

## **Human Rights Violations in the North Korean Education System: Voices of North Korean Refugees in South Korea**

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### ARTICLE INFO

Article history:  
Received 17 Oct 2016  
Revised Dec 17 2016  
Accepted Dec 26 2016

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### Keywords:

Human rights violations, North Korean defectors, North Korean education, North Korean refugees, phenomenology, human rights

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### ABSTRACT

This phenomenological study examines the perspectives of North Korean refugee students studying in South Korean universities regarding human rights violations in the North Korean education system. This study focuses on the shared experiences of the participants during their past in North Korea. The participants were asked to define “human rights” and discuss their perceptions of human rights violations in the North Korean education system; furthermore, they shared their perceptions of human rights violations in present-day North Korea. Four types of data were collected including a demographic survey, a timeline of primary life events, a standardized, open-ended interview, and journal entries. Data analysis procedures included finding significant themes and statements related to human rights violations in the North Korean education system. In addition, primary themes emerged that related to the participants’ perspectives of human rights violations in present-day North Korea. These descriptions led to the overall essence of the collective experiences of the participants.

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## I. Introduction

North Korea is often regarded as one of the most repressive and hermetic countries in the world, in which the majority of the populace is deprived of many fundamental rights that are ascribed by the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948). In 2014, the United Nations released a 372-page report that detailed various human rights atrocities occurring in North Korea. Nationalistic and communistic propaganda are far-reaching in North Korean society; nevertheless, there are many commonalities between daily life in North Korea and other countries around the world (Lankov, 2013). Despite tremendous risks, some North Koreans choose to escape for survival or better prospects in other countries including South Korea. Most recent defections among North Korean refugees have been attributed to dire economic problems and pervasive poverty (S. Y. Kim, 2010; U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2009).

It can be difficult to conduct studies about life in one of the most isolated countries in the world; hence, it is critical to obtain insight about life in North Korea through North Korean refugees. This study is needed to further investigate the perceptions of and experiences of North Korean refugees regarding human rights in relation to educational experiences. Furthermore, there is a lack of research on the educational experiences of North Korean refugee university students. Learning about their perceptions and experiences is critical in lessening the divide between North Korean refugees and their South Korean peers. In addition, by gaining more awareness of human rights violations in the North Korean education system, South Korean educators and administrators can better accommodate North Korean refugees. The purpose of this phenomenological inquiry was to learn more about the perceptions of North Korean refugees regarding human rights and to gain a more holistic understanding of human rights violations in the education system of North Korea. The participants were also asked to define “human rights” and share their perspectives regarding human rights violations in the North Korean education system at the present-time.

## II. Literature Review

### A. Conceptualization of Human Rights

The modern concept of human rights began emerging at the end of World War II as a result of the wide range of human rights abuses that had occurred in Nazi Germany including the deportation of Jews to concentration camps, the mass slaughter of Jews and

other marginalized groups, and the search and arrest of people without justifiable cause (Walters, 1995). There are various legal instruments which provide standard definitions for the term human rights, and one of the most widely used instruments is the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly due to the mass atrocities that had taken place during World War II. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) declares that fundamental human rights exist for all people irrespective of culture. Conversely, different nations or cultures may have varying beliefs about issues pertaining to human rights, but without a mainstream standard, the people would likely not have an opinion or understanding of human rights (Donnelly, 2007). Moreover, in oppressive and restrictive environments the leader of a regime may state that the government is fulfilling the will of the people even if it is denying basic rights.

## **B. Education as a Human Right**

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2016), education is a basic human right and “promotes individual freedom and empowerment and yields important development benefits” (para. 1). Providing formal education can aid in the development of critical skills and practical knowledge that can assist people throughout their lifespan (Lee, 2013). However, millions of children around the world are unable to attend school because of economic problems and widespread poverty (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2016). According to Article 26 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), education should be a basic right for all, elementary education should be free and compulsory, and university education should be granted on the basis of merit. Furthermore, “Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms” (*Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948, Article 26). Other international legal documents including the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (1966) and the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) also provide a framework regarding educational standards and access to education. Governments have a responsibility to implement quality education programs and monitor pupil access to schooling (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2016). Moreover, governments should strive to reduce poverty and other obstacles that hinder students’ ability to achieve academic success (United Nations Children’s Fund, 2007).

Education should be based upon the principle of “equality of opportunity” (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2016, p. 8). However, in North

Korea, educational access is largely connected to social status and personal connections (Institute for Unification Education, 2014). Although education is universal and free in North Korea, there are numerous reports and testimonies which indicate that children are not regularly attending school because of extreme poverty. Many children are also required to scavenge for resources for the military and schools (Kang, 2011). In addition, education does not focus on personal development and respect for rights and freedoms since these concepts are virtually non-existent in North Korean society. School curriculum often centers on ideological indoctrination; moreover, fundamental freedoms and basic human rights are absent from North Korean society and the education system.

### **C. Human Rights Education**

The Preamble to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) emphasizes the importance of teaching society about human rights and freedoms. The goals of human rights education include “learning about human rights and learning for human rights” (Human Rights Resource Center, 2000, para. 1). Society should gain a better understanding of human rights through events and issues in modern society and the past. In addition, citizens have a moral responsibility to prevent human rights violations; therefore, human rights education should highlight the importance of preventing and eliminating human rights violations. Human rights education is necessary in promoting a greater understanding of basic rights and freedoms so that vulnerable groups or individuals are not taken advantage of (Human Rights Resource Center, 2000). In North Korea and other countries with severe human rights abuses, it would be unrealistic to discuss the role of human rights education in society since various crimes against humanity are routine and multitudes of restrictions are placed on the daily lives of the people.

Throughout the world, there are varying definitions of what constitutes a human right. In a local and national context, social and cultural values can influence the mainstream understanding of human rights (Flowers, 2015). Although it is impossible to create a truly universal standard and shared definition of “human rights,” being respectful of varying opinions and backgrounds should be the norm when engaging in discourse on issues related to human rights. North Korean refugees in South Korea are able to learn about human rights through formal education and various sources including the internet which would not have been available to them in North Korea. However, even though the concept of human rights is integrated into the curriculum in some classes in South Korea, there is still a need for better human rights education programs and classes for both North Korean refugees and South Korean society as a whole. Human rights education can help students develop citizenship and critical thinking skills; furthermore, it can improve

understanding of social justice and lead to individual empowerment (Human Rights Resource Center, 2000). Human rights education provides a more holistic understanding of human rights and freedoms and how these concepts connect to other issues and topics discussed in the classroom.

#### **D. Education and Human Rights in North Korea**

Basic human rights that are taken for granted in many countries of the world, do not exist in North Korea. According to Weatherley and Song (2008), “Rights are the property of the virtuous leader which he bestows on the people as a type of ‘gift’ or ‘grant’ to those who are deemed loyal to his leadership and his government” (p. 281). The government often does not provide basic life necessities to the people, and abysmal economic policies have led to malnutrition and a wide range of health problems (Hassig & Oh, 2009). Education is not a priority when basic life needs are not met.

It is difficult to gain insight into the various problems afflicting the North Korean education system since the government does not report this information regularly and accurately. Hassig and Oh (2009) discussed three major problems in the North Korean education system including a strong emphasis on the Kim family, lack of awareness of the outside world, and bad economic policies that resulted in poor nutrition and health. Some citizens have been denied entrance into public school and higher education (Database Center for North Korean Human Rights, 2010). In addition, students are forced to work in rural areas during vacation periods (Kang, 2011). Many North Koreans have reported that they did not attend school because they had to search for food during the day to support their families (Fuqua, 2011) or to gather resources for the military or school (Institute for Unification Education, 2014). Moreover, teachers often do forced work for the government including farming, building railroads, and planting trees; they need to find illegal jobs to survive (Institute for Unification Education, 2014).

The education system largely revolves around ideological brainwashing. North Korean refugees estimate that between 40% to 80% of school lessons relate to ideology (Hassig & Oh, 2009). *Juche* plays an important role in society and is evident in many aspects of the education system. *Juche* can be broadly defined as self-reliance and independence (David-West, 2011; Hale, 2002; Koo & Nahm, 2010; & Monday, 2011), but it is an abstract term and sometimes has other definitions including “autonomy, subjectivity, or independence” (H. C. Kim & D. K. Kim, 2005, p. 10). *Juche* education shuns foreign influence (Yoo, 2001), which means that students are not actively learning about international issues—especially in a balanced and accurate way. North Koreans also participate in ideological lessons that require memorizing propaganda including speeches, literature, and historical events (M. Kim, 2008).

### III. METHODOLOGY

#### A. Materials and Methods

A phenomenological design was used for this study (Moustakas, 1994). According to Moustakas (1994), “Phenomenology is concerned with wholeness, with examining entities from many sides, angles, and perspectives until a unified vision of the essences of a phenomenon or experience is achieved” (p. 58). The researchers endeavored to find significant statements which highlight the participants’ experiences that are connected to human rights as well as their perspectives on human rights. The participants’ experiences and ideas that related to human rights were synthesized, and fundamental descriptions, quotes, and details associated with human rights were examined based on phenomenological methodology. These themes led to the overall essence of the participants’ experiences and perspectives related to human rights.

Participants were required to complete an informed consent form and were given pseudonyms. Four types of data were collected for qualitative analysis including a demographic survey, a timeline of primary life events, standardized, open-ended interviews, and journal entries which were completed in that order. The data was collected in Korean. In addition, an observational protocol and field journal were used to record notes, summaries, ideas, and other comments that developed during the data collection process.

#### B. Study Participants

Purposive and snowball sampling were used to locate potential participants. There were 15 participants in this study, including the pilot participant. Of the participants, 11 were male and four were female. The participants in this study were all North Korean refugees who lived in North Korea for at least 10 years and South Korea for at least 3 years. In addition, 13 are from Hamgyeongbukdo, and one is from Ryanggangdo which are both located in the northeastern part of North Korea. One participant did not state her province. Additional information about the participants’ demographics and educational background is provided in the appendices.

## **C. Research Questions**

The following research questions were used to guide the study:

1. How did human rights violations influence the educational life experiences of North Korean refugees when they lived in North Korea?
2. What are the perceptions of North Korean refugees regarding human rights violations in present day North Korea?
3. How do North Korean refugees define human rights?

## **IV. Results**

### **A. Defining Human Rights**

Participants were asked to define “human rights.” The most prevalent definition of human rights that emerged was the right for humans to live freely without many restrictions. More specific definitions were discussed as well including the right to not be forced to learn ideological education and learn about other countries and people outside of North Korea. Kyoung Hee remarked that the term “human rights” means people having respect for one another. Su Jung stated that human rights give all people the chance to succeed. In addition, a more specific definition focused on people being able to have access to media that is not controlled by the government, being able to speak openly, and to criticize government officials without fear of imprisonment.

### **B. Human Rights Violations in the North Korean Education System**

#### **1. All Education Revolves around the Kim Family**

The participants highlighted the importance of the ruling Kim family in education. Some participants stated that the entire education system revolves around the Kim family. In addition, many responses emphasized Kim family indoctrination even though specific questions about the Kim family were not asked. The information presented in class is often false or distorted. In lower and upper middle school (upper middle school is the equivalent of high school in South Korea and the United States) there are required classes on the revolutionary history and activities of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. Curriculum

and textbooks often focus on indoctrination and stories about the Kim family. Yoon Cheol said, “All people have a dream, but the education courses are all focused on the Kim family. The studying is too forced. There is no creativity and innovation.” Min Sik also provided details about the emphasis on the regime,

*Of course you probably know that the Kim family is such an important part of North Korean curriculum, but this brainwashing happens in every class. For example, it happens in art, nature, music, ethics, math, etc. Students are excited to share their knowledge about the Kim family, but learning this same information over and over again is very boring.*

Three participants also mentioned that indoctrination in the education system has increased under the Kim Jong Un (the son of Kim Jong Il) regime. The participants did not live in North Korea during the Kim Jong Un regime, but they stated that correspondence with their family members still in North Korea highlights that indoctrination has increased, especially in the schools.

## **2. Government Inflicted Poverty and Extreme Hardship**

Poverty created by the government and extreme hardship are critical themes that emerged throughout the research process. Several participants remarked that their early life was not as challenging and demanding because they were wealthy by North Korean standards. However, as time went on family circumstances changed, and they experienced poverty. All of the participants elaborated on the themes of poverty and extreme hardship. Most experienced poverty and extreme hardships throughout their entire lives in North Korea. Some of the participants discussed situations in which they had to toil all day in the mountains and fields in order to survive, and most stated that they could not always go to school because they had to find food to survive. Seong Cheol stated, “When I was in North Korea, I could not think about human rights violations. I could only think about survival. There is no guarantee of basic living necessities. The students need to survive, so they cannot think about studying.” Thus, most participants did not obtain an ongoing formal education because their basic physiological needs were not met.

Several participants mentioned that they could not attend school because their family was living on meager provisions and what little they could forage. Min Su stated that he did not begin school until he was 12 because his family was so poor. He did not learn the Korean alphabet until that time. Cheol Su elaborated on this concept, “North Korean students do not want to go to school because they are so hungry. Also, the teachers cannot



teach exactly because they have to do extra work to survive. The education system is broken. Everyone needs to survive.” In addition, participants who were able to attend school mentioned that they had to find materials to help the military. School is also technically not free because students had to collect materials for the military and pay bribes and give gifts to demanding teachers. Furthermore, the students had to participate in agricultural work projects.

## **C. Current Perspectives of Human Rights in North Korea**

### **1. The People do not Know “Human Rights”**

Six participants commented that North Korean people do not understand the concept of human rights. Yoon Cheol stated that there is no word for “human rights” in North Korea. He said, “Now I realize there are no human rights in North Korea. For example, if a student does not do his homework, the teacher beats him. The students are sometimes severely beaten. There is no respect for humans.” People are just “guilty” and are treated as animals for crimes that they did not commit. Cheol Su stated, “North Korean people do not know human rights, and they are not aware of a standard of what is considered a human right.” Two participants stated that after reunification North Korean people will finally be able to understand human rights. Yeong Cheol, one of them, expanded on these themes:

*North Korean people do not know the word human rights. They are pushed by the regime power and cannot speak their opinion. Their lives are already stolen. They are just living as slaves. They are not guilty, but they are accused of a crime. They always feel victimized. Twenty-four million people are in that situation. North Korean human rights violations are the worst in the world. I am waiting for the day when there are human rights in North Korea. I hope it is as soon as possible.*

### **2. Severity of North Korean Human Rights Violations**

Six participants described human rights violations as severe. Kyoung Hee emphasized that human rights violations are very severe and that the regime is emphasized too much in North Korea. Two participants also mentioned that they feel very sorry for North Korean people who are not aware of basic human rights. Min Sik stated that “North Korean people are treated worse than dogs or pigs. Everywhere, so

many people are dying.” These details are supported by various reports by major human rights organizations and the testimonies of other North Korean refugees. Kyoung Hee also stated that the government only emphasizes respect for the Kim family which is a human rights violation and that there is too much brainwashing. She said that there are obvious human rights violations including labor camps, but required ideological education is also a violation. Su Jung added that,

*The government makes people respect the Kim family power, which is a human rights violation. People think that the Kim family members are great leaders. It is all just brainwashing. Most people believe it. This is a human rights violation. Also, there are obvious human rights violations such as labor camps, but forced ideological education is also a human rights violation.*

Three participants discussed the lack of international awareness about the severity of human rights violations in North Korea. They mentioned that foreigners should be educated more about North Korea’s appalling human rights record. They also stated that although they are living in neighboring South Korea, not many South Korean people know about the realities of life in North Korea.

## V. Discussion

Participants were asked to define human rights. Discerning how the participants define human rights is critical to understanding their experiences and perspectives. Although a wide range of studies and reports cover human rights violations in North Korea, there is a gap in the literature on North Korean refugee students’ understanding and perspectives of the concept of human rights. Numerous studies and reports on North Korean human rights violations tend to highlight the criminal justice system, government squandering of resources, and major atrocities. The participants briefly discussed some of these issues, but they generally spoke more about human rights issues that had a direct impact on their day to day lives.

Research questions about the Kim family were not asked; nonetheless, many responses to questions involved the Kim family. Participants believe that having an education that revolves around the Kim family is a human rights violation because the people are not provided with a balanced education and are forced to learn too much information about the family. The Kim family members that were highlighted include Kim Il Sung (the first leader of North Korea), Kim Jong Il (Kim Il Sung’s son), Kim Jong Suk (Kim Jong Il’s mother), and Kim Jong Un (the current leader of North Korea and the

son of Kim Jong Il). Most of the participants emphasized that education is strongly connected to the Kim family. This supports past literature (Breen, 2012; Hassig & Oh, 2009; H. C. Kim & D. K. Kim, 2005) which highlights the tremendous role of the ruling Kim family in North Korea. Curriculum in a variety of classes often includes ideological and indoctrination lessons that center on the Kim family. It is difficult to have independent aspirations when the education system promotes ideological education that revolves around the leaders. Some participants regretted not having a balanced education that includes factual lessons about other countries and leaders. Schools should be a marketplace of ideas, and education should be balanced and accurate. Students should be exposed to various credible sources. The participants were severely limited in terms of what they learned in school.

Several participants discussed the role of the current leader, Kim Jong Un in educational lessons. The study focused on the participants' educational experiences in North Korea, but some discussed stories that they have heard from family members who presently live in North Korea. Based on their perceptions and stories that they have been told, ideological lessons have increased under Kim Jong Un's rule. This may be attributed to the relatively new leadership of Kim Jong Un and his desire to bring more attention to himself after the passing of his father and to incite passion for his leadership.

Participants expanded on pervasive poverty and hardships which restricted their educational pursuits. Since these problems can be at least moderately attributed to the government of North Korea, they are described as human rights violations. The North Korean economy is centrally planned. Famine and malnutrition are prevalent throughout North Korean society (Schwekendiek, 2007), which has led to stunted growth among the younger generations (M. Kim, 2008). Vivid details were included about the suffering and hardships endured by many people. The participants' responses support the research on famine and poverty in North Korea. Famine and malnutrition are interminable problems in North Korea that affect countless people (Schwekendiek, 2007); likewise, North Korean students generally do not have enough time to study because many must work and collect materials to take to school which are used by the military (Institute for Unification Education, 2014; Kang, 2011). Focusing on education is nearly impossible when basic life needs are not met. In addition, malnutrition can lead to innumerable health problems that can inhibit cognitive development.

The regime strives to prevent information from entering the country; nevertheless, the people may have some exposure to outside information through smuggled DVDs, CDs, and USBs. Even if they have information from the outside world, they may not believe everything that they have been exposed to. The North Korean people probably do not have a basic understanding of human rights and may not realize the extent of human rights violations. This coincides with Donnelly's (2007) analysis of different nations

having varying mainstream beliefs regarding human rights and without a conventional standard the general populace would not have opinions pertaining to human rights violations. The North Korean people are generally not informed about common international standards of what constitutes fundamental human rights. However, the refugees are forerunners who can inform family and friends in North Korea about the reality of life in South Korea. Additionally, the people of North Korea can become more knowledgeable about human rights standards through information that seeps into the country. Finally, in terms of the participants' perspectives on human rights violations in North Korean society today, it is possible that the participants did not address the severity of human rights violations in their own lives because these experiences may have seemed relatively normal to them. Moreover, the participants did not elaborate on major human rights atrocities; they instead focused on more personal issues that have a direct impact on everyday life.

Education is a basic human right as defined by the United Nations (1948). Many children and adolescents in North Korea cannot attend school due to extreme hardships and poverty (Institute for Unification Education, 2014). Education is not important when basic human needs are not met. The world has become largely connected giving people in even many remote locations instant access to widespread information through the Internet, but this does not apply to North Korea. Although some information does make it into North Korea, many people are still uninformed about major world events and leaders. The people of North Korea are exposed to many stories that are based on fallacies, and the education system often includes lessons related to the Kim family that are distorted or inaccurate. When North Korean refugees enter South Korea, they must distinguish fact from fiction. They are exposed to new information and learn more about human rights and freedoms. Although lessons and curriculum on human rights and freedoms are lacking in South Korea, some courses include topics and issues related to human rights. Through these classes, North Korean refugees can learn more about their past and present life experiences. It is important for South Korea to develop human rights curriculum that includes the experiences of North Korean people living in North Korea and North Korean refugees escaping on the new underground railroad. Furthermore, South Korean people should learn more about the experiences of North Korean refugees who are living in South Korea. Human rights education should be a responsibility for all members of a democratic society. In order to prevent and reduce injustices and human rights violations, citizens must first be knowledgeable about human rights and freedoms.

## **VI. Conclusion**

This research highlights the essence of North Korean refugees' experiences and perceptions connected to human rights violations. The literature review discusses the historical context of human rights, education as a human right, human rights education, and myriad human rights abuses taking place in the North Korean education system. The North Korean refugees who participated in this study provided more insight about human rights violations in North Korea. The participants discussed the human rights violations that they experienced in the North Korean education system. The participants also defined the term human rights and elaborated on their perspectives regarding human rights violations in present-day North Korea.

Future research examining the perspectives of human rights violations and experiences of North Korean refugees from a wider context is needed. While previous research has addressed human rights violations in North Korea and the experiences of North Korean refugees, this study addresses the dearth of research on North Korean refugee university students. This research also expands on the general body of literature on the experiences of North Korean refugees and human rights violations in North Korea. This study can be beneficial to individuals and organizations that assist North Korean refugees on the new underground railroad, in South Korea, and other countries with North Korean refugee populations. Moreover, this research can assist in the creation of policies and programs that have an impact on the education and livelihood of North Korean refugees.

The sample is not representative of all North Korean refugees living in South Korea, and the findings cannot be generalized to all North Korean refugees or North Korean citizens. Gaining access to North Korean refugees can be problematic since many do not want to feel that they are being used or taken advantage of for the purpose of research (Yoon, 2010). In addition, the participants are only from the northeastern region of North Korea. Most of the participants live in the Seoul-Incheon Metropolitan region of South Korea. In addition, the sample was not randomly selected.

Additional research can be conducted through volunteers who work directly with North Korean refugees. This may make the research process less burdensome, since the researchers are not significantly interfering in the participants' lives. During a research study, the participants are reliving past experiences which may be emotionally painful, and they do not want to be constantly reminded of these experiences in a lengthy qualitative or longitudinal study. It is also important that the participants understand the purpose of the research so that they are more likely to take it seriously. Finally, participants may be more interested in action research in which the results may have a direct impact on their wellbeing.

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Appendix A  
Education in North Korea

&lt;Table 1&gt; Education in North Korea

Pseudonym	Gender	Premigration
Cheol Su	M	Primary School (2 yr.)
Hee Cheol	M	Primary School (not regularly)
Hyeon Su	M	Primary School (4 yr.)
Kyoung Hee	F	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)
Kyu Hyeon	M	Primary School (not regularly)
Min Sik	M	Primary School (not regularly)
Min Su	M	Primary School (4 yr.)
Seon Young	F	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)
Seong Cheol	M	Primary School (3 yr.)
Su Jung	F	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)
Yoon Cheol	M	Primary School (2 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)
Yoon Hee	F	Primary School (4 yr.)
Yoon Su	M	Primary School (4 yr.)
Young Cheol	M	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)
Young Su	F	Primary School (4 yr.) & Lower/Upper Middle School (6 yr.)

Note: Lower middle school is roughly the equivalent of middle school in the U.S., and upper middle school is roughly the equivalent of high school in the US.

Appendix B  
Migration Information

<Table 2> Location and Age During Migration Periods

Pseudonym	Premigration/Age (escape)
Cheol Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (18)
Hee Cheol	Hamgyeongbukdo (21)
Hyeon Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (22)
Kyoung Hee	Hamgyeongbukdo (22)
Kyu Hyeon	Hamgyeongbukdo (10)
Min Sik	Hamgyeongbukdo (*)
Min Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (16)
Seon Young	* (21)
Seong Cheol	Hamgyeongbukdo (14)
Su Jung	Hamgyeongbukdo (23)
Yoon Cheol	Hamgyeongbukdo (23)
Yoon Hee	Ryanggando (11)
Yoon Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (23)
Young Cheol	Hamgyeongbukdo (25)
Young Su	Hamgyeongbukdo (20)

\*Information not provided