afraid that they had to study with South Korean pupils who were much younger than them. As their future aims were obviously to enter art college, there was no need to enrol at secondary school. Hence, they registered at cram school to prepare for the exam to enter university with the help of a non-government organisation.

Competing with Southern counterparts who are highly advantaged

As many international assessment schemes such as PISA acknowledge, South Korean pupils have achieved outstanding outcomes in mathematics, science and reading (Schleicher, 2019), as well as Korean learners being highly proficient in ICT abilities. Moreover, South Korea is the top-ranking country in the ICT Development Index, which ranks countries' performance concerning ICT infrastructure and uptake, with very high broadband penetration rates over time (ITU, 2017). Hence, South Korean pupils are familiar with utilising digital information to create their work by retrieving, accessing, producing, presenting and exchanging information. In stark contrast, North Korean migrants are not proficient in ICT ability or even searching for information via the internet and mobile networks is very challenging work for them. Therefore, Hyang has recognised that North Korean migrant youths were no match for Southern counterparts; instead of competing with South Korean pupils in the state-funded schools, Ju and Kweon had tried to stay in their lane by registering for cram schools to prepare for GED, rather than registering at stated-funded schools ; Min-seok recalled that teachers and peers thought him as a loser while he lived in

Seoul and Hae remembered how her Korean friends had suffered from peers and parents' pressure, and people seemed to be obsessed with cram schools.

Although most of the participants succeeded in going to university, their academic life seemed to be a series of challenges and full of stress. First, the most problematic issue is that university does not systematically support them in adjusting the new environment for North Korean youths because of a lack of resources so that individual help might be available to them. Second, the current adaptation programmes that were provided at *Hanawon* to adjust the Korean education might not work effectively. For this reason, the research reported that young North Korean migrants tend to easily choose to drop out of school (KEDI, 2017; MoE, 2016). Subsequently, they find it hard to get decent jobs due to educational deficiencies (Go & Sung, 2014; Ham, 2013). More than half of North Korean migrant students in college eventually drop out of college in a parallel fashion, increasing concerns that North Korean migrants will remain as a "permanent underclass" in the South Korean society (Fackler, 2012).

All informants' recollections show that they had to discover individual ways to achieve their academic and life goals and seek to resolve a massive gap of thinking and learning styles between the two nations.

Lack of civic mind-ness

Some newcomers have continued to negotiate the transition between an autocratic country and a liberal democratic model of society because of a low level of awareness of responsibilities of citizens, as reflected in the following accounts from Kweon:

> Well, I think male North Korean migrants make up less than 50 per cent of the total migration population, so there is no need to incorporate these new arrivals into the mandatory military service. North Korean migrants wasted a lot of time in the North and the process of migration

(Kweon, 7 January 2018, ROK)

Particularly for male North Korean migrants like Kweon and Ju, who are subject to mandatory military service if they gain South Korean citizenship, have no choice but to become strategic. Kweon and Ju regarded doing military service as a waste of time, rather than understanding the right way of integration into South Korean society. They did not realise that military service in Korean society contributes to the solidarity or integration of citizens because they lived in a society where only civic duties and obligations for

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maintaining and strengthening the regime stability were emphasised by the new *Juche* type people.

Serving for the military in South Korea is not merely spending a couple of years. It is a time to build a strong bonding and bridging social capital in the period of military service. Social capital can serve as a critical link to get a job and enlarge the ties that help them adapt to South Korean society (Shin et al., 2020). Having no idea of the genuine meaning of military service for male Korean citizens, they simply thought it was a waste of time or a burden to avoid.

7.4. North Korean migrants and academic belonging

7.4.1. Insights regarding academic belonging from the educational trajectories of participants

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that education is an essential factor in their ways to achieving their goals. There is vast room for opportunity in South Korea compared to North Korea in which everything (e.g., education, job placements and marriageability) is determined by the *songbun* status, expected from young North Korean migrants to discover and make what they want to pursue.

Table 7.4 shows the educational trajectories of the participants. All my informants have chosen their educational options, taking full advantage of being in a society with many opportunities and pursue what they want, rather than going to university just because everyone else does. They could discover the possibilities of integrating into South Korean society and then the United Kingdom by education. In this section, the academic belonging of four informants who live in South Korea will be illustrated.

Table 7.4. The educational trajectories of the participants

Pseudonyms	DPRK (Pre-migration)	Migration	ROK/UK (Resettlement)
Geum	• Graduated from Secondary School	N/A	• Enrolled in a BA programme at Open University, yet withdrew ▼ Having an accountant certificate and worked at a personal accountant office

Pseudonyms	DPRK (Pre-migration)	Migration	ROK/UK (Resettlement)
			▼
			Study abroad for English studying in Canada
			▼
			Holding florist diploma at Q florist academy in London
Hyang	• Drop out of secondary school	N/A	*Hana-dul* school (lower secondary school is affiliated with Hanawon) ▼ *Hangyeore* school (boarding school run by the religious Foundation) ▼ State-funded upper secondary school ▼ M alternative school ▼ A university
Ju	• Drop out of primary school	Studied Mandarin at a cram school in Shanghai, China	Hanwon ▼ Passed the GED test for his secondary school equivalency diploma & prepared for the 'Suneung' at a cram school for two years ▼ B University
Kweon	• Drop out of art (secondary) school	N/A	Hanawon ▼ H school (Alternative school run by Christian organisation) ▼ Passed the GED test for his secondary school equivalency diploma & prepared for an exam to get into art college at a cram school for two years ▼ C University
Hae	• Homeschooling	Attended Chosùw (primary school for ethnic Korean Chinese in Mǔdanjiāng, China)	*Samjuk* school (primary school is affiliated with Hanawon) ▼ A state-funded secondary school in Bucheon, ROK ▼ Moved on to the UK in 2005 ▼

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Pseudonyms	DPRK (Pre-migration)	Migration	ROK/UK (Resettlement)
			A secondary school in Chessington, UK (year 9) ▼ Transferred to P school ▼ Failed the GCSE and retook subjects to earn her secondary school equivalency diploma at K college ▼ Achieved BTEC certificate ▼ F University (Clearing)
Ha-young	• Graduated from a vocational school	N/A	N/A
Min-seok	• N/A	N/A	A primary school in ROK ▼ Moved on to the UK in 2007 ▼ A primary school in Swansea, Cardiff and Glasgow ▼ A secondary school in New Malden ▼ Transferred to K secondary school ▼ Achieved A-level certificate ▼ M University (Clearing)

Geum who graduated from secondary school in the North was entitled to apply for any universities in the South. She had also heard that holding a bachelor degree is crucial to living in South Korean society from fellow North Korean migrants and South Korean friends. Some recommended going to teacher's college, but she grasped the reality of her situation critically. Even if she wanted to get into university, she realised that it was not associated with her dream of becoming a florist, as well as not being able to compete with other South Korean counterparts even if she had a degree.

She sought another way to accomplish her dream, and she realised that learning English was essential so she applied for funding to study abroad. Fortunately, she had a chance to study abroad in Canada for English study with the help of one of the NGOs (e.g.,

TNKR). Afterwards, she came to London to enrol in a diploma course to be a florist with self-funding. She was awarded a diploma and opened her flower shop in Seoul. In 2018, the international flower design association invited her to the exhibition and gala show, and she ended up being debuted on the global stage. Her dream eventually came true. In her success story, there was plenty of support from South Korean people, NGO staff members and volunteers whom she had met in the church. Since she opened her flower shop in 2018, she has succeeded as a businesswoman and actively participated in various volunteer activities associated with unification and support projects for young North Korean migrants.

As shown in table 7.4, Hyang shows a typical educational trajectory of young North Korean migrants in ROK. In North Korea, she graduated from primary school and studied the lower-secondary education level by homeschooling with her mother, a Maths teacher. Since she came to South Korea as a 16-year-old, she was eligible to get into *Hangyeore* school, the boarding school for North Korean migrant pupils. It is a government acknowledged institution accredited to issue secondary school diplomas and receives government funding. As discussed earlier, *Hangyeore* school is a transition school which helps these newcomers to adapt to a Korean school milieu, providing a more detailed curriculum designed for migrant youths. After doing less than six months studying, she received her middle school certificate, and she then transferred to a state-funded school in residence. Hyang told me that she yearned to adapt to South Korean society as quickly as she could, hoping to communicate with as many South Korean peers at school as possible. However, she ended up dropping out of school one month later for several reasons. Most of all, it was hard to hide her North Korean identity every single moment. Her homeroom teacher recommended hiding her North Korean origin when she introduced herself to her South Korean classmates. Moreover, she always wondered about differences in curriculum and subjects, particularly, history and Korean language. Although she tried fiercely to hide her North Korean identity, she could not conceal her North Korean accent.

The government seems to attempt to resolve the issue by sending these new learners to public schools as soon as possible, believing that doing so will encourage pupils to 'rush to adapt.' However, the fundamental problem with this attitude is how migrant youths are forced to part with and hide their identity as North Korean migrants as they are told their lives until now serve no added value to their new society. As discussed above, the education system forces these settlers to rapidly become South Koreans regarding North Korean identity as inherent deficits, affecting their prospects and attitude in academic achievement. Most of the North Korean migrant youths were transferred to alternative schools capable of

receiving individual attention and tailored education for North Korean migrant learners (Oh DL, 2020). However, this assimilation approach leads these newcomers to not integrating into the Korean community. Like other young North Korean migrants, Hyang transferred to M alternative school, and she got into A university after completing a high school certificate at M school. Although she seems to have succeeded, she confessed that she has not yet adapted to South Korean society and is still trying to be a South Korean.

Kweon attended art school in the North. For him, becoming a painter was his sole dream so that he wanted to get into the art college when he arrived in South Korea. Hence, he looked for the information available to apply for art college, as he was already 22 years old when he arrived in the South. Additionally, he was afraid that he had to study with much younger South Korean pupils. Thus, he was not keen on learning officially to get a high school degree in the public education system. Therefore, he got the appropriate information from a social worker at the *Hana* Centre, one of the organisations run by the Korean government. He heard about H school, which was an alternative school run by the evangelical church. Notably, the school provided the intensive modules to prepare for a GED test, and it was the best option for him. He learnt about the C project operated by Y Foundation, an affiliate with the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. He finally received funding from the Foundation, which helped him keep studying and register at a cram school to prepare for the exam to gain admission to art college. Thanks to a range of support from NGOs and Christian organisations, he is studying fine art at C university, hoping to become a painter. However, it was not easy to accomplish his short-term goal because it was a moment of pain when he had to change all the knowledge he had acquired in the North. Simultaneously, it was a growth moment, as it was a process of perspective transformation for him.

Like Kweon, a 20-year- old, Ju was eager to study at the university as quickly as possible. After graduation from *Hanawon*, he took a GED test to achieve secondary school equivalency diploma in a year. He took a College Scholastic Aptitude Test (CSAT, '*Suhaknuryuckpyunga*' or '*Suneung*' in Han'gŭl) after two years' preparation at a cram school. Surprisingly, he did not have any schooling experience in the North as he had dropped out of a primary school as soon as he enrolled because he was severely bullied due to his mother's defection. However, he met a requirement to enter one of the nation's prestigious universities. In fact, he did not need to take the *Suneung* as the South Korean government has exempted young North Korean migrants from the *Suneung* if they want to enter the university: however, he prepared for the CSAT, competing with South Korean pupils equally and entered one of the elite universities which require the *Suneung* certificate

for North Korean migrants in the South. He is studying political science, hoping to be a congressman after reunification. Nevertheless, he is participating in formal and informal civic engagements in South Korean society, as well as managing a YouTube channel to disseminate his migration stories and his life stories in the North. Further discussion on the educational trajectories of both Hae and Min-seok will be found in chapter nine.

With regard to their educational trajectories, it does not merely seem to be personal success stories; all participants highlighted how many supporters helped them overcome a series of challenges and adapt to the new society. The past research demonstrated that diverse supporting networks were vital to refugee student success in school and overcame systematic barriers (Dryden-Peterson, 2019; Kingston, 2019). Echoing Dryden-Peterson's (2019) analysis of the role of a local and global relationship with refugee youths, findings indicate that North Korean migrant youths generate a wide variety of bonding and bridging social capital, drawing on local relationships with South Korean friends, peers and teachers, NGO staff members and international relations with some foreign colleagues. For instance, Hyang and Kweon much appreciated the consideration of a headteacher and a homeroom teacher. They remember that these teachers were easily approachable and unusually inclined to give them advice. Theoretically, it is said that children who experience chronic adversity recover more successfully when they have a positive relationship with a competent adult (Werner & Smith, 1992). For them, these teachers were not only an academic instructor but also confident and positive models for constructing personal identity.

Kim (2016) asserts that many North Korean migrant youths eager to earn a higher degree without having definite goals or plans have been a problem in South Korean education and the government educational support contributes to this phenomenon. In other words, under the name of providing equal educational opportunities, young North Korean migrants can enter any university (excluding B university) without taking the College Scholastic Aptitude Test if they want, and can be exempted from tuition fees for the eighth academic term (MoU, 2019). Contrary to Kim's (2016) finding, this study shows that participants have attended university to fulfil the long-term goal in their lives. More surprisingly, Ju and Hyang set their life goals for unification. In other words, Hyang has a dream to set up a steel company when unified, returning to her hometown. Thus, she studies business and administration at A university in Seoul. Furthermore, Ju would like to return to North Korea and contribute to transforming North Korea into a democratic society when

unified. In order to do so, he decided to study political science at B University--one of the elite universities in the South, as well as participating in a range of civic engagements, judging that it is important to gain knowledge and practice in a democracy. Detailed discussion on participants' perspectives on reunification will be presented in chapter nine. In addition, Geum has chosen her own way to become a florist, rather than holding a bachelor's degree. Despite the dissuasion of many people, Kweon tried to become a painter who draws pictures by which others can heal by looking at his paintings. Working part-time to earn money for living and materials for painting, he is still drawing today to become such a painter. It is noteworthy that they took advantage of various types of educational assistance proactively to fit in their short-term and long-term goal. In this sense, it is shown that academic support has played a significant role in belonging to South Korean society, and further, reshaping the *Jayumin* identities for them in this study.

7.5. Summary

The chapter explores the reshaping of a new civic identity of participants while they adapt to South Korean society: Jayumin identities. North Korean migrants arrived in the country, thinking of the ROK as the final destination, the only country that speaks the same language and where they can be granted citizenship, yet the adaptation process in South Korean society has provided a series of challenges. Despite the affluent monetary support, as well as a wide range of social benefits provided by the Korean government which seem to be a generous settlement package for these unique migrants to adapt to a new society, the nature of the division system intensified the ambivalent aspects in the Korean civic habitus that caused many barriers for them to adapt to a challenging society. The division habitus exacerbated the structure of exclusion in the divided Korean society by distinguishing South Koreans ('us') from North Korean migrants ('them'). Such exclusion and discrimination is a different level of politics of belonging that they have experienced from those of China and Southeast Asia. Those who were unable to tolerate the social exclusion and discrimination ended up moving on to Western countries such as the UK rather than belonging to Korean society.

On the other hand, participants who developed strategies to resolve conflicts and tensions arising from division habitus tended to show that they perceived their knowledge of North Korea and migration experience as symbolic capital which enabled them to contribute to successful unification and social change. Similar to border-crosser identities, social

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networks that helped them settle into Korean society seemed to have played a key role in forming *Jayumin* identities, and simultaneously, these social relations contributed to developing the ability to realise and reflect. It has been confirmed that some participants, who are perceived as bridge citizens, leading to help both South Korean colleagues and fellow North Korean migrants to be able to understand each other, have acquired the bridge-building capacity amid the conflict and tensions arising from the politics of belonging. Participants' learning agility served as a driving force behind the application of appropriate educational systems to find diverse educational opportunities and to develop the potential of each participant at the local and global levels. Furthermore, some participants who developed *Jayumin* identities seemed to have cultivated the enabling capacity that allows them to engage in the process of peacebuilding with social and symbolic capital, South Korean citizenship and a sense of agency as contributing community members.

The chapter concludes by conceptualising the *Jayumin* identities that deny not only the remaining recipients of the government monetary aids, but also passively respond to division habitus. They rather engage with and adapt to new circumstances in the ways they belong and the tensions they felt with not belonging in South Korean society, and how they make efforts to enhance their new capacities for peacebuilding: realising, enabling, reflecting, transforming and bridge-building.

CHAPTER Ⅷ: COSMOPOLITAN CIVIC IDENTITIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

8.1. Introduction

The literature on the second migration of North Korean migrants highlights that mobility toward the Western countries has been crucial in reshaping the lives of North Korean migrants, some of whom have recently resettled in Western countries with new social ties and transnational capital (Cho et al., 2015; Jung et al., 2017; Park, 2014) and they seem to be able to transform hybrid civic identities throughout the transnational migration (Jung et al., 2017; Kang JW, 2020). This chapter explores how North Korean migrants interpret and respond to the intercultural boundary, specifically New Malden as an ethnic enclave and how these intercultural learning experiences and intercultural contacts affect reshaping a new civic identity, the so-called '*cosmopolitan civic identity*.'

8.2. The promises and challenges of acculturation into the UK

8.2.1. The promises

The social benefits for asylum seekers and refugees (ASR)

> I can take pleasure in my work here in England. We do not worry about our retirement and my children's education because of the well-designed social welfare system in Britain
>
> (Ha-young, 29 March 2017, UK)

> London, Swansea, Cardiff, Glasgow, London again. Moving around and adapting, it was very lonely. On top of that, when I start to settle down, I would have to move again. It is unfortunate, but people I have become best friends with would become strangers again after separation. Those sort of things make me *pessimistic.*
>
> (Min-seok, 24 March 2018, UK)

With reference to both participants' accounts, Ha-young and Min-seok showed completely different perspectives on migration to the UK. Ha-young seems to be satisfied with the current life in the UK, while Min-seok seems a bit pessimistic about his life in the UK. Considering mobility, both of them have come to England through a perilous and painful process, especially living in the UK means that they have to acculturate into a whole new intercultural setting which they have never experienced even if they have crossed multiple borders and encountered some supporters throughout the entire migration. As is to be expected, she continues to encounter challenges while adapting to her new life in England, including a lack of English language proficiency. Following asylum seeker dispersal rules in the UK (Oliver, 2020), moreover, she first lived in Swansea and Cardiff and then moved to Glasgow in 2008 and finally to New Malden in 2010. Ha-young's troubles did not end once she arrived in Britain, for instance, she gave birth to a third child, Josep, who was diagnosed with cancer, so her family had to move to Cardiff to seek medical treatment. Fortunately, the British government provided funding to cover the cost of treatment as a result of which her son made a full recovery. The Korean Christian society has also helped her entire family members to adapt to the new community. During the delivery of her fourth child, a medical error was made, and she suffered significant complications, after which she is no longer able to bear children. For this reason, many of her supporters have attempted to persuade her to file a medical malpractice lawsuit against the doctors and the hospital. However, she refused to do so since she was grateful for the tremendously generous assistance she and her family have received from the British government.

In the case of migrants/refugees, there are not only national or other national communities, but there are also various ethnic and cultural communities within the destination society, boundaries between vested mainstream and marginalized non-mainstream, past and present (Phillimore, 2011; Waldinger, 2015). In this sense, Britain, with a long history of immigration, has developed integrated policies to help migrants/refugees adapt to mainstream society (Mathieu, 2018; Oliver & Hughes, 2018; Phillimore, 2011). In particular, North Korean refugees began to enter European countries and other Western nations in response to the US-North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004 (NKHA) in 2004 and the activities of the UN COI have mainly led to the emergence of transnational networks of North Korean refugees since the 2000s (Cho et al., 2014; Jung et al., 2017; Song & Bell, 2019). In this context, the British government was generous with North Korean refugee applications for humanitarian visas. Most visa applications were approved in the early and mid-2000s until 2010 when the British government and South Korean authorities shared biological data (Song & Bell, 2019). Both Ha-young's family, Hae and her father moved to the UK at this very time and seem to have settled more stably in British society by utilising various social benefits.

Table 8.1 shows the social benefits that all participants utilised in the UK. For instance, 'asylum support' (e.g., cash support, housing benefit, working tax benefits, child tax credits and legal aids), education support (e.g., 16 to 19 Bursary Fund and transport for 16 to 19-year-olds in education, education maintenance allowance (EMA), ESOL course and multicultural programmes) and healthcare (e.g., free National Health Service). Ha-young appreciated the social benefits and healthcare system provided by the British government. Hae also appreciated how the refugee protection regime is served by the British government, and she wrote in her journal that she would have probably shouted out that she had received *'Our great leader Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il's deep grace and endless love every moment'* which is a cliché used by North Korean citizens to praise their leaders if she had been protected by the North regime to this extent.

Table 8.1. Social benefits that all participants utilised in the UK

Participants	Social benefits	Year of arrival in the UK
Hae	• 'Asylum support' (e.g., cash support, housing benefit, working tax benefits, child tax credits, ESOL course) • 16 to 19 Bursary Fund: studying at a publicly funded school or college in England - not a university • Subsidised transport for 16 to 19-year-olds in education (e.g., bus oyster 16 plus, registration fee £20, free until 19-year-olds) • Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA) (£30) • Free National Health Service (NHS) • Refugee Action's multicultural programmes • Legal aid from the government • Learning support at F University	2005
Ha-Young	• 'Asylum support' (e.g., cash support, housing benefit, working tax benefits, child tax credits, ESOL course) • NHS funding to cover the cost of treatment for herself and her son's cancer • Free National Health Service (NHS)	2007
Min-Seok	• Free National Health Service (NHS) • 16 to 19 Bursary Fund: studying at a publicly funded school or college in England - not a university • Subsidised transport for 16 to 19-year-olds in education (e.g., bus oyster 16 plus, registration fee £20, free of charge until 19-year-olds)	2007

For her first son, Min-seok, on the other hand, despite his academic success, he still struggles with emotional and developmental problems due to his high-risk background. In fact, he struggled with mental health issues in 2017 because of lacklustre academic performance and pressure from his mother, the unfortunate experiences of migration and family, and the sense of duty to take care of his siblings on behalf of his parents.

As shown in the above-mentioned account, additionally, he has struggled to adapt to his new environment due to moving so frequently, which has been beyond his control. As any teenager, Min-seok has found it difficult to leave a place that has become his home through the relationships he formed and the experiences he had, so it is no surprise that he has some difficulty forming new relationships. Since he is aware of his mother's extraordinary life experiences, moreover, he tends to accept the sacrifices he has had to make.

Apart from this, she claimed that she was satisfied with her current life because she found freedom and happiness in the UK, resulting in making her feel happy with her life despite her myriad difficulties. Despite Ha-young's attempt to settle into South Korean society, she found the insurmountable barriers of how the majority of South Koreans perceived North Korean migrants as politically unfavourable as they were from the ideologically enemy country and economically and culturally marginalised due to a huge gap of cultural difference compared to the average South Koreans. She believed that it was mainly due to her North Korean identity. Although she could enjoy her new, much more affluent, lifestyle in South Korea, Ha-young's challenges led her to feel distraught and as a result, she started to think that South Korea was not her final destination, hence she moved to England with her family in 2007. On the other hand, Ha-young realised that North Korean refugee identity is not a source of exclusion and discrimination in the UK. In the super-diverse society with diverse races, they were simply regarded as refugees of Asian heritage, and rather felt privileged to receive social benefits and welfare from the British government, which was friendly to the humanitarian protection of North Korean refugees at the time.

In such an intercultural setting, their identities were reconstructed by intercultural contacts and intercultural development. However, increasing evidence shows that simple intercultural contact is not particularly valuable in itself. For the contact to acquire educational value, it must be prepared for, facilitated, and debriefed in particular ways (Bennett, 2012) and a great deal of research highlights that pedagogical approach is necessary to change simple intercultural contact into intercultural learning (Banks, 2001; Bennett, 2012).

Furthermore, with regards to peacebuilding capacity, utilising social benefits allows them to nurture enabling capacity in that it can be used to establish a fundamental foundation for adapting to a host society and subsequently becoming a citizen of that society.

The education system in the UK

Discussions on refugee integration highlight education and training, the labour market, health, and housing as being critical to integration because these areas are the minimum requirement for the integration process to start for these minority groups in particular (Bloch, 2020; Phillimore & Goodson, 2008:27; Phillimore, 2012). In the UK, therefore, much attention has been paid to the role of education for social integration (Kymlika, 2007; Mathieu, 2018) and educational institutions as training spaces for becoming British citizens by socialising refugee children and youths (Bloch, 2020; Morris, 2003; Werbner, 2013). Thus, regardless of their legal status, the second-generation who have a refugee family background in the UK have been socialised in schools. Schools educate for citizenship, seeking to nurture 'good citizens' who are not yet prepared to be British (Dryden-Peterson, 2019; Werbner, 2013). In the transition period, education gave them a chance to successfully acculturate in the new culture by the boundary encounters or intercultural contacts in schools.

Throughout the education that Hae and Min-seok received, it shows how they cultivate their capacity and build social capital in the British education system, in both formal and informal settings. As shown in Table 7.4 (see chapter seven), each participant seemed to have used a different strategy to manage early difficulties they faced in adapting to the British educational system. However, all was connected with using the education system in the UK, as well as building connections through friendship with peers and relationships with teachers.

Hae is the only informant who experienced schooling in China during her migration and schooling in other democratic societies, ROK. Hence, she might be familiarised with the formal education system in a democratic society (e.g., democratic way of thinking and critical thinking) and moved to the UK. However, she recalled how hard it was to adapt to a different school culture in England, for instance, what is acceptable in British schools and how to behave towards teachers and peers.

Since Hae and Min-seok had to learn and relearn the new culture, it took more time to adapt to the whole new school climate in a Western country. Other narratives were present in other encouraging stories of school, suggesting the importance of the relationship with peers and teachers who persistently helped them. A lack of language proficiency was a huge challenge for learning and building a friendship in the initial stage of acculturation, yet when they understood what their teachers and peers said at large, they could immerse themselves in the British class.

Hae recalled that the Korean school climate exerted extreme pressure regarding academic achievement. While British schools were enjoyable, most of all, teachers respect each student regardless of their achievement. She also remembered there was no student favouritism which helped pupils to engage in the class and encouraged them to study further. Min-seok confidently recounted how he had grown up at K school in New Malden due to many supportive teachers. It was not confined to the formal educational setting, but they learnt more practical knowledge and met various encounters in the informal educational organisations. Hae recorded the details regarding her experience at Refugee Action and her volunteering experience at Refugee Action.

As further elucidation, the British education system gave them opportunities to discover their potential and support them to study further many times. Hae and Min-seok had struggled with learning English when they moved to England, as well as Hae who had failed GCSE, which is a set of compulsory exams taken by students aged 15–16, after two years of study. Most students take between 5 and 12 subjects (Murphy & Wyness, 2020) and Hae retook five subjects to earn her secondary school equivalency diploma at K college. Compared to native-born pupils, it was a rather unfair situation because Hae came to the UK when she was 14-years-old so that it was too short to adapt to the British education system before taking an exam. However, the authority allowed her to retake five courses at K college and achieve the qualification after completing the Health and Social Care Extended Diploma at K college in 2013 (see figure 8.1). Yet, it became a blessing in disguise for her. By participating in several volunteering acts organised by K college, she could discover what she really wanted to be and found the major to study at university. Above all, it gave her a chance to understand authentic British culture by encountering native-born citizens. Fortunately, she obtained UK citizenship in the same year and joined the university in 2015 paying fees at the home student rate that is applied to UK citizens. In her autobiographical accounts, she appreciated the opportunities that were given by the British government, leading her to continue to study and never give up.

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	Maths B. 309 Tue 09:00-10:00			Tutorial He'███ 231 east Fri 09:00-10:00
BREAK TIME				
English language Fiona A 219 Mon 11:30-12:30	Biology Cl███ 408 Tue 11:30- 12.30	Maths B-- 310 Wed 11:30-12:30	Humanities D███ 205 Thu 11:30-12:30	Geography Jc███ 225 Fri 11:30-12:30
English language Fiona A 219 Mon 12:30-13:30	Biology Cl███ 408 Tue 12:30-13:30	Maths B.███ 310 Wed 12:30-13:30	Humanities D.███ 205 Thu 12:30-13:30	Geography Jc███ 225 Fri 12:30-13:30
LUNCH BREAK				
Geography Jennifer hands 225 Mon 14:45-15:45	English F. - 263 Tue 14:45-15:45	Humanities D-███ 224 Wed 14:45-15:45	Biology G███ ...\ 410 Thu 14:45-15:45	Maths B-███ 424 Fri 14:45-15:45
Geography Jennifer hands 225 Mon 16:00-17:00	English Fi███ 263 16:00-17:00	Humanities D- ...\ 224 Wed 15:45-17:00	Biology G.███ 410 Thu 16:00-17:00	

Figure 8.1. Screenshot about retaking courses at K college. Hae has attached a screenshot of a record on vinspired. Retrieved from https://vinspired.com/

Contrary to Hae, Min-seok only focused on his school work and he was a high performer at one of the famous sixth-forms in New Malden. He received conditional offers to several universities which were quite good for his mother and himself. However, he failed to achieve the required grades. As the vignettes below show, he recorded his emotions on his journal the day when he received the A- level results, with anxiety, frustration, remorse and relief simultaneously, yet he went on clearing and got a Computer and Internet Engineering course at S university. In the end, it turned out well:

> I got rejected. Didn't meet T uni's AAA offer, neither did I meet S uni's ABB offer, both for computer science which was my dream. I was ashamed of myself. There was a sense of "What do I do now", but also a sense of "my mum has brought me all the way here just for me to become a failure"

> (Min-seok's journal, 4 September 2017, UK)

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Since students apply to university almost a year in advance of entry before they receive the A-level exam results in the UK, a good number of studies point out that there is a significant discrepancy between the actual grades and the predicted grades supplied by their high school teachers for each A-level subject (Murphy & Wyness, 2020; UCAS, 2020). Moreover, recent studies have shown that high-attaining, disadvantaged students are significantly more likely to receive pessimistic grade predictions. They show that under-predicted candidates are more likely to enrol in courses for which they are over-qualified (Murphy & Wyness, 2020). Despite the social issues A-level has, the clearing routes allowed Hae and Min-seok to go to university.

Hae and Minseok's brief accounts encompass many aspects contained in the British education policy which ensures the educational equality of treatment regardless of each pupil's academic attainment and ethnic background. This is once they show their capacity to achieve the standards of the UK's education system, based on the neoliberal orthodox: namely, 'show your ability, and then, you will get an opportunity to grow and succeed.'

8.2.2. The challenges

Language barriers and academic under-achievement

The existing research has emphasised that language difficulties are one of the biggest challenges and are associated with a host of negative outcomes, including increased maladjustment, academic under-achievement for youths and feelings of helplessness and insecurity (Ellis, 2010; Kumari, 2011; Mostowska, 2014). For migrant pupils, more importantly, lack of language proficiency led them to be marginalised by the mainstream culture as language always contributes to make sense and interact with the natives. When participants started to study in the British schools, for instance, Hae and Minseok did not make sense of much of the slang and idioms with which all native-born peers were familiar. For example, Hae recalled how she was embarrassed because she could not understand the meaning of some phrases such as 'wake up smell the coffee' or 'storm in a teacup.' Hae and Min-seok's account helped to understand how often they must have felt anxious or nervous when they listened to and responded to their friends and teachers at school without mastering English.

Although the need to establish policies related to English learning for migrant learners who speak English as a second language, funds and social benefits for supporting

disadvantaged groups such as migrants have been reduced or abolished by the conservative-led coalition government (Bailey & Ball, 2016), for instance, funding (£20 million) for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) has been reduced (Oliver & Hughes, 2018). Through the stories of studying English from Hae and Minseok, while there are a few educational supports to learn English in the formal educational system, such supports were neither appropriate nor sufficient for them. Instead, they could overcome such difficulties with individuals such as a Korean teaching assistant, native-born peers and volunteers at the NGOs.

According to Hae's account about her first schooling experience in the UK, her case seems to be the second category according to the above separatory classes. When she first went to school in year 9, the class was different from the high performers only in the main subjects such as maths, science and English. Hence, she was allocated to the low-performance classes. It led her to feel uncomfortable to see everyday disruptions in the classroom and prevented her from integrating into the mainstream culture in the initial stage of acculturation. Moreover, she explained how hard it was to adjust to the class culture because most of her native-born classmates came from the working class. They did not care about studying and demonstrated very disruptive behaviour in the classroom such as yelling inside or outside of the classroom, snoring in class and aggression/disrespect toward other pupils or teachers and teaching assistants. Such a disruptive classroom climate, which had never been seen elsewhere, such as in China and Korea, hindered her from adjusting to school life, resulting in causing academic under-achievement in the initial stage of adaptation to the new life in the UK. Consequently, it led her to move to another school.

Cultural belonging

> No matter how small, if a 'group' is formed, then so does culture. This goes for schools on a small scale, and the place of residency on a big scale. For example, in P High School, the attitude towards schoolwork wasn't as serious, so it was a 'fashion' to wear the tie loosely. In K School, however, the attitude towards work was solemn. Even schools have these different standards of 'culture', now imagine this on a big scale

> (Min-seok, 24 April 2017, UK)

The later generation of North Korean migrants struggled with a wide variety of challenges. In particular, the findings demonstrate that cultural belonging was the major obstacle to adapting to British society. As shown in the above-mentioned reflection of Min-seok, cultural belonging is one of the most difficult challenges when adapting to a new

cultural milieu if the value systems of the indigenous culture are significantly discrepant from those of the new culture (e.g., wearing different types of necktie to identify social class) (Ellis, 2010; Farver et al., 2002). For Hae and Min-seok, British school cultures were a whole new socio-cultural structure, making them distinctive in everyday boundary experiences.

Since language is an essential tool for interpreting cultural behaviours, language barriers quickly raise problems with relation to cultural belonging. As migrants, North Korean migrants undergo socio-cultural adaptation (Lee, 2002; Choi, 2013). They struggle with "cultural belonging," which leads migrants to learn and relearn the basic cultural rules by which the new environment around them is operating so that their energies are spent surviving rather than thriving (Pollock & Van Reken, 2010:42). Such a challenge is more problematic to migrants/refugees who move on to a new society without full preparation.

Many studies assert that North Korean migrants decided to move to the UK arbitrarily due to the frustration and dissatisfaction with life in the South. Hence, they are more likely to struggle with adapting to the UK (Chun, 2018; Shin, 2018; Song & Bell, 2019), and furthermore, the 'on-migration' made it difficult for their children to acculturate to the British community due to the parents' failure of acculturation (Song & Bell, 2019). Hae and Min-seok's reflection shows that parents' arbitrary decisions became more problematic to their children, as well as leading them to fail their acculturation:

> Presumably, my father seemed to know very little about England; for instance, he said that Britain as a mother of socialism might be a good nation (chuckle). Honestly, I didn't know about the UK at all before moving to the UK
>
> (Hae, 18 July 2018, UK)

> Well… there's no option, I just followed my mum and came here. When I heard that my family would move to Britain, I merely thought I could take a double-decker bus or might see the Queen
>
> (Min-Seok, 24 March 2018, UK)

From the accounts mentioned above, both subjects came to the UK with a misconception about England, at most, with an awareness of some cultural symbols of Britain (e.g., a double-decker bus or the Queen). Similar to Westermeyer's (1991:136-7) observation, they had to adapt to the new community along with "refugee parents who fail to learn English; to cooperate with the school system in the education of their children; to serve as role models or to teach relevant social survival skills to their children." Thus, acculturation is often associated with relationship conflicts with parents. More importantly, they tend to give up their desires and wishes because they knew a great deal of sacrifice and agonising

ordeal. Min-seok very often described his sentiment about his mother's extraordinary life stories, namely, he wanted to repay his mother for putting her life on the line to give him the opportunities that she could not have:

> The sole fact that she was willing to exchange her life for mine, and the only fact that I have seen her struggling to adapt to a country where she doesn't speak a word of English—a desire, twisted it may be, to give all I have to show her that her sacrifice was worth it.

(Min-seok, 24 April 2017, UK)

Unlike Hae, Min-seok moved to several cities within the UK and the multiple moves contributed to forming a pessimistic attitude regarding the relationship. He appeared to be expressing sadness at being alone. Struggling to identify the term for this emotion, Min-seok offered the term, 'pessimistic,' and defined it for him. For Min-seok, the harder the situation is, the more he missed South Korea where there were intimate friends in school or civic groups. However, after moving to New Malden, he met 'one or two people who prove his theory wrong, for instance, a friend who he still talks to despite being in the US' outside of the UK. He seems to have recovered his optimistic mindset regarding relationship through those friends and compassionate teachers whom he had met in London.

Identity conflict results from self-denial

Theoretically, the identity conflict of refugee children and adolescents is known as one of the biggest challenges when adapting to the host community (Kumari, 2011; Westermeyer, 1991). The literature on the identity conflict of migrants/refugees asserts that understanding the root causes of identity conflict can be useful to explore how it affects the claim to belonging of second-generation people from migrant backgrounds and how they construct civic identities (Bloch, 2020; Garapich, 2016).

For North Korean migrants, they had experienced to some extent some Asian cultures and values before coming to the UK, yet North Korean refugee children have faced identity conflicts due to the denial of their origin and culture, similar to refugee children and adolescents who suffer from identity conflicts during constructing a personal sense of self (Westermeyer, 1991). This is heavily related to the nature of North Korean civic habitus, namely, 'self-denial.' Throughout the migration process from China to the South, these migrants coped with structural violence by denying North Korean identity that Abrams and Emler (1992:282) call the "psychological defensive denial" at the personal level.

The literature on the migration of North Korean migrants confirmed that most of the North Korean migrants moved to the UK with the help of acquaintances who had already resettled in England or transnational migratory brokers, holding South Korean passports (Kim, 2016; Song & Bell, 2019; Wolan, 2013). Therefore, many of them are dual nationals. Dual nationality can be one of the significant legal barriers to applying for humanitarian protection visas in the UK. Hence, they hid their South Korean national identity this time to claim asylum as refugees for successful resettlement in the UK (Lee, 2019; Jung, 2014; Song & Bell, 2019).

However, in terms of self-denial, all three participants Hae, Min-seok and Ha-young were not equally denied their identity. Only Hae consistently denied her civic identities. She often felt a sense of guilt about coming to the UK as a former South Korean citizen, although she followed her father. She expressed the burden of hiding her real name and date of birth. The following narrative extract illustrates an example of identity conflict which Hae had confronted in school:

> I hid my North Korean identity and pretended to be a South Korean immigrant in class. Daesol, a second-generation immigrant, suggested watching a Korean film, entitled 'Brotherhood of war', which described the Korean War, and I ended up saying that I was from North Korea during the discussion. Surprisingly, he passionately criticised me as a 'COMMIE' and I also blamed him as a 'SOUTH KOREAN PUPPET!'

> (Hae, 8 September 2018, UK)

From her vignette above, it has shown that Hae had been suffering from both identity conflicts and ideology frictions in the UK and I hypothesise that these conflicts originated from the education system. According to Hae's additional explanation about Daesol, who heard that his grandfather had died due to North Korean invaders ('commies') in the Korean War. Hence, he has always heard about the North and North Koreans being an enemy of the South from his parents and relatives. This may have indoctrinated him about the North before his family immigrated to the UK.

Thus, it may naturally transpire that North Korea is an equally 'bad country.' For her native-born peers, they may have formed the stereotype about the North Korean regime being a hermit country or a nuclear-armed state through Western media coverages. Since she had experienced a high level of hostility when she revealed her original civic identity, she further hid her identity and she expressed how difficult it was to disclose her original nationality. Hae said 'when she introduced herself as a North Korean migrant in ROK, South

Koreans perceived her as an 'enemy of the state,' yet when she revealed herself as a former North Korean in the UK, she became an 'enemy of the world.'

On the other hand, Min-seok regarded his background, which is a second-generation person with a North Korean refugee background, as an advantage because '*English men and women think it is cool to speak out on the minority side to defend the rights and interests of minorities, so-called vocal minority*'. Therefore, he thought that if he said he was a North Korean refugee, he could be in an advantageous position and meet many advocates who would support him. In this sense, there was no reason to hide that he and his family came from North Korea and he regarded his experience and knowledge about North Korea as symbolic capital as Bourdieu (1975/1987) identifies. That is, the value of one's capital is subject to, but not completely constrained by, the ideologies of different groups or fields. However, they become symbolic capital when each capital is "perceived and recognised as legitimate"(p. 4). Although Min-seok was not born in North Korea, and his experience with the North and its people was only heard from his parents or through the media, his North Korean identity was seen as a symbolic capital which is a minority to be protected by British society and the British. In the initial stage of on-migration, examples of stigmatisation and marginalisation were evident due to North Korean identities, a lack of knowledge about the host society and a lack of language proficiency. This further hindered their ability to adapt to British society. Some of them continued to hide their original civic identities, leading to exacerbate the identity conflict.

It naturally led them to build bonds with fellow North Korean refugees or South Korean immigrants to successfully acculturate in the UK to resolve such challenges. Thus, most North Korean refugees resettled to New Malden, which is the largest Korean community in Europe (Pattison, 2018; Song & Bell, 2019), as well as at the same time, the only place where North Korean migrants, ethnic Korean migrants and South Korean migrants coexist as a (im)migrants status. In that sense, this thesis regards New Malden as a cosmopolitan space which enables us to imagine a future unified Korea.

8.3. New Malden, a cosmopolitan space in the UK

Overview

New Malden is a suburb in southwest London, in the boroughs of Kingston and Merton. Over two-thirds (69%) of Kingston residents are white. Almost one-third (31%) are from black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) communities (London Datastore, 2017). The

Korean population in the borough is around 20,000, according to the 2018 census (Kingston Liberal Democrats, 2018).

The migration of South Koreans to the area began after the original embassy of the Republic of Korea was established there in 1949 (Pattison, 2018; Shin HR, 2018; Yi HY, 2016) and a Korean company, Samsung Electronics, had its UK offices in New Malden until they moved to their current location in Chertsey, Surrey in 2005. At the beginning of the formation of the Korean community, on the one hand, the majority of residents of South Koreans were embassy staff members. On the other hand, South Korean immigrants have migrated to New Malden since the 1970s (Lee, 2012).

More than 1,000 North Korean migrants came to the UK before the UK government strictly cracked down on the number of North Koreans being allowed into the country in 2010. Most of them were granted indefinite leave and obtained British citizenship (Fischer, 2015; Lee JS, 2019; Song & Bell, 2019; Shin HR, 2018).

Figure 8.2. The street of New Malden in April 2017 (taken by the author)

New Malden looks like a typical English urban city (see figure 8.2). Yet, it is the only community where South and North Koreans and even ethnic Korean Chinese (*Chusunjok* in Han'gŭl) live together with equal migrant status in the same neighbourhood outside the Korean peninsula (Lee JS, 2019; Oh WH, 2011). This is a rare phenomenon; one of the 'Korean transnational contact zones' in which South Korean immigrants and North Korean refugees interact with each other. Hence, New Malden has been named as 'London's Little Korea' (Knight, 2011), 'the Korea republic of New Malden' (Fischer, 2015) and 'the place for the litmus test of Korean reunification' (Shin, 2018). As a result, some ethnographic studies have undertaken to identify the features of unique migrants' daily lives in this transnational enclave and the possibility of the potential reunification (Lee, 2019; Yi, 2016; Shin HR, 2018).

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Characteristics of New Malden

As Yuval-Davis et al. (2018) stress, stereotypes of racialised minorities as 'not belonging' are common in the workplace because of the lack of cultural capital of these minority groups. For North Korean migrants, South Korea was a kind of home country where they once lived, and thus, they have become accustomed to the lifestyle of South Korean society and Korean work ethics. In particular, South Korean immigrants with higher economic and cultural capital and secured legal status have formed some economic, political, and cultural institutional channels, focusing more on empowerment and solidarity in the UK than on plans for advancement in the country of origin (Shin, 2018). Therefore, the past research points out that the most salient feature of the Korean town in New Malden is that North Koreans were assimilated to a broader Korean ethnic enclave, copying what South Koreans thought and behaved and what Korean associations did (Lee, 2019). They were assimilated into the way in which ethnic minorities survive in a multicultural society. In this sense, they had a chance to gain some skills and build networks to adapt to the British community by working with South Korean employers even though they had been discriminated against by the South Korean citizens while they lived in the South (Lee, 2019; Shin, 2018). For instance, Ha-young struggles to learn the English language, which further hinders her ability to adapt to British society. Therefore, it was natural that she has chosen New Malden, where she did not need to master English.

The fact that South Korean immigrants brought the Korean culture to the UK, and thus tried to keep the South Korean way of thinking and lifestyle in the UK— Korean work ethic, educational fever, academic credentials and division habitus— very often caused conflicts and tensions between South Korean immigrants and North Korean refugees. Similar to Hae, Ha-young was excluded by South Korean immigrants when her original nationality was known.

In terms of intercultural development, the transnational migration and acculturation experience in the UK help North Korean refugees enhance the capacities that combine the cultural and symbolic boundaries in New Malden, which acts as a cosmopolitan community for North Korean refugees. Contrary to classrooms where only English is encouraged, for example, Hae spoke English, Mandarin, [North and South] Korean, and Min-seok spoke English and [South] Korean in New Malden. She was encouraged to use all of her communication toolkits when talking to others in New Malden. Strict language boundaries or the British ways of thinking were not enforced on these North Korean refugee youths, at least in New Malden. As a result, they were able to communicate smoothly with other people, including ethnic Chinese, fellow North Koreans, [South] Korean immigrant

friends, and native English, which also contributed to the development of their intercultural sensitivity.

Before commencing the fieldwork, I attended several ethnic group events such as the year-end party in Kingston (See figure 8.3) and found that they seemed to not only focus on establishing good relationships with the South Korean Association (the North Korean leader in this organisation invited some South Korean immigrants and faith leaders), but also representing their group members. That is, the North Korean organisation acts as reinforcing both bonding and bridging social capital for them. In this sense, South Korean ethnic organisations became a role model for them. I found that the hierarchy among them reproduced while they developed familiarity with each other at personal levels in the ethnic, cultural centres. Moreover, such dependence seemed to be reinventing new values and experiences in New Malden by remembering their roots and sharing their experiences and memories about their home countries which were not allowed in ROK because of National Security Law (NSL). The law forbids praise or overt support for the North Korean regime and has been repeatedly used to silence or combat political dissent in South Korean society (Kraft, 2006). Due to the environment created by the outdated piece of anti-communist law, both North Korean migrants and native-born South Koreans alike have been banned from telling positive stories about North Korea (Chubb, 2014:136–150). In this sense, New Malden seemed to be a space where cosmopolitan civic identity can be reconstructed, with no spatial or ideological boundaries between (im)migrants from the two Koreas. They simply recognised either side as migrant status, at least, in New Malden.

Figure 8.3. The year-end party in Kingston, December in 2016 (taken by the author)

8.4. Impact of intercultural development in British society on the reconstruction of cosmopolitan civic identities

Intercultural contacts

Previous studies have mostly found a positive association between intercultural contacts and psychological/socio-cultural adaptation (Berry, 1999, 2013; Lebedeva et al., 2016). That is, maintaining contact with, and participating in mainstream society is associated with psychological adaptation (e.g., better well-being, greater self-esteem and life satisfaction), and socio-cultural adaptation (e.g., academic achievement, career success, social skills, lack of behavioural problems) (Berry, 2013; Hui et al., 2015; Kruusvall, Vetik, & Berry, 2009). In particular, the literature on intercultural contacts emphasises that the teacher's role is essential to enhance intercultural development (Keegan, 2017; Kumari, 2011).

Compared with Hae and Min-seok in school, it has been confirmed that teachers and teaching assistants were the critical intercultural contacts that allowed them to develop intercultural competences. In Min-seok's accounts, he could grow in London owing to the support of British natives, mainly teachers and friends. Thanks to the support and consultation of some dedicated teachers, he was able to overcome the crisis of faith caused by questioning the existence of God at the age of fourteen and he could deepen his knowledge and logical thinking in the sixth-form in New Malden. Hae also remembered many supportive teachers willing to help her adapt to the new school environment. Teachers did not compel pupils to keep rules and they casually responded to pupils' questions and always treated them equally and humanely as she recalled. As Hae and Min-seok recalled, most teachers whom they met in British schools showed socmopolitan awareness which is a critical factor of intercultural competences and affects the enhancement of self-efficacy beliefs, which are central mechanisms of personal agency (Bandura, 1997). Compared to the teachers Hae met at a primary school where she studied in China, she recalled that they made her feel relatively comfortable. She recalled that she learned that anyone deserves respect from the British teacher's behaviour of being patient toward the incredibly disruptive behaviours of pupils. Moreover, their native friends helped them to adapt to the British school climate. Whenever she heard any vocabulary she did not know during the conversation, she asked her native friends and they kindly informed her of the meaning, explaining the situation in which the vocabulary was used.

Interculturality and Intercultural development

By looking at the educational trajectories of two informants and New Malden's features, the potential for both conflict and learning opportunities was evident for all participants. I interpret such development as an intercultural sensitivity. The term "intercultural refers to a particular kind of interaction or communication among people, one in which differences in cultures play a role in the creation of meaning" and it may also refer to the kind of skills or competence necessary to deal with cross-cultural contact (Bennett, 2012:2). A great deal of existing research on intercultural sensitivity claims that people who have a greater sensitivity are more likely to engage in intercultural contacts and second-generation immigrants easily develop intercultural sensitivity by practising everyday multiculturalism through interacting with intercultural contexts (Bennett, 2014; Werbner, 2013).

In particular, the core intercultural sensitivity and related skills result from the way in which learners interpret cultural differences (Bennett, 1986). For instance, Min-seok who experienced both societies found it possible to easily compare and analyse differences in educational climate between the ROK and UK. He pointed out a salient phenomenon of the Korean educational climate, the so-called academic credential (*Hak-bul* in Han'gŭl) which refers to "the conceptual social stratification based on an individual's university degree" (Kim & Park, 2008:69). Despite immigration to England, South Korean parents who grew up in the ROK were instilling such values of South Korean society into their children, since education was regarded as the only way to ensure future success in Korean society. He recounted that they heavily value the *Hak-bul* rather than the process of academic attainments or their children's dreams. Hence, it leads Korean immigrant pupils to focus on the result of their exams and discourages them from planning their long-term goals. Since a British society where social classes are divided by status rather than an academic credential, he thought that 'such meaningless values seemed to be imposed on his Korean friends to force them to enter Oxbridge without the aim of life'. Moreover, unlike other British communities, he interpreted that the reason why the new educational business— cram schools— is so prosperous in New Malden where [South] Korean immigrants live most in the UK is because of the distinctive Korean educational value.

His anecdotal reflection echoes some of the earlier literature. As Bennett (1986, 2014) argues, intercultural sensitivity can be understood as a kind of cognitive complexity, where greater sensitivity is represented in the creation and differentiation of cultural diversities. People who have a high level of sensitivity towards different cultures, who recognise intergroup differences and respect equal rights, will be aware of their own

worldview and can create their own 'meaning-making' on the basis of the basic differentiation of cultural categories. Likewise, Min-seok highlighted several key points of different cultural patterns between the ROK and the UK— Korean parents' educational fever, Korean work ethic and Hak-bul — which he felt much more when he moved to London. He could easily compare the cultural differences of Korean immigrants and British natives, based on his life experience and knowledge, as well as his point of view regarding the aim of education. As discussed earlier in Chapter six, the intercultural development of participants seems to be highly related to transnational capital. Unlike the borders in China and third countries, specifically, the evidence shows that both location-specific capital (Nowicka, 2013; Cederberg, 2015) and migration-specific capital (Erel, 2010) were developed in this intercultural context. As Min-seok has shown in the above recollections, his embodied cultural identification, formed in the ROK, shifted as a cultural capital that allowed him to construe and judge his South Korean immigrant friends' behaviours and value systems in the process of migration.

Another aspect of intercultural development is that one may experience "internal self-transformation" (Snauwaert, 2009:14). Drawing on Snauwaert's (2009) concept of internal self-transformation, participants seemed to develop 'reflecting capacity' by embracing cultural differences through the activities of self-reflection and ethical responses to their friends (Stewart & Bennett, 1991; Bennett, 1993). As Hae's vignette below shows, she recorded her reflection on her colleagues who worked together for the student conference in her journal. Above all, she recalled how she was impressed by hearing one of her colleagues' heart-wrenching experiences on Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), as well as migration stories from Somalia. From her responses to her friend's tragic incident, she confessed that she used to think that she had a difficult childhood in the North and was unfortunate due to the experiences of migration and resettlement in new societies where she was unable to choose. However, she had realised that her life experience in the North and the struggles that she had suffered were nothing compared to that of her friend, J. In addition to J's stories, talking to other colleagues about the various research topics (e.g., #Woke: To what extent does the satirical sitcom South Park engage in ones' critical consciousness?) enabled her to reflect back on her life and broaden her view.

Diversity is simply understood as ethnic heterogeneity and is known to have a profound impact on generalised expectations such as community (Putnam, 2007) or trust or sympathy for others (Schmid & Hewstone, 2019). For Hae, therefore, talking about the global migration phenomenon and its influence with her diverse ethnic and religious colleagues by watching episodes of people's idiotic thoughts and attitudes toward the migrants, or sharing the trauma of her friend who went through FGM led to cultivating intercultural sensitivity that enabled her to fully sympathise with the sufferings of other

migrants/ refugee populations. Apart from her academic activities, she volunteered as an interpreter at the Refugee Action in which she had received many benefits and support when she and her father were asylum seekers. She saw an enormous influx of migrants into Britain, sympathising with the suffering of these minorities, and having the opportunity to think about how the society could become a more inclusive and just society.

Through her experiences, Hae said that experiencing an empathetic response toward other vulnerable populations enabled her to feel a strong sense of connection and power which was often increased, restored and/or sometimes strengthened (This confirms the findings of Brown (2006)). I extended the term compassion or compassionate imagination as Nussbaum (1996) argues not as a pity, but as social justice. In such conceptualisation, intercultural contacts and intercultural development that participants had developed throughout transnational migration is associated with the peacebuilding capacities such as realising, reflecting and bridge-building.

For Hae and Min-seok, such adaptation experiences in New Malden show how it led to the reconstruction of civic identity as a cosmopolitan who treats others equally and humanely (Nussbaum, 1996, 2001; Readon & Snauwaert, 2011). However, it is important to emphasise that the three participants' strategies and degree of intercultural competence differed. Hae was encouraged to interact with more intercultural contacts and participated in a range of volunteer activities in the host society, so she seems to have developed a high level of intercultural sensitivity, compared with both Min-seok and Ha-young. Even when she and her father had struggled with resettlement, she interacted with a couple of volunteers, including a Korean translator at the Home Office, a solicitor who was a person from Hong Kong, a Spanish volunteer at Refugee Action, as well as British natives (e.g., teachers, teaching assisstants and lecturers, friends and their family) and fellow North Korean refugees as her mentor when she acculturated in British society. In addition, working as a voluntary translator at the Home Office and Refugee Action, she could meet with many refugees.

In contrast, Min-seok's intercultural contacts are relatively confined within New Malden such as a church, school and restaurants where he sometimes works as a part-timer. He has not participated in any volunteering work and spent most of his time alone, reading books or developing coding. Since he came to the UK in 2007, he had to look after his younger siblings on behalf of his parents who had to work. In addition, he moved to several cities within the UK which prevented him from settling in the city permanently. It might have hindered him from developing intercultural sensitivity through various intercultural contacts. Ha-young rarely interacts with British natives in mainstream society in her daily life. In fact, there is no necessity for her to interact with British natives as all the

issues she faced are related to her family or her Korean colleagues at church or her workplaces run by South Korean immigrants as long as she lives in New Malden. Therefore, it is natural that her intercultural sensitivity is much lower than her children.

Reconstruction of cosmopolitan civic identities

The existing research points out that obtaining British citizenship seems to have enabled them to reshape their national identity, as well as enhancing their 'sense of well-being' (Lee, 2019; Song & Bell, 2019). As Ha-young illustrates, she perceived it could be a ticket to ascend the social ladder as a British citizen, especially for her children. They are no longer precarious refugees once they obtain citizenship. For Ha-Young, '*having British citizenship'* may be a strategy not for herself but for her children who will live as 'genuine British citizens'. In this sense, her desire to obtain South Korean citizenship or British citizenship, which represent a legally binding attachment to a nation-state in the first country, yet her goal to become South Korean or British "became a powerful symbol of freedom, as well as embodying other life possibilities for her children".

However, Hae or Min-seok as second-generation people showed the complexity of national identity. Although Hae had lived her adult life in the UK, she was born in North Korea and sometimes visited South Korea to meet her mother. Her description of her national identity resembled that of Min-Seok, who lived the majority of his nineteen years in the UK. However, she simultaneously rejects an identity that is both British and Korean.

> Well, I don't think I understand 100% of each culture either. And I don't think I can genuinely say that I am British. Sometimes I feel in the middle of belonging nowhere. If I think about my identity as British, I question myself, am I deeply rooted in this country? Whether I like it or not, I don't have roots anywhere, how does that make me feel?

> (Hae's digital journal, 17 July 2018, UK)

On the other hand, Min-seok's identification as a North Korean migrant who has British citizenship seemed more fundamental and less negotiated than Hae's acknowledgement of her national identity. It was tied to his bond with his parents even if he was born in Yanbian, China and has never been to the North.

> Regardless of my current national identity, which is British. I wish to emphasise the fact that I am North Korean by blood because as a person whose existence results from many sacrifices that my mother and my father

made; I do not wish to abandon my origins and I want to do everything in my power to represent the better future that I want North Korea to have

The aforementioned vignettes can illustrate the distinctive "cosmopolitan civic identity" through the experience of more than one state, being involved in the socio-political processes and cultures in each state (Appiah, 2007; Nussbaum, 1996a). That is, these informants' identities seem to no longer belong to one nation-state, either South or North Korea or the United Kingdom (This confirms the findings of Song and Bell (2019)), and they show the tensions with belonging and not belonging in liberal democratic societies. Literature on transnational and border studies has long highlighted the limits in politics of belonging that leads the vulnerable populations to suffer from ongoing challenges to those boundaries by members within the community (Gonzales & Sigona, 2017; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018). Since migrants/ refugees exist in the grey spaces between inclusion and exclusion, they may be fully excluded from the legal-political system but able to carry out a range of social interactions and activities across the various borders (Sigona & Hughes, 2012; Bloch, Sigona & Zetter, 2014). Such transnational practices allow them to cultivate cultural competence and cultural understanding that is not "local communal culture, but cultures beyond one's familiar experience" (Feinberg, 1998:159). As shown in Min-seok's accounts, he constantly spoke to me about various social issues associated with the Korean peninsula (e.g., the impeachment of the former Korean president and DPRK-US summit), educational issues (e.g., A-level reform) in the UK and global crisis (e.g., global warming) while interviews and during journaling. In such ways, Min-seok and Hae could see different cultures "internal" and develop an "audit for the efforts and achievements that cultural practices require" in the process (Feinberg, 1998:159). Such intercultural capacity is ultimately making strangers familiar which is linked to Nussbaum's (1996) cosmopolitan civic identity.

More importantly, I discovered that economic relations and cultural and organisational hierarchies among three migrants in the Korean enclave, New Malden, shaped the extended ties among the countries in which they have had the experience. Hence, the transnational migration of North Korean migrants seems to offer some indication of cosmopolitan consciousness which creates unity and solidarity, leading to coping with limits of nationalistic perspectives (Starkey, 2017). That is, at least in New Malden, they live there keeping a balance between conflict and reconciliation as (im)migrants who settled in a British city rather than as North Korean refugees, South Korean immigrants, and even ethnic Koreans. Therefore, their adaptation experience in New Malden can be interpreted as some

possibilities that can create a cosmopolitan space which does not necessarily require specific norms and values to fit in the British society.

Furthermore, they encountered substantial intercultural contacts in London and they realised that human beings as vulnerable beings have struggled with a range of challenges. Hae met female peers who were refugees, or were born as working class. Working with them, she had cultivated the realising and reflecting capacity that is more inclusive and empathic towards the Other. This is consistent with the ethos of cosmopolitanism, leading to transforming her civic identity into cosmopolitan civic identity that implies "ethical identity" (Appiah, 2007:87). This suggests the possibility of developing into a bridging civic identity, an imagined identity that will be required for a future unified Korea.

8.5. Summary

Having endured a repressive government and a perilous escape, the North Korean refugees are here in the UK, instrumentalising their North Korean identity as a survival toolkit while they acculturate in the UK. Similar to other refugee populations, North Korean refugees struggled with a series of challenges to resettle in the UK. Yet life in New Malden as a cosmopolitan space helps the newcomers to adapt to British society. Moreover, by sharing collective memories and culture between the North and the South, they seemed to achieve a synergy effect. At the same time, various intercultural contacts contributed to developing the intercultural development for the second generation of North Korean refugees. A high level of intercultural sensitivity contributed to empathetical behaviours toward ethnically diverse groups and they ethically respond to other human beings. Furthermore, they seemed to have not belonged to a particular society, either the UK or North and South Korea. In this chapter, thus, I framed the reconstruction of cosmopolitan civic identities. Whilst there are clear signs of cosmopolitan civic identity formation of North Korean refugees in the Korean community of New Malden, perhaps it is still premature to term them bridging civic identities. Since bridging civic identities are imagined identities for the potential unification on the Korean peninsula, in the next chapter the study explores what makes bridging civic identity by looking into participants' perspectives on the potential unification and how they imagine their role in the context of unification on the Korean peninsula. In addition, a conceptual model is proposed on how to develop citizens' peace-building capabilities required in the era of unification by explaining the relationship between five adaptation strategies developed during transnational migration and the seven peacebuilding capabilities developed based on peacebuilding education and education for cosmopolitan citizenship.

CHAPTER IX: IMAGINING BRIDGING CIVIC IDENTITIES IN FUTURE UNIFIED KOREA

9.1. Introduction

This study explores the peacebuilding capacity of North Korean migrants and their civic identity transformation throughout the transnational migration and adaptation experience, aimed at conceptualising the new civic identities that will be required in future unified Korea. As discussed in Chapter three, this thesis has termed 'bridging civic identities'—humanising, interconnected and imagined —and thus, citizens who have internalised bridging civic identities are called 'bridge citizens'. Drawing from participants' perspectives on future Korean unification and the role they imagine in a unified Korea, this chapter firstly addresses how to construct imagined identities for the future unification of the Korean peninsula.

The second section of the chapter demonstrates the meaning of civic identity transformation at each aspect of civic identity in the process of migration, as well as how each peacebuilding capacity was developed by connecting adaptation strategies which were developed by resolving conflicts and politics of belonging caused by discrimination and marginalisation at various borders. The thesis identifies five different adaptation strategies that participants have developed to overcome socio-political and cultural challenges in both ROK or the UK. These are mobility, self-reflection, resilience, learning agility and social networks.

Because of positioning this research as relational social constructionist within interpretivism, participants' adaptation strategies and social networks were interpreted to be essential to construct bridging civic identities and ultimately these factors play a key role in cultivating a peacebuilding capacity. This chapter thus offers a conceptualisation of the peacebuilding capacity creation framework as a new educational approach of peacebuilding citizenship education, linking these adaptation strategies and social networks. Given the fact that social networks contribute to securing a range of information about the proposed destinations of those migrants and to assisting their adjustment after arrival, this chapter explores the operation of such networks before, during, and after the migration at the end of this chapter.

9.2. Unified Korea as an Imagined Nation

9.2.1. Perspectives on Korean Unification

In DPRK, I learnt about a '*Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo'* where the two governments coexist. Yet, the government wants to take the initiative and unify one single [capitalist] economy and [democratic] political system in a South Korean way. But is it possible to politically merge a democracy and a family-run dictatorship?

(Kweon, 14 January 2018, ROK)

With a larger population and North Korea's abundant resources combined with South Korea's capital, the unified Korea's economy will eventually grow tremendously. There will be dreams, hopes and positive vibes for North Korean children and youths. My only concern is China which might be a huge barrier

(Geum, 29 November 2017, ROK)

The united nation would very well increase the overall sense of accomplishment for the population, as unifying North and South Korea was a dream for many. So, I think it is necessary in the long term, but in the short term I don't think it is possible and it shouldn't be done in the near future

(Min-seok, 31 March 2018, UK)

These accounts above show the various point of views that characterise how these informants looks at unification, including the vitally important question of how desirable and likely it is that foreign powers would play a role in the process, the differences between the North and South Korean way of a unification plan and the average South Korean citizen's attitudes toward future unification. Their perspectives on Korean unification seemed to be cautiously optimistic on the whole. Apart from that, Ju said he does not know when unification will come though – cordially anticipating that it could be in approximately 20 years' time – but he believes he will go back there in his lifetime. Geum expected it would be possible in a decade. However, Min-seok acknowledged the benefits of Korean unification, as well as emphasised that both Koreas should prepare for reunification as sophisticatedly as they can as a long-term goal of the nation.

As shown above, Kweon distinguished the North Korean unification policy from South Korea's official unification plan, namely, "unification plans for a national community" (Huh et al., 2012:29) which would not be possible in the near future. As he points out, both

Koreas have developed totally different systems socially, politically and economically. It seems that neither of them will ever be unified without one regime collapsing. Interestingly, he proposed his own blueprint of Korean unification, imagining future unified Korea through his migration experience.

He was the only participant who left DPRK through the Changbai Korean Autonomous County. As shown in figure 6.1 in chapter six, there are two Korean autonomous prefectures in China: Changbai Korean Autonomous County close to the Yalu River and the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture nearby the Tumen River. The majority of refugees had chosen these two migration courses by crossing two rivers into two Korean autonomous districts in China and some of the escapees settled down in these prefectures. Although Changbai is smaller than Yanbian, there are also many ethnic Korean-Chinese living there, and the Chinese government has designated these two regions as autonomous political, economic and cultural areas (Tudor & Peterson, 2015; Lankov, 2004). With regards to a unified nation, he imagined it would be possible to establish a sort of autonomous unified prefecture as a showcase of Korean unification in Changbai which would enable the two Koreas to test the feasibility of real unification if neighbouring countries such as China and both Koreas are agreed. According to his imagination, it should be opened for both North and South Korean citizens to live there, and even all global citizens could be entitled to live in such a transitional unified Korea and they could be granted unified Korean citizenship if they want to. His imagined unified Korea looks like the second stage of the Korean government's unification plans, namely, "the Korean Commonwealth" which is a transitional system toward unification (Huh et al., 2012: 28).

Since Korean reunification as a single nation-state has been the foremost political goal (Chang & Kang, 2020;Huh et al., 2012), the successive governments have established the unification plans, highlighting the massive benefits of unification (Park & Jung, 2015). Yet, recent studies show that the prospects for peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula are not very optimistic. For example, the estimates of the cost of unification range from $50bn (£32bn) to more than $3tn (Kim S, 2014), and there are also sceptical indicators such as the failure of denuclearization talks with DPRK (Kim JS, 2007; Soo LS, 2021). As indicated previously in chapter one, the prospect of unification has been hampered by the indifference of the younger generation. It feels outdated' as Geum said or 'most of [South] Koreans do not regard unification as a desirable thing for many reasons' as Ju said.

In essence, the awareness of unification is shifting as the division has been continued for over seven decades and new generations emerge in the two Koreas. Korean unification should be understood as a social transformation to achieve a sustainable peace regime by overcoming division habitus (conflict civic identities) caused by division

nationalism, not a humanitarian view point nor ethnic-nationalistic rhetoric (Campell, 2015; Park YG, 2010; Park JH et al., 2020). As discussed earlier in chapter one and two, the division system in the Korean peninsula does not simply mean territorial and sovereignty division. It brought many social problems which include the agony of separated families, division of civic identities and ideological conflicts between South Koreans who have different views on unification, namely, South-South conflict (Kim GS, 2009; Lee JW, 2018). Such conflicts are exacerbated by mutual distrust, which is in the process of becoming deeply rooted into our society. Given that trust is considered valuable social capital, the intractable conflicts were perceived as a social hindrance which prevented both the peaceful unification and social change (Huh et al., 2012; Park JH et al., 2020; Rowan, 2017). Therefore, unification is imperative to eliminating the intractable conflicts and cultivating a culture of peace locally and globally, and furthermore, ensuring societal transformation by restoring mutual trust and human dignity that has deteriorated for over seven decades, highlighting "politics of integration" (Han YW, 2006; Huh et al., 2012:19).

9.3. Bridging Civic Identities as imagined identities

9.3.1. Imagining bridge citizens in the context of Korean unification

Kanno and Norton (2003) emphasise that what has not happened in the future may be the reason and motivation for what the learners are doing today. Some say if we can imagine in our minds a world freed from unnecessary death and destruction then we have begun the process of making this a reality (Shapiro, 2010:188). In this sense, imagining the bridge citizens who will meet in a potentially unified Korea can be the first step in achieving peaceful unification, and further, social transformation.

From this standpoint, it is worth noting that participants think that their experiences in the North and South Korean society can play a pivotal role in helping two Koreans understand either side in a future unified nation. In other words, Geum believes that she can inform her friends and colleagues as a teacher how to use the social welfare system of a capitalistic economy, for example, going to her hometown after unification. Hyang also asserts that she can be a stepping stone to connecting different cultures between North and South Korea. Ju has dreamed of becoming an elected lawmaker in a unified Korea since escaping from North Korea. Having experienced two political systems, he thought the North Koreans would consider that he has the capability to transform a

unified North into a democratic society. In addition, he said that as a native-born North Korean, he can fully sympathise with the sentiments and emotions of North Korean citizens. Furthermore, he studies political science at a university in Seoul and believes that his knowledge and experience will contribute to rebuilding a unified Korea as a democratic country. Despite Kweon not wanting to go back to his hometown in the North, he also wants to create an idea to develop programmes that allow young North Koreans to be equipped with competence to build a new nation. Therefore, their respective roles on the unified Korean peninsula are consistent with the concept of bridging civic identity proposed in this study, namely, humanising, interconnected and imagined.

Min-seok, who has lived most of his life in the UK with no knowledge or experience of North Korea, has shown confidence that he can be a bridge citizen who may contribute to creating new social values, based on the liberal values built in both ROK and the UK. However, it was doubly so to him because he was born in China, not North Korea. Despite having little experiential knowledge of DPRK on which to build his patriotism, what he lacked in substantive knowledge, he compensated for with his powerful imagination, based on stories he had heard from his mother and media coverages. Whenever he heard about the North, his imagined community created a powerful vision, giving him an important sense of direction for the unification. That is, he believes that the unification that the two states wanted could happen if the South Korean government constantly transfers new technology, democratic and capitalist social values. Whether Ha-young intended it or not, her accounts also showed that she is preparing their children not only to become competent British citizens but also possible citizens in an imagined unified Korea by having developed cosmopolitan habitus with the language competencies of both English and Korean (Seoul Standard Language).

The diverse studies demonstrate convincingly that imagination at even the most personal level is related to ideologies and hegemonies (Blackledge, 2002; Kanno & Norton, 2003). Likewise, each participant's imagination of a unified Korea and their role on a personal level has emerged as a different imagined future depending on their individual capacities and social position (e.g., South Korean citizens, refugees or British citizens). In other words, informants who live in ROK are very specific about the preparation of unification and their role for social integration. They take a practical approach to ensure their self-realisation, while subjects who live in the UK are somewhat abstract, but extending Korean unification as a global issue. This can be interpreted as a more specific view of the unification in the current situation where North Korean migrants from the South face controversial social issues such as unification discourse and inter-Korean relations. It may also have unconsciously internalised the role of North Korean migrants in the South Korean

government and civil society (e.g., The South Korean government called them the "early-coming unification" and granted them their role in preparing for unification. see Kim HR, 2016:47). On the other hand, informants from the UK who live in a pluralistic society recognised the issue of unification as one of the global issues. Those who have long experienced social constraints as refugees in mainstream British society questioned whether they could play a key role in the unification issue on the Korean peninsula, even if they have formed a high level of cultural capital and cosmopolitan habitus.

Above all, adaptation strategies developed in migration and adaptation processes and social capital formed at various borders have also led them to imagine a different future in how they construct bridging civic identities. For instance, Hae formed the transnational capital throughout multiple cross-border experiences from an early age and she regarded such experience and knowledge as a symbolic capital. In addition, she is planning to go to graduate school to study more deeply in the field of international relations, hoping to contribute to Korean unification. Hae and Minseok, who had more intercultural contacts, including minority groups marginalised against mainstream British society, are taking a value-oriented approach such as human dignity and are interpreted as forming their civic identity as moral agents.

Last but not least, it is worthwhile to note that all participants (except Ha-young) perceive their experience and knowledge in North Korea, or migration-related experience, as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013), as a process of preparing for unification and showing confidence that they can contribute to social transformation. Hae and Minseok who built more symbolic capital have illustrated a more cosmopolitan vision regarding Korean unification. Furthermore, such symbolic capital seems to have played a key role in cultivating the peacebuilding capacities that are proposed in the thesis. For instance, Ju participates in public engagements to inform about the human rights violation that he and his fellow North Koreans have faced in the North, operating his YouTube and interviewed with a range of Western media, debunking the challenges of North Korean migrants. That is, Ju is making the most of his symbolic capital to promote the reality of North Korea's human rights violations and to ensure a consensus on reunification among the younger generation in ROK.

9.3.2. Interconnecting adaptation strategies and civic identity transformation, leading to developing peacebuilding capacities

Drawing from the unique experience of the adaptation and acculturation trajectory of North Korean migrants, a different aspect of the participants' civic identities was made salient: the belligerent civic identities in the first, the border-crosser identities in the second, the *Jayumin* identities in the third and cosmopolitan civic identities in the fourth. By transforming their identification in the process of migration, therefore, the distinctive adaptation strategies emerged to overcome a wide variety of legal and social challenges entailing: mobility, self-reflection, resilience, learning agility and social networks. This study has confirmed and provided further illustrations that the development of each peacebuilding capacity was also carried out differently in each phase of civic identity transformation (see Appendix L).

Since much information was blocked from the outside world through the North Korean regime's control system, escaping their nation was the only way North Korean citizens could realise the truth and discover their potential. Before escaping their nation, the strategies are associated with preparing for the migration, as such, hiring brokers, yet all the participants recalled that many people informed them of the reality outside of DPRK. Some of them (Hyang, Ju and Kweon) had relatives who had already settled in the South; hence they could gain much information about South Korean society and financial aids for migration from their relatives. In turn, social ties (e.g., kinship and brokers) and information allowed them to realise their country's truth and reflect on their past and future life, leading them to leave their country. In this sense, the realising, reflecting and transforming capacity can be seen developed during the construction of the belligerent civic identity phase.

As soon as they crossed the border, they had to confront a high level of conflicts, tensions and resistance between the environment they were used to and the completely new circumstance to which they had to acculturate. Moreover, they had to embrace the fear of repatriation, anxiety, discrimination and marginalisation as stateless people. Under the circumstances, denying North Korean identity was acknowledged as natural for survival in China and the transition countries (Chang et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2018; Song & Bell, 2019). Thus, this study has noted that denial of North Korean identity became one of the distinctive features of border-crosser identities. I have interpreted these behaviours as an inevitable and strategic way to engage with, adapt, and respond to events and people they have experienced. At the same time, they experienced "potential for unexpected learning" (Wenger-Trayner et al., 2017: 322) in the multiple boundaries by reflecting on their reality, as

well as built social capital by mutually empathetic relations with many kind persons in the borderlands. In particular, some of the participants (Hae, Ha-young, Ju and Min-seok) who had lived in China for months to years, deeply reflected on their legal status, struggling with the politics of belonging in the process of migration or adaptation. Hence, in this stage they used a strategy for migration (e.g., mobility, self-reflection, resilience, learning agility and social networks). In this regard, realising, reflecting, transforming and bridge-building capacity were developed.

After arriving in ROK, they eventually became South Korean citizens. Such legal membership enabled them to belong to the host society. However, it was a moment of realising the enormous gap between the civic identities, way of thinking and lifestyle that they must relearn and reshape in South Korean society, resulting in frustration, feeling inferiority and disconnectedness. Simultaneously, they discovered their competencies and potential through various learning opportunities and settlement funds provided by the Korean government. Once again, many supportive persons they had met in their daily lives helped them learn and transform new values and norms. In such adaptation strategies, some of the participants could develop *Jayumin* identities that develop their competencies and overcome the division system, aiming to fulfil their life goals. Therefore, they could cultivate realising, enabling, reflecting, transforming and bridge-building capacity in this stage.

Much of the literature asserts that group interactions in transnational contexts enable migrants to reshape new identities (Côté & Levine 2008; Tilly, 2005, 1997) and provide a chance to cultivate transnational capital for migrants through transnational activities and intercultural development (Mohamed Saleem, 2020; Sahin-Mencutek, 2020; Snyder, 2011). Reflecting on the participants' experiences, they have struggled with legal and economic hardships and language matters added to their struggles in the initial stage of adaptation. However, the findings have confirmed that intercultural contacts and the Korean enclave community enabled them to reconstruct cosmopolitan civic identities throughout the transnational migration.

Thus, the second migration to Western countries was decisive in reshaping the lives of North Korean migrants and their children, as well as enhancing both cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdiue, 1991; Cho et al., 2015; Jung et al., 2017). Similar to other stages, social relations contributed to the formatiion of social capital by participants, specifically, the multicultural education and intercultural contacts played a key role in the intercultural development and construction of new civic identity, namely, cosmopolitan civic identity. By acculturating such a pluralistic society, the study confirmed that core peacebuilding capacities (except reconciling capacity) were developed.

Given the participants' experiences of mobility and acculturation into a new society, North Korean migrants might be well-qualified to act as a bridge to help South

Koreans understand the North and facilitate North Koreans to understand the South as bridge citizen, equipping the core preacebuilding capacities.

9.4. Understanding of Peacebuilding Capacity Creation Framework

9.4.1. A brief explanation of the peacebuilding capacity creation Framework

This study hypothesised that the North Korean migrants' peacebuilding capacities were derived from two forms – the adaptation strategies that resulted in the transformation of civic identities and social capital that developed through encounters with various people who helped them successfully transfer from DPRK to other countries and adapt to life in new circumstances. As articulated above, the study has acknowledged the five adaptation strategies that participants have developed throughout the transnational migration. Drawing from the result of data analysis, a confirmed peacebuilding capacity creation framework is summarised as follows:

The centre of the model shows the refined peacebuilding capacity framework, which is described in section 9.4.2. These are: realising, enabling, reflecting, reconciling, thriving, transforming and bridge-building.

The second and third layer of the diagram shows five adaptation strategies that the participants have developed throughout transnational migration. These strategies were analysed based on the peacebuilding capacity framework. It is presented in conjunction with a closely relevant peacebuilding capacity. That is, mobility is linked to transforming, realising and enabling capacity. Self-reflection is related to reflecting and reconciling capacity. Resilience supports two capacities: reconciling and thriving capacity. Learning agility is associated with thriving and transforming capacity.

The social networks that participants have built in the migration process is a comprehensive strategy linked to four adaptation strategies, resulting in building social capital. Therefore, social networks are a strategy involved in developing all peacebuilding capacities, but it is especially closely linked to bridge-building capacities, which is the core peacebuilding capacity.
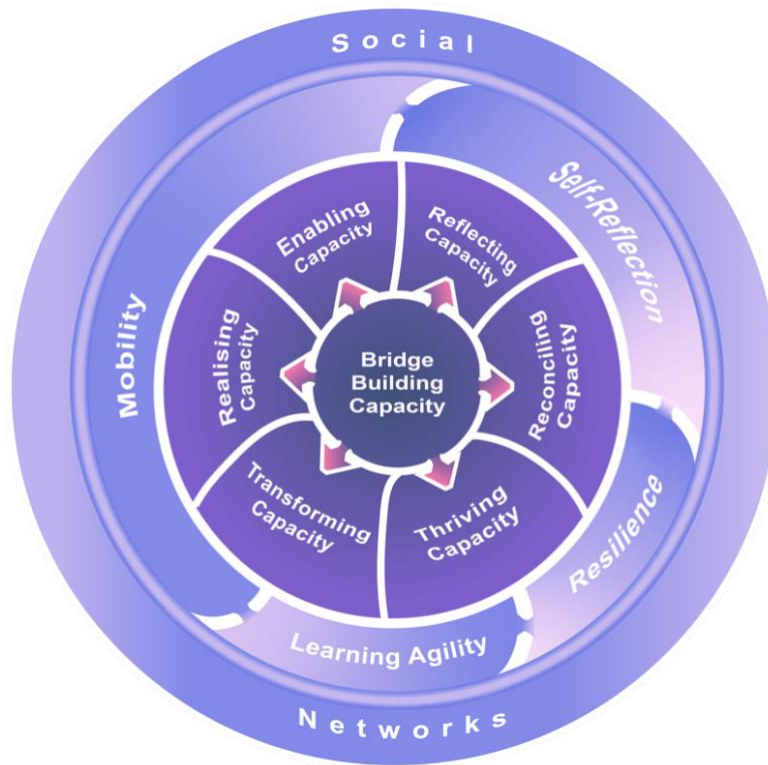
Figure 9.1. Peacebuilding Capacity Creation Framework

(Illustration by Dain Jeong)

9.4.2. A refined peacebuilding capacity framework

Throughout data analysis, based on the peacebuilding capacity framework which I have proposed in chapter two (see figure 2.2), this study has reaffirmed that participants developed the proposed peacebuilding capacities, responding to conflics such as life-threatening events, a series of struggles and cultural belonging in a new environment, which allow them to reconstruct new civic values and civic identities. Interpreting their migration and adaptation experiences, a new capacity was added to the initial framework: *thriving capacity*.

Recalling figure 2.2 (see chapter two) helps clarify the definition of each peacebuilding capacity before describing the thriving capacity and confirming the framework. A brief description of the initial peacebuilding capacity is summarised as follows:

- **Realising capacity**- realising the root causes of the conflict and the differences of other groups can be the first step towards achieving positive peace
- **Enabling capacity**- the ability to empower people to engage in the process of peacebuilding at a local and global level with knowledge, legitimacy and a sense of

agency as contributing community members. Thus, the enabling capacity is regarded as the democratising capacity.

- **Reflecting capacity-** this engagement enables individuals to interpret, make sense, respond to vis-à-vis events, situations, people and experiences through reflective thinking in the process of peacebuilding.

- **Reconciling capacity-** peaceful societies encourage citizens to repair damaged relations and be willing to engage in the reconciliation process. A fundamental competency to heal collective trauma caused by hostile inter-group relations and collective beliefs

- **Transforming capacity-** peacebuilding process requires conflict transformation. There are salient characteristics: (a) it mirrors systems and capacities in each society; (b) it takes a long time and affects different system levels; (c) it heavily relies on communicative abilities.

- **Bridge-Building capacity-** drawing on these relationships and connections, multiple resources create new values and norms to bring about non-violent social change, and thus, conflict transformation eventually can be fulfilled by bridging each capacity. Since bridge-building capacity enables people to link with other capacities, it is regarded as linkage capacity.

Based on the existing studies on critical peace education (Bajaj, 2015; Bickmore, 2002; Smith, 2010; Zembylas, 2008, 2015) and constructive peace theories (Galtung, 1996; 2004), the framework has illustrated six core components of peacebuilding capacity. It has enabled me to develop my conceptualisation of peacebuilding citizenship education and use a practical and heuristic device to analyse and interpret the entire data set with the interpretive orientation. However, one may be concerned that an adaptation strategy was derived that would not be interpreted by the six peacebuilding capacities presented in the initial framework in the process of data analysis and interpretation.

What struck me most was discovering their high level of resilience whenever I heard my subjects' life stories and every time I checked the digital journal they recorded. Specifically, the study has acknowledged that the resilience enabled them to thrive beyond surviving or adapting to life in new circumstances. Thus, I interpreted resilience as one of the adaptation strategies, which lead to nurturing a 'thriving capacity.'

The refined framework has added to the work, focusing on the concept of resilience (De Coning, 2018, 2019; Johansson, 2018). Specifically, in relation to peacebuilding capacity, a concept of "adaptive peacebuilding" has been extended and provided a discussion by De Coning (2018:304). In the liberal peace doctrine era, discussions on peacebuilding have been focused on an external peacebuilding intervention that aims to 'normalise' post-conflict states and their populations by negotiating the peace agreement, supporting the transformation of deficient national structures, and establishing new democratic institutions (Blanco, 2020; Paris, 2010; UN, 2015). Thus, such an approach seems more like nation-building than peacebuilding. However, post-conflict reconstruction efforts are associated with the more complex and broader social components such as reconciliation, economic development, unemployment and poverty mitigation and the rule of law (Blanco, 2020; Scambary, 2019). Most of all, an in-depth understanding of intractable conflict patterns are needed to transform a conflict regime into a peace regime (Scambary, 2019). Thus, Richmond (2010: 24–25) criticises that "liberal peacebuilding has been turned into a system of governance rather than a process of reconciliation", leading to the failure of a sustainable peace (Chandler, 2014).

In response to such challenges, the adaptive peacebuilding approach is actively being discussed as the new peacebuilding paradigm by shifting 'transition out of fragility into 'building resilience' (De Coning, 2018, 2019). According to De Coning (2018), the end goal of adaptive peacebuilding is to sustain one's own peace processes by strengthening resilience as a driver to "enable self-organisation" (p.304). On the matter of resilience, the adaptive peacebuilding approach thus highlights a structured learning process together with the society or community. Davies (2010b:491) argues that education's impact may be less about transformation and more about building resilience, which she defines as "enabling people or groups to survive in or after conflict or to oppose further tension" and the major goal of learning must be to enable learners to explore uncertain situations and to strengthen their resilience to thrive after hardships that have been affected by conflict (Hannon & Peterson, 2021; Kam et al., 2018). In this sense, resilience is better conceptualised as an ability or process than as an outcome, as well as adaptability than as stability (Brown & Kulig, 1996; Johansson, 2018). Therefore, this study considers resilience to be the core of thriving capacity as sustainable peace can be built through such resilience, and society can only thrive in a context of peace.

In general, primary factors of resilience have commonly been discussed within three broad areas: individuals, their families and the societies in which they live (Garmezy,

1991; Luthar et al., 2000; Werner, 1995). Concerning an individual's risk and protective factors, it is associated with courageous coping, hope and spiritual perspective, goal direction, self-efficacy, good communication skills, problem-solving skills, coping strategies and a locus of control, intelligence and a good sense of humour. In the case of family factors, recent evidence shows that it deals with a family atmosphere, family support and resources, parents' warmth, high-quality educational milieu, a good relationship with parents, teachers, and peers, health resources, social integration, and available adult models of pro-social involvement as environment factors (Kim & Yang, 2012; Luthar et al., 2000).

In conclusion, the peacebuilding capacity framework consists of seven core components, namely, realising, enabling, reflecting, reconciling, thriving, transforming, bridge-building, as shown in figure 9.2.

Figure 9.2. A refined Peacebuilding Capacity Framework

(Illustration by Dain Jeong)

9.4.3. A brief explanation of the adaptation strategies

The peacebuilding capacity creation framework is elaborated based on the centrally placed peacebuilding capacity framework by linking to Galtung's (1969) theory of 'peacebuilding as the social justice' with Sen's (1999) capability approach, defining "what people can do and be" for which I have devised seven peacebuilding capacities and "what they are actually achieving or have achieved in terms of beings and doings" that I have defined as adaptation strategies (Sen, 1992:49). I interpreted adaptation strategies that participants developed into the conditions which allow them to "develop as they see fit", as well as freedoms and opportunities as processes that enable them to lead the lives they value that Sen (1999:4) calls "development of freedom".

In particular, the liberal peacebuilding approach recognises conflict as a problem to be rectified, while adaptive peacebuilding recognises that conflict is a normal outcome of change and a necessary factor. Thus, adaptive peacebuilding is interested in the adaptability of individuals and communities to cope with and manage this process of change in a way that avoids violent conflicts (De Coning, 2018).

Thus, when such adaptability was developed, positive peace, namely, social justice and sustainable peace can be achieved (Galtung,1969). This is why this study pays attention to the adaptation experience of North Korean migrants. In the process of migration, understanding the context of conflicts experienced by participants at multiple borders and developing adaptation strategies to belong to the host society or resolve tensions that do not belong to the society itself is closely related to peacebuilding capabilities. I think that the adaptation strategies they developed define the capabilities of bridge citizens to lead peaceful unification and social transformation on the Korean peninsula.

As discussed earlier in section 9.3, this thesis has acknowledged that seven core elements of peacebuilding capacity were developed differently at each stage of the civic identity transformation in the process of migration and adaptation. The adaptation strategies may differ based on different circumstances each subject has faced, but the presented strategies are common strategies used by seven participants to migrate and adapt to life in new societies. Reflecting back on participants' adaptation experience, five strategies are identified: mobility, self-reflection, resilience, learning agility and social networks.

Mobility

Drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) notion of field, multiple borders are the economic, political, cultural and academic arenas of social productions (e.g., behaviours and

dispositions). As the literature on transnational migration addressed, migrants do not reproduce only legal status—one's condition as a citizen and non-citizen —but also transform one's beliefs, values, language, knowledge and identities throughout the mobility (Gonzales & Sigonas, 2017; Tilly, 2005; Waldinger, 2016;). For North Korean migrants, moreover, some scholars highlight that migration might be the only option to (re)construct cultural capital and cosmopolitan habitus for North Korean migrants and their children (Jung et al., 2017; Song & Bell, 2019).

From the participants' accounts, the findings indicate that their migration certainly enabled them to transform their civic identities and learn new norms and values through unexpected encounters they had during migration and adaptation. Once they crossed the border between DPRK and China, they had to choose their legal status: one was to live as stateless in China, the other was to flee to other countries where they could receive the legal protection of citizenship, such as South Korea, as they cannot retain North Korean citizenship once they leave North Korea without state permission (Yoon IS, 2020). The following account from Ha-young shows how desperate she was to obtain Korean citizenship: *'Let us go or die! Rather than living here in China without citizenship*'. Thus, Ha-young's sole goal was to obtain South Korean citizenship while living in *Yanbian* when she learned that the South Korean government was willing to grant citizenship to North Korean refugees as soon as they arrived in South Korea. However, it was not just about Ha-young. It was also a primary goal for all participants (Hae, Geum and Ju) who lived as stateless people. Thus, despite the high risk of repatriation on the move to a third country, they made the long and perilous journey across China and into transition countries, 'hoping to achieve freedom and to end their sufferings, as well as to become South Koreans as quickly as they can'.

When they arrived in the South and had eventually been granted South Korean citizenship, however, there was an apparent disconnection between the ideal and the reality of life in ROK. That is, they had to embrace exclusion, discrimination and marginalisation in ROK. Such a dilemma allowed them to realise their legal and political situations and set up a new goal to end the tensions: becoming *Jayumin*, neither a North Korean migrant nor a new settler. As noted earlier in chapter eight, they denied they were passive holders of the government's settlement package and social benefits; instead, they discovered an appropriate solution by themselves to meet the mid and long-term goals of their life. A consequence of this is that subjects (Geum, Hyang, Kweon and Ju) now developed *Jayumin* identities that enabled them to belong to South Korean society, developing their potential to achieve their long-term goals. However, some of the participants ended up moving to the UK. It should be seen as a more fundamental migration strategy of avoiding conflicts and tensions in ROK and upgrading social mobility for their life.

As previous studies have shown, this thesis has reaffirmed that the second migration resulted from not only their maladaptation to South Korean society but also their desire to develop their potential and capital (Chun, 2018; Jung et al., 2017; Song & Bell, 2019). In this sense, the second migration towards a Western country can be interpreted as social mobility because the second migration toward developed countries such as the UK was implemented when they realised that they could not be involved in upward social mobility in South Korea due to their origin. However, as precarious asylum seekers, they struggled with legal and economic challenges while resettling in the UK. To cope with such challenges and to adapt to British society, all informants generated their strategies. For instance, Ha-young and Min-seok moved to other cities and eventually resettled in New Malden, well-known as the largest Korean community in Europe. In New Malden, they could develop social capital and cosmopolitan identities through intercultural contacts, including South Korean immigrants and ethnic Korean Chinese and intercultural learning experiences. Hae was actively involved in various civic engagements in the UK, such as volunteer work at Refugee Action, receiving many benefits and support in settling into the UK. She repeatedly attempted to achieve her goals despite the failures, saying, 'one monkey does not stop a show!'

Concerning peacebuilding capacity, mobility seems to be related to realising, enabling, transforming and bridge-building capacity. The findings also show that they enhanced cultural capital, particularly language proficiency and intercultural sensitivity by mobility. This is supported by one of the characteristics of transforming capacity; namely, it heavily relies on communicative abilities.

Self-reflection

Research regarding North Korean migrants points out that there is a tendency to show a high level of self-reflection (Cho et al., 2015; Yun & Oh, 2010). According to Yun and Oh's (2010) study, it has been shown that young North Korean migrants interpret their experiences of boundaries by looking back at the perception system of vigilance and changing it into the process of reinterpreting themselves, others and society based on their self-reflection. Likewise, all participants said that migration was the moment of awakening for them. While they had struggled with discrimination in North Korea and a series of challenges in China as stateless, Geum recalled that she could reconcile tensions, contradictions and ambiguity, and it also became a decisive moment to develop a tolerance for contradictions. This opportunity for reflection, provided by vigilance experience, serves as a driving force for these young people's growth. Above all, such self-reflection led them to enhance their

reconciling capacity by eliminating all kinds of misconceptions toward South Korea and South Korean citizens who have been perceived as the enemy or slaves of the American empire through a range of information and people's accounts in the borderland. Consequently, some of them seem to have cultivated the capabilities which allow healing collective trauma by deeply understanding both North and South Koreans.

In particular, mobility and self-reflection are seen to be closely connected adaption strategies, especially given that self-reflection tends to be significantly strengthened through social interactions in the borderland. It has also been confirmed that the bridge-building capacity has been enhanced through the strategies of both mobility and self-reflection. That is, the data indicate that brokers, parents, teachers and peers mainly helped informants reflect on their lives and a sense of self. At the beginning of the migration movement, some brokers have encouraged participants to reflect on their past and future lives. Ju ended up dropping out of school due to severe bullying after her mother's defection and realised through brokers that joining the Workers' Party or joining the military was impossible. Therefore, living in DPRK was like living with a vegetative status for him, and eventually, he hired a broker to escape from the North after contacting his mother who settled in ROK. After the first attempt to defect from North Korea failed, however, Ju gave up trying to escape again, but with the broker's persuasion, he eventually succeeded in escaping the North. When Geum decided on a female human trafficker who helped her cross the border in her home city, she constantly reflected on whether she made the right choice. Fellow North Koreans and ethnic Korean Chinese also gave them a chance to reflect on their life. Kweon recalled his private tutor in the North who criticised the regime, and influenced his forming view of the young leader and his nation. Hae relied on her North Korean mentor in New Malden. Some faith leaders and Christian organisations further play a key role in enabling them to realise the sense of self through self-reflection. For Min-seok, he could overcome the crisis of faith through a Korean minister he met in New Malden, as well as helping himself realise how precious he is.

As Snauwaert (2009:14) noted, the importance of reflection on peacebuilding capacity enables it to lead to "internal self-transformation." wherein people can reconstruct their meaning, value, and belief through critical self-examination and contemplative reflection. Since the peacebuilding process continues to require reflection on the current situations, people, and experiences to resolve conflict, a reflecting capacity is essential in peacebuilding. The study has acknowledged that participants have reached an "internal self-transformation" by self-reflection throughout their migration.

Resilience

It may be human nature to resist change, mainly when delivered as a hardship or life-threatening crisis. However, resilience helps people cope with various crises and uncertainty faced in all societies today (Hannon & Peterson, 2021). In particular, people who live in conflict-affected societies struggle with crises caused by a range of forms of violence— physical, structural and cultural— which negatively affects ordinary citizens' life over time. Thus, the recent literature on peace and conflict studies highlights the capacity for building sustainable peace by raising resilient citizens who can survive change and learn, grow, and thrive in it (Chandler, 2014; De Coning, 2018). Generally, resilience was framed in terms of a stable personality trait, which is the "capacity for the outcome of successful adaptation or development despite challenging or threatening circumstances" (Masten, 2001; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Luthar, 1991). More recently, resilience has been redefined as a dynamic process, rather than the result of significant threats or severe adversity (Pulley & Wakefield, 2001).

All participants have suffered from a wide variety of migratory hindrances like that of other migrants and refugees: obtaining legal documentation for asylum status, applying for a humanitarian protection visa, living in inadequate conditions, the politics of belonging and language matters while adapting to a new society. Moreover, moving out of North Korea meant they must embrace a sense of fear and anxiety about repatriation and a wide range of discrimination and marginalisation as illegal border-crossers during their stay in China and living in ROK. Migrating across several nation-states, however, they have become a highly resilient population. They have survived several irregular border crossings in China and Southeast Asian countries and accumulated their own agency in ROK. After the failure of adaptation to South Korean society, mainly because of their North Korean identity, they left Korea again, imagining their much brighter future.

During the interviews, some informants framed their migration experiences as God's calling or a journey of hope, undertaken at great risk and with significant suffering, to reach a place of freedom and peace. Their reflections on their transnational migration and adaptation to new societies were infused with the significance derived from a high level of resilience. The impressive resolve of migrants to successfully make this journey at any cost, no matter the risk, was evident in their stories. Kweon stated clearly, 'for me, the source of my resolve is my strength, to never be possessed by fear; this is my strength.' Similarly, Ha-young said, 'I have been through the worst part, which I'd like to forget about, but even so, it was not an obstacle to achieve the further goal.' Geum and Hae always emphasised the 'never give up mentality.'

As defined in the peacebuilding framework (Figure 9.1), reconciling capacity is the ability to empathise with collective pain and trauma and to willingly participate in the healing process. In this sense, it has been confirmed that building resilience allowed participants to enhance their reconciling capacity. For example, Geum had the opportunity to resolve her identity crisis and pain, as well as being encouraged by sharing the collective pain and identity crisis of fellow North Korean migrants in the process of migration through the media platform called Oasis (e.g., as Geum asked herself, '*why should I suffer from such agony and misery as a result of being born as a North Korean?*'). In addition, her reconciling competence became the driving force behind her successful adaptation to new life in South Korean society whenever she faced many conflicts and tensions of belonging in the process of settling in South Korea. In this sense, resilience can be said to contribute to thriving in the new society. As discussed in Section 9.4.1, it is argued in the recent discussion of peacebuilding capacity that individual citizens' resilience enables people to transform conflict into a sustainable peace and eventually become the source of their ability to thrive in society beyond merely surviving. From the reflections on participants' migration experiences, their resilience gained through many life-threatening moments was further strengthened through social relationships formed during the migration process. Most informants migrated for such a perilous journey when they were teenagers or young adults aged 20s. All participants noted the generosity which made them remain positive and develop their strength. Therefore, supporters can also contribute to building their resilience.

In addition, all participants confirmed that they were able to build social capital, allowing them to explore conflicts and uncertain situations in the migration and adaptation process. They could strengthen resilience through the civic skills they realised through strangers they had met at several borders, people in the shelters, pastors and volunteers at various NGOs such as Refugee Action. It is too early to say that they are thriving in each host society yet, but the evidence supports that resilience is an underpinning strategy to strengthen their thriving capacity.

Learning Agility

Learning agility can be defined as learning from experience and subsequently making it easier to apply the lessons to novel situations (De Meuse et al., 2010; Eichinger et al., 2010). As a result, learners can possess "street smart or common sense" to adapt to a wide variety of changing environmental conditions (De Neuse et al., 2010:119). The recent research highlights the importance of practical intelligence, which enables individuals to learn about self, others and ideas, showing genuine willingness to learn from experience (Eichinger et al., 2010).

As far as learning agility is concerned, participants seemed highly agile learners. Throughout migration and adaptation, they utilised various resources to resolve difficulties effectively, and they ended up adapting to the new environment. For example, Geum, Hae and Ju have more actively engaged in opting out of their North Korean habitus during migration and adaptation. As a result, they could catch up with the Southerner way of speaking and thinking as quickly as possible which enabled them to be rid of North Korean habitus in a broad sense. More specifically, Geum and Ju practised a Seoul-standard accent by watching many South Korean films and serial dramas repetitively while staying in China, Cambodia and Thailand. Ha-young learnt Mandarin to settle down in China, and she got a job with her sewing skills. After arriving in the South, she quickly trained her Seoul-standard accent and achieved insurance certificates which could be a helpful tool to acquire a new job in South Korean society.

They also developed their own strategies to leverage various resources (individuals, processes, authorities, and information) to achieve their life goals. After realising that learning English is the most powerful vehicle to reach their goals in the South, Geum and Ju spent most of their time studying English, using national and international funding. Geum studied abroad in Canada and the UK by seizing the opportunities to study English and gain a diploma to become a florist. Ju and Kweon sought the shortcut to grant admission to a university, taking the GED test for their secondary school equivalency diploma within two years. Hae developed a friendship with high performers who helped her make up for her lack of basic subject knowledge, and she has learned the Korean way of thinking and learning style from her Southern peers. Such learning agility also applied to find the shortcut to master English in the UK by making a friendship with native-born peers. Despite the fact that Hyang failed to adjust to the Korean public school system, she immediately transferred to a specific alternative school for only North Korean migrant pupils and graduated from the school, leading to entrance to one of the elite universities in ROK.

Therefore, learning agility seems to be related to thriving, transforming and bridge-building capacity. Concerning the thriving capacity, they were able to be involved in South Korean society by acquiring civic knowledge and reconstructing their civic identities and social networks to suit another social structure, moving to different contexts with as much agility as possible. In particular, the transforming capacity is associated with the ability to create "new, proactive, empowered action for the desired change in those settings" (Lederach, 1997:109). Since adaptive peacebuilding aims to "strengthen resilience and continue the peace process on its own" (DeConing, 2018:304), individuals' learning agility is closely related. In other words, "to enable a person or group to survive in conflict or to counter further tensions" (Davis, 2010:491) confirms that the learners must have experience and social relationships to explore uncertain situations and strengthen resilience. As seen in

participants' experiences, their learning agility has been formed by a range of adversities and allowed them to dismantle the conflicts they have faced. Thus, it might contribute to new and proactive actions for societal transformation in the process of reunification. Furthermore, as shown in the anecdotal accounts of participants, their learning agility seems to be quite relevant to bridge-building capacity as learning agility means harnessing an appropriate resource (e.g., both information and human resources) and achieving agility by interacting with people.

9.4.4. A brief explanation of the social networks

The participants encountered many supporters in the process of migration and adaptation to new circumstances. Some of them helped the participants make a transition from North Korea to other countries, providing everyday essentials such as shelter and food, enabling them to reflect on their status, providing adequate information to adapt to new life in ROK or the UK and helping them to develop a range of civic values by their generous assistance. This thesis sheds light on the role of supporters, who played an essential role in migration and successful adaptation to the new environment as supporters were not only an adaptation strategy, but also an essential element of building social capital, and further, developing peacebuilding capacity to become bridge citizens.

Amongst adaptation strategies, the study shows how participants build social capital through these social networks and contribute to the development of their respective peacebuilding capacities, dividing them into three phases of migration: pre-migration, on-migration, and post-migration.

Pre and On migration: Brokers, Kinship and co-ethnic networks

Although it is difficult to estimate the exact number of brokers involved in the business associated with migration, accounts from participants indicate that hundreds and thousands of North Koreans and ethnic Korean Chinese in China may be making an enormous fortune through this illegal business. Some of them have become the 'Nouveau Riche' class through such illegitimate business. Since it was a long course that runs about 30,000 miles across some cities in China to the Vietnamese or Cambodian borders, at least three to four brokers must be involved in such a perilous journey. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that hiring reliable and well-informed brokers were crucial for a

successful migration. All participants said they spent a considerable amount of money and time searching and recruiting these brokers (see Appendix K). As discussed earlier, brokers also play a crucial role in helping North Korean migrants to reflect on their lives in the North and the future in the South or other Western countries while they prepare for the migration.

In terms of second migration, the literature reports that the transnational migration brokers become involved with helping many North Korean migrants who live in ROK to move on to other Western countries (Bell, 2013; Lee, 2019; Song & Bell, 2019). These brokers tend to facilitate the second migration from ROK to destination countries, mostly Western countries, using their knowledge of how to go about migration and how to claim asylum with unlawful documents. However, this study revealed that most of the second migration occurred spontaneously, and all subjects left Korea relying on their acquaintances who had already settled in England. Sometimes, such personal networks created a more complex situation as they heavily relied on misinformation from their friends' successful second migration stories.

Concerning North Korean migration, it requires various resources and planning. Research highlights that kinship networks are crucial for successful migration as most North Koreans were excluded from any networking abroad before leaving their countries (Chang et al., 2009; Lankov, 2006; Park, 2014; Song & Bell, 2019; Yoon IS, 2020). When they move to Western countries, these kinship and co-ethnic networks— families, relatives, friends and *Hanawon* alumni (fellow North Korean migrants)— were more important to acquire adequate resources, using social media to circulate and exchange information on the best strategies for onward-migration and the destination countries most receptive to asylum claims at each moment (Song & Bell, 2019). After judging from participants' anecdotal evidence, the data show that the diasporic kinship networks significantly contribute to the successful escaping to China and the transition countries such as Thailand. Such networks and connections enable them to leave first and provide support on the other side of the borders.

On and Post-Migration: Christian organisations

The literature asserts that Christian missionaries and faith leaders (e.g., ministries and pastors) both in China and the third countries play a crucial role in supporting North Korean refugees by providing the necessities of life (food, clothing, and shelter) to those in need (Jung JH, 2014; Han, J, 2013). In the initial stage of migration, most North Korean migrants took advantage of those Christian networks as an effective strategy to avoid deportation to the North, find accurate information about South Korea and feel

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emotional comfort. By the time North Koreans began to escape in the mid-1990s, many South Korean Christian organisations had entered the borderland in China to help North Korean escapees. As North Korea became communised, Kim Il Sung officially banned all religious activities, so most former North Korean citizens left the North without knowing Christian doctrine. According to some participants, Ha-young said, 'nine out of ten North Korean escapees became Protestants when they stayed in China because most of them hide to avoid being arrested by the Chinese police in the safe houses run by Christian networks in the border regions and learn Christian doctrine all day long by reading the Bible and singing hymns until they transit to the next place.

During settling down to the South Korean society or the British community, moreover, all participants could adapt to the new communities with the help of these Christian organisations. On the matter of religiosity, North Korean migrants seem to be used to these religious organisations for their secure settlement to the new societies in a strategic manner. At the same time, some of the informants maintained a constancy of faith in the face of multiple adversities even though they did not know well about the meaning of God or religion. Take Geum, for example, she was reminded of her faith, and the challenges and hardships made her more faithful at each stage of migration and adaptation. In her words, what was happening to her was understood concerning her suffering which had meaning. In a similar vein, Min-seok explained how he grew up after going through a crisis of faith. In a sense, it seemed to be highly associated with resilience as an adaptive strategy.

According to statistics, around 80 to 90% of North Korean migrants identify themselves as Christian when they arrive in ROK. Approximately 70% of them continue to rely on church services for support after they come (Jeon, 2007). Likewise, all participants living in both ROK or the UK identified themselves as Christian, although some did not actively engage in the church. They regularly attended services on Sunday and they were more familiar with Christianity and Christian rituals at *Hanawon*. After graduating from *Hanawon* and settling in South Korean society, apart from the government settlement package, churches provide the second largest set of resources, including financial aid, household goods, and Sunday lunch and prayer and Bible-study gatherings. Some churches run special training programmes to improve the migrants' spiritual lives and job opportunities (Jung JH, 2014). In the initial settlement stage, most participants took advantage of a variety of financial aid such as travel vouchers or a minuscule scholarship stipend for the migrant students.

For this reason, Geum thought that the Korean church looked like a company, seeking for profit. However, she more often attended various programmes such as *Jayumin* college, which helped her acquire information and build a network with South Koreans. Hyang and Kweon graduated from the alternative school run by Christian organisations.

They have continued to build mutually beneficial relationships between such religious groups and participants themselves. For them, the church also made them experience emotional comfort because they could meet such generous people there, in contrast to other places. Among these new citizens, there is a tendency to think of South Korean counterparts as strangers, not friends. Interestingly, participants said that they felt relatively comfortable when they met and talked to South Koreans in the church. They also no longer make the separation between 'us and them,' at least, inside the church.

Although these Northerners might attend services on Sunday to get extra travelling vouchers, a scholarship stipend or to simply heal their loneliness by meeting up with people at churches at first, they might not make sense of the meaning of love and compassion, as Geum's account has shown below. Yet, they gradually realised those Christian values by attending services, and this realisation echoes Putnam's (2000:79) claims that "civic skills, moral values and encouraging altruism" can be nurtured by faith-based networks.

> I could often hear the song 'You're created to receive the greatest love', one of the well-known contemporary Christian hymns whenever I went to church. North Koreans rarely say the word "I love you" because North Koreans acknowledge the word 'love' as a term that a *Suryung* uses only for the people of North Korea or 'love of comrades'

> (Geum, 29 November 2017, UK)

Furthermore, it links to Mohamed-Saleem's (2020) assertion about informal civic sociability, that is, engaging in everyday social activities such as church-based practices may contribute to not only building social capital but learning such civic values, for example, trusting others and being trustworthy, leading to reconciliation, which is one of the peacebuilding dispositions.

On and Post-migration: Volunteers in NGOs

As can be clearly seen, the political importance of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) is increasing these days. The past research points out that the role of NGOs is crucial to protect legal rights and provide essential aid to vulnerable migrants and refugees in the context of global migratory flows (Isin, 2017; Kingston, 2019). The study has confirmed that the role of NGOs was also important in the migration and adaptation process of North Korean defectors.

Most of the subjects' accounts informed that some South Korean volunteers at NGOs in Beijing and other cities in China helped them make a transition toward Southeast Asian countries. For example, Ha-young and Geum had tried to contact a volunteer journalist who helped North Korean migrants to flee to the South after listening to Korean news that the South Korean government grants citizenship to North Korean refugees as soon as they arrived in South Korea. The supports of NGOs were not limited to border areas. The data showed that NGOs in ROK continued to support North Korean migrants in many activities related to the settlement of Korean society from the moment they entered South Korea. For example, the Citizens' Alliance for North Korean Human Rights provided a range of educational programmes for young North Korean migrants and developed an initial citizenship education. Geum and Ju learned English through the sessions at Teach North Korean Refugees (TNKR). Hyang and Kwon also studied through alternative schools run by Christian organisations. Kweon could keep dreaming of being a painter with the help of certain NGOs. Min-seok also remembered the time he spent with his South Korean friends at an after-school for North Korean migrant children.

In the UK, the British Home Office introduced a volunteer solicitor who was familiar with such an issue when Hae's father struggled to apply for a humanitarian visa. Moreover, the solicitor also provided helpful information and resources regarding social benefits for refugees in which Hae and her father successfully resettled in the UK and continued to help them obtain British citizenship for around eight years. Hae also took some multicultural programmes at Refugee Action.

Post-migration: teachers and peers

Scholarships in migrant adaptation emphasise that teacher-pupil interaction is vital in the acculturation to the new society (Kumari, 2011; Reynolds, 2008). The smooth interaction between teachers and students through participants' experience is seen as one of the main factors that facilitate adaptation to the new society and develop their capacities such as learning agility and communication skills.

The data also illustrate differences in Korean and British schools in terms of the interaction between teachers and students, and British teachers seem to be conducting more frequent and in-depth interactions with refugee students than Korean teachers. In ROK, Hae, Hyang and Min-seok did not feel supported, especially in the state-funded school environment, and thus, Hyang decided to drop out of the Korean state-funded school and then transferred to the M alternative school for only North Korean migrant youths. Afterwards, she confessed that a more welcoming and supported school climate at M school

allowed her to concentrate on her studies. She remembered when she first met Korean teachers at M school, being so impressed with all teachers' endeavours and beliefs. They encouraged her to keep studying and helped her discover her potential. She recalled a headteacher at M school who never gave up on her and waited for her with persistence.

In a nutshell, the Korean educational problems faced by North Korean migrants in schools are officially recognised as 'Koreans,' resulting in extra educational support for them not being considered within the framework of public education (Lee SK & Park JY, 2020; Lee SJ, 2011). Also, Korean teachers' prejudices and stereotypes about North Korean migrants seem to be a hindrance to their successful adaptation to South Korean public schools. Teachers asked them to "hide that they are North Korean migrants" to their South Korean peers at schools or "forget everything they learned and experienced before coming to South Korea" as Hyang and Hae accounted.

In the UK, on the other hand, British teachers were given essential duties and responsibilities so that the transition of refugee students to British schools could be supported and welcomed, and teachers seemed to have faithfully performed these duties. As the vignette below shows, Min-seok has struggled with a crisis of faith in year 8, seeking to find an answer to the question: 'How can you be sure that the God you believe in is the real God?' His teachers at the secondary school in New Malden were willing to share their thoughts and feelings with him, maintaining endurance and endeavouring to help him find a solution. As he recalled, his issue might be useless, but '*his teachers understood him'.*

> My pals couldn't make sense of why I suffered. So, I told my homeroom teacher, an atheist, but he didn't disregard it and discussed it with a headteacher who was a Christian. He allowed me to have a one-on-one meeting with him every Wednesday—I was grateful talking with them

> (Min-seok, 8 March 2018, UK)

In addition to his homeroom teacher and headteacher, the physics teacher met him after school to expand conversations on various topics such as religion, philosophy and physics and helped him to overcome the crisis of faith. The crisis of his faith could have been 'useless' as he said, but Min-seok's school teachers cordially sympathised with his problems. Min-seok said he could be aware of the challenges and possibilities in his learning process and discovered his competencies by communicating with his teachers. Paradoxically, school life in London became a barrier to adapting to the UK in the initial stage, but at the same time, his relationship with "British teachers gave him the opportunity to grow up" as he confessed. Hae also recalled that she felt emotionally comfortable and

enhanced her self-confidence in British schools, leading to successfully acculturating in British society.

Concerning friendship with the South Koreans, it was not an easy task for North Korean migrants because of the division habitus. As a result, some of the participants were negotiating their way through all environments which they had frequently assumed to be communist or enemies coming from the North by public discourses and practices. For example, Kweon recalled that he was surprised by hearing from some South Korean colleagues' response to North Korean foods as 'COMMIE's foods' that were served at the multicultural festival in his university. The more difficult it was to communicate with South Koreans, the more frequent Hyang met with her fellow North Korean migrants, and she found herself mingling with only her fellow North Korean migrants. On the other hand, Geum and Ju used to communicate smoothly with plenty of Southern colleagues. They deliberately associated with South Koreans as much as possible and tried to share their thoughts and experiences with those Southerners rather than interacting with fellow North Koreans. Likewise, North Korean migrants who often interact with intercultural contacts such as Hae and Min-seok make it easier to build relationships with diverse groups, resulting in effectively communicating with others. Moreover, friends also often helped them reflect on their life perspectives, leading to change their mindset. Like Min-seok's female friend, who moved to the US, this affected his view about friendship, "those who allowed him to think differently and broaden his views made him optimistic" in his life in the UK, he said.

9.5. Summary

Chapters six to eight demonstrate how participants experienced and responded to various events, people, cultures, norms and values, as well as how their civic identities transformed through their transnational migration experiences. As demonstrated in Chapter three, 'bridging civic identities' are defined as respecting the values of dignity of all human beings, which can create a synergy effect by connecting different socio-cultural systems and the imagined identities that will eventually meet in future unified Korea. In the light of such conceptualisation, this chapter examined the nature of bridging civic identities as imagined identities by looking into the participants' perspectives on Korean unification and their role in positioning themselves in the phase of unification.

In particular, this chapter also offered the peacebuilding capacity creation framework, by presenting how seven peacebuilding capacities are linked in terms of North Korean migrants' civic identity transformation and adaptation strategies (see Figure 9.1). Based on the analysis results, a refined peacebuilding capacity framework (see Figure 9.2)

was again presented. Finally, the chapter concluded a research question by identifying the possibility of a conceptualised peacebuilding citizenship education in this thesis by demonstrating how the adaptation strategies and social networks of participants developed during transnational migration can contribute to the development of seven peacebuilding capacities at the end of this chapter.

CHAPTER X: CONCLUSION

> Well, many South Koreans might consider North Koreans to be aliens when they finally meet after reunification occurs. Yet, imagine South Korean citizens getting married to North Korean migrants and possibly developing a curiosity about their partners' hometown and what they have done in their hometown. These curiosities could be a critical factor in unifying two Koreas and social integration
>
> (Geum, 29 November 2017, ROK)

10.1. Introduction

The study began with the hypothesis that North Korean migrants could play the role of these bridge citizens. Geum's vignette above shows how she is acknowledging her role as a bridge citizen in being able to be a catalyst to raise people's aspirations for the reunification of both Koreas. As she said, she draws on her own meaning of being a bridge citizen to which I concur. Those residents who came from the North can help South Koreans understand fully the differences and similarities of North Korea by encountering, loving and working together with both Koreans and it allows the two Koreas to reimagine unification.

To conclude, this chapter addresses the potential contributions the study made in the field of peacebuilding education (or conflict and peacebuilding) research and auto/biographical narrative inquiry. One purpose of this study relates to taking consciously autobiographical reflexivity throughout the research process, and thus, this chapter demonstrates how the methodological approach can contribute to examining peacebuilding capacity and conceptualising the bridging civic identities in the first section. This will lead to a discussion of the possible application of peacebuilding citizenship education, focusing on the peacebuilding capacity creation framework, insights into migrants' adaptation and teacher education policy-making and future research that may be gained from evaluating my research results. I synthesise across each chapter, highlighting the methodological, theoretical and constructive contributions of this work. Through this analysis, I seek to emphasise the insights of this work for research and policy within the field of peacebuilding citizenship education.

10.2. Methodological: Examining comprehensive understanding of the civic identity transformation in divided Korea through a subject's auto/biographical lens

Digital Collective Autobiographical Reflexivity

The study hypothesises that conflict civic identities can be shifted into peace civic identities through pedagogical approach. Theoretically, the nature of civic identity is not static, but dynamic and malleable (Azada-Palacios, 2021; Levinson, 2005; Starkey, 2019) and individual identities are constructed and reconstructed in the process of socialisation, responding to a specific social structure and praxis (Bourdieu, 1990). Thus, one main question has arisen which is how to capture such a dynamic and fluid nature of civic identities that my participants narrated. Since it is the first time that a study has employed digital collective autobiographical reflectivity into the research regarding North Korean migrants' civic identity transformation and forms of capital, as far as I know, I could not discover a unified way to collect, analyse and interpret data that can be applied to this study.

Notably, I was sceptical as to whether North Korean migrants are able to generate autobiographical written data about their life trajectories unaided. Before commencing the research, thus, I considered analysing the secondary data, based on the autobiographies of North Korean migrants already published. However, two critical issues were identified in most memoirs already published: misinterpretation and the typical plot of life stories. First, most of the memoirs of North Korean migrants published in English are co-authored by Western journalists who do not speak Korean or are not proficient at writing and speaking Korean (see Kim, U-J, Kim, E., & Pallett (2015), Lee & John (2015), and Park & Vollers (2016)). Thus, I discovered much misinformation and many misinterpretations in those memoirs recorded by foreign researchers or journalists who are not competent at Korean. As discussed earlier in chapter four, even for the author whose mother tongue is Korean (Hangul), it was not easy to interpret and translate the expressions and nuances where participants used North Korean dialects to describe some events, situations and historical incidents they had experienced in North Korea. Second, such memoirs conveyed the typical structure—The "Savage–Victim–Saviour" story plot, which has been used by Western publishers (Song J, 2021:49; Song & Denney, 2019). That is, almost all English published memoirs included "tragic stories about young, poor, and innocent victims of a brutal dictator and eventually being saved by either Christian missionaries or White saviours" (Song & Denney, 2019:454). For this reason, memoirs were written by the high profile North

Korean migrants (e.g., see Jang-yop Hwang (1999) who was a North Korean politician and creator of the *Juche* ideology), which are not suited to the Western readers' taste and consequently are not published by Western publishers.

In addition, I have recognised that the digital autobiographical writing method which is employed, required my informants to devote time, effort, and even persistence to write their own life stories. Thus, 'Google Docs', which have easy accessibility and an intuitive user interface, have been employed as a platform for digital autobiographical writing into this study. I have found that my methodological decision calls for further attention to balance respect and casualness that can encourage all participants to participate in my study passionately. Hence, a considerable amount of time has been devoted to explaining the study, such as what kind of study, how to write a digital journal and what they should do if they wish to opt-out in the first place. As a result, participants could fully understand the study. In particular, the study explained Google Docs' interface and major features before the first interview. I informed four participants who have agreed on writing a digital journal how to install the mobile version in detail, allowing participants to write digital journals without problems in the initial stage of the field work.

The autobiographical approach demanded a considerable amount of input from participants. Their autobiographical narratives should not simply be a collection of personal memories of the past events, but a collection of individuals' emotions, memories and reflections that could interpret social phenomena through in-depth autobiographical reflexivity. Contrary to the traditional view that autobiographical writing is mainly the autobiographical nature of self-construction (Hazlett, 1998), I adapted the collective nature of autobiography to the study by using 'Google Docs' as a digital autobiographic writing platform. Consequently, it helped me collect genuine personal stories, as well as enabled participants to create a wide variety of autobiographical reflexivity in relation to multiple memories, emotions and concerns about the life experiences of North Korean migrants in the past, present and future by orchestrating multimodal resources such as photo shots, drawings and hyperlinks.

Above all, I was able to have the opportunity to interact constantly and emotionally with participants through autobiographical reflectivity by implementing an interactive interaction strategy that allows participants and researchers to continuously communicate and interact. This strategy also helped participants to feel relief, so they felt that they were not experiencing loneliness when they wrote their journals in cyberspace. The interaction between participants and researchers also continued during narrative interviews in the fieldwork.

This study, therefore, has acknowledged that digital auto/biographical reflexivity was particularly useful for both the researcher and the participants. First, as a researcher who has not directly experienced their experiences of migration and adaptation and the emotions and thoughts they would have experienced during migration, participants' digital autobiographical reflexivity has become a crucial tool for understanding and interpreting their narrative selves, which interplay with experiences, memories and emotions. Moreover, these digital autobiographical reflections allow participants to retrospectively recall the past life of their migrant lives and visualise their feelings and memories through digital writing platforms. Such multimodal ensembles allowed me to sufficiently stimulate my imagination as a reader (investigator) who had no experience regarding migration and border-crossing. More specifically, the approach allowed me to experience the power of stories that informants have created. As Poletti (2011) usefully points out, participants' digital storytelling enabled me to imagine the North Korean culture, ordinary North Korean citizens' reactions to the nation's tragedies such as the economic crisis in the mid-1990s and authentic perspectives on the nation's policies and socio-political systems such as the *Songbun* status or the *Sungun* policy (Military-first policy) that contributed to the construction of the unique North Korean civic identities.

Biographical Narrative Interview and Data Interpretation

A Schützean narrative interview (1984/2005) applied to this study is widely acknowledged that the researchers' subjectivity should be taken as an important analytical part of the research process. Therefore, this thesis has shared the view on biographical reflexivity proposed by Ruokonen-Engler and Siouti (2013), which has been used as a methodological tool on how individual biographical experiences can be transformed into scientific knowledge. For example, after completing the collection of full interview data, the story was reconstructed, focusing on "subjects' lived life and narrated life to clarify their interconnection, analysing the different steps of interpretation " (Breckner & Rupp, 2002: 302).

In response to one of the purposes of the study, I paid particular attention to reconstructing the motivations and processes of mobility based on the participants' migration pathways in the reconstruction phase of the story. Across borders, the focus was on understanding how places and participants were intertwined across multiple borders, how transnational living worlds were emerging, and how the participants responded to, interpreted and narrated the events and people they faced throughout the migration. This played a more important role in the analysis and interpretation of data. In other words, the

ontological and epistemological framework of this thesis is founded on relational social constructionism and interpretivism. It means that theoretical frameworks are reconstructed and (re)interpreted via a relational social constructionism lens in the process of data analysis which brings research findings into a peacebuilding capacity framework, and theories are constructed through a focused interpretation of what comes from the collected data. It offers a combination of bedrock theories and some application of them, mirroring the findings.

In addition, the thesis has confirmed that the researcher's reflexivity played a significant role in this interpretation process. In acknowledging that my civic identity has influenced the theoretical and methodological outcomes of this research, the greatest challenge was negotiating different perspectives about my research questions alongside my memories of, and feelings about, the events and history that my participants learned or remembered. In doing so, how those memories and experiences were involved in creating civic identities for participants was to be interpreted. This process was challenging as a researcher with a different civic identity who has an entirely different historical memory. For instance, the Korean War I learned in history classes began with North Korea's provocations, yet the war they knew began with the invasion of South Korean and American troops. Most of the stories they recounted were about many collective activities to deepen their hatred of both South Korean and American imperialism, firmly believing in the regime's official narrative of the Korean War, which is a "victorious war of liberation against American imperialism" (Kwon HI, 2020:6). One of the North Korean propaganda films, 'Red Soil', mentioned by all subjects I met, described the *Shincheon* massacre committed by the U.S. military during the war, which I had never heard about it in my entire life. Through their retrospective accounts about the Korean war, I could realise why the sheer number of North Koreans developed hatred toward the American army and South Koreans. At the same time, it demanded a reflection on my knowledge and memory that I had firmly believed was the authentic history. However, the negotiation process ensured that the methodology remained critical, reminding me of my interpretative position (Fook, 1999) while analysing and interpreting the data set. In this sense, the research reflexive journal that I have written throughout the research process helped me extensively interpret vis-à-vis events, people and experiences that my participants orchestrated in the digital journal platform and accounted for in the narrative interviews by reflecting on participants' auto/biographical expressions. The extracts from the reflective journal will be given in Appendix N.

In turn, I have learned that auto/biographical reflexivity was not always easy, both for a researcher and the participants. In particular, it was necessary for a high level of reflection, frequent dialogue and the negotiability of the auto/biographical narratives during

(re)constructing what the subjects have narrated and written life histories in the process of data analysis and interpretation.

Although auto/biographical reflexivity is particularly appropriate to studies exploring identity construction processes (Corlett, 2009), some past studies have pointed out the methodological and ethical issues due to the sample biases (Haggard & Noland, 2010; Song & Denney, 2019). That is, most of the North Korean migrants who have settled in the ROK and abroad are now known to have come from the three provinces hardest hit by North Korea's economic hardships such as the Great famine in the mid-1990s (e.g., Yanggang, Chagang, and North Hamgyŏng) (Haggard & Noland, 2010; Song & Denney, 2019). All informants also came from North Hamgyŏng province (see Table 4.1) and generally they were from the lowest *songbun* status, namely, the hostile class. Despite this study not aiming to generalise the social phenomenon yet given that North Korean society is a rigid social structure where everything about individual citizens is strictly determined by the *songbun* system, it is expected that collecting and analysing data on a wider range of samples will help identify a more accurate process of constructing and reconstructing civic identity in the North.

In addition, the research into life writing has not fully theorised the effects of media's materiality on the construction of autobiography. By focusing only on textual stories and narratives, Poletti (2020:12) argues that "scholars have ignored the many complex ways that humans attempt to make their lives meaningful and legible to others." However, digital life writing operations are beginning to change how we understand our thinking about security, citizenship and identity itself (Poleti & Rak, 2014). As discussed in Chapter four, four informants, as narrators and analysts, orchestrated various multimodal data to record their memories and feelings in North Korea, multiple events experienced in the process of migration, as well as their emotions in relationships with many supporters over the digital journal platform. This allowed me to deeply sympathise with the very personal memories, feelings and even sufferings. Also, the storytelling strategies that they used showed salient characteristics in the process of describing identity formation. When giving accounts of their predicaments during the migration process or adaptation to a new society, some participants drew on storytelling devices, such as positioning self as the inferior person or loser. However, such a free web-based version of a word processor applied to the study was limited in providing rhetorical devices to express participants' delicate emotions. Furthermore, the writing process may evoke the painful experiences of these migrants/refugees in the past, leading to risks causing them to experience trauma again (Palanac, 2020).

In this sense, life logging technology has recently been in the spotlight as a tool to help users with self-discipline and to reflect and improve their lives by using wearable devices to automatically collect a wide range of data from tracking users' location, their sleeping, eating, working, and exercising patterns (e.g., Evertale, Capture All and Narrative Clip) (Bruun & Stentoft, 2019; Rettberg, 2014). Undeniably, the technical and ethical challenges of life logging technologies still remain, but these technologies certainly provide insight into the research of autobiographical reflexivity. In other words, if the delicate emotions and patterns of human behaviour can be collected to analyse the construction of a wide range of autobiographical selves, more accurate civic identity and interpretation of the nature of identity could be possible. Therefore, future research in this area might include the influence of digital autobiographical reflectivity by various types of media, platforms and storytelling devices.

The major goal of this thesis has been to unearth the characteristics of North Korean migrants' civic identity transformation throughout transnational migration and adaptation, hoping to conceptualise the identity of future citizens in relation to the peacebuilding capacity that helps these new citizens contribute towards establishing a peaceful unification on the Korean peninsula. Through the auto/biographical approach, data were revealed comprehensively and extensively about how participants could have reconstructed civic identities in the process of migration and acculturation. The findings indicate that all participants developed adaptation strategies in conflicts and tensions that they had faced in the transnational spheres. Moreover, their civic identities were transformed while they developed strategies to adapt to new societies. Such findings contribute subsequently to the discussion and conceptualisation of the term 'bridging civic identities' and the conceptual model of peacebuilding citizenship education within the next sub-section on the theoretical contributions of this work.

10.3. Theoretical: Conceptualising bridging civic identities and theorising peacebuilding citizenship education in the divided Korea

10.3.1. Conceptualising bridging civic identities

One of the goals of the study is to identify what core capacities are required for those citizens with inherent conflict identities to shift peace civic identities and become

citizens willing to engage in peacebuilding. The thesis calls citizens who are willing to engage in the social transformation process toward a peaceful unification in the future by cultivating peacebuilding capacities 'bridge citizens', Thus, the last aim of the study is to define the nature of bridging civic identities which are required by bridge citizens.

In offering civic identity transformation and adaptation strategies as interpretive insights, this thesis has acknowledged that other scholars have discussed many of these in the field of migration studies (de Haas et al, 2020; Keegan, 2017; Jung et al., 2017; Krzyz˙anowski & Wodak, 2008). Despite its historical significance and apparent research potential, examinations of civic identity were largely absent from critical peace education and cosmopolitan citizenship literature (Horst & Olsen, 2021; Jenks, 2013). Regarding the North Korean migrants' migration, although some past studies handled the possibility of becoming global citizens and cosmopolitan habitus of these migrants (Jung et al., 2017; Kang JW, 2020; Park YA, 2020), this is the first time that a set of adaptation strategies of North Korean migrants has been presented. This is to cohere with the refined peacebuilding capacity framework and to illustrate the transformation of civic identities and construction of social capital, associated with experiences of transnational migration and acculturation in new societies.

Among the myriad difficulties associated with migration and adaptation, the thesis has confirmed that the North Korean migrants' migration process is understood to be one of the major factors that could change lives and has been identified as a critical factor associated with identity transformation in these migrants. Yet it still requires further study to explore whether these adaptation strategies and possibility of transforming civic identities are able to apply to those who have not migrated on the Korean peninsula. I also found the concept of civic identities helpful in understanding civic development by their migration and adaptation experiences. Most of them migrated across different nation-states, and it enabled them to change their norms, values and identities through transnational migration, resulting in transforming their civic identities. The thesis frames these Northerners' civic identity transformation in each stage of the transnational migration: namely, belligerent civic identity, border-crosser identity, *Jayumin* identity, cosmopolitan civic identity and bridging civic identity. Such civic identity transformation led all the participants to realise their legal status and constantly negotiate the politics of belonging in the multiple boundaries. In such a process, simultaneously, they had a chance to discover the root causes of conflicts and tensions through critical self-reflection and social networks, resulting in developing peacebuilding capacities. These I have identified as: realising, enabling, reflecting, reconciling, thriving, transforming and bridge-building. In addition to the migration and adaptation experience to new societies, above all, this research has acknowledged that the

participants had social relations with compassionate supporters who enabled them to realise the new civic norms and values, namely, social capital that Putnam (2000) terms civic skills.

In the concept of bridging civic identity defined by humanising, the extension of caring for others can be regarded as a kind of citizenry accountability (Tronto, 2013). Showing caring for others has been taught in societies all over the world. The idea behind the Golden Rule of caring for others means that social justice can be ensured when individual citizens care for other citizens as their responsibilities. In such conceptualisation, this study has emphasised a cosmopolitan civic identity that enables bridge citizens to care for all human beings as moral agents to ensure social justice by not confining ascribed identities—ethnicity, religion and nationality. In the light of this concept, all participants recounted that the reason for participating in the study was that they wanted a unified Korea to be a better society, and that they could make it so by dedicating their life stories. They remembered supports that they had experienced during migration, moreover, supports not only received but also shared in the hopes that they will open doors for other young North Korean migrants to continue pursuing their educational and life goals, resulting in caring for their fellow citizens. Notably, seemingly confirming Kanno & Norton's (2003) view that 'what has not happened in the future may be the reason and motivation for what the learner is doing today,' participants were setting up their motivation for learning and their long-term goals of life, imagining the nation's future unification that has not yet come.

What do such results imply for the debate on civic identity transformation and peacebuilding education in the Korean context? A probable valid view is that transforming conflict-attuned civic identity into peace-building civic identity would be possible in the divided Korea by peacebuilding education. Thus, the study pays attention to critical peace education, namely, peacebuilding citizenship education that aims at societal transformation to redesign and make societies more equitable and just rather than peace education which simply helps people embrace a peaceful mindset (Bajaj, 2008; Bickmore, 2002, 2017; Novelli et al., 2015; Pherali, 2016).

10.3.2. Theorising Peacebuilding Citizenship Education

The reunification of the two Koreas means not only to end the current conflicts and political tensions on the Korean peninsula but also to bring fundamental changes in the systems, values, norms and identities for social transformation. Since the national division in 1948, the two governments have tried to resolve conflicts and eventually achieve a peaceful

unification on the Korean peninsula, yet most of the measures have been focused on building an institutional framework. As shown in post-conflict and divided contexts which have experienced identity-based conflicts, despite an institutional and legal framework for peace being achieved through peace agreements or through economic and political restructuring, we have seen many cases of failure to transform intractable conflict into peace regime, or to reach social integration: for instance, religious identity conflict in Northern Ireland (Murphy et al., 2016; Rosler, 2019; Smith, 2003b), ethnic identity conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Osler & Pandur, 2019), national identity conflict in Israel-Palestine (Bar-Tal, 2013; Maoz, 2018) and ideological identity conflict in Germany (Mushaben, 2010).

In the context of Korean unification, more critically, the division habitus has led to constant conflict, antagonism and distrust among citizens of the two Koreas, and has now intensified into an intractable conflict (Cho HB, 2009; Park Y, 2010; Park J et al., 2020; Yang MS et al., 2019). Thus, unification of the Korean peninsula has become a social transformation process that desperately needs peacebuilding capacities of both individual citizens and inter-Korean citizenry to achieve successful unification through the transformation of social and political systems, not by natural events (Kwon & Park, 2018).

In this sense, the primary purpose of the study is to devise an appropriate pedagogical approach to foster peacebuilding capacities that enable individual citizens to transform conflict into peace. Although many empirical studies have demonstrated socio-psychological processes are involved in generating collective beliefs and emotions and some practical suggestions, as well as the socio-political approaches to overcome the division system in Korea, have been made (An SD, 2018; Hemmerine & Sloman, 2019; Park JH et al., 2020; Park YG, 2010): however, there is little research on what can be done to transform intractable conflict into positive peace through a pedagogical framework in the potentially unified Korea (Kang SW, 2018, 2020).

Considering the preparation for potential reunification, the Korean government has put efforts into developing a peace education initiative, the so-called 'unification education'. Since the unification education policy heavily relied on the overarching unification policy, however, it could not compromise in one single direction. Above all, it failed to ensure a clear vision of unification and define what kind of capacities will be necessary to transform conflict and achieve positive peace in the Korean division. In this regard, this thesis has proposed a new pedagogical approach, the so-called 'peacebuilding citizenship education' by combining the theory of critical peace education and education for cosmopolitan citizenship, hoping to prepare for successful reunification and social transformation by equipping North and South Korean pupils to cultivate their peacebuilding capacities.

To do so, the peacebuilding capacity framework presented was offered as a theoretical and analytical heuristic device. After data analysis, the framework was modified to link with adaptive strategies developed by participants, and the peacebuilding capacity creation framework was confirmed. As shown in figures 9.1 and 9.2 in chapter nine, each peacebuilding capacity is individually defined. Yet, each capacity is interconnected because they can implement a just and peaceful society, as the final goal of peacebuilding, which synergically affect each other.

Implementation in Peacebuilding Citizenship Education

In the Korean context, *PCE* will be best served by the critical inquiry model and the substantial practice of nonviolent conflict management processes with a wide range of resources and relationships. At the same time, citizens' capacity for such peacebuilding depends upon their critical awareness, understanding the current circumstances, imagining future society and developing skills for resolving conflict, violence and alternatives (Bajaj, 2015, 2019; Bickmore, 2002, 2007, 2019). If valid, the fundamental aims of the PCE in ROK should be based upon cultivating the components of peacebuilding capacity —realising, enabling, reflecting, reconciling, transforming and bridge-building— that is proposed in this study.

In the context of Korean unification, moreover, I have argued that peacebuilding education must address the cosmopolitan aspect as it manifests as a utopian vision of justice, humanity and peace in the world (Osler & Starkey, 2010; Starkey, 2019). Due to the division system, having a peaceful coexistence and ultimately achieving reunification seems to be a utopian idea that cannot be reached. Following Levitas's (2013:140) concept of transformative utopian realism, however, utopia should be understood as a method which enables individuals to take imagination for a better way of being or living and it leads people to transform the actual institutional structure into the "imaginary reconstitution of society (IROS)." By imagining a future unified Korea, thus, it can give a chance for both Koreans to reflect on the current conflict, to seek for feasible conflict resolution techniques and to construct the ideal unified society.

In addition, I argue that there is a connection between the ethos of cosmopolitanism and the spirit of humanitarian ideal (*'Hongik Ingan'* in Han'gŭl, 弘益人間 in Chinese) which is the Korean education ideology as it is characterised by humanism, mutual respect, equality, peace, self-discipline and harmonious cooperation for the prosperity of human society (Cartwright, 2016; Kim et al., 2020; Suh, 2014). Discipline in the context of

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Korean unification can be understood to mean a need "to increase our [both Koreans] degraded human dignity" due to division system, rather than "enhancing national strength" (Han YW, 2004: ii). As a value change process aftermath the unification, therefore, incorporating the cosmopolitan ethos and *Hongik Ingan* Ideology into PCE is necessary to recover human dignity by overcoming division habitus that reinforced by the current education systems on either side.

In this thesis, I did not illustrate whether peacebuilding citizenship education should include peace and conflict education in detail. Rather, this study sought to examine what kinds of citizenship education about peace and conflict would be most fruitful for developing and sustaining positive peace in this context by examining the lived experiences and perspectives of North Korean migrants associated with the intersectionality between adaptation strategies, peacebuilding capacities and transformation of civic identities as a result of transnational migration.

In response to the results, carrying out the further study by elaborating the proposed peacebuilding capacity creation framework will be able to suggest important directions to policymakers, scholars and practitioners who seek to develop an inclusive and innovative pedagogical model of peacebuilding citizenship education.

10.4. Constructive: Implications for research and policy

This thesis raises three overarching insights for research and policy within the field of peacebuilding citizenship education.

Firstly, the thesis has highlighted some of the education policy challenges the current assimilation policy relating to settlement policy for North Korean migrants. Much of it is contrary to current policy dynamics that would lead North Korean migrants to believe that resettlement and acculturation are feasible in ROK if the society has a willingness to invite new arrivals and the mindset for the two citizens to embrace their differences.

Since the two Koreas contrast sharply in terms of culture and political ideology, the Korean government has included North Korean migrants within the scope of multicultural education (Chang IS, 2017; Ministry of Education, 2012), numerous multicultural education programmes have been in place since 2006; most of the programmes aimed to promote 'understanding of multicultural literacy, cultural education, language education, fostering a sense of community, and school adjustment' (Ministry of Education, 2012; Seo H, 2007).

Despite the long-standing multicultural education policy in ROK, the current assimilationist approaches see those migrant students as incompetent learners and much of previous studies have overly highlighted that such marginalised students suffer from the stress associated with socioeconomic status, cultural turmoil, language differences, identity confusion, discrimination, school maladjustment, academic underachievement, and other aspects of the acculturation process (Choi & Park, 2011; Han et al., 2009; Nho & Hong, 2006). Although participants acknowledged their limited upward social mobility, resulting from their marginalised social position in ROK or the UK, the study has affirmed that they developed five different adaptation strategies— mobility, self-reflection, resilience, learning agility and social networks, as well as reconcile the conflict and tension relating to belonging and not belonging to new societies. And some participants appreciated the potential socioeconomic utility of past lives and their original identity, as well as reframed them as valuable assets that could offer these newcomers important preparation for life and career development at present, and further enhance their capacities for peacebuilding in a future unified Korea.

More critically, the study has demonstrated that there is a discrepancy between the multicultural education policy that has been applied to the national curriculum in ROK, and the hostile environments the Korean teachers created in state-funded schools. That is, the teachers' hostile words and behaviours towards these young North Koreans—for example by forcing them to hide their North Korean identity, ignoring their voices and urging North Korean migrant pupils to transfer to other schools (see chapter seven)—results in producing negative perceptions of North Koreans that present North Korean migrants with other barriers to constructing bridging civic identities. However, the antagonistic educational environment for minority students generated by teachers is not unique to Korea. Rather, there has been a lot of criticism about the role of teachers in Britain and the challenges in multicultural education leading to the creation of the so-called "hostile environments" for ethnic minority students (Ball & Olmedo, 2013; Candappa, 2019: 414).

Therefore, the findings of the study offer implications for multicultural education. First of all, multicultural education that fails to recognise the capacities and needs of North Korean refugee youths as an asset for future unified Korea is a lost opportunity. By acknowledging the skills and capabilities of those migrant students, educators can help them foster peacebuilding capacities, positive civic identities and support refugees' engagement in the bicultural practices that constitute their daily lives, both now and in the future they see themselves as part of. In this sense, inclusively pluralistic, democratic and holistic approaches, such as the peacebuilding citizenship education I have theorised in this thesis, can be an alternative form of multicultural education in the context of Korean reunification.

Moreover, PCE provides clues to improving the current education system in terms of teacher education by cultivating peacebuilding capacities that enable them to deeply understand the social prejudice and all kinds of social or symbolic obstacles that such unique refugee students faced in their adaptation process. That is, peacebuilding education, which emphasises the role of teachers as transformative peacebuilders (Bajaj, 2008; Giroux, 1988; Horner et al., 2015) will be allowed teachers to become other bridge citizens by recognising the division system, resisting violent conditions and overcoming division habitus.

In line with the assimilation perspective, the study has acknowledged language barriers as a real challenge that prevents North Korean migrants from successfully adapting to new societies. As mentioned in previous chapters, the use of the North Korean language in South Korean society has required the need for separate language-support programmes for North Korean migrants, despite the fact that it shares the roots of their language in that it is not only a representative indicator of their North Korean identity but also serves as linguistic stigmatisation, resulting in forming the social prejudice, as well as difficulties that those new citizens face in developing bridging civic identities. In this sense, the language-support programmes for North Korean migrants should be considered of how these newly arrived migrants could be supported to draw on their bidialectal practices and multiple identities to their advantage, rather than forcing them to learn Seoul-standard accent and acquiring a way of speaking like South Koreans.

I argue that the government should have a language education system that can develop citizens' transforming capacity to reconcile conflicts caused by language stigmatisation in the process of adaptation to new societies. As a pedagogical approach to help refugee learners, Palanac's (2020) research has major implications in language education for those refugees. Palanac (2020) proposes a language learning model that employs eudaimonia, which means a deep sense of personal contentment, linked to the idea of self-actualisation, echoing Waterman's (1993) Eudaimonic Identity Theory (cited in Palanac, 2020). This involves carrying out activities where students are able to realise their potential by developing their skills and advancing their purpose in life. Although this model currently appears limited to EFL teachers, it seems worth further researching as a potential peacebuilding education model, in that it presents the teaching strategies (e.g., Mindful Learning and Directed Motivational Currents) that can create a peacebuilding classroom environment in which minority students can overcome trauma and develop their potential.

Secondly, the proposed concept of PCE also might be usefully informed by considering other post-conflict and divided contexts. Drawing from the analysis results, this

thesis has devised the peacebuilding capacity creation framework that can be applied to the South Korean education system. It subsequently proposed the peacebuilding capacity creation framework by presenting how seven peacebuilding capacities are linked in terms of the North Korean migrants' adaptation strategies they had developed throughout transnational spheres. And such findings will be relevance to scholars working on education in post-conflict contexts.

For example, reflecting on German unification, Germany is well-known as a country with a well-established democratic system after unification among post-conflict societies. (Bruen, 2014; Cha CI & Won JH, 2013) and German political education, called 'Politische Bildung,' is widely known to have contributed to social integration after unification (Kenner, 2020). Technically, Germany still has not achieved 'inner unity' between East and West German citizens, resulting in causing inter-group conflict in Germany (Holtman et al., 2016; Misselwitz, 2016; Mushaben, 2010). From the standpoint of the social integration issue with which Germany, several questions that emerged are how much difference there is in the peacebuilding capacity of East and West German citizens who have experienced unification at this point. Specifically, in addition to the seven peacebuilding capacities defined in this study, would not other peacebuilding capacities be required in post-conflict Germany? I also want to know what peacebuilding capacities would be required for other countries that have experienced other identity-based conflicts, for example, Northern Ireland. Therefore, future research in this field might include how the key elements of the peacebuilding capacity proposed in this study can be implemented in PCE in other post-conflict contexts.

Lastly, the result of the study has indicated that social networks were interpreted to be essential to adapt to host societies, construct bridging civic identities and ultimately these factors play a key role in cultivating a peacebuilding capacity of these migrants. In this study, participants encountered many supporters throughout transnational migration. Some of them helped the participants make the transition from North Korea to other countries, providing everyday essentials such as shelter and food, enabling them to reflect on their (legal and social) status, providing adequate information to adapt to new life in the ROK or the UK and helping them to develop a range of civic values.

Furthermore, their compassionate assistance played an essential role in migration and successful adaptation to the new environment. More importantly, such social networks were not only an adaptation strategy, but also major social resources of building social capital, and further, cultivating the suggested peacebuilding capacities in this study— realising, enabling, reflecting, thriving, transforming and bridge-building capacity— to become bridge citizens. Considering building social capital, participants who actively built

bridging social capital showed a higher level of possibility of establishing bridging civic identities. Whereas participants who tended to stick to bonding social capital, as such getting together only fellow North Korean migrants in Seoul and New Malden, had less opportunity to shift their civic identities, as well as social networks as the number of social resources available, is reduced.

Worth noting is that the process of transforming civic identity as bridge citizens assisted the participants in creating meaningful social networks with informal education settings such as NGOs and religious organisations. In the absence of formal and institutionalised support, particularly, participants used social networks such as teachers at alternative forms of school, leaders from religious organisations and staff at NGOs to subvert their current realities and pursue their educational zeal and life goals. Notably, the relationships associated with academic support such as relationships with teachers are crucial, yet such relationships are distinct between the ROK and the UK.

In other words, neoliberal policy regimes in the ROK serve to exclude minority groups such as North Korean migrants in a subtler way. This forces teachers into the role of apolitical technocrats, by forcing these young North Koreans to hide their North Korean identities or by disregarding the differences between North and South Korea. Although these findings seem difficult to apply to all British teachers in general, this is in stark contrast to the exceptional British teachers whom my informants met in their schooling, especially those that acknowledge young North Koreans' psychosocial and emotional needs, who have helped them reconcile the conflicts, foster cosmopolitan awareness, and promote self-esteem, and further, imagine better life goals in the future. Thus, the support of British teachers seems to contribute to reconstructing the civic identities of participants, as cosmopolitan civic identities that do not distinguish any boundaries and prioritise individual dignity.

Based on the findings of the study, suggestions related to peacebuilding education policy are offered. Considering the fact that the social networks have a decisive impact on adapting to host societies, transforming civic identities and nurturing peacebuilding capacities, it is necessary to examine the many ways in which young North Korean migrants are building the social networks to draw on and extend different kinds of institutional and non-institutional support. In the short term, particularly, institutional resources (e.g., settlement packages and exemption from tuition in the ROK and social benefits in the UK) provided to North Korean migrants/refugees, contributed to settling into the new societies, but in the long term, non-institutional resources such as social networks played an essential role to keep the motivation to learn and enhance their competencies.

Given the fact that the majority of participants could build social capital in informal learning environments (This confirms the findings of Chopra and Dryden-Peterson (2020)) and it led to developing peacebuilding capacities, this implies that further research that examines ways that informal learning such as volunteering through civil society initiatives can afford opportunities to develop refugee youths' peacebuilding capacities is required. In addition, more research is needed on how the multiple border experiences of bridge citizens impact the intersectionality between building social networks, peacebuilding capacities and civic identity transformation in this context and other conflict-affected societies.

10.5. Conclusion: On Becoming Bridge Citizens

After the interview in 2019, Hae emailed me and shared her thoughts and impressions after seeing the contents of real textbooks in a North Korean primary school that she discovered on Google. She would have been very unfamiliar with these textbooks as she had no schooling experience in DPRK, and she would also have been shocked about the teaching of hatred and enmity to children at school in the North. According to her, the title of the so-called 'Murderer American' and 'Liberalism is a dangerous idea' surprised her, and the lyrics of the song 'A landowner is my enemy' in the music textbook were incredible. With her common sense, it was impossible for her to imagine officially teaching hatred at school, so she immediately became sceptical after reading these texts. No matter how well-designed peace education is developed, she said it is doubtful whether it can teach North Koreans who have grown up under such hostile environments to raise the mindset of peace, compassion and reconciliation.

As Hae pointed out the feasibility of peace education, reflecting on North Korea's textbooks, led to several criticisms on peace education as it does not work in the horizon of every reality (Cox & Scruten, 1984; Harris & Morrison, 2013). Given the situation of the division of the Korean peninsula where there is "the violent structure institutionalised and the violent culture internalised (Galtung, 1990:302)", it seems impossible to transform intractable conflict into peacebuilding that is difficult to handle just by cultivating a peaceful mindset.

In this sense, this study proposed the concept of bridging civic identities and devised a peacebuilding capacity creation framework that aims to equip the citizens of the two Koreas with the peacebuilding capacity they need to be bridge citizens. In envisioning the meaning of bridge citizens who will meet in an imagined future unified Korea, I have sought to answer who we are and how we imagine we are expected to be as bridge citizens from the beginning up

until the end of my research journey. Through this process, the thesis suggested a pedagogical approach, the so-called 'peacebuilding citizenship education', hoping that all citizens living in a divided Korean society and other post-conflict and divided countries can become bridge citizens to transform conflict into peace.

As a former president, Kim Dae-jung has highlighted below, since the 70-year long division produced the two Koreas with completely different citizens, the reunification may require patience and wisdom to transform conflict into peace for a generation or more.

Therefore, this thesis urges that individual citizens are required to cultivate the capacities for building sustainable peace in a future unified Korea.

> Divided for half-a-century after a three-year war, South and North Korea have lived in mutual distrust and enmity across the barbed-wire fence of the demilitarized zone.
> To replace the dangerous stand-off with peace and cooperation, I proclaimed my sunshine policy upon becoming President in February 1998 and have consistently promoted its message of reconciliation with the North: first, we will never accept unification through communication; second, nor would we attempt to achieve unification by absorbing the North; and third, South and North Korea should seek peaceful coexistence and cooperation. Unification, I believe, can wait until such a time when both sides feel comfortable enough in becoming one again, no matter how long it takes
>
> – President Kim Dae-Jung's (2000) Nobel Prize Lecture

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Approved Doctoral Research Ethic Documents

Anyone conducting research under the auspices of the Institute (staff, students or visitors) where the research involves human participants or the use of data collected from human participants, is required to gain ethical approval before starting. This includes preliminary and pilot studies. Please answer all relevant questions in terms that can be understood by a lay person and note that your form may be returned if incomplete.

For further support and guidance please see accompanying guidelines and the Ethics Review Procedures for Student Research http://www.ucl.ac.uk/srs/research-ethics-committee/ioe or contact your supervisor or IOE.researchethics@ucl.ac.uk.

Before completing this form you will need to discuss your proposal fully with your supervisor(s).
Please attach all supporting documents and letters.

For all Psychology students, this form should be completed with reference to the British Psychological Society (BPS) Code of Human Research Ethics and Code of Ethics and Conduct.

Section 1 Project details					
a.	Project title		Citizenship Education and Peacebuilding: Lessons from young North Korean migrants' life histories		
b.	Student name		MICHEONG, CHEONG		
c.	Supervisor/Personal Tutor		Hugh Starkey & Tristan McCowan		
d.	Department		Curriculum, Pedagogy and Assessment		
e.	Course category (Tick one)	PhD/MPhil	☒	EdD	☐
		MRes	☐	DEdPsy	☐
		MTeach	☐	MA/MSc	☐
		ITE	☐		
		Diploma (state which)	☐		
		Other (state which)	☐		
f.	Course/module title		MPhil/PhD		
g.	**If applicable,** state who the funder is and if funding has been confirmed.				
h.	Intended research start date		01/10/2017		

i.	Intended research end date	15/09/2019
j.	Country fieldwork will be conducted in *If research to be conducted abroad please ensure travel insurance is obtained through UCL* *http://www.ucl.ac.uk/finance/insurance/travel*	South Korea and Great Britain

k.	Has this project been considered by another (external) Research Ethics Committee?	
	Yes ☐	External Committee Name:
	No ☒ ☐*go to Section 2*	Date of Approval:

yes:

- − Submit a copy of the approval letter with this application.
- − Proceed to Section 10 Attachments**.**

Note: Ensure that you check the guidelines carefully as research with some participants will require ethical approval from a different ethics committee such as the National Research Ethics Service (NRES) or Social Care Research Ethics Committee (SCREC). In addition, if your research is based in another institution then you may be required to apply to their research ethics committee.

Section 2 Project summary

Research methods (tick all that apply)

Please attach questionnaires, visual methods and schedules for interviews (even in draft form).

☒ Interviews ☐ Focus groups ☐ Questionnaires ☐ Action research ☐ Observation ☐ Literature review	☐ Controlled trial/other intervention study ☒ Use of personal records ☐ Systematic review ☐*if only method used go to Section 5.* ☐ Secondary data analysis ☐*if secondary analysis used go to Section 6.* ☐ Advisory/consultation/collaborative groups ☒ Other, give details:

Please provide an overview of your research. This should include some or all of the following: purpose of the research, aims, main research questions, research design, participants, sampling, your method of data collection (e.g., observations, interviews, questionnaires, etc.) and kind of questions that will be asked, reporting and dissemination (typically 300-500 words).

As the number of North Korean migrants has rapidly been growing since the mid-1990s in South Korea, the schools and teachers have to face with 'these very intimate but also unfamiliar migrants' (Ham, 2013, p.1). In the specific context of a divided Korean history, the Korean government has been seeking to develop an educational system equipped to

handle the challenges of potential reunification and globalisation. However, most policies are based on assimilation and focus on aggressive nationalism. Also, there are issues of cultural violence such as collective beliefs and attitudes that serve to legitimise enmity. As a result, young North Korean migrants have faced challenges of adapting and settling into the Korean society.

In this study, by means of biographic narrative interviewing and digital auto/biographic writing North Korean migrant youths who live in Seoul, South Korea and in New Malden, Great Britain, firstly, I will identify different forms of cultural violence faced by North Korean youths in their life trajectory and explore how the cultural violence influence on the process of adaptation and settlement through their narratives. Secondly, I will explore how they construct and transfer their value systems, civic identities, and perspectives of reunification in the adaptive process in North and South Korea, Great Britain, or in third countries. Lastly, the aim of the study is to reimagine citizenship education for building sustainable peace in the future unified Korea by articulating some characteristics of young North Korean migrants as the valued citizens, namely, bridge figures.

Therefore, this study is intended to shape Korean government policy on citizenship education for peacebuilding in the context of Korean reunification. Thus, there is an overarching question that I should investigate in this research: To what extent and how can the experiences and reflections of North Korean migrants who have settled in ROK or the UK contribute to informing the appropriate educational responses to reunification and societal transformation? And three subsidiary research questions have guided this study:

I. How do North Korean migrants narrate their formation and transformation of civic identities and capacities before and after escaping their nation?
II. What strategies do they use to enable them to adapt to new societies?
III. How might these experiences contribute to theorising peacebuilding citizenship education in the context of Korean reunification?

I propose interviewing up to four young North Korean residents (aged 17 to 35) and two Korean teachers in Seoul, South Korea, and two young North Korean migrants in New Malden, United Kingdom and following a biographic-narrative interpretive method (Wengraf, 2001) and an auto/biographical writing method (Pinar, 1975). Also, instructional materials including texts for citizenship and peace education used in class at Yeo-Myung School and assignments of North Korean students will be a significant source of data to examine their perspectives and experiences. These interviews with the permission of participants will be audio taped in order to enable coding for analysis based on the actual words of the respondents and in order to enable me to continually return to the data.

In light of the above, I will need a) to be sensitive in my reporting with regard to presenting any data which may compromise or reflect negatively on any participants, and b) be sensitive to those features which may make respondents easily identifiable. Initial dissemination would be in the form of my PhD thesis.

Section 3 Participants

Please answer the following questions giving full details where necessary. Text boxes will expand for your responses.

a.	Will your research involve human participants?	Yes ☒	No ☐ ⇨ *go to Section 4*

b.	Who are the participants (i.e. what sorts of people will be involved)? Tick all that apply.	

	☐ Early years/pre-school ☐ Ages 5-11 ☐ Ages 12-16 ☒ Young people aged 17-18	☐ Unknown – specify below ☒ Adults *please specify below* ☐ Other – specify below

NB: Ensure that you check the **guidelines** (Section 1) carefully as research with some participants will require ethical approval from a different ethics committee such as the National Research Ethics Service (NRES).

young North Korean migrants and their parents (if pupils who are willing to participate in this study are under 17-years-old) and Korean teachers

c.	If participants are under the responsibility of others (such as parents, teachers or medical staff) how do you intend to obtain permission to approach the participants to take part in the study?

(Please attach approach letters or details of permission procedures – see Section 9 Attachments.)

Attached

d.	How will participants be recruited (identified and approached)?

My research subjects are young North Korean migrants who stayed in China at a stateless status and South East or Central Asia as refugees for a maximum of one year and then settled in South Korea for at least one year. In addition, I will look at North Korean residents who are living in Great Britain. In South Korea, I will recruit voluntary participants at Yeo-Myung School in which I will conduct the field work. In Great Britain, I will send letters/ emails to several associated with North Korean migrants, for instance, Korean Christian Society, UK North Korean Residents Society, British Korean Society, ROK Embassy in London, BAKS (British Association for Korean Studies), BAHRON(British Association for Human Rights of North Korea), LSE SU Korea Future Forum, CEACS(Cambridge East Asian Cultural Society) and to request that as a researcher I am allowed permission to interview some young North Korean residents in the New Malden. This will be followed by emails to invite them to participate. I will send letters/email to North Korean migrant youth and parents directly explaining what kind of study and what they should do if they wish to opt out.

e.	Describe the process you will use to inform participants about what you are doing.

I will write to all young North Korean migrants and Korean teachers who are interested in my study asking them if they wish to participate in the study, outlining the aims of the project and explaining clearly what is required of participants. I will send a more detailed letter or email to those who signal their willingness to participate, explaining that I would like to audio-record the interviews, how and where data will be stored, that the names of respondents will be anonymised and making clear that they are free to leave the

	process at any stage of the interview process. In particular, North Korean youths will be asked to write digital journals via the use of Google doc. This will be the first time 'Google doc' is used for such purposes so problems may occur. Therefore, before starting the study, participants will be asked to write digital journals for two weeks as a pre-research test. After that, auto/biographical method structure, and digital journals format will be arranged. Also, Pinar's autobiographical methodology was developed for teachers. Thus, this method may prove difficult for adolescents or young adults. Hence, the proposed use of Pinar's method will be re-evaluated in the pre-research test. I will hold a workshop to explain how to use it and what is auto/biographical writing while I will carry out a pre-research test.

I will also send out letters to parents of young North Korean migrants and pupils (under 18-years-old) to explain who they need to contact if they or their son or daughter have any concerns or wish to opt out. |
| f. | How will you obtain the consent of participants? Will this be written? How will it be made clear to participants that they may withdraw consent to participate at any time?

See the guidelines for information on opt-in and opt-out procedures.   Please note that the method of consent should be appropriate to the research and fully explained.

In response to the detailed letter mentioned in the above I will require participants to give their signed consent (or email in lieu) in advance of interviews. I will also confirm their consent and remind them of their right to withdraw at the beginning of interviews and writing journals |
| g. | **Studies involving questionnaires:** Will participants be given the option of omitting questions they do not wish to answer?

Yes ☒ No ☐ |
| | If **NO** please explain why below and ensure that you cover any ethical issues arising from this in section 8. |
| h. | **Studies involving observation:** Confirm whether participants will be asked for their informed consent to be observed.

Yes ☐ No ☒ |
| | If **NO** read the guidelines (Ethical Issues section) and explain why below and ensure that you cover any ethical issues arising from this in section 8. |
| i. | Might participants experience anxiety, discomfort or embarrassment as a result of your study?

Yes ☒ No ☐ |
| | If **yes** what steps will you take to explain and minimise this?

I do not expect any of the participants to feel extreme anxiety or discomfort at any stage in the process, but I understand that this is always a possibility in any research context. Some of the issues raised could lead participants to question the propriety of their work, |

	while reflecting on conflicting views could lead to a form of 'paralysis by analysis' that may inhibit their effectiveness in their role.
	I believe that adopting a relaxed collegial tone throughout interviews can go a long way towards mitigating the above issues. I will, as much as possible, work from a base of their experience and perspective of identity construction as being valid and explore how, from such a perspective one might respond to some of the questions posed by those with conflicting views.
	I will remind participants that they can opt out at any point, and reiterate this if at any point the participant appears distressed. I will also make it clear that they do not need to answer any question or discuss any subject that for any reason makes them feel uncomfortable.
	If **not**, explain how you can be sure that no discomfort or embarrassment will arise?
j.	Will your project involve deliberately misleading participants (deception) in any way? Yes ☐ No ☒
	If **YES** please provide further details below and ensure that you cover any ethical issues arising from this in section 8.
k.	Will you debrief participants at the end of their participation (i.e. give them a brief explanation of the study)? Yes ☒ No ☐
	If **NO** please explain why below and ensure that you cover any ethical issues arising from this in section 8.
l.	Will participants be given information about the findings of your study? (This could be a brief summary of your findings in general; it is not the same as an individual debriefing.) Yes ☒ No ☐ I will send a brief summary of the data and my analysis to all participants in the study. I intend to do this as I complete my thesis, as I expect I would be best placed then to provide a synoptic overview of the study.
	If **no**, why not?

Section 4 Security-sensitive material		
Only complete if applicable		
Security sensitive research includes: commissioned by the military; commissioned under an EU security call; involves the acquisition of security clearances; concerns terrorist or extreme groups.		
a.	Will your project consider or encounter security-sensitive material?	Yes ☐ * No ☐
b.	Will you be visiting websites associated with extreme or terrorist organisations?	Yes ☐ No ☐

		*	
c.	Will you be storing or transmitting any materials that could be interpreted as promoting or endorsing terrorist acts?	Yes ☐ **	No ☐

*Give further details in **Section 8 Ethical Issues**☐*

Section 5 Systematic review of research
Only complete if applicable

a.	Will you be collecting any new data from participants?	Yes ☐ *	No ☐
b.	Will you be analysing any secondary data?	Yes ☐ *	No ☐

*Give further details in **Section 8 Ethical Issues***

*If your methods do not involve engagement with participants (e.g. systematic review, literature review) **and** if you have answered **No** to both questions, please go to **Section 10 Attachments.***

Section 6 Secondary data analysis Complete for all secondary analysis

a.	Name of dataset/s		
b.	Owner of dataset/s		
c.	Are the data in the public domain?	Yes ☐ No ☐	
		***If no,** do you have the owner's permission/license? Yes ☐ No* ☐*	
d.	Are the data anonymised?	Yes ☐ No ☐	
		Do you plan to anonymise the data? Yes ☐ No ☐*	
		Do you plan to use individual level data? Yes ☐ No ☐*	
		Will you be linking data to individuals? Yes ☐ No ☐*	
e.	Are the data sensitive ([DPA 1998 definition](#))?	Yes* ☐	No ☐
f.	Will you be conducting analysis within the remit it was originally collected for?	Yes ☐	No* ☐
g.	**If no,** was consent gained from participants for subsequent/future analysis?	Yes ☐	No* ☐
h.	**If no,** was data collected prior to ethics approval process?	Yes ☐	No* ☐

*Give further details in **Section 8 Ethical Issues**☐*

*If secondary analysis is only method used **and** no answers with asterisks are ticked, go to **Section 9 Attachments.***

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	Section 7 Data Storage and Security		
	Please ensure that you include all hard and electronic data when completing this section.		
a.	Confirm that all personal data will be stored and processed in compliance with the Data Protection Act 1998 (DPA 1998). *(See the Guidelines and the Institute's Data Protection & Records Management Policy for more detail.)*	Yes ☒	
b.	Will personal data be processed or be sent outside the European Economic Area?	Yes ☐ *	No ☒
	*If yes, please confirm that there are adequate levels of protections in compliance with the DPA 1998 and state what these arrangements are below.		
c.	Who will have access to the data and personal information, including advisory/consultation groups and during transcription? Primary researcher (Myself)		
During the research			
d.	Where will the data be stored? On my laptop, On the UCL Data Safe Haven and On the UCL research data storage		
e.	Will mobile devices such as USB storage and laptops be used? Yes ☒ * No ☐ ***If yes,** state what mobile devices: Laptop, Tablet PC and USB sticks(including micro SD cards) ***If yes,** will they be encrypted?: Files will be password protected by using free ware (see the AxCrypt for Windows and Mobiles here - https://www.axcrypt.net/)		
After the research			
f.	Where will the data be stored? On the UCL Data Safe Haven and On the UCL research data storage		
g.	How long will the data and records be kept for and in what format? 3 years and doc, ppt, pdf		
h.	Will data be archived for use by other researchers? Yes ☐ * No ☒ ***If yes,** please provide details.		

Section 8 Ethical issues

Are there particular features of the proposed work which may raise ethical concerns or add to the complexity of ethical decision making? If so, please outline how you will deal with these.

It is important that you demonstrate your awareness of potential risks or harm that may arise as a result of your research. You should then demonstrate that you have considered

ways to minimise the likelihood and impact of each potential harm that you have identified. Please be as specific as possible in describing the ethical issues you will have to address. Please consider / address ALL issues that may apply. *Ethical concerns may include, but not be limited to, the following areas:*	
- Methods - Sampling - Recruitment - Gatekeepers - Informed consent - Potentially vulnerable participants - Safeguarding/child protection - Sensitive topics	- International research - Risks to participants and/or researchers - Confidentiality/Anonymity - Disclosures/limits to confidentiality - Data storage and security both during and after the research (including transfer, sharing, encryption, protection) - Reporting - Dissemination and use of findings

1) Informed consent for the participants

My research subjects are young North Korean migrants (aged 17 to 35) who are living in South Korea and the UK. Although North Korean migrant youths would not usually be considered vulnerable, it is possible that in some cases interviews may touch on issues that they find sensitive, such as their family members who remain in North Korea, their aim of escaping from North Korea or ideology.

It is reasonable to expect a certain level of anxiety or trauma in any process of telling and writing through self-reflection, and I expect that for the most part, they will experience a healthy anxiety which could lead to them becoming more reflective practitioners. I know, however, that I will need to be sensitive to participants' levels of anxiety, and should informants appear to be experiencing unhealthy anxiety to change the line of questioning and/or make it clear to them that they are free to stop the interview and the writing journal or withdraw entirely from the process.

Also, I will have an interview with Korean teachers who teach young North Korean migrants on three or four occasions depending on their permission and time schedule without exploitation of their time and effort.

Regarding research on sensitive topics, I will foster a strong rapport and credibility with all study participants, and go about his/her work responsibly. I will pay attention to the responsibilities associated with trust, attachment, and interdependence between researcher and participants.

2) Anonymity

It should be noted that the high standards of confidentiality are needed to protect research participants' privacy. North Korean migrants do not tend to reveal their identity or their faces to the public because it may threaten the security of family members still in North Korea or China. Considering the sensitivity of this research dealing with North Korean migrants, I will ensure the anonymisation of personal data from the study participants' narratives by using pseudonyms and non-identifying initials.

3) Data protection

3.1.   Encryption and Secure Storing

All data will be encrypted on principle by using free ware (see the AxCrypt for Windows and Mobiles here - https://www.axcrypt.net/) and function of phrase encryption on the Google doc. I will also utilise the UCL portal for secure data using applications available in the UCL Data Safe Haven (Henceforth 'DSH') (see the homepage here - https://accessgateway.idhs.ucl.ac.uk), which provides a technical solution for storing, handling and analysing for sensitive and identifiable data.

All data will be uploaded to the UCL DSH and UCL Storage Service by using the IDHS FTP Portal (Bulk Transfer, see the web portal here - https://filetransfer.idhs.ucl.ac.uk) before leaving meeting venue or school. After transferring recorded data into the UCL DSH server or storage, the audio-recordings will be deleted from the recorder to maintain privacy and confidentiality to protect participants from potential harms including psychological harm(e.g. embarrassment or distress); social harms (e.g. loss of employment); and criminals.

Instructional materials including texts for citizenship and peace education and assignments of North Korean students will be a significant source of data to examine their perspectives and experiences. Thus, I will collect teaching materials and handouts the social studies' teacher used in class at M School, as well as instructional materials. Regarding documents such as electronic files (e.g., interview transcriptions, field notes, and digital journal) and hard copies (e.g., consent forms and instructional materials), I will scan/take a picture of the documents if given permission by the study participants and I will upload them to the UCL DSH and UCL Storage Service. None of the written and hard copies will be taken when the researcher leaves the country.

In particular, I will take advantage of social media and web/ mobile platform (e.g., OSF) as a project management platform. Additionally, Google doc as a digital auto/biographical writing platform so that web data such as the first and third party cookies and web beacons will be collected when research subjects will visit these platforms. As is well known, if they choose to voluntarily disclose information on message boards, chat areas, comments sections or similar areas, their data (e.g. ID, name, and profile photos) as a form of small script placed on the hard drive of their computer will remain. Therefore, I will inform that they should delete and/or block the cookies on their hard drive regularly to protect their digital identifiable data. With this in mind, I will guide in detail the participants to ensure the anonymisation of digital profile data through using a pseudonym before the study commences.

3.2.   Copyright

Digital auto/biographic methods can reveal valuable information that text or word-based methods cannot. For example, participants may attach the video clip and/or photos that somebody made to support their narratives so that legal issues may occur through the use of unsecured copyrighted materials. Thus, legal issues, especially, violation of copyright will be given due attention. I will introduce the copyright and Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) of any data that they can use on writing the digital journal, and I will inform them that they must utilise visual data which are able to use and reuse.

4) Dissemination

The data will be used primarily for academic purposes and the PhD thesis.

Section 9 Further information

Outline any other information you feel relevant to this submission, using a separate sheet or attachments if necessary.

Section 10 Attachments Please attach the following items to this form, or explain if not attached

a.	Information sheets and other materials to be used to inform potential participants about the research, including approach letters	Yes ☒	No ☐
b.	Consent form	Yes ☒	No ☐
	If applicable:		
c.	The proposal for the project	Yes ☐	No ☐
d.	Approval letter from external Research Ethics Committee	Yes ☐	No ☐
e.	Full risk assessment	Yes ☐	No ☐

Section 11 Declaration

	Yes	No
I have read, understood and will abide by the following set of guidelines.	☒	☐

BPS ☐	BERA ☒	BSA ☐	Other (please state) ☐

I have discussed the ethical issues relating to my research with my supervisor.	☒	☐
I have attended the appropriate ethics training provided by my course.	☒	☐

I confirm that to the best of my knowledge:

The above information is correct and that this is a full description of the ethics issues that may arise in the course of this project.

Name	MICHEONG, CHEONG
Date	11/08/2017

Notes and references

Professional code of ethics

You should read and understand relevant ethics guidelines, for example:

British Psychological Society (2009) *Code of Ethics and Conduct*, and (2014) *Code of Human Research Ethics*

or

British Educational Research Association (2011) *Ethical Guidelines*

or

British Sociological Association (2002) *Statement of Ethical Practice*

Disclosure and Barring Service checks

If you are planning to carry out research in regulated Education environments such as Schools, or if your research will bring you into contact with children and young people (under the age of 18), you will need to have a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) CHECK, before you start. The DBS was previously known as the Criminal Records Bureau (CRB)). If you do not already hold a current DBS check, and have not registered with the DBS update service, you will need to obtain one through UCL.

Ensure that you apply for the DBS check in plenty of time as will take around 4 weeks, though can take longer depending on the circumstances.

Further references

The www.ethicsguidebook.ac.uk website is very useful for assisting you to think through the ethical issues arising from your project.

Robson, Colin (2011). *Real world research: a resource for social scientists and practitioner researchers* (3rd edition). Oxford: Blackwell.
This text has a helpful section on ethical considerations.

Alderson, P. and Morrow, V. (2011) *The Ethics of Research with Children and Young People: A Practical Handbook.* London: Sage.
This text has useful suggestions if you are conducting research with children and young people.

Wiles, R. (2013) What are Qualitative Research Ethics? Bloomsbury.
A useful and short text covering areas including informed consent, approaches to research ethics including examples of ethical dilemmas.

Departmental use

If a project raises particularly challenging ethics issues, or a more detailed review would be appropriate, you may refer the application to the Research Ethics and Governance Administrator (via IOE.researchethics@ucl.ac.uk) so that it can be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee for consideration. A Research Ethics Committee Chair, ethics representatives in your department and the research ethics coordinator can advise you, either to support your review process, or help decide whether an application should be referred to the Research Ethics Committee.

Reviewer 1

Supervisor name	Hugh Starkey

Supervisor comments	You have carefully addressed the key issues of informed consent, security of data and anonymity.
Supervisor signature	

Reviewer 2

Advisory committee/course team member name	Tristan Mccowan
Advisory committee/course team member comments	I am confident that ethical issues have been considered and addressed in the research design.
Advisory committee/course team member signature	

Decision

Date decision was made		
Decision	Approved	☒
	Referred back to applicant and supervisor	☐
	Referred to REC for review	☐
Recording	Recorded in the student information system	☐

Once completed and approved, please send this form and associated documents to the relevant programme administrator to record on the student information system and to securely store.

Further guidance on ethical issues can be found on the IOE website at http://www.ucl.ac.uk/srs/research-ethics-committee/ioe and www.ethicsguidebook.ac.uk

UCL Data Protection Registration (Project ID: 11847/001)

Citizenship Education and Peacebuilding: Lessons from young North Korean migrants' life histories
(01/10/2017 ~ 15/09/2019)

Information sheet for young North Korean migrants

My name is MICHEONG, CHEONG and I am conducting the research as part of my PhD degree at the Institute of Education, University College London. I am currently working on a biographical research of citizenship education and peace pedagogy in the Korean context. This project considers the role of young North Korean migrants as the valued citizens on the United Korean peninsula by exploring their life histories through the biographic-narrative interpretive interviewing (offline) and the digital auto/biographic writing (online).

As an educational technologist and curriculum developer, I have participated in numerous national and international research projects such as developing cyber home learning system (KERIS, South Korea), designing blended learning platform (Plan CEIBAL, Uruguay), creating a database for sharing digital contents between South Korea and the USA (US Satellite Laboratory and Stanford University, USA), developing financial programmes for Korean bankers (KBI, South Korea) and the global financial training programmes for senior-level officials in several Asia countries (Asia Development Bank, Philippines).

The aims of research

I am inviting you to take part in my research project, 'Citizenship Education and Peacebuilding: Lessons from young North Korean migrants' life histories'. I am hoping to reshape Korean government policy on citizenship education for peacebuilding in the context of Korean reunification. To do so, I am looking at individuals' life histories through the biographic narrative interview with North Korean migrant youths who live in Seoul, South Korea and in New Malden, Great Britain. Firstly, I will identify different forms of cultural violence faced by North Korean youths in their life trajectory and explore how the cultural violence influence on the process of adaptation and settlement through their narratives. Secondly, I will explore how they construct and transfer their value systems, civic identities, and perspectives of reunification in the adaptive process in South Korea, Great Britain, or in the third countries. Lastly, I will articulate some characteristics of young North Korean migrants as the valued citizens, namely, bridge figures. It aims:

a. To promote citizenship education as a part of peacebuilding pedagogy by ensuring that experiences of young North Korean migrants are considered

b. To explore life histories of young North Korean migrants who can be potential bridge figures to use this insight as part of political agenda for the future reunification on the Korean peninsula

Overarching Research Questions

To what extent and how can the experiences and reflections of North Korean migrants who have settled in ROK or the UK contribute to informing the appropriate educational responses to reunification and societal transformation?

Subsidiary Research Questions

I. How do North Korean migrants narrate their formation and transformation of civic identities and capacities before and after escaping their nation?

II. What strategies do they use to enable them to adapt to new societies?

III. How might these experiences contribute to theorising peacebuilding citizenship education in the context of Korean reunification?

To Answer these Questions

I will interview four young North Korean residents (aged 17 to 35) in Seoul, South Korea, and two young North Korean migrants in New Malden, Great Britain on three or four occasions depending on your permission and schedule. Also, I will ask you to write a digital journal. I hope you will write the digital journal at least bi-weekly, but you can write whenever you want to write your thoughts, opinions, and memories. All of your writing will be completely confidential through the phrase encryption. It is entirely up to you whether or not you choose to participate in this study. I hope that if you do choose to be involved, then you will find it a valuable experience to reimagine citizenship education in the context of Korean reunification. I hope you will enjoy participating in this research. If you want to stop taking part in the research, I will stop.

Use of Data and Anonymity

I will keep recorded data in a safe place, and no real names will be used in transcripts and reports. All of the data will be encrypted. The data will be used primarily for academic purposes and the PhD thesis.

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet.

If you would like to be involved, please complete the following consent form and return to MICHEONG, CHEONG by email: xxx@ucl.ac.uk by 10. October. 2017.

If you have any further questions before you decide whether to take part, please do not hesitate to contact MICHEONG, CHEONG by email: xxx@ucl.ac.uk
This project has been reviewed and approved by the UCL IOE Research Ethics Committee.

Citizenship Education and Peacebuilding: Lessons from young North Korean migrants' life histories
(01/10/2017 ~ 15/09/2019)

If you are happy to participate, please complete this consent form and return to MICHEONG by email: xxx@ucl.ac.uk by 10. October. 2017.

	Yes	No
I have read and understood the information sheet about the research	☐	☐
I agree to be interviewed and/ or be written digital journal	☐	☐
I am happy for my interview to be video/audio recorded	☐	☐
I understand that if any of my words are used in reports or presentations they will not be attributed to me	☐	☐
I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time, and that if I choose to do this, any data I have contributed will not be used	☐	☐
I understand that I can contact MICHEONG at any time	☐	☐
I understand that the results will be shared with UCL research team members	☐	☐

Name _____

Signed _____   Date _____

Researcher's name _____   Signed _____

Interview Schedule for young North Korean migrants

【Introduction】 Rapport Formation

▶ Explain the purpose of the research and confidentiality issues

I am carrying out a study about shaping Korean government policy on citizenship education for peacebuilding in the context of Korean reunification. To do so, I am looking at individuals' life histories through the biographic narrative interview with North Korean migrant youths who live in Seoul, South Korea and in New Malden, Great Britain, firstly, I will identify different forms of cultural violence faced by North Korean youths in their life trajectory and explore how the cultural violence influence on the process of adaptation and settlement through their narratives. Secondly, I will explore how they construct and transfer their value systems, civic identities, and perspectives of reunification in the adaptive process in South Korea, Great Britain, or in the third countries. Lastly, I will articulate some characteristics of young North Korean migrants as the valued citizens, namely, bridge figures.

Your answers will be kept anonymous but I may quote some of the things you tell me in some of my doctoral thesis, without attributing them to you.

▶explain what the process will be like

▶reassure the respondent that there are no right and wrong answers

▶take permission to record the interview, rather than assuming it to be a given

【The first sub-session】

▶Help the respondent to relax: make sure the first questions are easy to answer

  1. Can you tell me about your hometown in North Korea?

  2. Can you tell me about how you came to South Korea or Britain?

  3. Can you tell me about where you live in South Korea or Britain?

  4. Can you tell me about school you are attending (or attended) in South Korea or Britain?

【The second sub-session】

- <u>Experience of life in North Korea</u>

(6)   Tell me in your own words <u>the story of your relationship </u>with (a) family members, (b) friends and (c) teachers before you left North Korea. I have no set questions to ask you. Just tell me in any way that is most comfortable. I just want to know what you think about your previous relationship in North Korea. If anything is not clear just let me know, or if you want to skip a question you can.

   *NB to researcher, if any questions are refused please ask why, explaining that it will help us to improve the interview in future if we know. Moreover, if participants feel emotional discomfort to explain about their previous relationship in North Korea, you can give several examples, please ask questions are as follows:

   a.   How did you spend your childhood? Can you tell me a bit more what happened?

   b.   Can you tell me what were your parents like (e.g. personality, and attitude toward their future life and so on)?

   c.   Can you share with me the most interesting thing in your previous relationship with family members/relatives/friends/teachers/colleagues? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why you think so?

   d.   Can you share with me the most difficult thing in your previous relationship with family members/relatives/friends/teachers/colleagues? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why you think so?

   e.   Do you have any special relationship that you look forward to seeing now? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why you think so?

   f.   Do you have a good experience concerning your previous relationship with family members/relatives/friends/teachers/colleagues? Can you give me an example? Why do you regard those kinds of things as a good experience?

g. Do you have a bad experience concerning your previous relationship with family members/relatives/friends/teachers/colleagues? Can you give me an example**?** Why do you regard those kinds of things as a bad experience?

*NB to researcher, if any questions are refused please ask why, explaining that it will help us to improve the interview in future if we know. Moreover, if participants feel emotional discomfort to explain about the perception in terms of cultural and social trait in North Korea, you can give several examples, please ask questions are as follows:

a. Can you tell me about traditional and current cultural feature (e.g. New Year's greetings, Thanksgiving day ('Chusuk' in Korean) food, Birthday party, Traditional wedding customs and so on) in North Korea?

b. Can you tell me about the origin of N. Korean culture?

c. Did you have suffered from economic hardship before you have left in North Korea?

d. What do you know about the death of the previous supreme leader (Kim IL Sung)?

e. In your family, did your family talk about the previous supreme leader?

f. Do you know about the Great famine in the mid-1990?

g. Do you know about the Korean War (1950-1953)?

<u>Schooling experience in North Korea</u>

*NB to researcher, if any questions are refused please ask why, explaining that it will help us to improve the interview in future if we know. Moreover, if participants feel emotionally discomfort to explain about their schooling experiences in North Korea, you can give several examples, please ask questions are as follows:

a. Can you tell me about your experience of school in North Korea?

b. Which subject is the most interesting at school?

c. What is the most memorable event in your experiences of schooling in North Korea? Do you have any thoughts, images or feelings about X that stuck you at the time?

d. Were your parents interested in your academic achievement? If so, what did they support you to engage your study? Was there some special support that you can recall?

e. What did you learn about becoming a good North Korean citizen? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

- Migration and sojourning experience in the third countries

(9) Tell me in your own words the story of your escape from North Korea and journey as a refugee. Just tell me in any way that is most comfortable. I just want to know about your experience and thought regarding escaping from North Korea. If anything is not clear just let me know, or if you want to skip a question you can.

*NB to researcher, if any questions are refused please ask why, explaining that it will help us to improve the interview in future if we know. Moreover, if participants feel emotional discomfort to explain about the experience of escaping from North Korea and you can give several examples, please ask questions are as follows:

a. Can you tell me why you decided to leave from North Korea? If you have any specific reason, can you tell me a bit more what happened?

b. Did anyone encourage you to come to X and / or Y? Can you tell me a bit more about some supporters that you can recall?

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c. Can you tell me which country have you been stayed before you arrive in South Korea or England? Can you tell me what did you do in there?

d. Can you tell me anything that have occurred to you while you migrate from North Korea to South Korea or to the United Kingdom?

e. What do you remember about your journey? How did you feel when you first arrived in South Korea and the United Kingdom?

- Adaptation to the South Korean or British society

(10)   Tell me in your own words the story of your adaptation to South Korean or British society. I have no set questions to ask you. Just tell me in any way that is most comfortable. I just want to know about your experience regarding adaptation to other countries. If anything is not clear just let me know, or if you want to skip a question you can.

*NB to researcher, if any questions are refused please ask why, explaining that it will help us to improve the interview in future if we know. Moreover, if participants feel emotional discomfort to explain about the experience of adaptation to the South Korean or British society. You can give several examples, please ask questions are as follow:

a. Can you tell me if you have any specific reason to choose South Korea or England as your final destination?

b. Can you tell me about your experience at the National Intelligence Service (NIS) during public officers' interrogations? What do you remember about the NIS?

c. Can you tell me about your experience at the HANAWON, the training centre for adaptation to the Korean society? What do you remember about the HANAWON?

d. Did British government provide the useful programme for adaptation to the new environment for you as a refugee? Can you tell me a bit more about the programmes or services that you have received from the British government?

e. Can you tell me about the features of the life in S. Korea or British society? Have you ever experienced some embarrassing moments because of different lifestyle? Can you tell me a bit more about the situations?

f. Do you have any specific expectation concerning your future life in South Korea and /or United Kingdom?

g. Can you tell me about the whole process of getting citizenship in South Korea or England?

h. What obstacles are there to acquire South Korean or British citizenship?

i. What advice would you have for another N. Korean migrants coming to S. Korea or England? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

j. Can you tell me what is the most interesting or difficult thing when you are trying to acclimatise to life in South Korea or England?

k. Is Seoul or London better or worse than you had expected (from the cinema or other North Korean's saying)? In what way better? or In what way worse?

l. Can you tell me what skills and qualifications you have gained since arriving in South Korea or Britain?

m. Have you experienced any hostility since arriving in South Korea or Britain? Can you give me an example of when this happened?

n. Have you experienced any discrimination since arriving in South Korea or Britain? Can you give me an example of when this happened?

o. Have you ever struggled with any difficulties to adjust to life in South Korea or Britain? Was there some specific situation that you can recall?

- <u>Adaptation of schooling to South Korean or British society</u>

(11) I am going to start by finding out more about <u>your schooling experience in order to adapt in South Korea or England.</u> I have no set questions to ask you. Just tell me in any way that is most comfortable. I just want to know what you experience about schooling system in South Korea or England and your perception in terms of South Korea or England educational milieu. If anything is not clear just let me know, or if you want to skip a question you can.

*NB to researcher, if any questions are refused please ask why, explaining that it will help us to improve the interview in future if we know. Moreover, if participants feel emotional discomfort to explain about the life story of their schooling in South Korea or England and perception of each country's educational milieu, you can give several examples, please ask questions are as follows:

a. Can you tell me about your experience of schooling in South Korea or England? Can you tell me which schools you have been to after arriving in South Korea or England? What like/dislike aspect about each school?

b. When it comes to secondary school, are there any special supports or programmes for adapting to South Korean (or British) educational system? What did you think of these programmes? Were they helpful or unhelpful? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

c. When it comes to secondary school, do you think there are some similarities and differences regarding the traits of education system between South and North Korea? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

d. When it comes to secondary school, do you think there are some similarities and differences regarding the traits of education system between England and North Korea? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

e. What is the most memorable event in your experiences of school in South Korea or England? Do you have any thoughts, images or feelings about X that stuck you at the time?

f. Do you have a best friend or a favorite teacher who you look forward to seeing now? Can you tell me a bit more about them why you think so?

- <u>General settlement both South Korea and England</u>

(12)   Tell me in your own words <u>the current life story of South Korea or Britain in general</u>. Anything that occurs to you or your family members. You have as much time as you like to tell it. I have no set questions to ask you. Just tell me in any way that is most comfortable. I just want to know about your experience and personal opinion when you settle down in South Korea or England. If anything is not clear just let me know, or if you want to skip a question you can. If I have not got enough time today, perhaps in a second interview.

*NB to researcher, if any questions are refused please ask why, explaining that it will help us to improve the interview in future if we know. Moreover, if participants feel emotional discomfort to explain about the experience of settling down in South Korea or England. You can give several examples, please ask questions are as follows:

a. What would you understand by adapting in a new environment or settle into a new space? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

b. Do you have a good experience concerning your relationship with South Korean or British people? Can you give me an example?

c. Do you have a bad experience concerning your relationship with South Korean or British people? Can you give me an example?

d. What is the most difficult about living in South Korea? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

e. What is the most difficult about living in Britain? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

- <u>Personal opinion about the future reunification</u>

(8)   Tell me in your own words your perspective toward the potential reunification of Korean peninsula. You have as much time as you like to tell it. Just tell me in any way that is most comfortable. I just want to know about your opinion about future reunification as well as your role in this context. If anything is not clear just let me know, or if you want to skip a question you can. If I have not got enough time today, perhaps in a second interview.

*NB to researcher, if any questions are refused please ask why, explaining that it will help us to improve the interview in future if we know. Moreover, if participants feel emotional discomfort to explain about their own opinion about future reunification. You can give several examples, please ask questions are as follow:

a. Are you in favour of reunification? Why / why not?

b. Do you think reunification in Korean peninsula will happen? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

c. Can you tell me the advantages and disadvantages if you will live in the unified Korea? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

d. What obstacles are there to unify between South and North Korea? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

e. What role do you think you can play in working toward the potential reunification? Can you tell me a bit more about the reason why do you think so?

【Closure】

Ask respondent if they have anything they would like to add to what they have told us

Offer the respondent if they want to ask us anything

Give them our sincere thanks.

Approach to unification education	Security-oriented approach	Socio-cultural approach	Integrative approach	Convergent approach
Period	The rule of the U.S. Military Government (1945~1948) The transitional Regimes (1948~1963) • Rhee Syung-man (1948~1960) • Chang Myon (1960~1963) The military dictatorial Regimes • Park Chung-hee (1963~1979) • Chun Doo-hwan (1981~1988)	Democratic Regimes (1988~1998:conservative governments) • Rho Tae-woo (1988~1993) • Kim Yong-sam (1993~1998) Democratic Regimes (1998~2008: progressive governments) • Kim Dae-jung (1998~2003) • Rho Moo-hyun (2003~2008) Democratic Regimes (2008~2016:conservative governments) • Lee Myung-bak (2008~2013) • Park Geun-hye (2013~2016)		Democratic Regimes (progressive government) • Moon Jae-in (2017~ Present)
Reunification policy	**ROK**: A free joint general election under the supervision of the U.N. a formula for national reconciliation democratic unification in his New Year's address on January 22, 1982 **DPRK**: Forced unification under communism based on the theory of democratic base The plan for the Democratic	**(Progressive governments)** **ROK**: The Sunshine Policy, which aimed at "first, peace, then unification" and set the goal of "better inter-Korean relations through realisation of peace, reconciliation, and cooperation." Promotion of the reconciliation and Cooperation Policy (1998~2003) Succession of National Community Unification Plan	**(Conservative governments)** **ROK**: The trust-building policy (2014) Dresden Declaration, entitles 'Korean peninsula denuclearisation trust process' - The abandonment of nuclear weapons by North Korea was a precondition for inter-Korean cooperation or exchanges. **DPRK:**	**ROK**: Peace and Prosperity policy -Berlin declaration (2017)

	Confederal Republic of Koryo (1980)	-Peaceful reunification with the strategy of one country two systems -Family reunion -Humanitarian Inter-Korean exchange **DPRK**: The Military-First Policy (1998) Federation with a single ethnic group, single state, two systems and two governments	Kim Jong-un took power in a monolithic leadership system in 2011. a "nuclear-weapons state" in the DPRK Constitution and adopted a "byungjin line of nuclear development and economic construction (a policy pursuing the development of both nuclear weapons and economy at the same time)" as a strategy for national development, more aggressively strengthening North Korea's nuclear deterrence	
Inter-Korean relations	- Separate establishment of South and North Korea - Confrontation of ideology and political system on either side -**DPRK**: Juche Ideology released & Eternal President (Juseok) system established (1972) -**ROK**: Yushin (Revitalizing Reform) Constitution and military dictatorship (1972)	- the 'Korean National Community Unification Formula (1989) the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression and exchange and cooperation (often referred to the Basic Agreement, 1991) the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearisation of the Korean peninsula and Agreement on Creation Operation	-October 4 Declaration (2007) -Inter-Korean dialogue channel was cut off (2008)	-Inter-Korean Summit (2018) -US-DPRK Summits (2018~2019)

	- the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 - Escalating antagonism	of Joint Commissions (1992) The first Inter-Korean summit & June 15 Joint Declaration (2000) -Nobel Peace Prize (2000)		
National events	- Korean War (1950~1953) -Armistice Agreement (1953) -Democracy Movement (1987)	- **A death of Kim Il-sung (1994)** -**DPRK**: the first nuclear bomb test (2006)	-**DPRK**: nuclear bomb test (2009, 2010, 2013) and the first hydrogen bomb test (2016) -**A death of Kim Jung Il (2011)** Mt. Kumgang Accident (2008) The sinking of the ROK warship '*Cheonan' (2010)* The shelling of Yeonpyeng Island (2010) -**ROK**: The candle-lit demonstrations (2016) *The impeachment of the former president of Park is confirmed in December 2016	- **DPRK**: nuclear and ballistic missile programs test (2017) -The North's participation in the Pyengchang Winter Olympics (2018) - **DPRK**: explosion liaison office (2020)
Pedagogical direction	**Anti-communism education** **ROK**: Education for anti-communism and national security Consciousness for national security	**Unification education** The term unification education is used officially in schools (MoE, 1992 cited in Cho, 2007) long-lasting peace through social	**New paradigm education** Empathising process for reunification rather than outcome Diverse themes are dealt with in	**Peace-unification education** Revised unification education guide, entitled 'Peace and Unification

	(A textbook, entitled 'A road to unification by defeating communism')

anti-communism as "a primarily national policy" and "the theory of unification after construction"

DPRK: Juche ideological education (patriotism, aggressive nationalism)

As the backlash of dictatorial regimes, democracy movement escalated and critical pedagogy (e.g. Paulo Freire) are introduced into education systems

-National Division
-Wartime mentality (Quasi-military training and moral education) | integration, awareness of differences
of civic identities between the North and South | the name of peace education (e.g. environment, gender equality, SDGs)

Other pillar is a try to integrate both unification, democratic citizenship education and peace education

DPRK:
Since 2010, pragmatism is accepted, knowledge-based education system (emphasising technology, science and economy) | Education: Direction and Viewpoint'

- Global citizenship education,
- Post-division education |

(Source: White Papers (MoU, 1996-2019), Kang & Kwon (2011), Kang SW (2018, 2020), Kwon et al (2018), KICE (2013), Cho JA (2007), Cho JA et al (2019), Park CS (2017), Huh et al (2012, Basic Reading on Korean unification), Paik (2011, 2013a, 2013b), Park et al (2013))

Appendix F. Sreenshot of Biographical Narrative Interview Data (Restructured Transcriptions)

Appendix G. Sreenshot of a Digital Autobiographical Writing Platform

Exploratory Comments (Descriptive, Linguistic, <u>Conceptual</u>)	Original Transcription	Emergent Themes	Subordinated Themes	Superordinate Themes
Dream Becoming a lawmaker in future unified Korea I have a dream I can contribute to transforming the North into a democratic nation Having experience with two political systems I am studying political science at the University I have a strong sense of community and belonging to the North I can fully understand the North Korean sentiments	(Ju, 17 November 2017, ROK) *I have a dream* to be an elected lawmaker after going back to my hometown. If the general election will occur after the reunification, I think I am eligible to be selected by North Korean citizens as *I can contribute to transforming the North into a democratic nation* due to *having experience with two political systems* between North and South Korea. Also, *I am studying political science at the University in Seoul*, so I have learned about the rule of democracy and the democratic way of thinking. Obviously, I was a former North Korean, so *I have a strong sense of community and belonging to the North* to fully *understand the North Korean sentiments* because I had struggled with the same poverty and famine that all North Korean people faced in the mid-1990s.	Becoming a congressman Having a sense of fulfilment Showing a strong sense of camaraderie Gained knowledge about democratic values and diplomatic strategies in the University in ROK Eager for being contributed to transforming North Korea into the democratic state Seeing his civic identity as a benefit that	Becoming bridge citizens, imagining bridging civic identities	Transformation of civic identities

		enables him to connect between the North and South		
		Looking beyond division system		

Exploratory Comments (Descriptive, Linguistic, Conceptual, Multimodal Features)	Original Transcription	Emergent Themes	Subordinated Themes	Superordinate Themes
Reflections on propaganda songs in DPRK Remembering childhood It was even creepy The song was so addictive Chosŏn (as a linguistic feature)	(Hae's journal, 14 January 2019, UK) As soon as I listen to these propaganda songs that I found over YouTube, they allowed me to go back to my hometown in DPRK in my mind, reminding me of the moments that my mum and aunt taught these songs and dance when I was a kid. I remember my childhood saying, 'You have to do it while your arms are up and down like me'. It has been a long time since I've listened to this song (over a decade ago); nevertheless, it was even creepy that the lyrics came out naturally without even thinking about it. In the lyrics part, "The scent of a flower with a flower net hidden in it, who will you give that scent when it blooms? Will the bee butterfly hold you? No, no, I want to fill you with fragrance, ...I am a flower bud in *Chosŏn* [which refer to North Korea]." They were songs that made me think again about how powerful and scary North Korea's brainwash education is. The song was so addictive that I listened to it over and over again all day today. Just listening to it made me dance with my shoulders. The lyrics of the propaganda songs that North Korean children first encountered were all like this, but I suddenly wonder what new songs are being made for North Korean children.	Increased her own ambivalent emotions (both a nostalgic feeling and creepiness) Metaphoric way of being indoctrinated by the cult of the great leader in the North Seeing a song as a powerful brainwash tool Overwhelmed with the North Korean strong ideological education	Becoming New *Juche* type persons with belligerent civic identities	Transformation of civic identities

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North Korean cultural symbols (A typical North Korean girl's customs, font colour in red, text and melody on the YouTube thumbnail) Propagandistic tone and accent in lyric	 (a) Screenshot of Hae's digital journal (Reprinted with permission from Hae)	Showing multimodal authoring process, namely, orchestrating video clips and hyperlinks to make meaning her reflections on the propaganda songs that she has learnt in DPRK	Becoming New *Juche* type persons with belligerent civic identities
A note and lyric A flower bud in Chosŏn as a metaphor of *Juche* mindset The cult of Great leader in lyric	 (Source: Uriminzokkiri.com, Retrieved from http://www.uriminzokkiri.com/index.php?ptype=cmusic&mtype=view&no=1822) I am a flower bud, bud, bud	Gained a capacity to interpret the implied meaning in a lyric that is associated with both Juche mindset and Suryung centred absolutism	Becoming New *Juche* type persons with belligerent civic identities

Can the spring winds make me (the bud) bloom? Or can the birds and bees enable me (the bud) to open? No, never, it can be grown with a grin by only Suryong's love I am a flower bud in Chosŏn (b) A lyric of the song 'I am a flower bud', Translated by the author			

Nodes	Sub-nodes	Description
North Korean Habitus		
	Dichotomous thinking	
	Inhumane Doxa	
	Juche Mindset	
	Being direct and straightforward in mind	Criticism due to self-review session as a sort of surveillance system
	The us-vs-them mentality	based on the *Songbun* system
	Unresolved grief	
	Mistrust against others	
	Keep someone at a distance	
	A sense of community	
	Practical way of thinking	
	Aggressive national identities	
	Adventurous spirit	
	A remarkable resilience	
South Korean Habitus		
	Confucian Dynamism	(Hofstede, 1991, 2001)
	Seoul Standard Language	
	A sense of shame	
	Difference is undesirable thing	
	A higher level of Perseverance	
	A lack of sense of community	
	Status-ordered relationship	
	Highly advantaged	
	Willing to develop individuals' potential	
	Strong sense of aspiration	
	Critical thinking	
	A higher degree of agility	
British Habitus	A high level of tolerance	
	A higher degree of self-efficacy	
	A sense of compassion	
	Cosmopolitan habitus	Developing a large worldview

Nodes	Sub-nodes	Description
	Intercultural sensitivity	
	Critical thinking	
	Mutual understanding of cultural differences	
	Strong negotiating skills	
	Strong faith in oneself	
Life in North Korea		
	Social Stratum	*Songbun* system in North Korean
	Juche Ideology	North Korean Style Socialism
	Propaganda	Indoctrination
	Military First Politics	
	Pyungyang as a utopian dream	
	Collectivism	
	Discrimination based on Gender and Class	
	High level of sense of community (Camaraderie)	
	Patriarchal culture	
	Violent culture (Structural violence)	
	Economic Crisis	e.g., Arduous March, Great Famine
	Homeless Person or Child	e.g., 'Kotjebi'
	Jangmadang	Illegitimatised marketplace
	Mass Surveillance	e.g., Central Anti-Socialism Group; *Inminban*; Life Review Session
	Ten Principles of loyalty	
Education System	Ideological education (Curriculum)	e.g., Revolutionary History, North Korean cult of personality
	Extra-Curriculum	
	Group Activities	e.g., School Societies, Korea Democratic Women's Union, Youth Corps (Sonyeondan aged 7-13), Youth League (Cheongnyeon Dongmaeng aged 14-30)
	Relationship with Teachers in North Korea	
	Relationship with Peers in North Korea	
	State-funded Education System in North Korea	e.g., primary, secondary, tertiary, art school
	School Climate	
Adaptation Strategies	Mobility	Escaping / Migration Motivation
	Obtaining citizenship	
	Religious belief	

Nodes	Sub-nodes	Description
	Personal fortitude	A sense of aspiration, Forgiveness, Gratitude, Hope, Taking a risk
	Self-denial	
	Utilising welfare system	
	Learning agility	Acquiring language skills; Discovering survival skills; Goal setting; Strong problem-solving skills
Social networks (Pre-migration)	Brokers (fellow North Koreans; Ethnic Korean Chinese)	
	Family & relatives	
	Teachers / Tutors	
	Friends / Peers	
Social networks (On-migration)	Supporters (Ethnic Korean Chinese; Han Chinese; South Korean missionaries)	
	Faith leaders	(e.g., Priests; Pastors; Missionaries)
	Teachers	
Social networks (post-migration)	Ethnic Korean Chinese in ROK	
	Community Leaders in the UK	
	Fellow North Korean migrants / refugees	
	Kinship networks	
	British volunteers in NGOs	
	Korean volunteers in NGOs	
	Teachers / Teaching Assistants	
	Native born Peers / Colleagues / Friends	
	South Korean colleagues	
	South Korean immigrants	
	Religious civic groups	University for the Free Citizens, Banseok School, Yeomyung Alternative School
	Mentors	e.g., Jordan Peterson, fellow North Korean refugee
	Officials in ROK	e.g., Hanawon Staff members
	Officials in the UK	e.g., Home Office staff members
Life in South Korea		
	Support of family members who have settled in the South	
South Korean values/norms	Capitalism	Consuming habitus
	Ethnic superiority	

Nodes	Sub-nodes	Description
	Lack of ethnic diversity	
	Lookism	
	Serving the Great	
	Social (Peer) Pressure	Extremely comparative society
Settlement policy	Interrogation in National Intelligence Service (NIS)	
	Adaptation programmes in Hanawon	
	Settlement Package	
	Social benefits	
	K-culture	e.g., K-pop, K-drama, K-cosmetics
Schooling Experiences	Acquiring principles and values	
	A wide range of Cram Schools	
	Korean learning styles	
	School climate	
	Relationship with S. Korean teachers	
	Relationship with S. Korean peers	
	Institutional supports	Tuition exemption; SAT exemption
Key Challenges	Korean lifestyle	e.g., capitalism, individualism, globalisation
	Economic hardships	
	Korean work ethic	
	Neoliberal policies	
	Scepticism from South Koreans	Pre-assumption, A strong inner circle culture (bonding social capital), Social exclusion
	Division habitus (Division Violence)	Ideological prejudices and hostile attitudes toward North Korea and North Korean citizens
	Linguistic Stigma	Connotations of being ignorant
	Socio-cultural difference	
	Korean thinking and speaking style	
	Ethnic homogeneity	
	Limits of social mobility	
	Acquiring civic identities as South Korean citizens	
Life in the UK		
	Support of fellow North Korean refugees who have settled in the UK	

Nodes	Sub-nodes	Description
British norms / values	Civic Stratification	Differentiate policy toward precarious asylum seekers
	Ethnic diversity	
	Social benefits	
	Humanitarian visa	
	Obtaining British citizenship	
	British way of thinking and speaking style	
	Fundamental British Values	
Schooling Experiences	British teaching and learning style	
	Language barrier	
	Building cultural capital	
	Acquiring principles and values	
	School climate	
	Relationship with British teachers	
	Relationship with native-born peers	
	Institutional supports	Developing Learning skills, language learning support, refugee education
Key Challenges	Suffering from severe illnesses	
	Financial hardship	
	A lack of communication skills (English)	
	Lack of social networks	
	Parents Pressure	
	Intolerance of uncertainty	A cognitive bias that affects how a person perceives, interprets and responds to uncertain situations on a cognitive, emotional and behavioural level (Dugas, Schwarzt & Francis, 2004:835)
	Cultural differences	
	Homesickness	
	Precarious Refugee Status	Political and civic apathy; legal and language barriers
	Boundary Experience	
	Self-denial	Identity disruption, Internal exile (Peters, 1999)
	Lack of information for settling into the British communities	
Perspectives on the Korean Reunification		

Nodes	Sub-nodes	Description
Optimistic perspectives	Expectation life satisfaction in post-reunification on the Korean peninsula	
	Avoiding political conflict	
	Avoiding military tensions	
	Nation's economic growth	
	Restoring human dignity (regarding Human Rights Aspect)	
Pessimistic perspectives	Civic stratification (North Korean citizens as a second class)	
	Culture shock	
	Hegemony of South Koreans	
	Re-establish social order	
	Difficulty of inner unity	
	String along	
	The politics of citizenship was signification recognised	
The barrier of reunification	Strong ideological education in North Korea	
	Anti-communism in South Korea	
	Cultural difference	
	Distortion of history both Koreas	
	Division habitus	
	Interception of information	
	Political difference	
	Wide gap of perspective about reunification both Koreas	
	World system (power game between US, China, Russia and Japan)	
	Inter-Korean relation	
	Indifference of reunification (particularly, young people)	
	A current economic gap between the North and South	
Peacebuilding capacities	Acquiring Realising Capacity	realising the root causes of the conflict and the differences of other groups can be the first step towards achieving positive peace.
	Acquiring Enabling Capacity	the ability to empower people to engage in the process of peacebuilding at a local and global level with knowledge, legitimacy and a sense of agency as contributing community members. Thus, the enabling capacity is regarded as the democratising capacity.

Nodes	Sub-nodes	Description
	Acquiring Reflecting Capacity	this engagement enables individuals to interpret, make sense, respond to vis-à-vis events, situations, people and experiences through reflective thinking in the process of peacebuilding.
	Acquiring Reconciling Capacity	peaceful societies encourage citizens to repair damaged relations and be willing to engage in the reconciliation process. A fundamental competency to heal collective trauma caused by hostile inter-group relations and collective beliefs.
	Acquiring Thriving Capacity	this study considers resilience to be the core of thriving capacity as sustainable peace can be built through such resilience, and society can only thrive in a context of peace.
	Acquiring Transforming Capacity	peacebuilding process requires conflict transformation. There are salient characteristics: (a) it mirrors systems and capacities in each society; (b) it takes a long time and affects different system levels; (c) it heavily relies on communicative abilities.
	Acquiring Bridge-building Capacity	drawing on these relationships and connections, multiple resources create new values and norms to bring about non-violent social change, and thus, conflict transformation eventually can be fulfilled by bridging each capacity. Since bridge-building social capacity enables people to link with other capacities, it is regarded as linkage capacity.
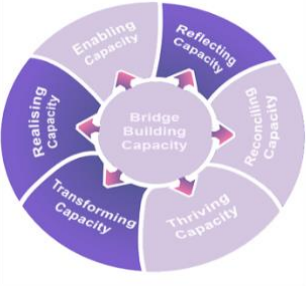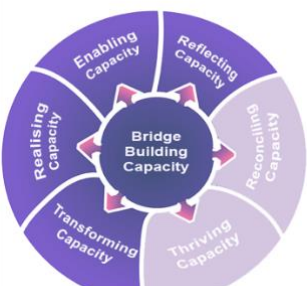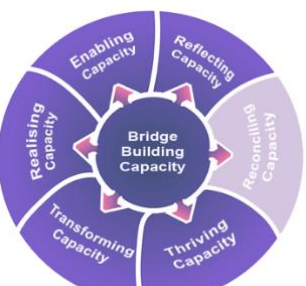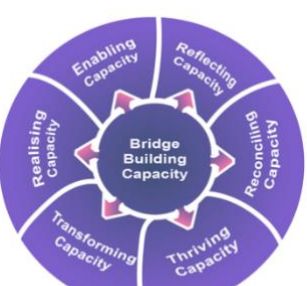
Appendix K. Summary of information on the migration courses, transnational kinship networks and relocation history of all participants

Participant	Gender Identified With	Age	Migration Routes	Year of Defection	Year of Arrival in ROK	Year of Entry in the UK	Kinship Network in China	Other family members who have fled to other countries previously
Geum	Female	31	Kyungsung (North Korea)→ →***Yanji, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (China)*** →Hanoi (Vietnam)→ Phnom Penh (Cambodia)→ Seoul (ROK)	2008 *(She lived in Yanji for a year)*	2009	N/A	Grand Mother & Mother's Stepsister *In Yanji, Yanbian Korean Prefecture (China)*	N/A
Hyang	Female	21	Chongjin (North Korea)→ Yanbian Korean Prefecture (China)→ Vientiane (Laos)→Bangkok (Thailand) → Seoul (ROK)	2013	2013	N/A	N/A	Aunt (Mother's sister) in ROK
Ju	Male	26	Kyungsung (North Korea)→ Yanji, Yanbian Korean Autonomous (China→***Shanghai (China)*** →Chiang Mai (Thailand)→ Gwangju (South Korea) → Seoul (ROK)	1st attempt (failure) 2005 2nd attempt 2008 *(He lived in Shanghai for two years)*	2011	N/A	Grandfather's family members *in Yanbian Korean Prefecture* Hēilóngjiāng Shěng, *Shanghai (China)*	Mother in ROK
Kweon	Male	26	Hamhung (North Korea)→ Changbai Korean Autonomous County (China)→ Laos →Bangkok (Thailand)→ Gunpo (ROK)	2012	2013	N/A	Aunt (Grandfather's sister) *In Harbin (China)*	Aunt (Mother's sister) in ROK

Participant	Gender Identified With	Age	Migration Routes	Year of Defection	Year of Arrival in ROK	Year of Entry in the UK	Kinship Network in China	Other family members who have fled to other countries previously
Hae	Female	25 (28)	**[Migration to ROK]** Chongjin (North Korea) → **Mŭdanjiāng (China)** → Hanoi (Vietnam)→ Phnom Penh (Cambodia)→Buchun (ROK)	2000 ***(She lived in Mŭdanjiāng for around two years)***	2002 **(She lived in Buchun for two years)**		Mother's Relatives *In Yanbian Korean Prefecture* (China)	No
			[Migration to the UK] New Malden → Raynes park → Chessington → Surbiton and Kingston			2005 (She acquired British citizenship in 2015)		
Ha-Young	Female	40	**[Migration to ROK]** Chongjin (North Korea) → →***Yanji, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture* (China)** → Ulaanbaatar (Inner Mongolia) → Seoul (ROK)	1997 **(She lived in Yanji for five years)**	2002 **(She and her first son lived in Seoul for five years)**		N/A	No
			[Migration to the UK] Swansea → Cardiff → Glasgow → New Malden			2007 (She had British citizenship in 2017)		
Min-Seok	Male	19	**[Migration to ROK]** *Yanji, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture* (China) → Ulaanbaatar (Inner Mongolia) → **Seoul (South Korea)**	N/A	2002	2007 (He had British citizenship in 2017)	His birth father lives in *Yanji, Yanbian Korean Prefecture* (China)	No
			[Migration to the UK]					

Participant	Gender Identified With	Age	Migration Routes	Year of Defection	Year of Arrival in ROK	Year of Entry in the UK	Kinship Network in China	Other family members who have fled to other countries previously
			Swansea → Cardiff → Glasgow → New Malden					

Appendix L. An exploration of civic identity transformation (Superordinate Theme I) through an interpretative phenomenological analysis

Subordinate Themes	Belligerent Civic Identities	Border-crosser Identities	*Jayumin* Identities	Cosmopolitan Civic Identities	Bridging Civic Identities
Emergent themes	-Becoming new *Juche* Type persons -Feeling hatred -Mistrust -Revealing violence and Conflict -Nurturing 'them and us' Mentality -Cult of the Great leader -In-group solidarity (bonding social capital)	-Becoming stateless -Tension, resistance and conflict -Emotional attachment to the North -Feeling fear of deportation -Feeling isolated and disconnected -Denying civic identities -Longing to flee to the South -Reflecting on the past and future life -Encountering compassionate people	-Obtaining South Korean citizenship -Belonging and not belonging -Having freedom -Feeling inferiority, marginalisation and discrimination -Longing for social mobility -Reaching their potentials -Preparing for the long-term goal -Coping challenges -Enhancing proficiency -Building a new home	- Denying civic identity - Obtaining British citizenship - Valuing diversity - Freeing self from either North or South Korea - Intercultural contacts - Rebuilding confidence - Personal development - Encountering compassionate people - Building a new home	- Feeling connected - Valuing openness - Dismantling conflict - Developing resilience - Embracing humanity - Building compassionate Communities - Never losing hope - Out-group solidarity and reciprocity (bridging social capital)
A degree of development of peacebuilding capacities					
(Migration)	Self-reflection	Mobility	Mobility	Mobility	

Adaptation Strategies		Self-reflection Resilience Learning agility Social networks	Self-reflection Resilience Learning agility Social networks	Self-reflection Resilience Learning agility Social networks	
Accounts related to the developed peacebuilding capacities	*I firmly **believed our great leaders,** Kim Il Sung and Kim Jung Il were able to move **Mount Everest** as swiftly as they could in any other direction* *I have **learned** that the end of the Korean War was owing to **Kim Il-sung's leadership**.* *We've learned about **capitalism** which forces people to be **humble, miserable, evil and unethical.*** *I've **realised** that my nation was sucked, and I have understood **I couldn't get out of there unless I was going to die.*** *Maybe plenty of North Koreans are cautiously optimistic for the future in the North when **Kim Jung-un** ascended the throne, yet almost all of the citizens were **frustrated** soon after he*	***Let us do or die**! Rather than living here in China **without citizenship**!* *I'd like to go to the South even if I would live as **a slave of the USA.*** *when I crossed the Tumen River a year ago, I **prayed** for God even though I didn't know the Lord, '**Just let me make it*** *I **knew** it was a rash and foolhardy decision, but I **won't live** in Yanji **without the purpose of life.*** *I **wondered** why many North Koreans had to live **miserable lives** in the North and here in China.* *While staying in a **pastor's house** in Phnom Penh for four months, I read the Bible repeatedly.*	*I'd like to live in a place where I could be honest, so I was eager to go to South Korea, where there is **no need to hide my identity.*** *When a flight landed at Incheon International Airport in South Korea, I **felt so relieved**, and it's a **miraculous moment** in my entire life.* *Oh, how can I **hide** it? But I knew I didn't have to hide it, but it was amazing how my South Korean peers knew I was from North Korea even though I hid it. So, I really considered whether I have to go to **a language correction academy**.* *(reflecting on the experience at an alternative school) all experiences were fabulous; **teachers** were so kind and sympathetic. Thanks to **a head teacher's support**, particularly, I could*	*When I see my **Bangladesh or Nepali pals**, I think I'm more **familiar with** them.* *In New Malden, she **never invited me** after she learned I was **North Korean**. Only [South] Korean mothers gathered afterwards.* *One day, a Korean pastor told me that you had better **not tell your kids** about **your job** because it might **discourage** them or **negatively** impact their self-esteem.* *Frankly, I have **felt** much more about Korean culture when I arrived in the **UK** because I could **compare** with the Korean immigrants and British natives easily. **English and South Korean***	*I have been dreaming of being **an elected lawmaker** after reunification since I have escaped North Korea.* *If there were no North Korean migrants in the South, many South Koreans might consider **North Koreans** to be **aliens** when they finally meet **after reunification occurs.*** *I firmly believed that North Korean migrant youths would be **a catalyst** to raise South Korean people's **aspirations for reunification**.* *I **was fortunate** to live in both countries, leading me to **study further democracy** and studied **international relations** at a university in England. I have learnt **values** such as **humanity, empathy***

	just followed his grandfather's style and encouraged to develop nuclear bombs. *While I watched a scene of the protest in the South through TV, I could **feel freedom from their behaviours and speeches.** Ironically, I **had a suspicion** of the information about the South addressed by the authorities.* *I came across **a female human trafficker** who enabled me to escape the North successfully.* *After the failure of the first attempt, I hired highly experience **brokers*** *I remember **a tutor** who taught me how to draw a picture.*	*9 out of 10 North Korean refugees **became Protestant** at the time because most North Korean escapees only **read the Bible** for a whole day in the safe houses run by Christian networks*	*recover confidence** and eventually **adapt** to school life.* *Watching **the candlelight vigils** last year, I thought that society should be like **South Korea**.* *Many South Korean people **think being different** is an **undesirable** thing.* *I think it would have been better if they just **hit** me rather than **sneering** at me and **provoking** me.* *South Korea was **another foreign country** where I was able to communicate in the same language.* *I was totally **frustrated** whenever I could not meet **the expectations** of the [South] **Korean lifestyle and people**.* *We came from North Korea and were granted South Korean citizenship, but we were **treated***	***people have very different** attitudes.* *Even British people know about the **[South] Korean work ethic**. However, when South Koreans **judge others** by their high standards, it becomes **problematic.*** *I have about three friends who know that **I was born in 1990**. However, I don't think I need to reveal it to my British friends and tell them everything. So, I am **still living as a 1993 kid with a different name**.*	*and **justice** from them, leading me to develop an educational programme* ***Education** should enable North and South Koreans **to imagine** that we will do something **after the reunification** on the Korean Peninsula.*

			differently because of **where we came from**		
			I proudly argued that I was North Korean. As long as we talk like this, however, my kids were more likely to learn the **North Korean language**, *and it might* **affect them negatively** *when trying to make friends because South Korean children might have* **prejudice** *toward my sons and daughters when they speak a dialect of North Korea.*		
			Most South Korean people **regarded** *us as a***sylum seekers** *so that they tended to look down on us because we came from* **a poor country** *where we could not eat well and wear stylish clothes.*		
			I graduated from a vocational school in North Korea, and I studied clothing design. However, **my skills and expertise** *regarding fashion were* **not recognised** *in ROK.*		

Appendix M. Screenshot of the OSF Project Dashboard

(10 December 2016) It was a bit strange to meet North Korean migrants here in London. Moreover, it was surprising to see so many North Korean migrants in one place. Most lived near Kingston and New Malden, but some came from Manchester and met some from Liverpool. They seemed happier than ever, sharing traditional North Korean food or talking to each other about their lives throughout the year. When I talked to the North Korean migrants sitting next to me, a woman approached me and asked, "Are you a South Korean?" Smiling to her, I introduced myself (to achieve the purpose of attending the party to recruit the potential research participants) as a South Korean and working on the unification of the Korean peninsula in London. As soon as I finished introducing myself, she said, 'Nice to meet you! I'm also South Korean. They invited me to the year-end party. So, I'm guessing you are a South Korean because we, South Koreans, are stylish, right? (Laughs) I can easily tell North Koreans from South Koreans.' WHAT? what the hell is she talking about? Her question made me so bewildered. No, she got me mad! Why does this woman distinguish South Koreans from North Koreans at the party? After she left, but I looked closely at the North Korean migrants around me. I found no difference between 'them and me.' But I'm going to conduct my research with them here in London, and I might discover what the difference is soon.

(29 March 2017) After the first interview, Ha-young said that she decided to participate in the study, hoping that someone would write her life stories. After hearing about my research from sister, Veronica, she thought I was the right person to record her story. Could I be her biographer? well… I don't know that, but after finishing the interview with her today and hearing why she got involved in this study, regardless of my abilities, I wanted to be her biographer.

(29 March 2017) Today she gave me a postage stamp commemorating the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Workers Party and North Korean banknotes, which had been kept for over 20 years, as souvenirs. For me, the first time I saw North Korean postage stamps and bills, it was bizarre, and it was even more surprising that she had kept them for more than 20 years. I wondered why she had kept these obsolete things for so long?

(5 April 2017) Ha-young said that some North Koreans in London identify themselves as just "Korean" or "South Korean" rather than North Koreans. When considering the fact that "Korean" generally refers to only South Koreans in New Malden society, this demonstrates that a substantial number of North Koreans try to avoid being recognised as North Koreans. Even Ha-young, with a strong North Korean identity said that she taught children to speak the South Korean standard language. Moreover, during the interviews with Ha-young and her son, Min-seok spoke in South Korean accent. Besides,

Min-seok sometimes acted as if he had subtly adopted South Korea's identity under certain circumstances using newly coined South Korean slang. I wondered why she wants to maintain her South Korean identity, even though she is now a British citizen with British citizenship? Because she is here in New Malden? Or does discrimination in South Korea that she has experienced affect her family here in the U.K.?

(14 June 2019) After finishing the presentation at the ICEDC, I received many questions and comments from the attendees. Every time I presented my research at a conference or discussed it with my colleagues. Interestingly, many people did not know that there were so many North Korean migrants in the U.K. Even today, a scholar living in New Malden was surprised that he didn't know there were North Korean refugees among his neighbours. Perhaps the reason I do this research is to promote the awareness of the division system in the Korean peninsula in the world and form a consensus with many scholars on the need for the reunification of the Korean Peninsula.