



University of Pennsylvania
ScholarlyCommons

CUREJ - College Undergraduate Research
Electronic Journal


College of Arts and Sciences

3-30-2015

Neither Here nor There: Education, Citizenship, and the Failed Integration of North Korean Defectors in South Korea

Joyce J. Kim
University of Pennsylvania, joycek@sas.upenn.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.upenn.edu/curej>

 Part of the [Asian Studies Commons](#), [International and Comparative Education Commons](#), and the [Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kim, Joyce J., "Neither Here nor There: Education, Citizenship, and the Failed Integration of North Korean Defectors in South Korea" 30 March 2015. *CUREJ: College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal*, University of Pennsylvania, <https://repository.upenn.edu/curej/193>.

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. <https://repository.upenn.edu/curej/193>
For more information, please contact repository@pobox.upenn.edu.

Neither Here nor There: Education, Citizenship, and the Failed Integration of North Korean Defectors in South Korea

Abstract

Despite sharing a cultural and historical background with South Koreans, North Korean defectors have difficulty integrating within South Korean society. This paper seeks to address the factors in South Korean society that make integration difficult for defectors. Specifically, what is the relationship between education and the formation of values and attitudes of South Koreans towards North Korean defectors?

This study argues that North Korean defectors cannot successfully integrate into South Korean society because 1) South Korean cultural attitudes embrace the hanminjok ideology that makes it difficult for defectors to acquire cultural citizenship and 2) the South Korean social- efficiency education system does not prioritize cosmopolitanism but rather implicitly promotes ethnocentrism. Evidence from textbooks and interviews with students educated in South Korea provide substantial support for this argument. Interviews also revealed the impact that military education and socialization had in perpetuating negative sentiments towards defectors. The findings of this paper have several implications. While textbook analyses show that there have been efforts towards incorporating cosmopolitanism, these efforts are undercut by ethnocentric ideology. First, the South Korean government should reconcile the contradictions between cosmopolitanism and ethnocentrism within the national curriculum. Second, if the South Korean government wants to have the possibility of successful reunification, then it should re-examine its commitment to cosmopolitan education.

Keywords

citizenship, education, North Korea, South Korea, integration, defectors, Alex, Weisiger, Political Science

Disciplines

Asian Studies | International and Comparative Education | Political Science

**NEITHER HERE NOR THERE: EDUCATION, CITIZENSHIP,
AND THE FAILED INTEGRATION OF NORTH KOREAN
DEFECTORS IN SOUTH KOREA**

By: Joyce Kim

Dr. Alex Weisiger, Advisor

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts
in Political Science with Distinction
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA
March 30, 2015

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
2. AUTHOR'S NOTE	1
3. ABSTRACT	2
4. INTRODUCTION	2
5. BACKGROUND	5
6. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORY	14
1. Theory	
a. Global Citizenship	
b. Citizenship Education Defined for this Study	
c. Citizenship and Education	
d. Curriculum	
e. A Cosmopolitan Approach: Global Citizenship Education	
2. Alternative Explanations	
a. Media and Citizenship	
b. Family Values	
c. National Security	
d. Socio-cultural, Linguistic, and Political Differences	
7. HYPOTHESES	38
1. Cultural Citizenship	
a. H1: South Korean Attitudes	
b. H2: Hanminjok Ideology	
c. H3: Defector Citizenship	
2. Citizenship Education	
a. H4: Cultural Attitudes and Education	
b. H5: Social Efficiency Curriculum	
c. H6: Cosmopolitanism in Citizenship Education	
8. CASE STUDY: SOUTH KOREA	45
1. Citizenship Education in South Korea	
2. North Korean Representation	
3. Textbook Analysis	
9. RESEARCH STUDY	63
1. Overview of Methodology	
2. Data Collection	
3. Qualitative Analysis: Cases	
a. H1: South Korean Attitudes and Cultural Integration	
b. H2: Hanminjok Ideology	
c. H3: Defector Citizenship	
d. H4: Cultural Attitudes and Education	
e. H5: Social Efficiency Curriculum	
f. H6: Cosmopolitanism in Citizenship Education	
10. CONCLUSION	80
11. APPENDIX	85

1. Interview Protocol	
12. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	90

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

102 pages, 253 footnotes, 130 sources, and 29,534 words later, suffice to say this has been one of the most challenging academic experiences I've ever encountered. Yet, this could not have been completed without the help and support of many. Coming into this process, I really did not know what I was getting myself into. In spite of the sleep deprivation and stress, writing this thesis has also been one of the most fulfilling academic experiences in my life. To be able to systematically study a question that personally resonates with you is a special opportunity that I am thankful to have had. Thanks to the political science department at the University of Pennsylvania for making this opportunity possible.

First and foremost, I'd like to thank my thesis advisor, Professor Alex Weisiger, who has given me so much time, energy, and guidance. Words cannot express how grateful I am to him. He has gone above and beyond in his role as an advisor by always being accessible, responsive, and encouraging when I felt completing this project was a distant possibility. Furthermore, Dr. Weisiger served as a mentor to me beyond this project, giving me valuable advice into life as an academic, advice that has been very insightful. Without Dr. Weisiger's help and mentorship, this project would not have been possible. It is through his guidance that I was able to have such a fulfilling experience. Also, I'd be remiss not to thank Dr. Doherty-Sil for designing and facilitating a thesis seminar that was instrumental in bringing together a community of students. It was beneficial to have this support network for encouragement when the going got tough.

I'd like to thank several others. First, I'd like to thank my father, James Hyunkeun Kim, for his love, support, and knowledge. Second, I'd like to give special thanks to Joshua L. Chilcote. Aside from being my right-hand man in student government, he voluntarily edited my thesis. Few and far in between would offer to edit 90+ pages of academic work as a second semester senior. I am beyond thankful for his friendship. Third, I'd like to thank Samuel Passaglia and Nugget Cooper for their love, care, and affection during this grueling process. Finally, to everyone else who gave me support, love, and encouragement- thank you. I am very lucky to have you all in my life.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

“Chinese, Japanese, look at me!” Kids taunted me from the back of the bus in Buffalo, NY. They made squinty “Asian” faces by pulling down their eyes. I felt shame for how “Asian” I looked and frustrated because I didn’t have the words to communicate my feelings. I was a 5-year old monolingual Korean speaker. This was the first of many times that language and culture barriers, ignorance, and prejudice would combine to make me feel that I did not belong. From this point, I began to think about what factors lead to prejudice and discrimination.

How does this experiences help me relate to North Korean defectors? Although North Korean defectors are given the official title as "citizens" in South Korea, a myriad of factors prevent them from becoming fully active citizens. Furthermore, my paternal grandparents crossed over from North Korea to South Korea in the 1950s. I was astounded when I first learned about North Korea’s systematic violation of human rights. Thinking about the role that serendipity played in allowing my grandparents to escape from a totalitarian state—enabling me to be born in a democratic one—motivates me to be understand the puzzle of why North Korean defectors have difficulty integrating into South Korean society.

ABSTRACT

Despite sharing a cultural and historical background with South Koreans, North Korean defectors have difficulty integrating within South Korean society. This paper seeks to address the factors in South Korean society that make integration difficult for defectors. Specifically, what is the relationship between education and the formation of values and attitudes of South Koreans towards North Korean defectors?

This study argues that North Korean defectors cannot successfully integrate into South Korean society because 1) South Korean cultural attitudes embrace the *hanminjok* ideology that makes it difficult for defectors to acquire cultural citizenship and 2) the South Korean social-efficiency education system does not prioritize cosmopolitanism but rather implicitly promotes ethnocentrism. Evidence from textbooks and interviews with students educated in South Korea provide substantial support for this argument. Interviews also revealed the impact that military education and socialization had in perpetuating negative sentiments towards defectors. The findings of this paper have several implications. While textbook analyses show that there have been efforts towards incorporating cosmopolitanism, these efforts are undercut by ethnocentric ideology. First, the South Korean government should reconcile the contradictions between cosmopolitanism and ethnocentrism within the national curriculum. Second, if the South Korean government wants to have the possibility of successful reunification, then it should re-examine its commitment to cosmopolitan education.

INTRODUCTION

Defectors are instrumental to accelerating social change within North Korea. They send an estimated \$10-\$15 million per year back to North Korea through underground channels.¹ They also provide information. By doing so, they are fueling a grassroots movement that allows North Koreans to gain physical and psychological independence from the state.² By working with NGOs, or non-governmental organizations, defectors have raised awareness by being “norm entrepreneurs,” or individuals who have helped change the narrative of North Korea. In the media, the national security and nuclear weapon issues often overshadow the accounts of North Korea’s 24-million person citizenry. By testifying at the UN and at TEDx events, famous defectors like Yeonmi Park, Hyeonseo Lee, and Joseph Park are taking the lead in shifting the North Korean narrative to one of 24 million citizens who live without human rights.

Usually, defection occurs because of political persecution and economic and social mobility. Integration of defectors into society outside the hermit kingdom is not just a matter of

¹ Park, Sokeel. "6 Reasons Why Kim Jong Un Is Screwed." *The Atlantic*. June 20, 2013. Accessed March 29, 2015.

² *Ibid.*

adjusting to a new country. Because of the impact defectors can have, it is important that they can first successfully integrate into a new country. However, studies have shown that successful integration within South Korean society is a challenge.

North Korean defectors are positioned in a unique situation. Defectors are migrants with different socio-cultural, ideological, and political backgrounds. At the same time they are “Koreans” by virtue of sharing the same language and culture up until 70 years ago with South Koreans. As a result, the South Korean government confers citizenship upon defectors once they come to South Korea. Part of the motivating factor is the *hanminjok* or “one people” ideology, which is reminiscent of the myth of homogeneity that North Koreans fall under. Given the government support that defectors receive alongside a shared language and culture, it is not unreasonable to expect defectors to effectively integrate into South Korean society. However, this is far from the reality. Despite being given legal citizenship, defectors are faced with discrimination and prejudice. They are neither citizens nor foreigners, neither here nor there.

What factors contribute to the discrimination and prejudice defectors face? Extant literature focuses upon the kinds of difficulties they face. There is less scholarship on what factors in South Korean society create an environment that perpetuates these difficulties, much less the role in which specific factors, like education, affects the environment. In this study, I seek to look at education as a force that shapes attitudes and values of South Koreans towards North Korean defectors, therefore affecting how South Koreans treat defectors.

The state uses education as a central tool to shape national identity formation. Subsequently, the government plays a large role in determining the qualifications for who belong. Governments have the ability to dictate the curriculum in schools that affect the discourse of identity. Because of the connection between education and identity formation, this

paper seeks to answer the following question: What is the relationship between education and the formation of values and attitudes of South Koreans towards North Korean defectors? I argue that North Korean defectors cannot successfully integrate into South Korean society because of the current education system. This system perpetuates cultural values and attitudes that are not conducive to the acceptance and non-discrimination of defectors.

The case of South Korea is an intriguing puzzle because it presents a paradoxical combination of factors. In one aspect, the legacy of Confucianism means that South Korea has had a history of strong authoritarianism and a centralized governing system. This legacy is purported by the belief of national unity through ethnic homogeneity. On the other hand, South Korea and North Korea have been divided for nearly seventy years with different political and economic systems. Defectors are seen to share the same history as the people of South Korea, ascribing to the belief of ethnic homogeneity, but in actuality, come from a country with a vastly different belief system that has been in place for nearly seven decades. Perceptions of defectors are shaped by these two conflicting ideologies. This study seeks to examine how education shapes and perpetuates the ideologies and what can be done to better integrate defectors.

First, I provide the background of the origins of the belief of ethnic homogeneity as well as brief overview of the split between the two Koreas and how defectors came into existence. Through the background, I give a picture of the state of North Korean defectors today. Following this section, I give a general overview of the existing literature. Here, I show the theory behind my argument for a cosmopolitan approach to the curriculum by going through themes of global citizenship, the relationship between citizenship and education, curriculum, and a cosmopolitanism approach to curriculum. In the literature review, I also discuss alternative explanations for the difficulties North Korean defectors face, highlighting their limitations in

comparison to my argument about the role of education in shaping South Korean societal values. Next, I develop six testable hypotheses. I then apply the theory within the literature review to the South Korean context as a case study. Here, I conduct a textbook analysis on two social studies textbooks, one at the middle school level, and the other at the high school level. For this study, I also conduct ten semi-structured interviews with university students who went through the South Korean education system.

The empirical data provided by both the textbook analysis and the interviews strongly supports the hypothesis of defectors not being able to integrate successfully because of South Korean cultural values and attitudes. There is also support for the hypothesis that education plays a role in shaping cultural values and attitudes of South Koreans. However, there was not support for education directly shaping values of North Korean defectors. I conclude this paper with a summary of my main findings followed by a discussion on further questions and larger implications of the research.

BACKGROUND

Given that North Koreans and South Koreans share a common language and history up until 1945, it seems likely that defectors would not have a difficulty adjusting to South Korea. This section seeks to explain why this is not the case. I first describe the philosophical and historical background of Confucianism and its significant role in shaping Korean national identity insofar as to how this identify affects values towards defectors. I then describe the history of the North Korean political ideology to show the contrast between the value systems of the two Koreas that have emerged after their separation into two states. The differing political ideologies of the two states provide tension to the narrative of the Confucianist Korean national identity. The result of this tension is that defectors are seen as legal citizens, but not as cultural

citizens. I go into further detail about defectors' status as legal citizens by giving a summary of the government support available to defectors. I then discuss the challenges of integration as a result of defectors not being cultural citizens.

Korean "mono-ethnicism" came to prominence during Japanese occupation of Korea as a means of justifying state autonomy. Much of the mono-ethnic narrative speaks to the unique identity, which has a strong Confucian influence. When Korea was striving for independence from Japanese colonialism, the Korean congress sent an appeal to the U.S. Within this appeal, reasoning for independence included historical justification, which posited that "for four thousand years [Korea] has enjoyed absolute autonomy. We have our own history, our own language, our own literature, and our own civilization."³ This sentiment is often felt in Korean self-description.

Even though Korea is a representative democracy, there are deeply rooted social and cultural norms that continue to shape contemporary Korean society. These norms stem from the influence of Confucianism and Buddhism. The Five Secular Injunctions, which were developed by a monk in Silla, one of the three kingdoms of ancient Korea during the Classical Era of Korean history (ca. 300- ca. 850) impacted the societal norms of Korea. These injunctions include loyalty to the sovereign, filial piety, and loyalty to one's friends. The injunctions mirror the three cardinal virtues of Confucianism, which are loyalty, filial piety, and a wife's fidelity to her husband. As a result, Confucianism stresses adherence to human relations based on gender, age, and status. The importance of hierarchy conflicts with the political equality that results from a representative democracy.

³ "The Korean Congress in the U.S.: An Appeal to America." Trans. Array *Sources of Korean Tradition. Volume Two: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. 2000. pg. 341

Further examination of Korean history shows that Confucianism's impact only magnified during the Choseon Dynasty (1392-1910) through "neo-Confucianism," or the adoption of Confucianism by the Choseon Dynasty founders. In the Choseon Dynasty, the social structure was rigid and hierarchical. Within the hierarchy, first there was the King and the royal family. Then, there were the *yangban*, or the elite. Beneath the *yangban* were the *chungin* or the "middle people." The *chungin* were the middle class of the Choseon dynasty and the lifeblood of Confucian agrarian bureaucracy. The *chungin* enjoyed far more privilege and influence than the commoners. The commoner class was called the *sangin*. The lowest class was the *chunmin*, whose members were seen as "unclean" and were subject to institutionalized discrimination. The social classes are evidence of the Choseon dynasty's ascriptive and non-meritocratic nature. Ancestry and birth were the primary determinants of one's role in society

Confucian norms are relevant to contemporary South Korean society. Many of the pervasive norms of the Choseon dynasty are "stitched tightly into the Korean social fabric."⁴ Evidence of the lasting impact of the Korean social order includes the "residual strength" of Confucianism in "interpersonal relations."⁵ The Korea of modern times "may indeed be the most Confucian society in the world."⁶ As a result, despite Korea's political system, the social and cultural norms that stem from Confucianism have a significant impact upon notions of what is "Korean identity." Confucianism has created a common values system for Koreans for thousands of years. Yet, those who do not share this common history have difficulty integrating into what had been an "extremely mono-cultural" state.⁷

⁴ Lee, Ilhyung. "Korean Perception(s) of Equality and Equal Protection." *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*. 2008. 31.1 2014. n. pg. 63

⁵ Ibid. pg. 62

⁶ Ibid. pg. 63

⁷ Wagner, Benjamin K. "Scrutinizing Rules for Foreigners in Korea: How Much Discrimination is Reasonable? (2009)." pg. 5

When Japan colonized Korea from 1910-1945, the Japanese had a difficult time assimilating Koreans into Japanese culture, causing changes in Japan's colonial policy. Colonial Korea can be understood through three separate time periods. The first period was from 1910-1919 and was called "military rule," or *budan seiji*. During this time the Japanese established a Governor-General of Korea. The first Governor-General, Terauchi Masatake, used military force to maintain control of colonial Korea. Japanese authority used cultural and historical ties between Korea and Japan as justification for their military force. However, Japan's military rule was not strong enough to quell resistance.

Two days before the previous ruler, King Kojong, was set to have his funeral on March 1, 1919, religious leaders signed and declared Korean independence, marking the beginning of the March First Movement. This movement grew to protest marches of two million Koreans in 218 counties.⁸ As a result, Japan changed its colonial policy. The Japanese government moved from military rule to the beginning of the period called the "cultural rule," or *bunka seiji*, from 1919-1931. The accompanying "enlightened administration" of the cultural rule implemented concessions for Koreans. Knowing that the continued military force may lead to resistance such as the March First Movement, Japanese authority embraced more liberal policies. Some of these include more freedom of the press and the replacement of military police with regular police. Then from 1931-1945, the Second Sino-Japanese War, which merged with the World War II in December 1941, brought another set of colonial policy changes. This was the "assimilation rule", marked by forced assimilation and wartime mobilization. During this period, the wartime Governor-General tried to fully assimilate Koreans to be loyal Japanese subjects.

⁸ Robinson, Michael E. *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey: A Short History*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. pg. 48

Japanese colonial policy was ultimately unsuccessful. At best, Koreans chose to passively ascribe to the colonial system. The Japanese utilized paternalistic rhetoric of progress and brotherly ties to justify colonial rule and tried to demonstrate a natural affinity through historical and cultural ties. The rhetoric did not match reality. This disconnect exacerbated the difficulty of assimilation. Japan's intention in Korean colonization was to create subjects who would actively support imperial goals, not just comply passively. Yet, the strength of thousands of years of Korea as its own autonomous country creates a situation where complete assimilation to another culture is difficult. The crystallization of Korean national identity to resist Japanese colonization was the birth of a lasting, mono-ethnic narrative that is used to justify both North Koreans and South Koreans having a shared identity.

After Japanese colonization ended in 1945, Korea split into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea, or North Korea and South Korea, respectively. After this split, the Korean War engendered high levels of animosity between the two Koreas. The war concluded in 1953 with an armistice. Eventually, South Korea became a representative democracy in 1987 after decades of authoritarian rule. In North Korea, a man named King Il Sung rose to power and became the founder of North Korea. He established the Korean Worker's Party and the Korean People's Army. He perpetuated a cult of personality as early as 1949 through a core ideology called "Juche." Juche is a concept exemplified in a supreme leader, in this case, Kim Il Sung. It emphasizes the superiority of the collective over the individual and the ability to act independently without regard to outside interference. Subsequently, North Korea remains one the world's most regimented and isolated societies, even being called the "hermit kingdom," which denotes North Korea's isolation from the rest of the world. In order to enforce

the Juche philosophy, the Kim regime's propaganda has been coupled with totalitarian dictatorship, leading to an oppressive regime.

When Kim Il Sung's son Kim Jong-Il took over the dictatorship, his official slogan was "Expect no change from me."⁹ Kim Jong-Il not only inherited a country but a system of governance. Although Kim Jong-Il was able to hold onto power until his recent death, he failed to achieve his oft-pronounced goals of seeing his people "eat soup with meat and wear silk clothes"; yet, he is still respected and even worshipped by most North Koreans.¹⁰ This deadly combination of a cult of personality and a totalitarian regime contributes to the state's embrace of extensive human rights violations. This includes freedom of speech and freedom of religion. Knowing that outside information could destabilize the current system, the North Korean government has restricted its citizens from leaving their country. Information from outside the state is also blocked. There are chronic food shortages and a dismal public health system. The oppressive regime prohibits freedom of speech and freedom of religion. If a citizen disagrees with the government, he or she could be sent to the "kwan-li-so," or political-prison camps or publicly executed. There is also collective punishment; a criminal's family could be subject to punishment for three generations. North Korea is generally described as one of the world's worst violators of human rights.

Some North Koreans escape their dire circumstances by defecting to another country. North Koreans typically defect to South Korea, China, or Southeast Asia. Because of the pervasive sense of mono-ethnicism, North Korean individuals are given the official status of citizens and resettlement support in South Korea immediately upon arrival. Currently, the settlement system has two components, initial support and post-settlement support. Initial

⁹ Hassig, Ralph and Kongdan Oh. *The Hidden People of North Korea: Everyday Life in the Hermit Kingdom*. 1998
pg. 18

¹⁰ Ibid.

support includes monthly minimum wage and housing aid set up through the Korean National Housing Corporation. The South Korean government also implemented the Protection of Defecting North Korean Residents and Settlement Support Act in July of 1997, which created the legal basis for Hanawon, a settlement support facility.¹¹ Hanawon provides an intensive, two-month course to help defectors adjust to South Korea. Within the course there are three programs. One of them treats psychological and emotional trauma and the coping of differences between North Korean and South Korean society. The second program focuses on reconciling misconceptions of a democratic society alongside differences between customs, language, and perception. Finally, the last program is a basic career program that teaches computer skills, sewing, and literacy. The program also provides career counseling.

After the Hanawon program, the government benefits can include “1) resettlement funds of \$30,000 2) a house to live in 3) free college education 4) financial aid for private tutoring and 5) easier entrance to jobs and colleges.”¹² In spite of South Korean governmental support, most defectors have difficulty adjusting after living in a completely different society for years. Most defectors are content with the South Korean government policies.¹³ However, defectors are not satisfied living in South Korea. Reasons for dissatisfaction involve “economic, social and cultural difference, discrimination, alienation, and the thought that South Korean society does not want them.”¹⁴

¹¹ Hassig, Ralph and Kongdan Oh. *The Hidden People of North Korea: Everyday Life in the Hermit Kingdom*. 1998. pg. 11

¹² Park, Sengwoo. "Education and Awareness of the North Korean Defectors' Human Rights.. (2010) pg. 68

¹³ Korean Employment Information Service. *Research on Program Development to Support Employment of North Korean Defectors*. Seoul, Korea: , 2007. Print.

¹⁴ Park, Sengwoo. "Education and Awareness of the North Korean Defectors' Human Rights." pg. 68

The greatest adaptation difficulties include “building supportive communities” and “getting acquainted with others.”¹⁵ Adjustment will only become possible when issues of “social, cultural and value differences, economic difficulties, and psychological and emotional instability” are addressed.¹⁶ Specific factors within these realms include addressing the difference in the attitudes and values systems within North and South Korea. Within the first two years in South Korea, defectors feel social and cultural disparity. Going from a “monolithic ideological system” to a pluralistic system that contains “majority and minority [political] parties” and various social organizations is challenging for North Korean defectors to come to terms with. Unfamiliarity within the values and cultures lead defectors to “avoid contact with others for the first two to three years.”¹⁷ The transition process for defectors results in psychological and emotional instability. Factors of this instability include the loss of self and identity crisis.

Despite having a shared history, the examination of “markers of integration” including ‘economic advancement, educational attainment, and cultural acceptance,’ suggests that North Korean defectors have difficulty integrating into South Korean society.¹⁸ When adapting to a new lifestyle and environment in South Korea, defectors face change in different factors. Defectors must “redirect the attitudes and values that were formed in North Korea, establish new relationships with South Koreans, [adjust] themselves to South Korean systems, customs, and culture, adapt to a capitalist work environment to find a job and a stable course of income, and achieve psychological and emotional stability.”¹⁹

¹⁵ Woo, Taek Jeon. "Issues and Problems of Adaptation of North Korean Defectors to South Korea: An In-depth Interview Study with 32 Defectors." (2000) pg. 365

¹⁶ Ibid. pg. 75

¹⁷ Ibid. pg. 77

¹⁸ Ibid. pg. 162

¹⁹ Suh, Jae-Jean. "North Korean Defectors: Their Adaptation and Resettlement."(2002) pg. 68

Sentiments towards unification also illustrate the growing cultural divide between the two Koreas. Over the past 10 years, the percentage of South Koreans who believe that unification is needed has dropped. According to surveys conducted by Gallup Korea and Seoul National University's Institute of Peace and Unification Studies, the number of South Koreans who want reunification has decreased. In 2007, 13.3 percent of South Koreans felt that reunification was impossible whereas in 2009, 29.8 percent felt that reunification was impossible.²⁰ In terms of the benefits of unification, 49.3 percent of South Koreans have negative views of reunification.²¹ On an individual level, only 29.3 percent of South Koreans feel that unification would be beneficial while the majority felt that reunification had no real benefit to them.²² Furthermore, an overwhelming number of South Koreans believe that there are gaps between the two countries' languages (90.7 percent), way of life (88.3 percent), and sense of values (93.6 percent).²³ These gaps translate into the average South Koreans' sense of identifying with North Koreans having dropped sharply in 2009.²⁴ Policymakers have suggested that there needs to be a "shift of policy paradigm to ease mutual distrust and discomfort fomented between the peoples of the two Koreas."²⁵

Despite the great challenges defectors face, some are able to effectively integrate. These include the *jishigin*, who comprise 3%, or 600 of the over 27,000 defectors.²⁶ The *jishigin* arrive with a higher level of education. They have had exposure to different political systems through work outside North Korea and possess skills that help them get better jobs. Those who adjust better are more inclined to have "stable families and often do not identify themselves as

²⁰ Kim, Philo, and Kyong-hul Choi. "Comparative Analysis of the Views of North and South Koreans on Unification." (2012) *Unification and Peace*.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ O, Tara. "The Integration of North Korean Defectors in South Korea: Problems and Prospects."(2011) pg. 160

defectors for fear of being stigmatized.”²⁷ Jishigin are therefore able to pass as South Koreans and acquire the cultural citizenship necessary to effectively integrate into South Korean society. The experiences of the jishigin show that South Koreans have been socialized to not look upon North Koreans favorably. It is important that all defectors regardless of their background are able to integrate well into South Korea.

LITERATURE REVIEW

North Korean defectors’ unsuccessful integration in South Korea is an intriguing puzzle. Many scholars have attempted to explain this phenomenon. Some have even prescribed recommendations to remedy this issue. Despite previous research, there is a literature gap on the factors that affect the majority culture has on the environment, which makes it difficult for the minority to integrate. In this case, the majority South Korean culture makes it difficult for the minority defectors to integrate into South Korea. More specifically, there has not been a systematic study on the role that education has on creating this culture. Previous work establishes that on the whole, defectors have difficulty integrating into South Korea and are subject to discrimination and prejudice.²⁸

Extant literature also comments on the conditions and causes of this unsuccessful integration and establishes the existence of programs and processes that occur to help defectors adjust. Past studies also propose solutions to improve the integration for defectors, including educating South Korean citizens to accept defectors as equal citizens.²⁹ Even so, there are no specifics on what to change about South Korean education to accomplish this.

²⁷ Ibid. pg. 161

²⁸ Suh, Jae-Jean. "North Korean Defectors: Their Adaptation and Resettlement." pg. 68; Lankov, Andrei. "Bitter Taste of Paradise: North Korean Refugees in South Korea" pg. 105; O, Tara. "The Integration of North Korean Defectors in South Korea: Problems and Prospects." *International Journal of Korean Studies* 158-160; Chung, Byung-Ho. "Between Defector and Migrant: Identities and Strategies of North Koreans in South Korea." *Korean Studies* pg. 13-22

²⁹ Suh, Jae-Jean. "North Korean Defectors: Their Adaptation and Resettlement." pg. 84

Globalization has changed society's view of citizenship. Because education plays a significant role in dictating norms in society, it also shapes citizenship. Education must align with the new norms that are created by globalization. Such changes would reduce prejudice and discrimination. Applying this concept to South Korea, I argue that prioritizing a cosmopolitan approach to education that aligns with globalization would reduce discrimination and aid with the integration of North Korean defectors within South Korean society. Here, I provide an overview of the theoretical arguments that surround citizenship and globalization and the connection of these concepts to education. Specifically, I discuss how the conceptions of citizenship, particularly of the nation-state, have changed with the advent of globalization. I then discuss how education has a strong impact upon citizenship. These two points are the theoretical foundation for this study. As "citizenship education" is an amorphous idea, I also define this term for the purposes of this paper.

I then give a broad overview of the paradigms within curriculum theory to provide a framework to determine the type of curriculum that is taught in the South Korean education system and how the curriculum aligns with citizenship education. South Korean education ascribes to the social efficiency approach, which does not align with the tenets of global citizenship education. The theoretical section concludes with the explanation of cosmopolitanism, a theory that goes hand in hand with global citizenship education.

Following the theoretical section, I address alternate explanations to factors that influence cultural attitudes and values. These include media, family, national security, and socio-cultural, linguistic, and political differences to make the case for cosmopolitan education as an effective way to mitigate discrimination and prejudice towards North Korean defectors in South Korea.

Theory

In this section, I discuss the theoretical aspects of citizenship. By doing so, I touch upon themes of “belonging” and “community”. I then discuss how globalization is a major factor in re-conceptualizing citizenship. I then theoretically establish the connection between education and citizenship. Although education is a broad field, I intend to examine the intersection between a country’s identity and the way the state uses education to enforce its identity. Subsequently, within the field of education, I will focus explicitly upon curriculum theory, because a state’s national curriculum policy is meant to standardize what is learned within classrooms. By setting the theoretical foundation, I illustrate why cosmopolitan education is necessary for shifting cultural values in a way that assuages discrimination against defectors.

Global Citizenship

What is “community” and what role does it have on “citizenship?” Community is a social construct that arises from a sense of belonging by individuals in groups. This social construct is an “imagined community”.³⁰ Citizens of the smallest nation with never know, meet, or hear of fellow citizens, yet in their minds there will be the “image of communion.”³¹ Society is constructed of communities by association. Associations can be formed on the basis of politics, religion, ethnicity, or interests. These associations allow individuals with varying experiences to feel interconnected with one another. To maintain these associations, a state will employ education to maintain a collective sense of association. As Benedict Anderson argues, the origins of national consciousness and the spread of imagined communities stemmed from mass printing. Information could be disseminated widely. Imagined communities eventually gave way to geographic boundaries that became nation-states. Those who belong to the community were deemed “citizens”.

³⁰ Anderson, Benedict R. O. *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (1991). pg. 49

³¹ Ibid.

T.H. Marshall's seminal work defines citizenship as "a form of membership in a political and geographic community" that is comprised of four different components, "legal status, political order, and other forms of participation in society, rights, and a sense of belonging."³² Using citizenship as a theory to explain the social classes of Europe, Marshall outlines a stage theory where the three components of citizenship build on top of one another. As Marshall's analysis demonstrates, the origins of "citizenship" within the political discourse first arose in Western civilizations. Citizenship can be traced back to the emergence of the Greek city-state. The rise of the nation-state gave a new conceptualization of "community" specific to citizens within a bounded geographic area. The fourth component of citizenship is "cultural citizenship". Cultural citizenship is the "dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation state and civil society" for effective integration.³³ Cultural citizenship is the acceptance and adoption of cultural norms and values that are determined by the government and civil society. These four spheres began to transcend the boundaries of the nation-state through the concept of 'world citizenship' that emerged during the World Wars. The "desire to end war, then the wish to honor human rights" spurred a "planetary sense of civic, irenic responsibility."³⁴ As a result, definitions of citizenship transcended the nation-state and became more cosmopolitan-oriented.

Globalization, or the "widening, deepening, and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual" mean that ideas are able to diffuse at an unprecedented rate.

³² Bloemraad, Irene, Anna Korteweg, and Gokce Yurdakul. "Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State." (2008).pg. 154

³³ Ong, Aihwa. "Cultural Citizenship As Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial And Cultural Boundaries In The United States." *Current Anthropology*. 1996. pg. 738

³⁴ Heater, Derek Benjamin. *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics, and Education*.2004. pg. 141

Globalization also contributes to change within the conception of national identity.³⁵ Many scholars have commented on this process and the impact on people across the world. This impact originates from technological developments in transportation and communications. Development mean an ease of mobility. Trips that would have taken months can now take hours. There is increased tourism and international business. The development of communications technologies such as cell phones, the Internet, and email have expanded knowledge and information across the world. Now a source of entertainment that is primarily consumed by one culture is widely available all across the globe. Many popular programs are adapted from one culture to another. All of these developments enable people from diverse backgrounds to be in contact with one another. Globalization also includes the incorporation of different nation-states into a global economic system. Another consequence is the emergence of international political systems, such as the United Nations and the European Union. Globalization creates interdependence among cultures and societies that originally were separate.

Citizenship and Education

Educational systems play crucial roles in “influencing political behavior and maintaining political systems.”³⁶ Historically, schools are used as tools to form a homogenous identity of national citizenry amongst the masses within the boundaries of a nation-state. Education has an important role in shaping national identity. In addition to providing knowledge and skills to generate productive members within society, education is a major force of socialization. It is needed to maintain the bonds within a culture, including traditions, values, skills, expectations, and information. Thus, “education is the social continuity of life.”³⁷ Likewise, national, formal education is similar to the function of mass printing. Information and knowledge is spread to

³⁵ Held, David. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. 1999. pg. 3

³⁶ Seth, Michael J. *Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling*. 2002. pg. 192

³⁷ Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education*. 1916. pg. 2

citizens beginning from a young age. One notable example is the mass schooling for French peasants in the late 19th century. During this time, the peasants were seen as “uncivilized, that is unintegrated” and “poor, backward, ignorant;” subsequently, they “had to be taught manners, morals, literacy, a knowledge of French, and of France, [and] a sense of legal and institutional structure beyond their immediate community.”³⁸ Between 1880 and 1910, to close the gap between the French peasants who were not integrated with the rest of France, “schooling taught hitherto indifferent millions the language of the dominant culture, and its values as well, among them patriotism.”³⁹ In this example, it is evident that education is a socializing force, which perpetuates imagined communities. As a result, a nation-state’s national curriculum and education policy can be used to assess the nation’s conception of self in relation to other states.

Within a state, the education system has subsystems with patterns of interaction. For example primary school and secondary school classrooms are components of the national education system. Curriculums of these subsystems are part of “the structural conditional and social interaction of the larger system as well as their own internal dynamics.”⁴⁰ The expansion of formal, mass education serving more people for extended periods of time means that education systems are standardized, complex, and bureaucratic. Formal education, or classroom-based, teacher-led instruction has the farthest reach in shaping citizens. Meaningful learning occurs outside the classroom through informal education, but informal programs are not standard across a country. The accessibility of informal education across different cities and towns is highly variable. As a result, national education systems engender “cultural transmission and

³⁸ Weber, Eugen. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. (Stanford University Press, 1976) pg. 5

³⁹ *Ibid.* pg. 493

⁴⁰ Cornbleth, Catherine. "Curriculum In and Out of Context." *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*. (1999) pg. 93

social continuity.”⁴¹ Once a state has a national identity, one of the major functions of the education system is to perpetuate that identity. Thus, the school is a space where the theoretical concepts of citizenship and identity through teaching and curriculum occur.

States are institutions that hold identities resulting in collective knowledge that defines national consciousness. Yet, because of globalization, the national identity is in flux. Embracing globalization requires re-conceptualizing national identity. As Soysal argues, global citizenship has challenged the idea of a nation-state as a culturally and territorially contiguous unit.⁴² In the sphere of education, curriculum standardization and mass schooling have defined the nation-state.⁴³ National educational curriculum and standards have the role of furthering ideology and norms. As students in their youth go through the public education system, they learn skills, knowledge, and values that the state deems necessary to be productive and valuable. Yet, national educational policy is not stagnant. As norms and values within society change, so does the curriculum, so that the need to create productive citizens can be constantly met.

Citizenship Education Defined for this Study

It is important to clarify the term “citizenship education” as it is used in this study. Much conversation, discourse, and contestation has surrounded the myriad of definitions and representations of citizenship education. For some, citizenship education is normative, describing a process in which students become active and informed citizens in their society.⁴⁴ Other scholars believe citizenship education is the study of the rule of law, government and institutions,

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Soysal, Yasemin Nuhog. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (University of Chicago Press, 1994)

⁴³ Anderson, Benedict R. O. *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

⁴⁴ Cogan, John J., and R. Derricott. *Citizenship for 21st Century: An International Perspective on Education* (Routledge, 2012); Bahmueller, Charles F. *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects* (1999); Liu, Mei-hui. "Civics and Values in Taiwan." *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 20, no. 1 (2000): 73-81; Kymlicka, Will. *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship* (Oxford University Press, 2001)

and the responsibilities and rights of citizens.⁴⁵ Conceptions of citizenship education also include an emphasis on the processes of citizen participation and engagement.⁴⁶ Across the breadth of citizenship education, a general way of organizing different ideas is by categorizing them into knowledge, skills, and values or virtues for citizenship.

Citizenship education is both a subject and a purpose for education. All education “communicates messages to students about norms, values, and ways they should act in their community and their nation.”⁴⁷ It is taught throughout the entire process of schooling and both indirectly and directly within the curriculum. Academic disciplines that comprise citizenship education include literature, social studies, and history. However, even disciplines that do not seem to relate to citizenship can inform students’ values. For example, students solved math problems involving the speed of bullets as they fly towards Russian soldiers in Afghan mathematics textbooks.⁴⁸ This math problem poses an implicit message about Russia in relation to Afghan national identity. Across various contexts, citizenship education seeks to develop “knowledge, skills, and attitudes that will enable students to participate in the communities of which they are part.”⁴⁹ Yet, the nature of citizenship education is dependent upon the cultural context. Curriculum in each context will be built upon the needs of the society as well as its local history. Many countries have citizenship education as a distinct part of the curriculum. In other states, citizenship is taught through disciplines of social studies, government, and history.

⁴⁵ Cogan, John J., and Murray Print. *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region Case Studies Across Six Societies* (Taylor and Francis, 2013); Murphy, James Bernard. "Against Civic Schooling." *Social Philosophy and Policy* (2004)

⁴⁶ Cogan, John J., and Murray Print. *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region Case Studies Across Six Societies* pg. 3

⁴⁷ Quaynor, Laura J. "Citizenship Education in Post-conflict Contexts: A Review of the Literature." *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* (2012) pg. 34

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Arthur, James, Ian Davies, and Caroline Hahn. "Introduction." In *The SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*.(SAGE, 2008) pg. 5

For this study, “citizenship education” will be defined as the *process of schooling and developing curriculum that provides knowledge, skills, and values to students*.⁵⁰ A key feature of this definition is looking at *why* curriculum is taught in a certain way, as opposed to “the what” or “the how.” This definition allows for a study on the ideologies of a nation-state through an examination of its curriculum policy. This definition will allow us to study the intended curriculum as well as the effects of its implementation in the school.

Curriculum

Curriculum is a course of study that national governments play a large role in determining. Curriculum development can be divided into two paradigms, essentialism and progressivism. Essentialism focuses upon a canon of knowledge that is necessary for students to learn. In essentialism, knowledge is embedded as something traditional or basic. Curriculum is designed and imposed from the top. The instructor holds authority under the assumption that he or she has mastery over the knowledge. There are also separate subjects that correspond to “time-honored scholarly academic disciplines” to ensure a “broad, liberal education.”⁵¹ Textbooks play a large role within essentialism to regulate teaching in terms of scope and sequence. Because essentialism refers to all things that are necessary, or “essential”, we can refer it as a “back to basics” model.⁵²

The essentialist paradigm has two different approaches that determine what is taught. These approaches are the knowledge-centered approach and the social efficiency approach. The goal of the knowledge-centered approach is to teach the information that learners need to understand so that they can be adaptable citizens. Knowledge-centered curriculum has a broad

⁵⁰ Heater, Derek Benjamin. *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics, and Education*. (Manchester University Press, 2004) pg. 343-349

⁵¹ Ellis, Arthur K. *Exemplars of Curriculum Theory*. (2004) pg. 118

⁵² *Ibid.* pg. 122

scope with “systematic study.”⁵³ In detail, a knowledge-centered curriculum is the “systematic study of language and literature, science and mathematics, history, the arts, and foreign languages” all “commonly described today as a “liberal education””.⁵⁴ In contrast, the social efficiency approach involves the teaching of information that is deemed most useful. The emphasis of curriculum in the social efficiency approach is to teach necessary and observable skills in the most efficient way possible. Techniques within the social-efficiency approach can include rote memorization and practice to develop skills efficiently. An example would be an online typing software program where students would continually practice the skill of typing in a systematized fashion. The key difference between the knowledge-centered and social efficiency approaches is that the social efficiency approach does not possess a uniform body of knowledge.

Both approaches have different roles for the student and teacher. In the knowledge centered approach the student is a passive learner. The teacher plays the role of the director or expert who provides the information. This approach reflects the “banking model” of education, meaning that students are empty containers where the teachers deposit knowledge.⁵⁵ Within the social efficiency approach, the student is a receiver of skills based upon what the society needs in the present. The teacher is the designer of learning experiences of the programmed curriculum. This approach relates to human capital theory (HCT). HCT was developed by Theodore Schultz and refers to the development of skills and knowledge so people could increase their productivity.⁵⁶

Within these approaches, strengths of the knowledge-centered learning are its broad knowledge base, allowing for adaptable learners. In the era of globalization this can be beneficial

⁵³ Ibid. pg. 95

⁵⁴ Ibid. pg. 91

⁵⁵ Friere, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 30th Anniversary ed. New York: Continuum, 2000.pg. 72

⁵⁶ Schultz, Theodore W. *Investment in Human Capital: The Role of Education and of Research*. (Free Press, 1970)

because there is a uniform body of knowledge. Everyone should be receiving the same education, which theoretically leads to a leveling of the playing field between different countries. In practice though, this is not necessarily the case. The knowledge-based curriculum is Eurocentric. As a result, there may be a sense of paternalism when importing a knowledge-centered curriculum in non-Western settings. Strengths of the social-efficiency approach include its relevance to the present, changing environment. Its focus on education for economic empowerment could be beneficial for developing countries. However, the social efficiency's approach to education with efficiency, "defined in terms of expenditure of time, money, and human resources", does not allow for a broad curriculum, which leads to adaptable learners.⁵⁷ Furthermore, within the essentialist paradigm, the reliance of textbooks can be problematic because they are often expensive, paternalistic, biased, and Eurocentric. These qualities contradict cosmopolitanism.

Progressivism is primarily concerned with learning experience quality and process. Knowledge in the progressive paradigm stems from the learner's needs and interests. This differs from the essentialist paradigm's emphasis on knowledge and skills acquisition. This view is based on the assumption that when the learner "genuinely desires to learn something, lasting growth is possible."⁵⁸ To reinforce this desire, the progressive paradigm dictates that curriculum and learning experience is "purposeful, appealing, and motivating."⁵⁹ Between the two approaches within progressivism, the ultimate goal of the learner-centered approach is self-actualization. The A.S. Neill and Summerhill School in England has a learner-centered curriculum where students "are given freedom of choice, including whether or not to attend

⁵⁷ Schiro, M.S. "Chapter 3." In *Social Efficiency Ideology. Curriculum Theory. Conflicting Visions and Enduring Concerns*. (Sage Publishers, 2013) pg. 59

⁵⁸ Ellis, Arthur K. *Exemplars of Curriculum Theory*. pg. 33

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

classes, do assignments, or participate at all.”⁶⁰ On the other hand, the goals of the society-centered approach are to solve society’s problems and make a difference in the world. Eliot Wigginton’s Foxfire curriculum that began in Appalachian Georgia embodies the society-centered approach. The Foxfire curriculum is community-focused, meaning students seek information and resources within the community to create a final project that is for public review.⁶¹ In these approaches, we see that the learner-centered approach is individually oriented whereas the society-centered approach focuses on a group context.

Both approaches have different roles for the student and teacher. In the learner-centered approach, the child is seen to “have an innate understanding of how to relate to the world.”⁶² Therefore, the child is the locus of control. Because the student takes the central role in learning, he or she exercises the value of self-actualization. As a result, the teacher’s role is to have a relationship with the student and address the private or personal concerns of the student. The learner-centered curriculum is one of discovery and is non-linear. To keep the focus upon the learner, assessments are chiefly formative. In the society-centered approach, learners are agents of change by having the world as their classroom. The teacher takes on a facilitator role and ensures real world engagement. The teacher is also invested in imbuing values of “democracy, participation, and citizenship.”⁶³ To do so, the teacher makes an effort to facilitate group work. The curriculum is applicable to real situations; therefore, assessments involve real societal issues.

Strengths of the learner-centered approach include its priority on self-awareness. The more self-aware a learner becomes, the more he or she is able to “link that self-awareness to the

⁶⁰ Ibid. pg. 44

⁶¹ Ibid. pg. 83

⁶² Bennett, Tess. "Reactions to Visiting the Infant-toddler and Preschool Centers in Reggio Emilia, Italy." *Early Childhood Research & Practice: An Internet Journal on the Development, Care, and Education of Young Children*. (2001) pg. 2

⁶³ Ellis, Arthur K. *Exemplars of Curriculum Theory*. pg. 75

awareness of others.”⁶⁴ This kind of awareness can lead to increased “social and moral growth.”⁶⁵ Weaknesses of the learner-centered approach are that students may leave out areas of study that would have been beneficial to them. Another weakness is that the learner-centered approach may be beyond the capacity for teachers who lack the necessary resources and theoretical understanding of the approach.⁶⁶

Because the society-centered curriculum strives to solve societal issues, it fosters qualities like “team building, collaborative effort, and cooperative learning” that are beneficial for society, a strength of this approach.⁶⁷ Another strength is that this approach tangibly improves society. Weaknesses of the society-centered approach include developing the necessary components to implement this approach. These include “developing social skills, creating a climate of collaboration, and genuine team building.”⁶⁸ Another weakness is that because real world issues are complex and unforeseen, curriculum planning can be difficult. The society-centered approach may also be difficult to implement because the correct resources and training to successfully implement this approach does not exist.

A cosmopolitan-oriented curriculum is aligned with the society-centered approach within the progressive paradigm. Cosmopolitanism is a school of thought that does not originate from the Western hegemony. The etymology of the English term “cosmopolitanism” can be traced to the ancient Greek term for “citizen of the world.”⁶⁹ Philosophers such as Antisthenes and Diogenes advocated that one should consider his or her place in the larger community of human

⁶⁴ Ellis, Arthur K. *Exemplars of Curriculum Theory*. pg. 50

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Thompson, Paul. "Learner-Centered Education and 'Cultural Translation'" *International Journal of Educational Development* (2012)

⁶⁷ Ellis, Arthur K. *Exemplars of Curriculum Theory*. pg. 72

⁶⁸ Ellis, Arthur K. *Exemplars of Curriculum Theory*. pg. 76

⁶⁹ Sobré- Denton, Miriam, and Nilanjana Bardhan. *Cultivating Cosmopolitanism for Intercultural Communication: Communicating as Global Citizens* (Routledge, 2013). pg.15

beings in the world.⁷⁰ Given the contributions of the ancient Greeks, some may think that cosmopolitanism is a Western, Eurocentric ideal. However, ancient Chinese thinkers such as Mo Tzu promoted universal peace.⁷¹ Non-Western cosmopolitanism emerged in the first millennium in parts of South and Southeast Asia. There was also the ancient African philosophy of Maat, which espouses profound respect, non-dominative, and non-combative relations between self and others.⁷² These histories tell us that cosmopolitanism was an outlook before the rise of Western hegemony. Ultimately, cosmopolitanism is a norm that expands the imagined community beyond the boundaries of the nation-state to the world. Despite differences that arise from religion, ethnicity, and background, individuals from different nation-states could work cooperatively because they primarily identify as belonging to the larger world community.

Building solidarity is crucial to a cosmopolitan approach in citizenship education. Conceptualizing solidarity means to see others as “one of us” rather than as “one of them.”⁷³ Solidarity establishes empathy that includes “a shared sense of struggle among people across differences in terms of culture and power.”⁷⁴ Through this collective sense of struggle from social injustice, there is empowerment amongst minoritized groups. Solidarity is the reciprocal understanding and trust that transcends particular interests, which requires getting in touch with yourself as well as connecting with the personal stories of others. Solidarity thus goes hand in hand with cosmopolitanism. Curriculum that focuses upon solidarity takes into consideration inequities within society and does not otherwise differentiate groups of people. For a cosmopolitan approach to occur, curriculum should foster solidarity.

⁷⁰ Sobré- Denton, Miriam, and Nilanjana Bardhan. *Cultivating Cosmopolitanism for Intercultural Communication: Communicating as Global Citizens* (Routledge, 2013). pg.15

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Sleeter, Christine E. *Creating Solidarity Across Diverse Communities: International Perspectives in Education*. (Teachers College Press, 2012) pg. 23

⁷⁴ Ibid.

A Cosmopolitan Approach: Global Citizenship Education

Global citizenship education (GCE) fosters solidarity and also aligns with the society-centered approach. A focus on global citizenship education (GCE) expands the question of what is society and what threads individuals use to feel a sense of association. The critical need for integration amongst people through the notion of global citizenship can be met by a cosmopolitan approach. Cosmopolitanism is the notion of belonging to a world larger than our world localities. Scholars and academics have debated this notion over millennia; as a result, there is no concrete definition of cosmopolitanism. It is more of an approach or philosophy. What is most important to this approach is the capacity for multiple perspectives and a respect and understanding of an array of socio-cultural practices and belief systems. Most importantly, global citizenship education moves away from a model of a nation-state identity to a post-national, or cosmopolitan model where individuals are “citizens of the world.”

Naturally, global citizenship and cosmopolitanism are intertwined. As the world becomes increasingly connected, problems are becoming global in scope. Based upon neocolonial and postcolonial inequities leading to poverty, terrorism, ethnic conflicts and wars, our interdependence is reinforced. Therefore, one nation-state or group of people cannot solve these issues by themselves. Education must foster an ability to communicate in a world-oriented, cosmopolitan manner while simultaneously maintaining ties of identity typically attributed to the local and national context. An important distinction in cosmopolitanism is that it encourages an outward focus. This means that it does not downplay differences or the importance of an individual’s culture. Rather, cosmopolitanism “allows us to see connections across differences, communicate ethically and grow as cultural and moral beings through these experiences.”⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Sobré- Denton, Miriam, and Nilanjana Bardhan. *Cultivating Cosmopolitanism for Intercultural Communication: Communicating as Global Citizens*. pg.15

On an international level, global citizenship education is becoming more of a priority. The UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon identified GCE as one of three priorities in the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI), which was launched in September of 2012. Moon noted it was important to “promote peace, tolerance, and respect for diversity across cultures through education” and to “cultivate a sense of community, active participation, and environmental stewardship.”⁷⁶ Barriers to GCE on a global level include outdated learning materials, lack of teacher training, and an inadequate focus on GCE values. Moon calls for an investment in GCE to overcome these barriers.

Recently, there was a consultation of GCE that was organized by UNESCO and South Korea in September of 2013. There was also a forum called the Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenge of the 21st Century, hosted by UNESCO in Bangkok in December of 2013. During the technical consultation, the participants noted that the formal system, or in-classroom learning, could be the main mode of facilitating GCE. The consultants came up with a set of competencies that GCE should have. These include: (1) knowledge and understanding of specific global issues and trends, and knowledge of and respect for key universal values (e.g. peace and human rights, diversity, justice, democracy, caring, nondiscrimination, tolerance); (2) cognitive skills for critical, creative and innovative thinking, problem-solving and decision-making; (3) non-cognitive skills such as empathy, openness to experiences and other perspectives, interpersonal/communicative skills and aptitude of networking and interacting with people of different backgrounds and origins; and (4) behavioral capacities to launch and engage in proactive actions.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ *Global Education First Initiative*. 2012. Graphic.

⁷⁷ Choi, Soo Hyang. UNESCO. *Concept Note UNESCO Forum on Global Citizenship Education: Preparing learners for the challenge of the 21st Century*. 2013. pg. 3

The third competency of GCE incorporates a cosmopolitan approach to education because it encourages the civic virtue of empathy along with openness to other perspectives. The inclusion of civic virtues such as nondiscrimination and tolerance relate to solidarity are imperative. Within the third competency, the aptitude of interacting with people of different backgrounds come from a respect of differences between individuals. Furthermore, qualities of justice and tolerance relate to the critical approach from integration theory. Thus, these competencies show a cosmopolitan and solidarity-centered approach within GCE curriculum.

I argue that cosmopolitan education is necessary to mitigate the discrimination and prejudice towards North Korean defectors. Cosmopolitanism enables South Korean citizens to see their North Korean counterparts as fellow human beings. The realization of a common humanity allows defectors to no longer be seen as “others.” Recognizing this possibility, other states and intergovernmental organizations have made GCE a priority. The European Council, an institution of the EU that is comprised of the heads of state or governments of the members states of the EU, passed the Maastrich Global Education Declaration, a global framework for global education that touches upon the tenants of GCE.⁷⁸ In Great Britain, the Department for International Development seeks to integrate global development issues into the formal curriculum through the Global Partnership Schools program, linking UK schools to schools in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. In Sweden, the Global Citizen Program prepares students, teachers, and school leaders to understand how partnerships with other countries is of significant importance to Sweden’s future.⁷⁹ India’s National Curriculum Framework for School Education calls for a school curriculum that strives to “raise awareness of the necessity to

⁷⁸ "Maastricht Global Education Declaration: A European Strategy Framework for Improving and Increasing Global Education in Europe to the Year." Council of Europe, 2002

⁷⁹ Mansilla, Veronica Boix, and Anthony Jackson. "Educating for Global Competence: Preparing Our Youth to Engage the World." 2011. pg. 39

promote peace and understanding between nations for the prosperity of all mankind.”⁸⁰ The framework expects GCE to be embedded in existing subjects, with particular curricula focused on peace and human rights education. As these examples illustrate, countries are articulating and implementing GCE.

Alternative Explanations

There are also other forces that that can shape the values and attitudes of a citizenry, particularly within the South Korean context. Below I highlight alternative explanations throughout the literature that seek to explain causal factors in why South Korean society does not provide a conducive environment for the successful integration of North Korean defectors. By understanding these alternative explanations, I show why it is worth examining the connection between education and citizenship.

Media and Citizenship

In modern society, media has had an indelible influence upon aspects of citizenship. Globalization has increased media’s impact upon citizenship. Social media platforms such as blogging, Twitter, Facebook, and other online forums have made information accessible at an unprecedented rate. Because of these circumstances, one may wonder about the impact of media on shaping the values and attitudes towards North Korean and its defectors in South Korea. The Internet has much potential as a space where people construct identities as citizens, gain knowledge about citizenship, and engage in practices of citizenship practices.⁸¹ The citizenship potential in globalized societies, where both marginalized and mainstream audiences can create content, creates greater chance of participation demonstrates media’s powerful impact.

⁸⁰ "APCEIU." *Journal of Education for International Understanding*, 2005. pg. 49

⁸¹ Dahlgren, Peter. *Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication, and Democracy*. (Cambridge University Press, 2009) pg. 271-272

Subsequently, some may say that the media has a more powerful role in shaping public opinion of North Korean defectors than education does. Indeed, media has had much influence on public opinion. Little is known about North Korea aside from what South Koreans see in the media.⁸² According to Han and Kim's research study, South Koreans feel that the media's representation of North Koreans are negative, as opposed to positive, and different from themselves.⁸³ North Koreans are also seen as less educated, less trustworthy, less independent, and less intelligent in a statistically significant way.⁸⁴

Media plays a large role in shaping citizens' perspectives on different social groups.⁸⁵ However, it is not an effective means for promoting a cosmopolitan approach that is necessary to stop the discrimination of North Korean defectors. Studies have criticized media for portrayals that speak to organizational ideologies, dependence on unreliable sources, and "infotainment", or the tabloidization of news.⁸⁶ Media can construct a narrative that maintains the "hegemonic power of dominant groups in society."⁸⁷ Elite groups can work with the media to designate the content of media. By doing so, the elite can "mainstream" information, leading to hegemonic value formation and knowledge.⁸⁸ These patterns suggest a lack of accountability and responsiveness to society.⁸⁹ Even if the government were to promote public campaign strategies, the public has the ability to produce content that can be counteractive to public

⁸² Han, Mijeong, and Sei-Hill Kim. "South Koreans' Perceptions of North Koreans and Implications for Public Relations Campaigns." *Public Relations Review*. 2004. pg. 328

⁸³ Ibid. pg. 330

⁸⁴ Ibid. pg. 330-331

⁸⁵ Fujioka, Y. "Television Portrayals and African-American Stereotypes: Examination of Television Effects When Direct Contact Is Lacking." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 76 (1999): 52-73;

⁸⁶ Schudson, Michael. "The News Media as Political Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002): 249-69; Bagdikian, Ben H. *The New Media Monopoly*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2004.

⁸⁷ Kang, Mi Ok. *Multicultural Education in South Korea: Language, Ideology and Culture in Korean Language Arts Education*. Routledge. 2015.pg. 46

⁸⁸ Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan, and Nancy Signorielli. "The "Mainstreaming" Of America: Violence Profile No. 11." *Journal of Communication* (1980). pg. 10-29

⁸⁹ Pinto, Juliet, and Sallie Hughes. "Media and Citizenship." *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* (2011). pg. 5

campaigning. For these reasons, education is a more effective means for creating a better environment for the successful integration of defectors.

Family Values

The family has a strong influence on inculcating values that relate to citizenship. Parents influence their children by serving as models of behavior in the political, social, and economic spheres.⁹⁰ Siblings, depending on age and gender, can also be catalysts of value formation for children.⁹¹ Depending upon the amount of contact grandparents have with their grandchildren, they can also serve as models of behavior.⁹² Korea's Confucian influence on its culture can elevate the role the family has on inculcating values upon children. Parents, older siblings, and grandparents hold a position of authority and power that lends to higher influence. The family then can play a large role in helping develop citizenship. Furthermore, the intergenerational quality of the family suggests that grandparents may even have firsthand experience with the Korean War and North Korea.

Some may argue that education's role in determining citizenship can be marginal in the face of the family. Despite the family's likely influence on affecting values and attitudes and North Korean defectors, the education system can still play an important role. According to Sociologist Morris Massey's Theory of Value Development, there are three critical periods during which values are developed. The "Modeling Period", which happens between ages 8-13, is when people model values of others, especially parents and teachers.⁹³ Since teachers play an important role in value development, the education system impacts attitudes even if the family is important. Furthermore, the family is not effective for promoting cosmopolitan citizenship.

⁹⁰ Dynneson, Thomas L. "Citizenship Development: The Role of The Family, The School, and The Community." *Educational Horizons*. (1991) pg. 201

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Massey, Morris E. "people puzzle, understanding yourself and others." (1979).

Within South Korea, there is no way of standardizing or dictating what values the family will teach their children regarding North Korea. Thus, parents, siblings, and grandparents may pass down values and knowledge that is not desirable to the collective society.

National Security

National security issues cause the South Korean government to portray North Korea negatively to its citizens. To explain this assertion, I look towards international relations theories to help us explain why South Korea may behave this way. The realist perspective within this theory provides reasoning behind why South Korea may act a certain way towards North Korea. In realism, nation-states are placed in an anarchic system, meaning that there is no overarching, superior government to be the final arbiter.⁹⁴ States are the rational, sovereign primary actors who act in their own self-interests because of a self-help system.⁹⁵ The international system is characterized by uncertainty so states seek to maximize power. Realism dictates that nation-states focus upon the capabilities of other states when assessing actions.⁹⁶ These qualities factor into a phenomenon called the “security dilemma,” in which “the measure a state takes to increase its own security usually decreases the security of other states.”⁹⁷

Because the two Koreas are geographically close to each other and have hostile relations, national security issues exist. Even in the 2010s, recent attacks such as the North Korean torpedo launch against the South Korean naval vessel ROKS Cheonan in March of 2010 demonstrate that national security is relevant.⁹⁸ North Korea’s nuclear stockpile and regular weapons testing also

⁹⁴ Mearsheimer, John J. "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power." In *Essential Readings in World Politics*, 2013. pg. 54

⁹⁵ Ibid. pg. 55

⁹⁶ Ibid. pg. 57

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Park, In-kook. "Letter Dated 4 June 2010 from the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council." *United Nations Security Council*

add to the security dilemma that South Korea faces.⁹⁹ According to realism, it is in South Korea's best interest to galvanize the population against North Korea so that if South Korea is threatened, the population will be ready to fight North Korea. Thus, these impending threats to South Korea make it beneficial for South Korea to portray North Korea as the enemy and a threat to the populace. For example, because military conscription is mandatory in South Korea, military training imparts negative portrayals of North Korea.

Despite national security issues, South Korea's official foreign policy towards North Korea has shifted in recent years that focus on more positive policies towards North Korea. The Kim Dae-Jung administration (1998-2003) enacted the 'Sunshine Policy,' which sought to "lead North Korea down a path toward peace, reform and openness through reconciliation, interaction and cooperation with the South."¹⁰⁰ The Sunshine Policy urged North Korea to gradually reform and open itself up so it could eventually join the international community. The Sunshine Policy is representative of the constructivist paradigm in international relations theory.

Constructivism addresses questions of identity and interest formation that are deemed unimportant by realism. Within constructivism, states are actors who conceive identities, or "relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self."¹⁰¹ Identities are the foundation for interests and are "grounded in the theories which actors collectively hold about themselves and one another and which constitute the structure of the social world".¹⁰² States are institutions that hold identities resulting in collective knowledge that defines national consciousness. States are able to intentionally change competitive security systems into

⁹⁹ Choe, Sang-hun. "North Korea Is Said to Fire 7 Missiles Off Its East Coast." *The New York Times*, March 13, 2015

¹⁰⁰ Moon, Chung-In. "Understanding the DJ Doctrine: The Sunshine Policy and the Korean Peninsula." In *Kim Dae-Jung Government and Sunshine Policy: Promises and Challenges*, (Yonsei University Press, 1999). pg. 37

¹⁰¹ Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* (1992) pg. 398

¹⁰² Ibid.

cooperative ones. Furthermore, in a constructivist system, the rise of international law and human rights occurs through international norm dynamics and political change. Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine Policy represents a shift from the security culture to one of "shared ideas of perceiving friend and foe", which leads to "perceptions of collective identity among regional countries."¹⁰³ In this sense, the Sunshine Policy is a "state-driven identity project reconfiguring the existing mapping of collective identity in Northeast Asian in the post-Cold War era of globalization."¹⁰⁴

In January 2014, the current Park Geun-hye administration of South Korea outlined a new North Korean foreign policy that has a vision for unification. Park Geun-hye's 'Unification Bonanza' policy emphasized the significant economic opportunities that unification would provide. Furthermore, she outlined the "Dresden Initiative," named after a German city that is symbolic for the history of German reunification.¹⁰⁵ The Dresden Initiative agenda addresses three main points: humanity, integration and co-prosperity.¹⁰⁶ The humanity agenda focuses upon expanding humanitarian assistance and regularizing reunions for separated families.¹⁰⁷ The integration agenda includes jointly developed educational programs and cultural exchange between the two Koreas.¹⁰⁸ Components of the co-prosperity agenda include the establishment of multi-framing complexes and infrastructure building.¹⁰⁹ Like the Sunshine Policy, Park-Geun-hye's Unification Bonanza and Dresden Initiative is reflective of constructivism. Justification for her policy stems from "recovering common identity" and the need for "interaction and

¹⁰³ Cho, Young Chul. "Collective Identity Formation on the Korean Peninsula: United States' Different North Korea Policies, Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine Policy, and United States –South Korea – North Korea Relations." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* (2010) pg. 95

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ *The Road to a 'Happy Unification': The Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula and the Dresden Initiative.* (2014) pg.3

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. pg. 5-6

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

cooperation.”¹¹⁰ This trend in South Korea’s foreign policy toward North Korea should thus align with education to effectively push the ideology of “Unification Bonanza” amongst the South Korean population.

Socio-cultural, Linguistic, and Political Differences

A compelling alternative explanation to why defectors have difficulty adjusting to South Korean society has to do with the cultural, linguistic, and political differences between the two nations. Out of these three factors, political differences have the least impact upon effective discrimination. Defectors have little difficulty adapting South Korean political ideology. Despite nearly 70 years of division, defectors’ voluntary leaving signifies a lack of conviction for the North Korean political system.

Cultural differences play a larger role in integration difficulty. Although defectors are given legal citizenship immediately upon arrival, they do not possess the necessary cultural citizenship. Consumption patterns are one example of such norms. Wearing clothes to look like a “typical South Korean” is one way of gaining cultural capital. Ascribing to both the culture of “well-being” that became popular in the early 2000s and the accompanying cultural obsession of outward appearance can be difficult for defectors.¹¹¹ By not following these norms, defectors can be seen as others. Thus, most defectors spend their initial resettlement money to purchase symbols of cultural capital to acquire the citizenship required for survival in a discriminatory class society.¹¹²

Language also proves to be a barrier for integration purposes. Ostensibly, Korean is spoken in both countries; however, the language has evolved in different ways in the past 70

¹¹⁰ Ibid. pg. 3

¹¹¹ Koo, Hagen. "The Changing Faces of Inequality in South Korea in the Age of Globalization." *Korean Studies* 31 (2007) pg. 7

¹¹² Chung, Byung-Ho. "Between Defector and Migrant: Identities and Strategies of North Koreans in South Korea." *Korean Studies* pg. 18-19

years. South Korean society uses many English words and there are borrowed foreign words used in everyday conversation.¹¹³ About a third of everyday vocabulary is different between the two countries. The widening linguistic divide can create communication barriers between South Koreans and defectors. The North Korean dialect also possesses a discernible accent that can be instantly recognized by South Koreans.¹¹⁴

Socio-cultural and linguistic differences negatively impact the acquirement of cultural citizenship by defectors. Subsequently, they explain why defectors have a difficult time adjusting to South Korean culture. Yet, the jishigin are evidence that these differences are possible to navigate; however, they are only possible to the extent that jishigin are not identifiable as defectors. Furthermore, merely identifying these differences does not answer the question of what can be changed so that defectors can better integrate.

HYPOTHESES

Below I posit hypotheses that predict the relation between the cultural attitudes of South Koreans and education. The first three hypotheses address the relation between South Korean attitudes and the integration of North Korean defectors. The next four hypotheses stem from the connection between education and the value formation of a community. Overall, the hypotheses illustrates that students in today's society should be more open to cosmopolitanism than ever before. South Korea has made effort to do so; however, has much more to do. By putting increased effort in designing a curriculum with emphasis on global citizenship education, the South Korean populace would create an environment where it is possible for defectors to acquire cultural citizenship.

Cultural Citizenship

¹¹³ Ibid. pg. 16

¹¹⁴ Kim, Hyung-Jin. "After Long Split, 2 Koreas Face Increasing Linguistic Divide." *AP Online*. 2015.

The first three hypotheses fall under the topic of cultural citizenship. The appropriate norms and values that allow for acceptance and the acquiring of such citizenship are determined by the majority culture. In this case the majority culture is the South Korean culture, which leads to the first hypothesis:

H1: South Korean attitudes make it difficult for North Korean defectors to acquire cultural citizenship to effectively integrate into South Korean society

H1 may beg the question, what do South Korean attitudes entail? A distinct Korean monoculture originates from the Confucian norms that created a common values system. The Confucianist ideology emerged when Koreans saw it as a way to fight Japanese tactics of forced assimilation during its colonization of Korea. From here, the *hanminjok*, or the “one Korean people” ideology arises. The literal translation of “hanminjok” is the “nation of Han”.¹¹⁵ Hanminjok stresses Korean ethnocentrism, ethnic homogeneity, and insularity vis-à-vis a distinct culture and a unified bloodline. There is implicit elitism within hanminjok, those who do not fit into hanminjok are not considered “Korean”, and therefore are otherized. The pervasive nature of the hanminjok provides the basis for the second hypothesis:

H2: South Korean cultural attitudes embrace the hanminjok ideology.

Within the norm of ethnic homogeneity and ultra nationalism, defectors are in a unique position. Legally, defectors are provided with the official status as citizens and resettlement support with programming and benefits. Despite this legal status, defectors have difficulties creating community and fully integrating into South Korean society. Part of the challenge within integration has to do with being accepted as a cultural citizen. North Korean defectors are usually

¹¹⁵ This does not include the Han Chinese ethnic group. In the Korean language, *han* means “one”.

identifiable because of their accents or the style of dress. They are then discriminated against.¹¹⁶

Consequently, this leads to the third hypothesis within the realm of cultural citizenship:

H3: North Korean defectors are not viewed as cultural citizens.

Although defectors are accepted as legal citizens, oftentimes the discrimination against them signifies that they are not truly accepted by larger society. Defectors feel ostracized. They also have difficulty advancing economically, excelling academically, and fitting in culturally. The amount of time passed since the division of Korea correlates with the percentage of South Koreans who feel that unification is possible.¹¹⁷ More and more South Koreans feel that unification is not possible because the economic costs of unification would not benefit them. Furthermore, the cultural divide is only increasing. The increasing number of South Koreans who think unification is unfeasible reflects the diminishing possibility that defectors can acquire cultural citizenship.

Citizenship Education

Education shapes the cultural attitudes of a nation. Looking to the example of mass schooling of peasant farmers in late 19th century France, education is the force that enabled peasants to be taught the dominant culture of French society to become fully integrated with the rest of France. Consistent with this example, the same concept can be applied to the South Korean context. Subsequently, this leads to the hypothesis that:

H4: South Korean cultural attitudes are a function of the formal education system

In South Korea, the government has strong control over what is taught in the classroom. It has had a history of state-controlled education. For the first thirty years, military education prevailed amongst the authoritarian regimes. Then, in the democratization movement in the

¹¹⁶ Park, Sengwoo. "Education and Awareness of the North Korean Defectors' Human Rights." pg. 68

¹¹⁷ In 2007, 13.3 percent of South Koreans felt that reunification was impossible whereas in 2009, 29.8 percent felt that reunification was impossible

1980s, there was academic reform. Despite the reforms, the government has much control on what is taught. The Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology produces and directly publishes all textbooks regarding the study of Korean language, ethics, and Korean history, the disciplines with which citizenship education is embedded.¹¹⁸ As the arbiters of curriculum, the government also designates the number of intended hours for each subject.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN SOUTH KOREA

TABLE 2
WEEKLY HOURS OF INTENDED INSTRUCTIONAL TIME IN THE SOUTH KOREAN CURRICULUM

National Curriculum	Ethics			Social Studies		
	Primary	Lower Secondary	Upper Secondary	Primary	Lower Secondary	Upper Secondary
3	2	2	2	2-4*	3	3
4	2	2	3	3-4 [†]	3	3
5	2	2	3	3-4 [†]	3	3
6	1-2 [‡]	2	3	3-4 [†]	3	2
7	1	2	1	3	3	5
8	1	2	2	3	3	3

NOTE.—See curricular documents listed in appendix A in the online version.

* Grades 1, 2, 5, and 6: 4 hours/week; grades 3, 4: 3 hours/week.

[†] Grades 1, 2: 2 hours; grades 3, 4: 3 hours; grades 5 and 6: 4 hours.

[‡] Grades 1, 2: 2 hours; grades 3-6: 1 hour.

Figure 1¹¹⁹

Here we look to the case of mass schooling for French peasants in the late 19th century. Between 1880 and 1910, “schooling taught hitherto indifferent millions the language of the dominant culture, and its values as well, among them patriotism.”¹²⁰ From this case, we see that the state had a direct role in mandating citizenship education that impacted cultural attitudes. Likewise, South Korean cultural attitudes are derived from the education system.

Looking at Figure 1, we see that ethics and social studies courses are meant to be taught either two or three hours a week, meaning that they are not even taught every day, which leads to the next hypothesis:

¹¹⁸ Moon, Rennie J., and Jeong-Woo Koo. "Global Citizenship and Human Rights: A Longitudinal Analysis of Social Studies and Ethics Textbooks in the Republic of Korea." *Comparative Education Review*. (2011) pg. 582

¹¹⁹ Ibid. pg. 583

¹²⁰ Ibid. pg. 493

H5: A social efficiency approach-oriented curriculum signifies that other spheres will have greater sway on cultural values.

Compared to other subjects, less time is spent on citizenship education in the classroom. According to the table below from the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology, there is evidence that other subjects are given more time in the classroom:

Classification	National Basic Curriculum
Korean Language Arts	Korean Language Arts (8)
Ethics	Ethics (2)
Social Studies	Social Studies (2)
History	Korean History (4)
Math	Math (8)
Science	Science (6)
Technology/Home Economics	Technology/Home Economics (6)
Physical Education	Physical Education (4)
Music	Music (2)
Arts	Arts (2)
Foreign Language	English (8)
	Optional: German (6), French (6), Spanish (6), Chinese (6), Japanese (6), Russian (6), Arabic (6)
Chinese Letters	Chinese Letters (6)
Military Exercise	Military Exercise (6)

* Note: The figures in () indicate the number of units that are taught per semester (17 weeks)

*Figure 2*¹²¹

¹²¹ "Secondary Education." Republic of Korea Ministry of Education. Accessed March 28, 2015.

As shown above, subjects such as Korean language arts, math, science, technology/home economics, and English are given top priority. The contrast between time spent on these subjects versus the ones involved in citizenship education, namely ethics and social studies are evidence of a highly essentialist curriculum, containing both social efficiency and knowledge-centered approaches. The lack of focus on subjects related to citizenship education also displays the hidden curriculum at work.

The hidden curriculum consists of “learned lessons that are not openly intended but still affect the values, attitudes and beliefs of the learner.”¹²² For example, in one school, students may be rewarded for following directions or acting in a conforming way while in other schools students may be rewarded for questioning authority and taking initiative. Through the hidden curriculum, students internalize cultural values that are modeled by authority figures in the classroom, both explicitly and implicitly. For example, in the United States, a Eurocentric narrative may minimize the representation of displaced Native Americans or the colonization of countries overseas. Such a narrative sends an implicit ideological, ethical, and cultural message about national ideology. In this study, the emphasis on non-citizenship education sends an implicit message that citizenship education is not as important, instead more energy should be sent on subjects that can make the most productive citizens for economic purposes. The social efficiency approach within South Korean education and the comparative lack of citizenship education signifies that other spheres, such as the media and the family, will have a greater influence upon cultural values. Furthermore, the application of hidden curriculum is particularly relevant to the inclusion of cosmopolitanism, which leads to the final hypothesis:

H6: Citizenship education does not prioritize a cosmopolitan approach.

¹²² Giroux, Henry A., and Anthony N. Penna. "Social Education in the Classroom: The Dynamics of the Hidden Curriculum." *Theory and Research in Social Education*. (1979) pg. 21-23

South Korean citizenship education curriculum does not consist of a cosmopolitan approach. Textbook analysis studies have shown that although there has been increasing inclusion of themes of global citizenship education, “national citizenship themes dominate and occur more frequently than global citizenship themes.”¹²³ Although global themes are not mutually exclusive from national citizenship themes, ideologies such as hanminjok are an impetus for ethnocentrism that is not favorable to minorities, including North Korean defectors. The success of the jishigin alongside the hanminjok ideology that is taught in schools suggests that the implicit message within South Korean education is one that is not welcome to cultural plurality.

Hidden curriculum theory applies to H6 as well. Figure 3 includes the average number of keywords associated with national citizenship and global citizenship per page mentioned in South Korean social studies and ethics textbooks:

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN SOUTH KOREA

TABLE 3
KOREAN CIVIC EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS, 1981–2004: AVERAGE KEYWORD MENTIONS PER PAGE

Keyword	Ethics				Social Studies			
	1981–87	1988–91	1994–97	2002–4	1981–87	1988–91	1994–97	2002–4
National citizenship themes:								
Nation	1.11	1.11	1.13	.81	.91	.92	.86	.40
Family and tradition	1.10	1.02	1.15	.59	.50	.52	.24	.21
Responsibilities	.09	.06	.11	0	.08	.07	.09	.009
Unification	.08	.07	.97	.99	0	0	0	.11
Democracy	1.10	1.05	1.06	1.13	1.09	1.10	1.09	.97
Rights*	0	.001	0	0	.001	.004	.003	.004
Rights (ambivalent) [†]	0	.003	.001	0	0	.004	.004	.06
Global citizenship themes:								
Globalism [‡]	0	0	0	.12	.02	.01	.02	.22
Environment	0	0	.03	.09	.02	.02	.09	.11
Human rights	0	0	.004	0	0	0	0	.05
Total pages	984	914	808	699	982	873	1,029	776
No. textbooks	3	4	3	3	3	4	5	4

Figure 3¹²⁴

¹²³ Ibid. pg. 585

¹²⁴ Moon, Rennie J., and Jeong-Woo Koo. "Global Citizenship and Human Rights: A Longitudinal Analysis of Social Studies and Ethics Textbooks in the Republic of Korea." *Comparative Education Review*. pg. 585

As Figure 3 demonstrates, South Korea has had a history where themes of national citizenship have a more frequent occurrence and dominate themes of global citizenship, even in more recent curriculum. The lack of cosmopolitanism implies a hidden curriculum in the lack of importance within topics of multiculturalism, human rights, and global citizenship. As a result, the curriculum reinforces social inequities and results in an unequal distribution of cultural capital within society.¹²⁵ The reality that arises is the prejudice and discrimination of North Korean defectors. Hypotheses can thus be summarized in the following table:

No.	Hypothesis:	NK defectors cannot integrate successfully into South Korean society because:
H1	South Korean Attitudes	South Korean attitudes and values
H2	Hanminjok Ideology	South Korean cultural attitudes embrace the hanminjok ideology.
H3	Defector Citizenship	Defectors cannot acquire cultural citizenship

No.	Hypothesis:	Education impacts the integration of North Korean defectors into South Korean society because:
H4	Cultural Attitudes and Education	Cultural attitudes are shaped by the education system.
H5	Social Efficiency Curriculum	A social efficiency approach-oriented curriculum signifies that other spheres will have greater sway on cultural values.
H6	Cosmopolitanism in Citizenship Education	Citizenship education does not prioritize a cosmopolitan approach

CASE STUDY: SOUTH KOREA

In this section, I apply the theory discussed in the literature review to the South Korean context. Specifically, I will give a quick overview of the history and educational priorities of the South Korean government. The legacy of citizenship education in South Korea is the product of a history of high centralization and nationalistic sentiment. Then, I will explain the current state

¹²⁵ Apple, Michael, and Nancy King. "What Do Schools Teach?" In *The Hidden Curriculum and Moral Education*, 82-99. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1983. pg. 90

of citizenship education, including how it is taught and what kind of curriculum is determined by the state. Citizenship education has had a long history of mono-ethnicism. Despite a push towards themes of cosmopolitanism, hanminjok ideology is still pervasive within citizenship education. Next, I will examine how North Korea is portrayed in citizenship education. North Korea has been portrayed in a way that is not consistent with cosmopolitan values and does not build solidarity. Furthermore, the current administration is pushing for a strong unification education policy that is motivated by the social efficiency approach as opposed to a society-centered, cosmopolitan approach. Finally, I end with an analysis of two different South Korean social studies textbooks, one high school and the other middle school. The findings of the textbook analysis is consistent with the hypotheses H2, that South Korean cultural attitudes embrace the hanminjok ideology, and H6, that citizenship education does not prioritize a cosmopolitan approach.

Citizenship Education in South Korea

Education in South Korea has a history of high centralization. For the past half a century, the government has controlled the production, transmission, and reproduction processes within curriculum. Before democratization in the 1980s, South Korea had a high level of state-controlled education. The Rhee Syngman, Park Chung-Hee, and Chun Doo-Hwan administrations used education as a means to enhance the government's control over society. Shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War, Paek Nak-chun, the education minister developed a highly nationalized curriculum. Paek advocated for military training in the form of "defense education," which included the intention of creating *ssanun kungmin*, or a "fighting citizenry" during the Rhee administration (1948-1960).¹²⁶ Then, during the Park administration (1962-

¹²⁶ Seth, Michael J. *Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea*. 2002. pg.197

1979), education included more military training, anticommunism, ultra nationalism, and value indoctrination of state loyalty.

Both of the Rhee and Park administrations had education with strong ideological training. Moral education was introduced in the 1950s to teach ethics, establish anti-Communism, and create a strong national ideology. Citizenship education during these two administrations stressed values of duty, order, and respect for law.¹²⁷ Confucianism was portrayed as part of “traditional Korean values,” which included filial piety, loyalty, respect for the elderly, and collectivism, or mutual assistance. There were also clear intentions to instill patriotism and a love for the country. State control over education also manifested in teacher selection. Subsequently, the government employed teachers as instruments of state control. The Basic Education Law, which passed in 1949, gave the central government power to determine the qualifications of educators and hire teachers and administrators. Teachers had little educational autonomy.

In line with democratization movement of the 1980s, there was a call for national academic reform. Student activists pushed the Chun administration (1980-1988) to free educational institutions from state control. Despite the increasing number of protests, the Chun administration maintained the authoritarian education policy. Chun launched a “purification of education campaign” that promoted nationalism and anti-Communism. He continued the legacy of military drills, political mobilization, and propaganda lessons that had been in place for the past 30 years.

Following the legacy of the Rhee, Park, and Chun administrations, South Korea underwent a gradual process of education democratization beginning in 1987. In the mid-late 1990s, teachers were called to implement “democratic citizens’ education” (*minju simin kyoyok*)

¹²⁷ Seth, Michael J. *Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea*. 2002. pg. 207

in order to develop cooperation and respect in a democratic society.¹²⁸ During the Kim Young Sam administration (1993-1998), there was a broader policy of “globalization” (*segye-hwa*); it is during this time when a cosmopolitan approach was first introduced into South Korean curriculum. New textbooks issued in 1995 had more of an emphasis on liberal democratic ideals as opposed to the strong anti-Communist sentiment that had been present before. Moral education courses emphasized respect for fellow citizens, peaceful unification, and the importance of a democratic society. There was a broader survey of world cultures and societies within the curriculum. The *segye-hwa* policy coincided with greater political and economic stability. Education was no longer needed as an apparatus for state legitimacy. Although education began to move towards a cosmopolitan approach in the 1990s, there was still great importance placed in maintaining cultural identity. The Kim Young Sam administration maintained curriculum that stressed Confucian values and the important of loyalty and discipline. Traditional cultures and values were also stressed to maintain a distinct Korean identity.

After Kim Dae Jung’s election in 1997, his administration legalized the teacher’s union in 1999, which allowed education to become more responsive to parents, teachers, and students. Rapid economic development during this time influenced education policy. Policymakers believed that the future success of South Korea depended upon technological innovation and scientific advancement. Education now has an emphasis upon “developing human resources in preparation for the future.”¹²⁹

South Korean education is organized through the social efficiency approach. Thus, priorities of the South Korean education are science and technology. In 2008, the Lee Myung Bak administration combined the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development and

¹²⁸ Ibid. pg. 232

¹²⁹ *Education in Korea 2009*. Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2009. pg. 26

the Ministry of Science and Technology into one organization, forming the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MEST).¹³⁰ The organizational change aligns with the goal to make Korea “a preeminent country in the field of human resources and science and technology.”¹³¹ This prioritization emphasizes necessary and observable skills. Social efficiency connects with human capital theory, where one of the primary goals of South Korean education is to increase students’ productivity for the benefit of the economy.

The prioritization of science and technology signifies great investment in education digitization. Korea has a strong information and communication infrastructure in which most citizens have Internet access. In public schools, for every five students, there is one computer.¹³² Furthermore, 74.8% of Koreans over six years old use the Internet.¹³³ Subsequently, there is a concerted effort to digitize textbooks. In 2011, MEST announced the investment of more than \$2.2 trillion to digitize all textbooks for all subjects and schools by 2015.¹³⁴ South Korea’s digitization efforts are further evidence of the social efficiency approach.

Despite the social efficiency approach to education, MEST purported that “education has been instrumental to the nation’s social and cultural development, greatly contributing to the “formation of a modern value system and the establishment of future and development oriented-views and civic virtues.”¹³⁵ Education has also “helped shape value systems and views about the nation.”¹³⁶ Through these statements, the South Korean government explicitly describes the role between education and value and identity formation of its citizens.

¹³⁰ Ibid. pg. 28

¹³¹ Ibid. pg. 29

¹³² Jung, Sung-Moo, and Kwang-Bin Lim. "Leading Future Education: Development of Digital Textbooks in Korea." 2009. pg. 4

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ "Schools Face Transition to Digital Textbooks." 2011. *The Chosun Ilbo*.

¹³⁵ Ibid. pg. 12

¹³⁶ Ibid.

There is not an official definition of citizenship education in South Korea. However, according to Article 2 of the 1997 Fundamentals of Education Act, one of the goals of education is to “create citizens who can contribute to community development of different levels by solving problems rationally on the basis of knowledge about people and society.”¹³⁷ Subsequently, citizenship education is not taught as a single subject. Instead, it is embedded within other subjects. The subject with the strongest correlation to citizenship education in Korea is social studies. Currently, the social studies curriculum underscores the importance of this kind of learning. Citizenship education first begins in upper primary schools in social studies courses. The knowledge domain of the system includes “various characteristics of society, historical tradition, cultural uniqueness of Korea, Korean cultures and history, and the cultural characteristics of each historical period.”¹³⁸ Beginning in middle school, moral education is introduced into the curriculum. Moral education “aims to internalize and develop the values and moral virtues necessary for community life.”¹³⁹ Social studies curriculum is two to three hours of instruction and moral education curriculum is two hours per week.¹⁴⁰

Citizenship education has changed in Korea. In contrast to 1997, the 2007 and 2009 curriculum begin to incorporate concepts such as multiculturalism and globalization. Despite this incorporation, the mono-ethnicism that is emblematic of Korean identity is still reflected within the South Korean education system. The Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) in the United Nations (UN) stated “pure-blooded” ideology and the notions of ethnic

¹³⁷ Ainley, John, Wolfram Schulz, and Tim Friedman. *ICCS 2009 Encyclopedia: Approaches to civic and citizenship education around the world*. 2013. pg. 230

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

homogeneity have resulted in various forms of discrimination in Korea.”¹⁴¹ For example, when Ms. Sonia Strawn tried to collect a free subway ticket that is provided by the government for anyone over 65, she is denied because she is a foreigner, even though she has been a resident of South Korea for over 45 years.¹⁴² Michael Stevens, a foreigner married to a Korean national, said “for most it is nearly impossible to receive a Korean credit card, even though [foreigners] have a good credit rating in our home country... Korea is very unfair to foreign men.”¹⁴³ Both of these situations represent the existing prejudice to foreigners in South Korea.

The CERD recommends that the Korean government include human rights awareness programs in its curriculum. Up until February 2007, social studies and civic education textbooks mentioned, “Korea consists of one ethnic group. We, Koreans, look similar and use the same language.”¹⁴⁴ Thus, when South Koreans are socialized by this mono-ethnic ideology at an age where individuals are most susceptible in forming their values, this creates disjunction in the perception of defectors, because they do not fit into the mono-ethnic paradigm. In 2009, the MEST has since changed the characterization of the demographic makeup of South Korea. The MEST has determined Koreans to still be an “ethnically homogeneous people” who “speak a common language.”¹⁴⁵ However, in modern Korean society, there is more multiculturalism as a result of the increase in migrants, and the “homogeneity of Koreans became less distinguished.”¹⁴⁶ Despite recently changed government guidelines that recommend the

¹⁴¹ UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), *UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: Addendum to the Fourteenth Periodic Reports of State Parties Due in 2006, Republic of Korea* 18 August 2006; page 7, para. 27. CERD/C/KOR/14.

¹⁴² Strawn, Sonia Reid, “How to Make Foreigners Feel Welcome Here”, *The Korea Times*, Mar. 18, 2009

¹⁴³ Stevens, Michael “Gender Equality for Foreign Husbands”, *The Korea Times*, Jun. 30, 2008

¹⁴⁴ UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), *UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: Addendum to the Fourteenth Periodic Reports of State Parties Due in 2006, Republic of Korea* 18 August 2006; page 7, para. 27. CERD/C/KOR/14.

¹⁴⁵ *Education in Korea 2009*. Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2009. pg. 6

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

avoidance of phrases such as “*danil minjok*,” or united ethnic people and “*han minjok*,” textbooks still implicitly incorporate these ethnocentric ideologies.¹⁴⁷

Still though, since 2009 there has been a growing trend towards cosmopolitanism. In 2009, the South Korean government made the incorporation of multicultural content mandatory.¹⁴⁸ Kang’s study analyzed 200 government-authorized literature textbooks for multicultural content.¹⁴⁹ Themes that addressed multiculturalism include “explanation of cultural pluralism, cultural difference, and human rights in multicultural/global contexts.”¹⁵⁰ Another theme that emerged was “appropriate attitudes in multicultural society.”¹⁵¹ In spite of the global themes, there are tensions between Korea’s multicultural agenda and a strong sense of Korean nationalism. Common themes within textbooks include the superiority of Korean ethnicity, language, and culture. Several high-school textbooks contain detailed explanations as to the importance of Korean culture and language along with recognition and positive sentiments towards Korean culture.¹⁵² A specific example is the description of the Korean language as innovative and convenient to use.¹⁵³ When cosmopolitan content is integrated into the curriculum, including topics of ethnicities/race, gender, and ableism, these topics are portrayed in a way that reinforces prejudice and stereotypes. For example, Africans were solely represented

¹⁴⁷ Kang Mi Ok. *Multicultural Education in South Korea: Language, Ideology and Culture in Korean Language Arts Education*. 2015. pg. 37

¹⁴⁸ Kang Mi Ok. *Multicultural Education in South Korea: Language, Ideology and Culture in Korean Language Arts Education*. pg. 36

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* pg.127-129

¹⁵⁰ Kim, S.-W, M.-S Seo, C.H- Shin, J.-H Shin, Y.-J Oh, and D.-Y Lee. *Daily Korean*. 1st ed. Vol. 9. Seoul: Changbi, 2012.

¹⁵¹ Bang, M.-H, H.-K Ah, H.-S Park, H. Park, C.-K Choi, and J.-M Hwang. *Korean Language Arts 8-1*; Lee, Y.-N, B.-Y Lee, J.-H Lee, J.-H Park, H.-H Lee, J.-W Kim, and J.-Y Park. *Korean Language Arts*.; Oh, S.-Y, M.-S Yoo, S.-R Park, H.-S Cho, S.-C Jung, and I.-S Noh. *Daily Korean 9-1*.

¹⁵² Bang, M.-H, H.-K Ah, H.-S Park, H. Park, C.-K Choi, and J.-M Hwang. *Korean Language Arts 8-1*; Kim, J.-C., C.-D. Lee, M.-C Lee, Y.-K Hwang, H.-J Hwang, and T.-K Oh. *Korean Language Arts 9-1*; Wang, M.-Y, J.-S Seo, H. Um, Y.-K Sim, S.-M Choi, H.-J Pi, and S.-Y Lee. *Daily Korean 7-1*; Yoon, Y.-T., S.-M Yoon, H.-Y Cho, Y.-H Yoo, J.-W Kim, and J.-H Song. *Korean Language Arts 8-2*; Yoon, Y.-T., S.-M Yoon, H.-Y Cho, Y.-H Yoo, J.-W Kim, and J.-H Song. *Korean Language Arts 8-1*

¹⁵³ Y.-T., S.-M Yoon, H.-Y Cho, Y.-H Yoo, J.-W Kim, and J.-H Song. *Korean Language Arts 8-2*; Kim, S.-W, M.-S Seo, C.H- Shin, J.-H Shin, Y.-J Oh, and D.-Y Lee. *Daily Korean*. 1st ed. Vol. 9. Seoul: Changbi, 2012

as having a low socio-economic status, which reinforces prejudice.¹⁵⁴ The inclusion of “cosmopolitan” content in these instances does more harm than help.

Based on the portrayals of cosmopolitanism in South Korean textbooks, teachers’ perceptions of citizenship education are no surprise. In the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study, a cross-national study by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement completed in 2009, one of the tests was a teacher questionnaire that included items for teachers to rank as the three most important aims of citizenship education. One of the components included “supporting the development of effective strategies for the fight against racism and xenophobia.”¹⁵⁵ In South Korea, only one teacher believed that the aforementioned components were one of the three most important aims of citizenship education. At 0.1%, South Korea had one of the lowest percentages in this factor out of the 27 countries that were given this questionnaire. Instead, teachers believe that citizenship education should focus more on “promoting knowledge of citizens’ rights and responsibilities.”¹⁵⁶

South Korean textbooks fail to build solidarity. These textbooks do not conceptualize foreigners as “one of us,” instead they are conceptualized as others. Furthermore, stories that address prejudice or discrimination in textbooks do not use Korea as an example to avoid portraying South Korea in a negative light.¹⁵⁷ Instead, publishers use settings outside of South Korea to illustrate examples of prejudice or discrimination. Many textbook authors and editors take an “unsophisticated approach to multicultural issues,” instead, “treating instances of prejudice against different others as individual issues rather than as socio-cultural, political, and

¹⁵⁴ Kang, Mi Ok. *Multicultural Education in South Korea: Language, Ideology and Culture in Korean Language Arts Education*. pg. 36

¹⁵⁵ Ainley, John, Wolfram Schulz, and Tim Friedman. *ICCS 2009 Encyclopedia: Approaches to civic and citizenship education around the world*. pg. 231

¹⁵⁶ Kang, Mi Ok. *Multicultural Education in South Korea: Language, Ideology and Culture in Korean Language Arts Education*. pg. 36

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* pg.147

structural problems.”¹⁵⁸ Although educational curriculum was intended to be “value neutral”, the government lacked the time and the political will to make the fundamental changes in every subject by 2010.¹⁵⁹ The false neutrality within the curriculum represents a lack of solidarity, a necessary component for a cosmopolitan approach within the curriculum.

North Korean Representation

Several studies have been conducted to assess the representation of North Korean in South Korean curriculum. For example, Sengwoo Park conducted a study in 2010 in which he examined twenty South Korean textbooks in the fields of social studies, ethics, and politics. Within these textbooks, although all of them dealt with “the issue of reunification with North Korea...as an important agenda and a problem that must be solved, they approached the issue from a purely political and economic point of view.”¹⁶⁰ The textbooks talk about the benefits of reunification in advancing the technology, economy, and culture of Korea as well as how the international community wants reunification so that Northeast Asia can have increased security and peace.¹⁶¹ The lack of focus on North Korea through a human rights lens has consequences in how defectors are perceived by South Koreans. In addition to the textbook analysis, Park also conducted a survey of 300 high school students and 300 college students who were living in Seoul.¹⁶² According to Park, 77% of the high school students and 90% of the college students believed that defectors are discriminated in South Korea.¹⁶³ Most students in this study had incorrect information about defectors and the human rights situation in North Korea. The factor that most contributed to this phenomenon was “the lack of education on the issue of [North

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. pg. 119

¹⁶⁰ Park, Sengwoo. "Education and Awareness of the North Korean Defectors' Human Rights." *Political Crossroads*. pg. 72

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid. pg. 70

¹⁶³ Ibid.

Korean defectors and the human rights situation],” causing exposure to “erroneous information and preconceptions” that include beliefs that defectors are lazy, incompetent, and are inferior because they cannot assimilate to South Korean society. These beliefs “cause dissatisfaction and discrimination of North Korean [defectors].”¹⁶⁴

In a study mentioned earlier in this section, Kang analyzed textbooks for another theme, “cultural kinship among North and South Koreans.”¹⁶⁵ Themes that aligned with this topic include “problems many North Koreans encountered in South Korea.”¹⁶⁶ Another topic was “North Koreans who had escaped from North Korea and struggled with social prejudice in South Korea.”¹⁶⁷ These themes show that some textbooks do address North Korean defectors. However, these themes come into tension with the strong legacy of nationalism and South Korean identity that exists within South Korean citizenship education. Representation of North Korean defectors possesses qualities of paternalism. South Koreans are seen as “benevolent hosts” to the defectors.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, in some textbooks, defectors are portrayed in such a way that assumes that they would be able to easily integrate into South Korean culture. Such portrayals contribute to an ignorance of the difficulties that defectors face in South Korea.

Dennis Hart’s study examines the school history lessons adapted by South Korea. He argues that the motivating factor in these lessons is not necessarily creating a national identity “based primarily upon traditional and historical legacies.”¹⁶⁹ Rather, South Korea promotes an interpretation of history that “confirms the ideology and modern circumstances of the [current]

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. pg. 71

¹⁶⁵ Kang, Mi Ok. *Multicultural Education in South Korea: Language, Ideology and Culture in Korean Language Arts Education*. pg.129

¹⁶⁶ Kwon, Y.-M, J.D- Lee, J.-S- Koo, S.-K Kim, D.W- Choi, and Y.S- Kim. *Daily Korean 7-1*. Seoul: Saerom Gyoyuk, 2010.;

¹⁶⁷ Nam, M.Y-, H.J- Kim, C.G- Heo, K.H- Lee, Y.-K Jung, and Kim. *Daily Korean 7-1*. Seoul: Gyohaksa, 2010.

¹⁶⁸ Kang, Mi Ok. *Multicultural Education in South Korea: Language, Ideology and Culture in Korean Language Arts Education*. pg.37

¹⁶⁹ Hart, Dennis. "Proclaiming Identity, Claiming the Past: National Identity and Modernity in North and South Korean Education." (2000) pg. 135

state.”¹⁷⁰ Schools textbooks do not necessarily reflect a nation’s history, but what its history should be remembered as. Since the government authorizes textbooks, this allows room for political ideology to be disseminated through education.

Unification policy plays a large role in the South Korean government’s representation of North Korea in the education curriculum. Currently, the government seeks to reverse trends of decreasing support for unification. Under the Park Geun-hye administration, the Ministry of Unification in South Korea has put forward several policy changes to ease the increasing negative attitudes of reunification. In the latest White Paper on Korean Unification, the South Korean government recognizes that “uniting peoples’ hearts is a more important and challenging task than consolidating territory and systems.”¹⁷¹ Therefore, Korean society needs to be “more open to differences and foster a sense of community based on sharing, caring, tolerance, and trust.”¹⁷² In accordance with this vision, the current South Korean administration strives to broaden public opinion on unification through education. In 2013, the government declared the first Unification Education Week. To prepare for implementation, the Institute of Unification Education provided training to facilitators who would disseminate the education across the country for the future. Another initiative is the creation of credit-approved online courses on unification education.¹⁷³

The government published *Guidelines for Unification Education* for both general usage and school usage. In addition, the government has developed educational materials for unification purposes. This includes basic textbooks, themed lectures, and video materials. Key content of the material includes, “unification issues, unification policy and approach” and

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ 2014 White Paper on Korean Unification. Republic of Korea Ministry of Unification, pg. 5

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

“explanations on views of North Korea” including its “ruling ideology, education, and social structure and daily life of the people.”¹⁷⁴ Other topics include “enhancing understanding of the contradictions of North Korean society” and “understanding the cultural homogeneity between the two countries.”¹⁷⁵ There are also 17 regional unification education centers that implemented 2, 493 trainings.¹⁷⁶ The concerted effort by the South Korean government on unification in education policy demonstrates an effort to shift national consciousness.

Despite the unification policy, current policies do not directly address the discrimination and injustice experienced by the North Korea defector population. Unification policy does not address the root cause of the issue. This leaves ample opportunity for the citizenship education curriculum to marginalize North Koreans, which engenders the discrimination and prejudice towards defectors. Furthermore, the leading justification for unification is one of economic benefit to South Korea, signifying a social efficiency approach. A shift towards a more society-centered, cosmopolitan national curriculum is imperative for the social integration process because the reach of government unification programs is limited compared to the pervasive, state-controlled standardized curriculum. Citizens should be socialized to understand that “the whole population deserves civil, social, political, human and cultural rights, which creates the conditions for greater equality.”¹⁷⁷

Textbook Analysis

Assessing textbook content allows for an analysis of the priorities in identity formation of a nation-state because they are embedded with political, social, and economic ideologies.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ 2014 White Paper on Korean Unification. Republic of Korea Ministry of Unification, pg. 258

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. pg. 245

¹⁷⁷ Lacroix, Chantal. "Social Integration." In *Immigrants, Literature and National Integration*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) pg. 113

¹⁷⁸ Apple, Michael W. "The Text and Cultural Politics." *Educational Researcher* (1992) pg. 18-33; Altbach, Phillip. "Textbooks: The International Dimension." In *Politics of the Textbook* (1991) pg. 242-258; De Castell, Suzanne.

Academics have analyzed how textbooks serve as mechanisms for nation-states to transfer values, knowledge, and identity in future generations.¹⁷⁹ In South Korea, textbook production is highly centralized. There are three types of national textbooks. Type I is published by the MEST. Type II textbooks are authorized by MEST. Finally, Type III textbooks are designated by MEST as relevant to national curriculum standards. Interestingly, MEST produces and directly publishes all textbooks for the study of Korean language, ethics, and Korean history.¹⁸⁰ To this extent, I will provide a brief analysis of two different South Korean social studies textbooks on what content within the textbooks correspond with cosmopolitan themes. Both of these textbooks are from the same publisher, Bobmunsa (보문사). One textbook is from the first year of middle school. The other textbook is from the first year of high school. I will also examine how North Korea is portrayed. In line with the methodology involved in Kang's study, I will identify general, cosmopolitan themes across the two textbooks, specifically *First Year Middle School Textbook Reader for Society Course* (중학교 사회) and *First Year High School Textbook Reader for Society Course* (고등학교 사회), both published by in 2012, and provide specific examples that fit into these themes.¹⁸¹ Because textbooks are state-controlled, these textbooks are used widely across both public and private schools in South Korea.

After analyzing the two texts, the three cosmopolitan themes across both textbooks are globalization, multiculturalism, and human rights. In my analysis, I will go through each theme and identify the sections within each textbook that align with each theme. I will then provide

"Playing by the Book: The Problem of Textbook Knowledge." *The Journal of Educational Thought* (1990) pg.110-13.

¹⁷⁹ Apple, Michael W., and Linda Christian-Smith. *The Politics of the Textbook*. Avery, Patricia, and Annette Simmons. "Civic Life as Conveyed in United States Civics and History Textbooks."

¹⁸⁰ Moon, Rennie J., and Jeong-Woo Koo. "Global Citizenship and Human Rights: A Longitudinal Analysis of Social Studies and Ethics Textbooks in the Republic of Korea." *Comparative Education Review*. pg. 582

¹⁸¹ Hereto referred as "high school textbook" and "middle school textbook"

examples and a quick summary of each section, which will enable me to draw comparisons between the two examples.

Under the theme of “globalization”, the sections that aligned with this theme at the high school level are “Changes in the Culture of Modern Society” (*Hyun-dae Saw-hwa Ae Moon-hwa Byun-Dong*), “International Trade” (*Gook-jae Guh-ri wa Sae-gyae Hwa*), and “Globalization’s Impact” (*Sae gye Hwa-ri Yung –yang*).¹⁸² In “Changes in the Culture of Modern Society”, there is an overview of culture and its evolution. The emphasis is on how culture has evolved through globalization. South Korea is used as a case study in this chapter.¹⁸³ The “International Trade” section has an emphasis on how international trade is driving connections between people of different cultures and that remaining globally competitive is important.¹⁸⁴ This is reminiscent of the social efficiency approach. The last section in the high school textbook under this theme is “Globalization’s Impact”. This section speaks to the economic, cultural, and legal implications for globalization. Economic implications are that the international economy encourages services and a job market to emerge in underdeveloped countries.¹⁸⁵ Cultural implications have to do with the increased flow of information and ideas that can shape society.¹⁸⁶ Legal implications include the formation of international law that can take precedence over national law.¹⁸⁷ In the middle school level, the relevant topic is “Religious and Cultural Landscapes” (*Moon-hwa Kyung-kwan Ae Hyung Sang Gwa Jong-gyo Gyung gwan*).¹⁸⁸ In this section, the key idea was that the increased movement of people has created more porous

¹⁸² Lee, D.H-, S.H- Ki, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, I.H- Jang, and S.M- Song. *First Year High School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. pg. 174-179; pg. 286-290; pg. 306-310

¹⁸³ Ibid. pg. 176

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. pg. 288-289

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. pg. 306

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. pg. 308

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. pg. 309

¹⁸⁸ Kim, S.H-, D.H- Lee, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, and S.M- Song. *First Year Middle School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. Seoul: Bobmunsa, 2012. pg. 106-11

boundaries between nation-states, allowing ideas and norms to spread widely.¹⁸⁹ Across both of these textbooks, globalization is presented in a descriptive, knowledge-centered process. There is also some emphasis on the social efficiency approach through the emphasis of the economic implications of globalization.

Included within the theme of multiculturalism, sections within the high school textbook, “The Nature of Multicultural Society” (*Da-Moon Hwa Sah-hwae wa Moon-hwa Kal dong*) becomes more relevant.¹⁹⁰ This section addresses multiculturalism within South Korea. There are statistics presented about the growth of multicultural families due to South Koreans getting married to migrant workers.¹⁹¹ This sections also outlines the various barriers to integration in the linguistic, economic, and cultural spheres.¹⁹² Furthermore, across both textbooks, this is the only section where North Korean defectors are explicitly addressed. The information about the defectors and its translation are quoted below:

“문화적 특성을 지닌 북한 이탈 주민이 있다. 북한을 탈출하여 남한에 정착한 북한 이탈 주민들을 외국인들만큼이나 남한 사회에 적응하는 데 어려움을 겪고 있다. 북한 이탈 주민의 수는 1990년대 중반 이후 급증하여 2006년에는 2,000명을 넘어섰다.”

“North Korean defectors are in a unique position. Upon defection to South Korea, South Korean citizens disregard the possibility that defectors may have the same difficulties faced by migrants from other countries in South Korean society. However, this is not the case. The number of defectors has been growing since the mid-1990s. In 2006, the number of defectors exceeded to over 2,000.”¹⁹³

Although the challenges of defectors are mentioned, the total content on defectors amounts to four sentences. As a result, content about defectors is not comprehensive within these textbooks.

In the middle school textbook, relevant sections include “Diverse Cultural Perspectives” (*Moon-*

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. pg. 106-107

¹⁹⁰ Lee, D.H-, S.H- Ki, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, I.H- Jang, and S.M- Song. *First Year High School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. pg. 180-182; pg. 74-79

¹⁹¹ Ibid. pg.181

¹⁹² Ibid. pg. 182

¹⁹³ Ibid. pg. 181

hwa ae Bo-neun Da-yang han Kwan-Jum), “Cultural Acceptance” (*Moon-hwa Soo-yong ae Ba-ram Chik-han Tae-do*), and “Discrimination and Prejudice” (*Cha-hi Cha-byul Geu-ri-go Sah-hwae Bul Pyung Deung*).¹⁹⁴ “Diverse Cultural Perspectives” presents different paradigms for evaluating the culture of others. These paradigms include ethnocentrism and cultural imperialism.¹⁹⁵ Discrimination and prejudice speaks to the differences between individuals based on aspects of identity, such as age and ability. This section also mentions prejudice disadvantaging certain people because of their identity.¹⁹⁶ The section concludes with a call to celebrate diversity and eliminate prejudice.¹⁹⁷ “Cultural Acceptance” condemns violence and murder because of cultural differences.¹⁹⁸ In accordance with Kang’s finding of examples of prejudice being portrayed outside of Korea, the example of prejudice involved Arab people.

The sections in the high school textbook for the theme of human rights are “Human Rights Law and Social Justice” (*Beob-kwa In-kwon Bo-jang Beet Sa-hwae Jung-hee Shil-hyun*).¹⁹⁹ “Human Rights Law and Social Justice” covers a brief history of the human rights discourse beginning with Western canonical texts such as the Magna Carta and the role of law in maintaining those rights.²⁰⁰ There are also concepts introduced such as natural rights and the social contract.²⁰¹ The middle school section is called “The Development of Human Rights” (*In-*

¹⁹⁴ Kim, S.H-, D.H- Lee, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, and S.M- Song. *First Year Middle School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. Seoul: Bobmunsa, 2012. pg. 212-215; pg. 216; pg. 194-197

¹⁹⁵ Ethnocentrism is the judgment of another country with just the values of one’s own culture. Cultural toadyism is the extolling another’s control at the expense of one’s own culture. Cultural imperialism is the creation and reproduction of unequal power structures within one’s culture. Allyship is advocacy on behalf of a society that is usually marginalized.

¹⁹⁶ Kim, S.H-, D.H- Lee, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, and S.M- Song. *First Year Middle School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. Seoul: Bobmunsa, 2012. pg. 195

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. pg. 196

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. pg. 216

¹⁹⁹ Lee, D.H-, S.H- Ki, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, I.H- Jang, and S.M- Song. *First Year High School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. pg. 196-200; pg. 202-206

²⁰⁰ Ibid. 196

²⁰¹ Natural rights are universal, inalienable rights that are not contingent upon a particular culture or government. The social contract is a theory that legitimizes the authority of the state. In this theory, individuals give authority to a leader in exchange for protection of their rights.

kwon Oi-shik Ae Ban Dal).²⁰² This section also provides a brief overview of the human rights discourse beginning with the Magna Carta and cites various movements that advocated for rights, such as the Women's Suffrage Movement.²⁰³

Analysis shows that cosmopolitan themes are incorporated into social studies textbooks in South Korea. However, these themes comprise only a small portion of the textbook. In the high school textbook these topics cover 27 pages of a 319-page textbook, meaning that listed sections that align with the cosmopolitan themes cover 8.5% of the textbook curriculum. This contrasts sharply with an entire 30-page section devoted solely to Korean geography.²⁰⁴ There were also 29 pages devoted to industrialization and development.²⁰⁵ Judging from curriculum coverage alone, measured by the number of textbook pages devoted to a topic, there is an implicit message being sent to students that topics like Korean geography and industrialization are more important than values and concepts that align with cosmopolitanism. Likewise, in the middle school textbook, there are 14 pages of a 277-page textbook devoted to cosmopolitan themes, amounting to 5.1%. The small percentage of content is indicative of the hidden curriculum.

The dearth of cosmopolitanism presented in these textbooks sends a message that values and beliefs associated with topics of multiculturalism, human rights, and global citizenship are unimportant. Furthermore, although the textbooks explicitly supported cosmopolitan values, there is a counteractive implicit message to these values. These implicit messages reinforced Korean nationalism by suggesting that migrants should adopt Korean identity, culture, and

²⁰² Kim, S.H-, D.H- Lee, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, and S.M- Song. *First Year Middle School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. Seoul: Bobmunsa, 2012. pg. 264-265

²⁰³ Ibid. 265

²⁰⁴ Lee, D.H-, S.H- Ki, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, I.H- Jang, and S.M- Song. *First Year High School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. pg.12-43

²⁰⁵ Ibid. pg. 136-164

language to join the imagined community. Diverse cultures, identities, and languages are only valued if it contributes to the future economic growth of South Korea.

RESEARCH STUDY

Overview of Methodology

This research study used a qualitative mode of inquiry. The primary data-gathering tool that was used was a semi-structured protocol-based interview. This tool is used to collect information “on past or present behaviors and experiences.”²⁰⁶ Within a semi-structured interview process, there are standardized questions for all the respondents alongside probes to ensure that this study covers the right information. Probes are used to clarify a respondent’s answer and encourage the respondent to elaborate on an answer. I used this tool to capture the intricacies of topics like citizenship education and perception of North Korean defectors. I also used this tool so that I could thoroughly understand the perspectives of each respondent.

To test my hypotheses, I designed a protocol with twenty questions that were administered to ten respondents (See Appendix for protocol). Questions were designed to address the six different hypotheses and also gain background information and broader understanding of the landscape of citizenship education as well as public opinion towards North Korea and North Korean defectors. Then, I reached out to about eight friends I knew who were international students from South Korea and asked to either interview them via e-mail or Facebook. Conducting outreach led to four of the interviews.

This study originally intended to have a sampling of North Korean defectors, who could have spoken directly to the challenges that they face in integrating into South Korean society. After speaking with several people, including individuals who have completed academic and

²⁰⁶ Harrell, Margaret C., and Melissa Bradley. *Data Collection Methods: Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009. pg. 35

policy work on defectors, who informed that defectors were unlikely to speak to me because they are too busy with their lives with work, school, and other things. Furthermore, I was told that interviewing defectors would take an immense amount of patience, planning, trust, and time. I concluded that this path would be possible, especially given the time and financial constraints.

The impossibility of interviewing defectors is consistent with the argument that defectors prefer to hide their status as defectors, validating that defectors may choose to do so to avoid being discriminated against. As a result, the inclusion criteria of this study shifted to 19-24 year olds who were educated in either public or private South Korean schools in either middle and/or high school. I was able to recruit 10 Korean international students at the University of Pennsylvania. Respondents were identified through referrals from other respondents and my personal acquaintances. Prior to being interviewed, I obtained informed consent from each respondent. Below is the basic demographic information for each respondent:

<u>Interviewee</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Served in Military</u>	<u>Education in South Korea</u>
Hae-Song Yang	21	Male	No	K-8
Min Ki Kim	22	Male	Yes	K-8
Or-sang Lee	21	Male	No	K-12
Donna Doeun Lee	21	Female	No	K-12
Simon Sangmin Park	22	Male	Yes	K-12
Dave Nam	22	Male	Yes	4th-12
Jasmine Jina Bae	23	Female	No	K-12
Tae Hoon Kim	21	Male	No	2nd-4th/6th-8th
Ashley Yeona Son	22	Female	No	3rd-12
Haewon Lee	19	Female	No	K-12

*Note: Respondents gave me permission to use either their name or a pseudonym in this paper

Because of my limited connections with Korean students who went through the South Korean education system, convenience sampling was used. I chose to interview respondents who were in close proximity to me. I also used cluster sampling, or sampling that reaches one geographic area, to focus the research to undergraduate students or recent graduates at the

University of Pennsylvania. I used cluster sampling to ensure that the respondents of this study went through the South Korean education system for at least two years during middle and/or high school. Cluster sampling in this study also relates to my use of judgment sampling, or sampling done on respondents' previous knowledge on the topic. It is essential to this study that the respondents had knowledge of the Korean education system. Finally, snowball sampling was used in this research study. At the end of each interview, I asked respondents to recommend the names of other potential respondents whom they knew also went through the South Korean education system. As my knowledge of the Korean community at the University of Pennsylvania is sparse, snowball sampling was useful. The bulk of my respondents came as a result of snowball sampling.

Limitations of the sampling methodologies include the “overrepresentation of a single, networked group.”²⁰⁷ As students at the University of Pennsylvania, it is likely that the majority of respondents are high-achieving students. Furthermore, it is likely that the majority of students come from families with a higher socioeconomic status. A mitigating factor of this concern is that the centralized nature of South Korean education equates to a high level of standardization across different schools in South Korea, regardless of socioeconomic status. Another limitation is that these students are more inclined to be cosmopolitan because they study outside South Korea, which may bias them against the argument I make. However, I address this concern by designing the protocol to be focused on asking about the respondents' experiences while in South Korea. Strengths of using a semi-structured interview are that replication is possible of this study and that there may be standardization for at least some of the questions. The format of the interview also allows a greater degree of respondent autonomy, which can allow respondents to better

²⁰⁷ Ibid. pg. 32

express themselves.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, another strength is that this protocol increased the probability that I would find data on phenomenon that I did not expect, such as the experience of mandatory military service for South Korean males, which affected their views towards North Korean defectors.

Data Collection

The interviews were conducted in English, lasting anywhere between 45 minutes and an hour, depending on how much the respondents wanted to speak about their views. The protocol was designed with a funnel method, which uses broad, general questions, which then lead to more focused questions.²⁰⁹ The interview questions were tailored to each individual respondent. Because many respondents came from similar educational backgrounds, including the same high school, accuracy of responses could be cross-checked to a certain degree. Respondents were encouraged to speak freely on their views and experiences regarding citizenship education, North Korea, and North Korean defectors. Interviews were conducted at local library facilities at the University of Pennsylvania. All interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis. All interviews were recorded and partially transcribed. Responses are grouped together below by emergent themes that are connected to and align with each of the proposed hypotheses. Each of the hypotheses is supported by data multiple respondents.²¹⁰ For all respondents, this was the first time they have ever taken part in an interview for a research study.

In regards to the socio-demographic profiles of the research participants, there were four females and six males who were from the ages of 19 to 23 years old ($M= 21.4$, $SD=1.3$). Three respondents went through mandatory military service (30%, $n=3$). Seven respondents went

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Harrell, Margaret C., and Melissa Bradley. *Data Collection Methods: Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009. pg. 14

²¹⁰ Cohen, Louis, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison. *Research Methods in Education*. 5th ed. London: Routledge, 2003.

through the South Korean education system in both middle school and high school (70%, $n=7$). Three respondents went through the South Korean education system up to middle school (30%, $n=3$). Four of the respondents attended Daewon Foreign Language High School (40%, $n=4$) and three of the respondents attended Korean Minjok Leadership Academy (30%, $n=3$). Both schools are specialized, private foreign language high schools. Despite being private schools, citizenship curriculum is mandated by the state. Subsequently, citizenship education received in both of these schools is identical to citizenship education received in public schools.

Qualitative Analysis: Cases

For each hypothesis, I provide a brief overview of each hypothesis. I then analyze the interview data and apply it in a relevant discussion. I then support the conclusion for each hypothesis with specific quotes. H1, H2, H3, H5, and H6 are supported by the data from the interviews. H4 is marginally supported.

H1: South Korean attitudes make it difficult for North Korean defectors to acquire cultural citizenship to effectively integrate into South Korean society.

South Korean monoculture and Confucianist attitudes originated during Japanese colonialism of South Korea. To test the impact of South Korean attitudes on North Korean defectors as well as perceptions on how well defectors integrate, I used question 15, or “What do you think South Korean public opinion on North Korea is?” I wanted to make sure to capture the distinction between North Korea and North Korean defectors, so I also asked question 16, or “What do you think South Korean public opinion on North Korea defectors is?” I asked question 17 “How do you think North Korean defectors are treated in South Korea?” to figure out how attitudes may impact defector integration. Finally, through questions 10-12, I ask for the respondents’ personal views on North Korea and North Korean defectors. Given my hypothesis,

I expect that respondents will say that defectors face discrimination because they are not seen as cultural citizens.

40% of respondents (40%, $n=4$) acknowledged the mixed nature of viewpoints on their perception of South Korean public opinion on North Korea and North Korean defectors. 30% of respondents (30%, $n=3$) said that South Koreans felt apathetic about North Korea. The apathy and indifference towards North Korea represents a lack of interest in this topic. Nine respondents (90%, $n=9$) felt that defectors were discriminated against. When asked about South Korean public opinion on North Korean defectors, one respondent mentioned that South Koreans felt uneasy about “defectors taking over the jobs meant for South Korean people.”²¹¹ The term “taking over” signifies that defectors are others, because the jobs are not meant for them. This reflects a lack of cultural citizenship.

Another respondent felt that although South Koreans “feel sorry for defectors,” they are still “negatively viewed because they are from the oppressive North Korean state.”²¹² Here, we see how a conflation between views on North Korea and the views on North Korean defectors contribute to an understanding of socio-cultural and political differences that otherizes defectors from the South Korean monoculture. In regards to personal views on North Korean defectors, one respondent felt that defectors are discriminated against because “their accent is easily recognizable.”²¹³ Here, we see how linguistic differences indicate an inability to subscribe to cultural citizenship. In line with the theme of defector discrimination, another respondent stated that defectors “are not getting enough resources” and that “workplaces don’t really hire defectors because they don’t have enough experience and that the employer will feel more comfortable

²¹¹ Park, Simon Sangmin. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 22, 2015

²¹² Lee, Donna Doeun. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

²¹³ Nam, Dave. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.

with a South Korean employee”.²¹⁴ Another respondent said that she “felt bad for defectors knowing that it’s hard for them adjust when they defect” and that “they are viewed differently from South Koreans.”²¹⁵ The consistent theme across the respondents of defectors being discriminated against shows that despite receiving legal citizenship, South Koreans have negative attitudes towards the linguistic, political, and socio-cultural differences of defectors. As a result defectors cannot acquire cultural citizenship. Thus, H1 can be seen to be true.

H2: South Korean cultural attitudes embrace the hanminjok ideology.

Based on the “Case Study: South Korea” section of this paper, the hanminjok, or the “one Korean people” ideology is evident within the textbook analysis. There was not an explicit question regarding hanminjok ideology. However, it was referenced by respondents in questions such as question 3, “What’s your take on citizenship education during middle school and/or high school years?” question 6, “ How was North Korea portrayed in your education?”, and question 18, “What are your views on unification?” The responses to these questions revealed the emergence of the theme of hanminjok ideology as part of South Korean cultural attitudes.

Across the responses to the aforementioned questions, five respondents explicitly cited hanminjok ideology (50%, n=5). One respondent said that the learning of hanminjok was “very much about the Korean people,” including a “common history and culture and Confucianist values.”²¹⁶ Here, we see evidence of the Korean national identity shaped by Confucianism. Hanminjok is representative of nationalistic consciousness that was necessary to galvanize Koreans during Japanese colonialism. Another respondent described hanminjok in relation to other groups, she described how hanminjok contributes to “hostility to multiculturalism” and that

²¹⁴ Lee, Donna Doeun. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

²¹⁵ Bae, Jasmine Jina. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.

²¹⁶ Lee, Oh-sang. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

the prevalence of this ideology dictates that such hostility “is not considered a large issue.”²¹⁷ Hanminjok is used by the state as a unifying mechanism to build a strong national identity.

This ideology is also used to justify unification and the conferment of legal citizenship upon North Korean defectors. One respondent stated that North Koreans and South Koreans are “one people” because “they have the same historical roots.”²¹⁸ Subsequently, the South Korean government should provide benefits to defectors, because “it is part of South Korea’s responsibility to take care of defectors.”²¹⁹ However, the hanminjok ideology is enough to justify the conferment of only legal, and not cultural citizenship. It is the tension between defectors fitting into the paradigm of legal citizenship and not cultural citizenship that generates the discrimination and prejudice towards defectors. Thus, we see a connection between H1 and H2 in how hanminjok ideology contributes to cultural attitudes that make it difficult for defectors to be cultural citizens. For these reasons, H2 is validated by the data from the interviews.

H3: North Korean defectors are not viewed as cultural citizens.

The prevalence of hanminjok ideology influences values and attitudes to where North Korean defectors are not perceived as cultural citizens. To gauge this hypothesis, I asked question 12, “What are your views towards North Korean defectors?” I framed this question in terms of whether the respondent saw defectors as “citizens” or “foreigners” to get a better sense of how the respondent perceived defectors in regards to citizenship. I also asked question 14, “Have you ever interacted with a North Korean defector?” to get a sense of whether personal interactions affected attitudes towards defectors. Based on the data, it is clear that North Korean defectors are not seen as cultural citizens.

²¹⁷ Bae, Jasmine Jina. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.

²¹⁸ Yang, Hae-Song. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 15, 2015.

²¹⁹ Park, Simon Sangmin. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 22, 2015.

Seven respondents state that they see North Korean defectors as citizens (70%, $n=7$). Amongst the other respondents, one respondent felt that defectors were in between the realm of citizen and foreigner. Another respondent felt that defectors “were supposed to be citizens but were not treated that way.”²²⁰ One respondent felt that defectors were foreigners. Although 70% of respondents felt that defectors were seen as citizens, nine respondents (90%, $n=9$) felt that they were discriminated against. One respondent felt that although there is government programming to aid the defectors’ adjustment, there exists “a lot of discrimination, bias and prejudice.”²²¹ Another respondent stated “it is really hard for defectors because public sentiment is not in their favor” and that as a result “many defectors hide their identities.”²²² Another respondent felt that some defectors “adjust more easily because they come in with a high level of education.”²²³ The contrast between defectors being seen as citizens versus the discrimination that defectors face is a testament to defectors receiving legal, but not cultural citizenship.

Additionally, six respondents had personal interaction with North Korean defectors (60%, $n=6$). Prior to this interaction, one respondent thought defectors “were different and inferior” but after interacting with defectors through his military service, he now believes that “defectors are still different, but are courageous, and should be treated with respect.”²²⁴ Another respondent also saw defectors as different. However, after personal interaction, he felt that “despite having a North Korean accent, [this defector] fit in because she was so patriotic to South Korea.”²²⁵ This respondent’s anecdote suggests that ascribing to South Korean national identity is a path to acquire South Korean cultural citizenship. Another respondent stated that after personal

²²⁰ Lee, Donna Doeun. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

²²¹ Kim, Min Ki. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 16, 2015.

²²² Lee, Oh-sang. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

²²³ Bae, Jasmine Jina. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.

²²⁴ Nam, Dave. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.

²²⁵ Kim, Min Ki. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 16, 2015.

interaction, she felt that defectors could be “just like us...normal...like someone who lives next door.”²²⁶ This respondent’s words signify that defectors are not typically seen as cultural citizens, but personal interaction can increase the possibility of defectors being perceived as cultural citizens.

Respondents’ answers align with the conclusions gathered from the experiences of the jishigin, who are able to integrate more effectively because of their higher level of education and socioeconomic status before defecting, which enables them to blend in and assimilate to South Korean society. The jishigin have the knowledge and skills to acquire cultural citizenship more readily than their less educated and poorer counterparts. Defectors are seen as legal citizens, but are treated with discrimination because they do not possess the cultural norms and values that are determined by South Korean society. Education plays a role in shaping these norms.

H4: South Korean cultural attitudes are a function of the formal education system.

To assess the relation between cultural attitudes and the education system, I asked question 3, “What’s your take on citizenship education during middle school and/or high school years?” I also asked question 11, “What factors influence your views on North Korea?” and question 13, “What factors influenced your views towards North Korean defectors?” Within questions 16 and 17, I asked what the respondent believed South Korean public opinion on North Korea and North Korean defectors were. I also asked where they thought these views originated from. According to the responses, H4 is marginally supported.

10% of respondents (10%, $n=1$) felt that their personal views towards the North Korean state came from the school. 40% of respondents (40%, $n=4$) felt that the media strongly influenced their personal views and 50% of respondents (50%, $n=5$) stated that their families

²²⁶ Bae, Jasmine Jina. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.

influenced these views. Comparatively, the media and the family play the largest role in shaping the personal perceptions of the respondents. Personal views towards the North Korean state included negative views on the North Korean government along with the need for unification. One respondent felt that North and South Korea “should be unified in the long run” but felt that “apathy and tax increases if unification occurs” are barriers to unification.²²⁷ 90% of respondents (90%, $n=9$) described North Korea in political and economic terms. In contrast, only one respondent mentioned the human rights issue as part of their perception in North Korea.²²⁸ When asked on their views on factors that shaped South Korean public opinion on North Korea, 100% of respondents (100%, $n=10$) felt that the media shaped South Korean public opinion. 30% of respondents (30%, $n=3$) felt that the family shaped South Korean public opinion. Finally, 20% (20%, $n=2$) felt that education shaped South Korean public opinion on North Korea.

In this study, more respondents cited the media and the family as forces that shape cultural attitudes toward defectors as opposed to education. Justification for this may come from the lack of information on North Korea and defectors in the education system compared to information available from the media or the family. One respondent stated that her education “didn’t talk much about North Korea.”²²⁹ Another respondent said that the portrayal of North Korea in his education “mostly focused on the Korean War.”²³⁰ When asked about how North Korean defectors were portrayed in South Korean education, 70% of respondents (70%, $n=7$) said that they were minimally portrayed or non-existent.²³¹ One respondent stated that in middle school, he did not know defectors existed.²³² According to this information, we cannot conclude

²²⁷ Kim, Min Ki. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 16, 2015.

²²⁸ Kim, Tae-Hoon. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 27, 2015

²²⁹ Lee, Donna Doeun. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

²³⁰ Yang, Hae-Song. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 15, 2015.

²³¹ Lee, Oh-sang. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

²³² Kim, Tae-Hoon. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 27, 2015

that cultural attitudes and values towards defectors are a function of the education system because we cannot distinguish between the effects of different possibilities (i.e. media, family).

One point worth noting is the role of military education in influencing cultural attitudes towards North Korea and defectors. Three of the respondents (30%, $n=3$) fulfilled the mandatory military service that is required of all males, barring health concerns and special circumstances, in their early 20s. One of the respondents who served in the Defense Security Command, a branch responsible for catching North Korean spies, said he was taught chants that said, “We will beat down on those devilish red people.”²³³ Another respondent, who served as a sergeant in the army during his military service stated that there was a mandatory service called “psychological education” (*jungshin gyoyok*), which was a lecture on how crazy and atrocious North Korea is.²³⁴ *Jungshin gyoyok* occurred in his unit every three months, in which North Korea was portrayed as the enemy.²³⁵ The other respondent who went through the military stated that the main focus of military education was to prove how flawed North Korea is.²³⁶ He said that such sessions on North Korea are mandatory.²³⁷ Considering that nearly 50% of the South Korean population goes through this education, this signifies that informal military education is a mechanism that is used by the government to impart values towards North Korea. Informal military education perpetuates a realist mindset; soldiers are trained to have strong, negative feelings towards North Korea. North Korea’s role as another state takes precedence over its identity as a country with citizens who have a longstanding-shared history with South Korea in order to protect the security interests of South Korea.

²³³ Kim, Min Ki. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 16, 2015.

²³⁴ Nam, Dave. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Park, Simon Sangmin. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 22, 2015.

²³⁷ Ibid.

Results of this study cannot conclusively say that South Korean cultural attitudes towards North Korean defectors are a function of the education system. However, there is evidence that education can still be understood to affect cultural attitudes. For example, one respondent, who comes “from the most conservative part of the country “and was raised in a family ”who taught him that North Korea should be considered the enemy, said that the school taught him a narrative “that depicted North and South Koreans as the same ethnic group.”²³⁸ He then said the messages he received in his education affected his views towards North Korea and North Korean defectors.²³⁹

Because of the comparative lack of information on North Korea and North Korean defectors, this signifies to students that this is not a very important issue, especially in the constructivist sense. A constructivist portrayal of North Korea would be more culturally oriented and would represent North Korea as a country with millions of people who are subject to human rights violations. In contrast, North Korea is portrayed in more realist terms that are politically and economically oriented that speak to its power and capabilities. Either North Korea is denounced as a state, as evidenced in military education, or there is a call for unification, primarily for South Korea’s economic benefit. The focus on economic benefit leads to the next hypothesis:

H5: A social efficiency approach-oriented curriculum signifies that other spheres will have greater sway on cultural values.

To test this hypothesis, I asked question 1, “What’s your take on citizenship education during your middle school and/or high school years?” Probes to this question included, “What kinds of topics did you learn?” and “How were these topics taught?” The purpose of this

²³⁸ Kim, Min Ki. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 16, 2015.

²³⁹ Ibid.

question and these probes were to understand to what extent citizenship education was taught in relation to other subjects. Based on the data, H5 is strongly supported.

According to the respondents, 100% (100%, $n=10$) stated that citizenship education was mentioned in “Ethics (도덕)” 70% (of respondents that citizenship education is also present in “Society (사회).” One respondent mentioned that citizenship education was addressed 2-3 hours a week.²⁴⁰ Another respondent said that citizenship education was addressed 1-2 hours a week.²⁴¹ These findings are consistent with the conclusions found in the textbook analysis of the previous section of curriculum taking a social-efficiency approach. One respondent also mentioned that in the South Korean education system, “nobody cares about citizenship education, the focus is on subjects like math and English.”²⁴² Another respondent said the subjects related to citizenship education “were not very informative” and that the information presented was “generic.”²⁴³ Another respondent said that these subjects were not “essential.”²⁴⁴ Furthermore, another respondent stated, “that most teachers did not cover citizenship education.”²⁴⁵

This aligns with the social efficiency approach in the essentialist paradigm of curriculum theory. In this approach much more emphasis is placed on learning that drives the learner towards economic productivity. Subsequently, respondents’ experiences align with human capital theory, where students’ purpose is to develop knowledge and skills for increased productivity. Furthermore, 60% of respondents (60%, $n=6$) stated that knowledge was done in lecture form with one teacher addressing many students. This is representative of the banking

²⁴⁰ Kim, Min Ki. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 16, 2015.

²⁴¹ Lee, Donna Doeun. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

²⁴² Kim, Min Ki. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 16, 2015.

²⁴³ Son, Ashley Yeona. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, March 4, 2015.

²⁴⁴ Lee, Donna Doeun. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

²⁴⁵ Lee, Oh-sang. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

model of education, where teachers deposit knowledge into the student's minds. It is not learner-centered or society-centered.

Because of the lack of emphasis on citizenship education, this is evidence of the hidden curriculum. Based upon the little time spent on citizenship education in the classroom alongside respondent's answers that explicitly state the lack of importance of citizenship education, we can conclude there is an implicit message of the goal of the social efficiency approach and human capital theory within South Korean education. Here, we see evidence of the hidden curriculum at play; *H5* can thus be seen as valid. The results to *H5* can also explain why *H4* is marginally supported. Alongside a lack of emphasis on citizenship education is a lack of emphasis on cosmopolitanism within citizenship education, which leads to the final hypothesis:

H6: Citizenship education does not prioritize a cosmopolitan approach.

According to the case study and the textbook analysis, *H6* is supported. To further test this hypothesis, I asked question 4, "What topics, if any, touched upon minority groups?" and question 5, "What topics, if any, touched upon global issues?" Consistent with the findings of the textbook analysis, South Korean citizenship education does not prioritize cosmopolitanism.

When asked about global topics in citizenship education, 90% of respondents (90%, $n=9$) stated that they learned about globalization and global warning. Topics that were mentioned in global citizenship education include global warming, global geography, global economy, contemporary global history, and Korean foreign policy.²⁴⁶ One respondent mentioned that global topics were not really addressed in his education.²⁴⁷ In regards to minority group portrayal in education, 40% of respondents felt that minority group portrayal was not addressed or that it

²⁴⁶ Yang, Hae-Song. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 15, 2015; Lee, Donna Doeun. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015; Lee, Donna Doeun. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015; Son, Ashley Yeona. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, March 4, 2015.

²⁴⁷ Kim, Min Ki. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 16, 2015.

was a subject that was hardly talked about. 20% of respondents (20%, $n=2$) said that minority group portrayal solely consisted of the fact that they existed. According to one respondent, he felt that South Korean education was “xenophobic, and that it really emphasizes discrimination, unity, and really fosters negative feelings about anything foreign.”²⁴⁸ Another respondent felt that the overall focus of his high school education was on “how to give back to South Korea afterwards.”²⁴⁹ Another respondent stated that because of time constraints, the topic on globalization was skipped through.²⁵⁰ Here, we can see the ethnocentrism and the nationalistic perspective that South Korean education takes. Respondents’ explicitly mention the lack of solidarity and cosmopolitanism within South Korean citizenship education. As a result, H6 can be seen as valid.

Based on this research study, H1, H2, and H3 had strong support. H4 had marginal support as education did not have a direct effect on the cultural attitudes of South Koreans towards North Korean defectors. Although H4 is marginally supported, there is some evidence of cosmopolitan education positively affecting cultural values for purposes of defector integration. For example, one respondent stated that studying the history of Germany and the history of East and West Germans in his high school education allowed him to critically think about the case of North and South Korea.²⁵¹ Strong support was also found for H5 and H6. Below is a chart summarizing the findings and the related qualitative evidence:

No.	Hypothesis:	Findings	Conclusion
H1	South Korean Attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Koreans are apathetic towards North Korea • South Koreans discriminate defectors because they are seen as different from South Koreans 	Supported
H2	Hanminjok Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hanminjok ideology is taught in the 	Supported

²⁴⁸ Lee, Oh-sang. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

²⁴⁹ Nam, Dave. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.

²⁵⁰ Park, Simon Sangmin. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 22, 2015

²⁵¹ Ibid.

		<p>education system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hanminjok is not compatible with multiculturalism • Hanminjok justifies unification but not the equal treatment of North Korean defectors 	
H3	Defector Citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defectors are seen as legal citizens, but not cultural citizens in South Korea • Successful integration of defectors is achieved if they can blend in as South Koreans (jishigin) • Personal interactions with defectors increases perception of cultural citizenship of defectors 	Supported
H4	Cultural Attitudes and Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Korean views on North Korean defectors come primarily from the family and the media • Informal military education perpetuates negative views towards North Korea and affects nearly 50% of the population 	Marginally Supported
H5	Social Efficiency Curriculum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compared to other subjects not much time is spent on citizenship education • Education lacks information on North Korea and North Korean defectors, implying the hidden curriculum of a lack of importance on this topic. This also directs individuals to other resources for information on North Korean and North Korean defectors • South Korean education aligns with the social efficiency approach and human capital theory 	Supported
H6	Cosmopolitanism in Citizenship Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cosmopolitanism is not prioritized within citizenship education • South Korean education is centered upon perpetuating a strong sense of national identity 	Supported

These findings support the argument that cultural attitudes of South Koreans towards North Korean defectors are not conducive to defectors' successful integration. Furthermore, these findings demonstrate that the education system's lack of prioritized cosmopolitan citizenship education contributes to cultural attitudes.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study shows that South Korean cultural attitudes and values are not conducive to the successful integration of North Korean defectors. The education system plays a role in influencing cultural attitudes and values. These theoretical hypotheses are supported by the qualitative data in this research project. Hanminjok ideology is a central theme within South Korean conceptualization of citizenship that plays a dual role in North Korean defector policy. This ideology provides justification for why North Koreans should be awarded legal citizenship. In examining the origins of Hanminjok, this ideology aligns with the realist tradition. Hanminjok ideology crystallized under Japanese colonization so that Korea could maintain a strong national identity that was necessary to its continued existence under Japanese threat. At the same time, the legacy of hanminjok otherizes individuals who do not ascribe to the South Korean conception of identity, which includes cultural norms and values. Subsequently, the same ideology that provides the initial basis of legal citizenship for defectors also serves to alienate defectors on a cultural level. The jishigin are evidence of the disparity between legal citizenship and cultural citizenship. Jishigin are able to successfully integrate because the higher educational status and wealth they possess prior to defecting afford them the knowledge and capital to blend in and pass as South Korean citizens, which grants them full acceptance into South Korean society. Non-jishigin defectors are unable to pass as South Korean citizens and face greater difficulty integrating. Most defectors are thus positioned in a place between citizen and foreigner; they are *neither here nor there*.

The data also supports rival explanations. The forces that directly have the most influence upon South Koreans' perceptions of North Korea and North Korean defectors are the media and the family. Education is not as strong of a force because there is a relative lack of information on

North Korea and North Korean defectors, which encourage individuals to look towards other sources for information. The relative lack of information is representative of the hidden curriculum. By having little coverage of North Korean defectors, the message that students receive is that this topic is unimportant. This may contribute to the apathy that younger generations feel towards issues related to North Korea, including unification and defector discrimination. Instead, emphasis is placed upon subjects such as math, science, and English in order to maximize productivity. Students are taught to be citizens who can further the economy of South Korea, indicating a social efficiency approach. South Korean curriculum is essentialist, with the teacher providing all the knowledge. The emphasis on non-citizenship education subjects determines a lack of prioritization of citizenship education.

Although there has been a move towards more cosmopolitan curriculum, this policy is undercut by ethnocentric ideology that is taught in citizenship education. Topics that pertain to globalization such as global warming are mentioned, but there is no curriculum involving human rights or solidarity that is necessary for a truly cosmopolitan approach. Furthermore, minority portrayal is limited. South Korean education pushes more of an implicit xenophobic agenda that emphasizes nationalism and ethnocentrism. The variance between a purported move towards global citizenship education and the ethnocentric sentiment, such as *hanminjok*, are indicative of false intentions within South Korean citizenship education.

This study also provides implications for intriguing questions for further research. One possibility is the influence of mandatory military service upon South Korean cultural values and attitudes. Military service is mandatory amongst South Korean males. Within military service, soldiers receive on a mandatory psychological education, or *jungshin gyoyok*, on a weekly basis that negatively portrays the North Korean state and its inhabitants. In this sense, North Koreans are

depicted as enemies who prove a threat to national security. There is a conflation of the oppressive regime and its citizens. Since nearly 50% of the South Korean population receives this training, it is likely there is a connection between jungshin gyoyok and negative perceptions of defectors.

Another potential avenue of research includes the exploration of the role of media and the family on South Korean values and attitudes. This study showed that these two spheres had a larger role in influencing perception than the school did. As a result, it would be valuable to research the extent to which media or the family influences the perception of North Korean defectors. Understanding this could better inform the conclusions drawn from this study, including the assumption that the influence of media and the family on South Korean values and attitudes originates from a lack of information on defectors and North Korea within the education system.

Still other possibilities of inquiry include the connection between portrayals of multiculturalism in South Korea and values and attitudes towards defectors. For example, one way that multiculturalism is explicitly discussed within South Korean citizenship curriculum is through multicultural families, a growing phenomenon in Korea that usually result from migrant workers from Southeast Asia marrying South Koreans. However, they are depicted to the extent that they exist and that there often is a gap between the socioeconomic status between multicultural families and non-multicultural families. These families are not portrayed in a way that advocates the acceptance of these families as citizens nor are the benefits from having multicultural families in South Korean society mentioned. In the textbook analysis, the section regarding defectors was on the same page as the section on multicultural families, showing an implicit connection of the two groups as foreigners. As a result, further questioning could be

centered around a comparative study between perceptions of multicultural families and North Korean defectors.

The findings of this study also have practical implications. This includes an alignment with stated government policy and actuality. Although South Korean curriculum stresses themes that align with global citizenship education, other aspects of the curriculum contradict these themes. Results of this research could be used to re-examine the alignment of curriculum in textbooks so that the values are consistent throughout. Another practical implication of this research has to do with the possibility of reunification. This study illustrates that reunification will be difficult not just for financial and political reasons, but also for cultural ones. If the South Korean government wants to have the possibility of successful reunification in the future, then it needs to revisit its commitment to a true cosmopolitan approach within the education system.

Given the importance of education as a socializing force for state identity, the research conclusions show that education both directly and indirectly influences cultural values and attitudes that are not conducive to the effective integration of North Korean defectors. Successful integration of these people is a salient issue. If these defectors are given legal citizenship and government assistance immediately upon arrival, this means the Korean government places value on integrating these defectors. As a result, for this priority to be fulfilled, measures should be taken to ensure that cultural citizenship of these defectors could be achieved as well. Thus, another practical implication of this study is to recalibrate the curriculum to address North Korean defectors and to also have a prioritized cosmopolitan approach in the curriculum that perpetuates global citizenship education as opposed to the current state of reinforced hanminjok ideology.

North Korean defectors are a population with high potential. Several successfully integrated defectors have become activists who bring awareness to the human rights crisis in North Korea and bring a change in international norms regarding this issue. Varying international norms emerge when norm entrepreneurs come with organization platforms motivated by “altruism, empathy, and ideational commitment.”²⁵² Then, the norm cascade occurs where international organizations and network respond to the norms due to peer pressure and legitimization of the norms. Effectively, successfully integrated defectors can become norm entrepreneurs. The successful integration of defectors translates into increased awareness of the human rights situation in North Korea. It also means that defectors are able to send information and money back to North Korea, which can eventually empower citizens to challenge the regime.

²⁵² Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization*. 1998. pg. 898

APPENDIX

Interview Protocol

Informant:	Date:
Interviewer:	

Interviewer Directions. The following questions provide a guide for structuring the interview. In order to preserve a natural conversational flow, it may be necessary to ask questions out of order and to probe new insights as they emerge. Italicized sentences and questions preceded by “**Qx**” are meant to be read or paraphrased by interviewer to informant. Text in green is provided as conceptual anchors for interviewers.

A. Project Background

I am interested in how citizenship education in the public education system affects attitudes and values towards North Korean defectors in South Korea. I seek to understand if the incorporation of a cosmopolitan approach to citizenship education can alleviate the discrimination faced by North Korean defectors.

Introduction: *My name is Joyce Kim. I’m an undergraduate at the University of Pennsylvania. This interview is for a thesis research project on citizenship education in South Korea. The interview will last from 30 minutes to one hour. You can decide to not answer any question and may stop the interview at any time.*

Q: Do you have any questions for me?

Q: Are you okay with me recording this interview? (The recording will just be for me so that I can make sure I’ve captured your thoughts accurately).

Permission for interview to be audio recorded? Yes No

Q: Is it okay to identify you by name when we report on the research?

Identity can be revealed in study materials? Yes No

B. Interview Questions

First, I want to start out with some questions about you.

Q1. How old are you?

- Q2. During what years did you receive public schooling in Korea?

Now, I'll ask some general questions.

- Q3. What's your take on citizenship education during your middle school and/or high school years?

Probes:

What kinds of topics did you learn?

How were these topics taught?

- Q4. What topics, if any, touched upon minority groups?

Probes:

How were these groups portrayed?

- Q5. What topics, if any, touched upon global issues?

Probes:

How were these issues portrayed?

I'd like to talk about the portrayal of North Korea and North Korean defectors in your learning.

- Q6. How was North Korea portrayed in your education?

Positively

Negatively

Q6a. If North Korea was positively portrayed, how was it portrayed this way?

Q6b. If North Korea was negatively portrayed, how was it portrayed this way?

- Q7. In what disciplines was North Korea mentioned in your education?

History

Social Studies
Civics

- Q8. How were North Korean defectors portrayed in your education?

Positively
Negatively

Q8a. If defectors were positively portrayed, how were they portrayed this way?

Q8b. If defectors were negatively portrayed, how were they portrayed this way?

- Q9. In what disciplines were defectors mentioned in your education?

History
Social Studies
Civics

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions regarding your personal views on public opinion towards North Korea and North Korean defectors.

- Q10. How do you feel about North Korea?

- Q11. What factors influenced your views on North Korea?

- Q12. What are your views towards North Korean defectors?

Citizen
Foreigner

- Q13. What influenced your views towards North Korean defectors?

- Q14. Have you ever interacted with a North Korean defector?

Probes:

What thoughts did you have before, during, and after the interaction?

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions regarding your views on public sentiment towards North Korea and North Korean defectors.

- Q15. What do you think South Korean public opinion on North Korea is?

Probes:

Where do these views come from?

- Q16. What do you think South Korean public opinion on North Korean defectors are?

Probes:

Where do these views come from?

- Q17. How do you think North Korean defectors are treated in South Korea?

I'd like to ask you some questions regarding your views on unification?

- Q18. What are your views on unification?

Q18a. If pro-unification, what are benefits to unification?

Q18b. If anti-unification, what are cons to unification?

We're just about done. I just have a few more questions.

□ *Q19. Who are some other people I should be talking to?*

□ *Q20. Is there anything else you would like to tell me?*

Thank you so much for your time. Your input is very important to this project. If you have any questions or concerns about this interview, please contact me.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adeney, Katharine, and Marie Lall. "Institutional Attempts to Build a "National" Identity in India: Internal and External Dimensions." *India Review*, 2005, 258-86.
- Ainley, John, Wolfram Schulz, and Tim Friedman. *ICCS 2009 Encyclopedia: Approaches to Civic and Citizenship Education Around the World*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2013.
- Altbach, Phillip. "Textbooks: The International Dimension." In *Politics of the Textbook*, 242-258. New York, NY: Routledge, 1991.
- Anderson, Benedict R. O. *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. and Extended ed. London: Verso, 1991. Print.
- "Annual Report: North Korea 2011." *Amnesty International*. Amnesty International USA, 28 MAY 2011. Web. 21 Mar 2013.
- "APCEIU." *Journal of Education for International Understanding*, 2005, 49-66.
- Apple, M. W. "The Text and Cultural Politics." *Educational Researcher*, 1992, 4-19.
- Apple, Michael W., and Linda Christian-Smith. *The Politics of the Textbook*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Apple, Michael, and Nancy King. "What Do Schools Teach?" In *The Hidden Curriculum and Moral Education*, 82-99. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1983.
- Arthur, James, Ian Davies, and Caroline Hahn. "Introduction." In *The SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*, 1-10. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2008.
- Avery, Patricia, and Annette Simmons. "Civic Life as Conveyed in United States Civics and History Textbooks." *International Journal of Social Studies* 15 (2001): 105-30.
- Bae, Jasmine Jina. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.
- Bagdikian, Ben H. *The New Media Monopoly*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2004.
- Bang, M.-H, H.-K Ah, H.-S Park, H. Park, C.-K Choi, and J.-M Hwang. *Korean Language Arts*. 1st ed. Vol. 8. Seoul: Jihaksa, 2011a.
- Bang, M.-H, H.-K Ah, H.-S Park, H. Park, C.-K Choi, and J.-M Hwang. *Korean Language Arts*. 1st ed. Vol. 8. Seoul: Jihaksa, 2011b.

- Bahmueller, Charles F. *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects*. Bloomington, Ind.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education :, 1999.
- Bennett, Tess. "Reactions to Visiting the Infant-toddler and Preschool Centers in Reggio Emilia, Italy." *Early Childhood Research & Practice: An Internet Journal on the Development, Care, and Education of Young Children* 3, no. 1 (2001).
- Bloemraad, Irene, Anna Korteweg, and Gokce Yurdakul. "Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 34. (2008): 153-79. Print.
- Carpenter, James J. "The Development Of A More Intelligent Citizenship: John Dewey And The Social Studies." *Education and Culture* 22, no. 2 (2006): 31-42.
- Cho, Young Chul. "Collective Identity Formation on the Korean Peninsula: United States' Different North Korea Policies, Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine Policy, and United States – South Korea – North Korea Relations." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 10, no. 1 (2010): 93-127.
- Choe, Sang-hun. "North Korea Is Said to Fire 7 Missiles Off Its East Coast." *The New York Times*, March 13, 2015. Accessed March 14, 2015.
http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/14/world/asia/north-korea-is-said-to-fire-7-missiles-off-its-east-coast.html?ref=topics&_r=0.
- Choi, Soo Hyang. UNESCO. *Concept Note UNESCO Forum on Global Citizenship Education: Preparing learners for the challenge of the 21st Century*. 2013. Print.
- Choi, Sung-Chul. *Understanding Human Rights in North Korea*. Seoul, South Korea: The Institute of Unification Policy Printing Office, Hanyang University, 1997. Print.
- Chung, Byung-Ho. "Between Defector and Migrant: Identities and Strategies of North Koreans in South Korea." *Korean Studies*. 32. (2008): 1-27.
- Cogan, John J., and R. Derricott. *Citizenship for 21st Century: An International Perspective on Education*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Cogan, John J., and Murray Print. *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region Case Studies Across Six Societies*. Hoboken, New Jersey: Taylor and Francis, 2013.
- Cohen, Louis, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison. *Research Methods in Education*. 5th ed. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Cornbleth, Catherine. "Curriculum In and Out of Context." *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*. 3.2 (1999): 85-96. Print.

- Dahlgren, Peter. *Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication, and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- De Castell, Suzanne. "Playing by the Book: The Problem of Textbook Knowledge." *The Journal of Educational Thought* 24, no. 3 (1990): 110-13.
- Delanty, Gerard. *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012. Print.
- Denton, Miriam, and Nilanjana Bardhan. *Cultivating Cosmopolitanism for Intercultural Communication: Communicating as Global Citizens*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2013. Print.
- Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education*. 1916.
- Dynneson, Thomas L. "Citizenship Development: The Role of The Family, The School, and The Community." *Educational Horizons* 69, no. 4 (1991): 200-05.
- Education in Korea 2009*. Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2009.
- Ellis, Arthur K. *Exemplars of Curriculum Theory*. Larchmont, N.Y.: Eye on Education, 2004.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization*, 1998, 887-917.
- Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 30th Anniversary ed. New York: Continuum, 2000.
- Fujioka, Y. "Television Portrayals and African-American Stereotypes: Examination of Television Effects When Direct Contact Is Lacking." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 76 (1999): 52-73.
- Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan, and Nancy Signorielli. "The "Mainstreaming" Of America: Violence Profile No. 11." *Journal of Communication* 30, no. 3 (1980): 10-29.
- Giroux, Henry A., and Anthony N. Penna. "Social Education in the Classroom: The Dynamics of the Hidden Curriculum." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 7, no. 1 (1979): 21-42.
- Global Education First Initiative*. 2012. Graphic. n.p. Web. 11 Feb 2015.
<<http://www.globaleducationfirst.org/infographics.html>>.
- Haggard, Stephan, and Marcus Noland. *Witness to Transformation- Refugee Insights into North Korea*. Washington D.C.: Peter G. Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2011. Print.

- Han, Mijeong, and Sei-Hill Kim. "South Koreans' Perceptions of North Koreans and Implications for Public Relations Campaigns." *Public Relations Review* 30 (2004): 327-33.
- Hanan, Alexander, Halleli Pinson, and Yossi Yonah. "Theories of Conflict in Citizenship Education." In *Citizenship, Education, and Social Conflict: Israeli Political Education in Global Perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2011.
- Harrell, Margaret C., and Melissa Bradley. *Data Collection Methods: Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009.
- Hart, Dennis. "Proclaiming Identity, Claiming the Past: National Identity and Modernity in North and South Korean Education." *Asian Perspective*. 24.3 (2000): 135-158. Print.
- Hassig, Ralph, and Kongdan Oh. *The Hidden People of North Korea: Everyday Life in the Hermit Kingdom*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998. Print.
- Heater, Derek Benjamin. *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics, and Education*. 3rd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Held, David. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1999. Print.
- Jones, Paul, and Michal Krzyanowski. "Identity, Belonging, and Migration: Beyond Constructing 'Others'." Trans. Array *Identity, Belonging, and Migration*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008. 38-53. Print.
- Jung, Sung-Moo, and Kwang-Bin Lim. "Leading Future Education: Development of Digital Textbooks in Korea." *The 4th World Teachers' Day in Thailand and 12 Th UNESCO-APEID International Conference Quality Innovations for Teaching and Learning*, 2009.
- Kihl, Young Whan. "North Korea in 1984: "The Hermit Kingdom" Turns Outward." *Asian Survey*. 25.1 (1985): 65-79. Web. 21 Mar. 2013.
- Kim, Hyung-Jin. "After Long Split, 2 Koreas Face Increasing Linguistic Divide." *AP Online*, March 13, 2015. Accessed March 14, 2015. <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1A1-a593a9ab39fc439ca2c0679f913e7a94.html?>
- Kim, J.-C., C.-D. Lee, M.-C Lee, Y.-K Hwang, H.-J Hwang, and T.-K Oh. *Korean Language Arts 9-1*. Seoul: Didimdol, 2012.
- Kim, Jiyeon, Karl Friedhoff, Kang Chungku, and Euicheol Lee. "South Korean Attitudes toward North Korea and Reunification." *Asan Public Opinion Report*, 2015.
- Kim, Min Ki. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 16, 2015.

- Kim, Philo, and Kyong-hul Choi. "Comparative Analysis of the Views of North and South Koreans on Unification." *Unification and Peace* 4, no. 1 (2012).
- Kim, S.H-, D.H- Lee, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, and S.M- Song. *First Year Middle School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. Seoul: Bobmunsa, 2012.
- Kim, S.-W, M.-S Seo, C.H- Shin, J.-H Shin, Y.-J Oh, and D.-Y Lee. *Daily Korean*. 1st ed. Vol. 9. Seoul: Changbi, 2012.
- Kim, Tae-Hoon. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 27, 2015
- Koo, Hagen. "The Changing Faces of Inequality in South Korea in the Age of Globalization." *Korean Studies* 31 (2007): 1-18.
- Korea National Committee on Human Rights. *Research on Improvement of North Korean Defectors' Human Rights*. Seoul, Korea:, 2005. Print.
- Korean Employment Information Service. *Research on Program Development to Support Employment of North Korean Defectors*. Seoul, Korea: , 2007. Print.
- Kwon, Y.-M, J.D- Lee, J.-S- Koo, S.-K Kim, D.W- Choi, and Y.S- Kim. *Daily Korean 7-1*. Seoul: Saerom Gyoyuk, 2010.
- Kymlicka, Will. *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Lacroix, Chantal. "Social Integration." In *Immigrants, Literature and National Integration*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Lankov, Andrei. "Bitter Taste of Paradise: North Korean Refugees in South Korea." *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 6.1 (2006): 105-37. Print.
- Lee, D.H-, S.H- Ki, B.H- Lee, S.B- Moon, J.K- Jung, I.H- Jang, and S.M- Song. *First Year High School Textbook Reader for Society Course*. Seoul: Bobmunsa, 2012.
- Lee, Donna Doeun. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.
- Lee, Haewon. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, March 9, 2015.
- Lee, Ilhyung. "Korean Perception(s) of Equality and Equal Protection." *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*. 31.1 n. page. Web. 15 Dec. 2014. <<http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/iclr/vol31/iss1/3>>.
- Lee, Oh-sang. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 20, 2015.

- Lee, Y.-N, B.-Y Lee, J.-H Lee, J.-H Park, H.-H Lee, J.-W Kim, and J.-Y Park. *Korean Language Arts*. 1st ed. Vol. 7. Seoul: Jihaksa, 2010.
- Levin, Norman D., and Yong-Sup Han. "The Shape of Korea's Future South Korean Attitudes Toward Unification and Long-Term Security Issues." 1999.
- Lurie, Julia. "Inside the Fascinating Lives of North Korean Defectors." *Mother Jones*, October 20, 2014. Accessed February 7, 2015.
<http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2014/10/north-korea-defectors-refugees>.
- "Maastricht Global Education Declaration: A European Strategy Framework for Improving and Increasing Global Education in Europe to the Year." Council of Europe, 2002.
- Macris, Gregory. "A Focus on Costs, Not Benefits, Dampens Koreans' Desire for Reunification." 67, no. 4 (2012).
- Mansilla, Veronica Boix, and Anthony Jackson. "Educating for Global Competence: Preparing Our Youth to Engage the World." January 1, 2011.
- Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and Social Class*. Cambridge UP, 1950. Print.
- Massey, Morris E. "people puzzle, understanding yourself and others." (1979).
- Mearsheimer, John J. "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power." In *Essential Readings in World Politics*, 54-72. 5th ed. W. W. Norton & Company, 2013.
- Moon, Chung-In. "Understanding the DJ Doctrine: The Sunshine Policy and the Korean Peninsula." In *Kim Dae-Jung Government and Sunshine Policy: Promises and Challenges*, 35-56. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1999.
- Moon, Rennie J., and Jeong-Woo Koo. "Global Citizenship and Human Rights: A Longitudinal Analysis of Social Studies and Ethics Textbooks in the Republic of Korea." *Comparative Education Review* 55, no. 4 (2011): 574-99.
- Moon, Seungho. "Multicultural and Global Citizenship in the Transnational Age: The Case of South Korea." *International Journal of Multicultural Education*. 12.1 (2010): n. page. Print.
- Murphy, James Bernard. "Against Civic Schooling." *Social Philosophy and Policy* 21, no. 1 (2004): 221-65.
- Nam, Dave. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 26, 2015.
- Nam, M.Y-, H.J- Kim, C.G- Heo, K.H- Lee, Y.-K Jung, and Kim. *Daily Korean 7-1*. Seoul: Gyohaksa, 2010.

- O, Tara. "The Integration of North Korean Defectors in South Korea: Problems and Prospects." *International Journal of Korean Studies*. XV.2 (2011): 151-169. Print.
- Ong, Aihwa. "Cultural Citizenship As Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial And Cultural Boundaries In The United States." *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 5 (1996): 737-62.
- Park, In-kook. "Letter Dated 4 June 2010 from the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council." *United Nations Security Council*, June 4, 2010.
- Park, Sengwoo. "Education and Awareness of the North Korean Defectors' Human Rights." *Political Crossroads*. 17.1 (2010): 65-74. Print.
- Park, Simon Sangmin. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 22, 2015
- Park, Sokeel. "6 Reasons Why Kim Jong Un Is Screwed." *The Atlantic*. June 20, 2013. Accessed March 29, 2015.
- Pinto, Juliet, and Sallie Hughes. "Media and Citizenship." *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (2011): 1-9.
- Quaynor, Laura J. "Citizenship Education in Post-conflict Contexts: A Review of the Literature." *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 7, no. 1 (2012): 33-57.
- Republic of Korea Constitution*. Art. 11 (1)
- The Road to a 'Happy Unification': The Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula and the Dresden Initiative*. Korea Institute for National Unification, 2014.
- Robinson, Michael E. *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey: A Short History*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Rowland, Ashley, and Yoo Kyong Chang. "South Korea's Latest Re-unification Education Effort Targets Youth." *Stars and Stripes*, May 31, 2013. Accessed February 11, 2015. <http://www.stripes.com/news/pacific/south-korea-s-latest-re-unification-education-effort-targets-youth-1.223723>.
- Ryang, Sonia. *North Korea: Toward a Better Understanding*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2009. 4. Print.
- Schiro, M.S. "Chapter 3." In *Social Efficiency Ideology. Curriculum Theory. Conflicting Visions and Enduring Concerns*. 2nd ed. Sage Publishers, 2013.

- "Schools Face Transition to Digital Textbooks." *The Chosun Ilbo*, June 11, 2011. Accessed March 17, 2015. http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2011/06/30/2011063001176.html.
- Schudson, Michael. "The News Media as Political Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002): 249-69.
- Schulz, Wolfram, John Ainley, Julian Fraillon, David Kerr, and Bruno Losito. *Initial Findings from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study*. International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2010. Print.
- Schultz, Theodore W. *Investment in Human Capital: The Role of Education and of Research*. New York: Free Press, 1970.
- "Secondary Education." Republic of Korea Ministry of Education. Accessed March 28, 2015.
- Seth, Michael J. *Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
- Sleeter, Christine E. *Creating Solidarity Across Diverse Communities: International Perspectives in Education*. New York: Teachers College, 2012. Print.
- Smith, Gavin. *Confronting the Present: Towards a Politically Engaged Anthropology*. Oxford University Press, 1999. Print.
- Sobré- Denton, Miriam, and Nilanjana Bardhan. *Cultivating Cosmopolitanism for Intercultural Communication: Communicating as Global Citizens*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2013.
- Son, Ashley Yeona. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, March 4, 2015.
- Son Pyonghui, et al. "Declaration of Independence" Trans. *Array Sources of Korean Tradition. Volume Two: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000. 336-339. Print.
- Son, Se-joo. "Japan, Korea and Textbook History." *New York Times*, February 11, 2014. Accessed February 11, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/12/opinion/japan-korea-and-textbook-history.html>.
- Soysal, Yasemin Nuhog. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Stevens, Michael "Gender Equality for Foreign Husbands", *The Korea Times*, Jun. 30, 2008
- Strawn, Sonia Reid, "How to Make Foreigners Feel Welcome Here", *The Korea Times*, Mar. 18, 2009

- Suh, Jae-Jean. "North Korean Defectors: Their Adaptation and Resettlement." *East Asian Review*. 14.3 (2002): 67-86. Print. <http://www.ieas.or.kr/vol14_3/14_3_5.pdf>.
- "The Korean Congress in the U.S.: An Appeal to America." Trans. *Array Sources of Korean Tradition. Volume Two: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000. 326-328. Print.
- Thompson, Paul. "Learner-Centered Education and 'Cultural Translation'" *International Journal of Educational Development* 33 (2012): 48-58.
- UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), *UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: Addendum to the Fourteenth Periodic Reports of State Parties Due in 2006, Republic of Korea* 18 August 2006
- United Nations. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. *Global Citizenship Education: An Emerging Perspective*. 2013.
- United States. Department of State. *2010 Human Rights Report: Democratic People's Republic of Korea*. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2011. Web.
- Wagner, Benjamin K. "Scrutinizing Rules for Foreigners in Korea: How Much Discrimination is Reasonable?." *Kyung Hee University Law School Journal*. 44.3 (2009): n. page. Print.
- Wang, M.-Y, J.-S Seo, H. Um, Y.-K Sim, S.-M Choi, H.-J Pi, and S.-Y Lee. *Daily Korean 7-1*. Seoul: Daegyo, 2012.
- Weber, Eugen. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization*. 46.2 (1992): 291-425. Print.
- Woo, Taek Jeon. "Issues and Problems of Adaptation of North Korean Defectors to South Korea: An In-depth Interview Study with 32 Defectors." *Yonsei Medical Journal*. 41.3 (2000): 362-371. Print.
- Yang, Hae-Song. Interview with Joyce Kim. Personal Interview. Philadelphia, February 15, 2015.
- Yoon, Y.-T., S.-M Yoon, H.-Y Cho, Y.-H Yoo, J.-W Kim, and J.-H Song. *Korean Language Arts 8-2*. Seoul: MiraeEn, 2012.
- 2014 White Paper on Korean Unification*. Republic of Korea Ministry of Unification, 2014.