North Korea's Refugees: A Window into North Korea and A Source of Humanitarian Concern

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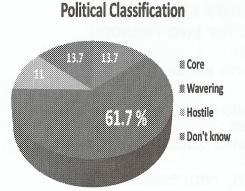
Overview ☐ North Korea presents national security and broader human security challenges ☐ Refugees of interest for two reasons ■ Humanitarian concern ■ As "window" into North Korea ☐ Two surveys ■ China, 2004-05, 1,300+ respondents, Yoonok Chang and associates ■ South Korea, November 2008, 300 respondents, Haggard and Noland ☐ Caveat self-selection, representativeness ☐ Policy recommendations

Who are the refugees?, I

- ☐ Mostly prime age adults
- ☐ More women than men
- ☐ Mostly from the Northeast provinces



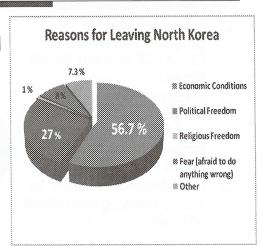
Who are the refugees?, II



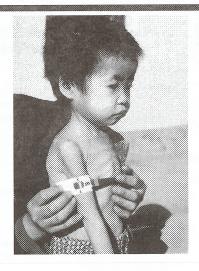
- ☐ Typically high school educated worker— responses contradict regime educational attainment claims
- ☐ Most from "wavering" class
- □ Parental backgrounds suggest little socio-economic mobility

Why do they leave?

- ☐ Mostly "economic motivations" bound up in regime practices
- □ North Korea criminalizes exit-refugees sur place
- ☐ Reveal considerable anxiety about repatriation



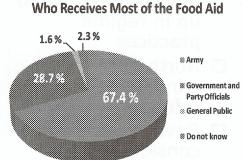
Life in North Korea: Background



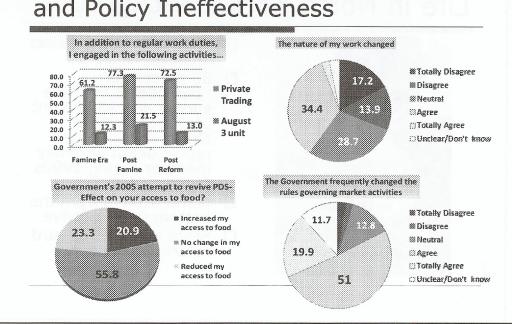
- ☐ Famine largely product of state failure
- ☐ 30 percent of respondents in China survey and 33 percent of respondents in South Korea survey report death of family member during 1990s famine
- ☐ Marketization from the bottom up to survive
- ☐ State attitudes toward reform ambivalent

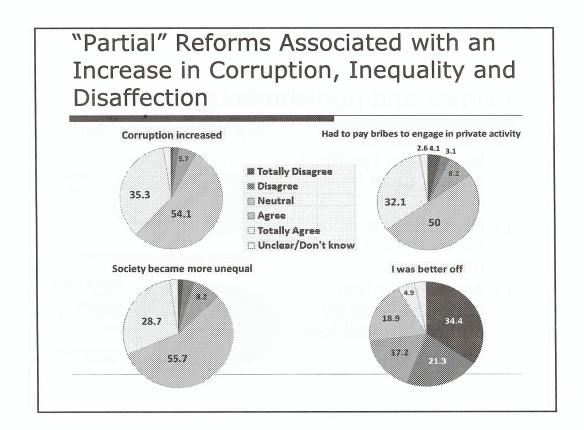
Life in North Korea: Hunger & Aid

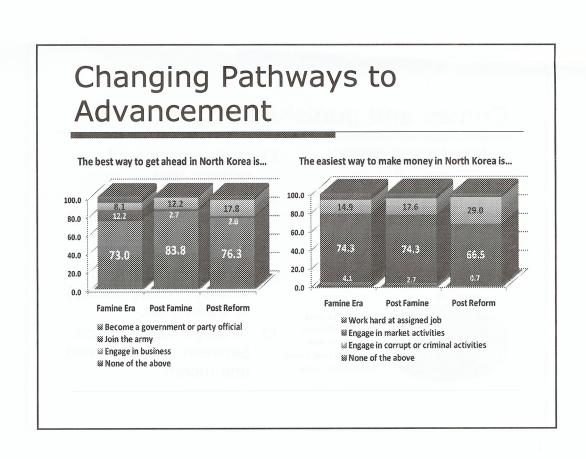
- Many unaware of aid program (43 percent China, 56 percent South Korea)
- Minority believe receive aid (4 percent China, 33 percent South Korea) profoundly embittered group
- Most believe aid went to army, party, government officials



Economy: Grassroots Marketization and Policy Ineffectiveness

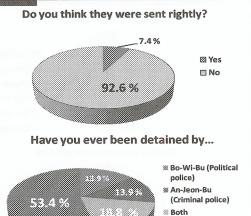




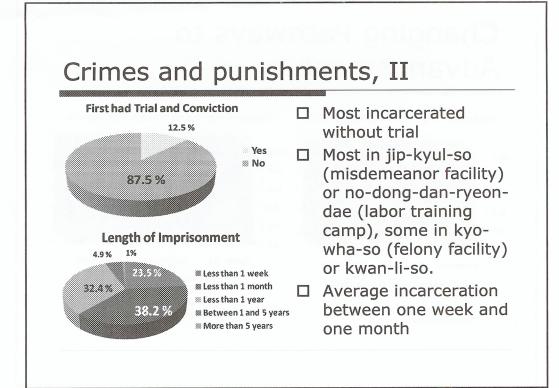


Crimes and punishments, I

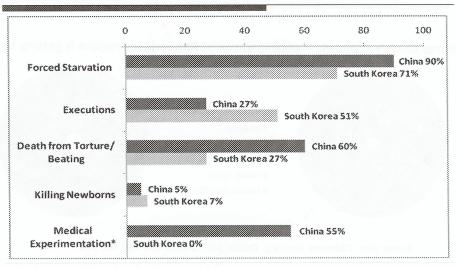
- ☐ Most know of kwan-li-so (political prison/slave labor camp)
- ☐ Most believe incarceration unjust
- ☐ Almost half had been detained by criminal or political police



I have never been detained



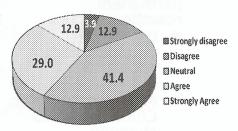




Psychological dimensions

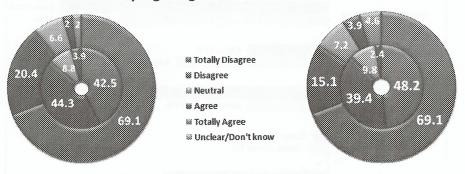
- Most would be diagnosed with PTSD in clinical setting
- Experiences in North Korea highly correlated with current psychological state, particularly
 - Denial of aid
 - Famine experiences
 - Incarceration
- □ Demographic correlates
 - Age, gender
 - But not regional origin-reassuring

"Current Situation is Hopeless"



The Exit Poll: "Are You Better Off Today?"

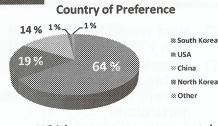
North Korea's Economy is getting better Kim Jong II's regime is getting better



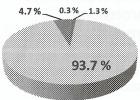
Inner pie- Chinese Survey, Outer pie- South Korean Survey

Life Beyond North Korea

- ☐ Frequent complaints about exploitation in China
- ☐ Preferences for permanent resettlement
 - US attracts younger, better educated respondents
 - More might prefer China if policies changed
- ☐ Most want unification



Which statement most accurately represents your view today?



- Maintain the Current Government
- Have a different government but stay independent as NK
 Unify with South Korea
- 8 None of the above/Don't know

Policy recommendations

- ☐ Continue to attempt to engage North Korea
 - Emphasize inevitability of a human rights discussion
 - Demand UN/ICRC access to prison camps
 - Emphasize integrity of humanitarian aid program
 - Develop Sullivan-type Principles
- ☐ Reach out: Break down information barriers
- ☐ In absence of North Korean willingness to engage: get people out of North Korea
 - Encourage China to uphold commitments
 - Work with South Korea and others

Thank you for your attention

