

# Study on Heroine Discourse under the Kim Jong Un Regime: *Focusing on Articles of Women of Joseon*

**Sung-wook Nam, Jin Bae, Su-lan Chae and Ga-young Lee**  
*Korea University*

## **Summary**

*For an overview of women's policy in North Korea, 60 volumes of Women of Joseon (2012.1-2016.12) were subject to analysis. The journal has been the exemplary model that puts across the authority's policy and explores various types of the heroine to push for a "learn from the heroine campaign." The heroines in the journal articles can be categorized into five types of ideal womanhood – the hardworking woman, the woman revolutionary, the professional woman, the good wife and wise mother, and the woman supporting the military and volunteering. Those five types are used to examine the policy intentions of the North Korean authorities. The analysis of policy intentions found the collapse of conventional gender-based boundaries of labor areas; the spread of the Stakhanov movement; the propagation of the theory of the great family and paternalism of women; and succession by the third generation and political power of women. Like other socialist states, the North Korea advocates gender equality through policies. However, in reality, it defines its view towards women under its unique propaganda called "Juche Idea", so that North Korean women are dominated by patriarchal ideology that prioritizes the father (the leader) and are socially restrained to realize themselves within the boundaries of the party and organization. They are also haunted by the male-centered patriarchal view of the family and undertake production activities in the labor force while simultaneously handling housework and childcare. Worse yet, women are faced with*

*hardworking competition, production-quotas, and ideology-learning programs that aim to cover the shortcomings of the social economic system and maximize the use of labor forces causing women to be burdened with a double and even triple whammy.*

**Keywords:** North Korean women, gender equality in North Korea, Stakhanov movement, Women of Joseon, North Korea, North Korean women's policy, heroine discourse.

## I. INTRODUCTION

With the enactment of the law on gender equality in July of 1946, North Korea propagated that women are entitled to the same rights as men in every area of politics, economy, and culture. North Korea also advocates that its revolutionary actions guarantee women dignity, rights, and freedom, and North Korean women should thus be satisfied with their life by taking an active role in state affairs and social politics.

Despite the North Korean drive to promote women's participation in society after the announcement of gender equality policies, little progress has been made in reality. Legislation and policy in every area seem to help promote gender equality, but looking closely, one sees that it has not brought actual changes in the lives of women. Gender equality policy has allowed women to play a more extended role than before. With more women participating in society, they are expected to take on an additional role as the "working mother" on top of their traditional role as "housewife." This extended role made them busier and prompted an increased social demand for women. Notably, women's active participation in economic activities during severe economic difficulties in the mid-1990s brought changes in awareness of gender roles. Women, whose primary role was to be a good mother and wife since the Joseon Dynasty period and Japanese colonial rule, were also expected to play the secondary role of being a contributor to revolution and to be one important pillar of the socialist revolution. "Women are powerful forces that buttress one of the wagon wheels" (*Rodong Sinmun* March 8, 2005) is a

North Korean propaganda phrase that indicates the symbolic role of women in building a socialist state. Moreover, women are required to take on a third role as being a supporter of the household economy due to a depressed economy – becoming a supposed type of “superwoman.” Even under these circumstances where women are forced to play multiple roles, gender equality laws still see women as inferior to men and do not give palpable consideration and respect towards women. North Korean women with their “triple roles” are additionally haunted by the traditional culture that favors men over women, and this triggers skepticism that the regime’s effort to promote gender equality is nothing but an excuse to exploit the women’s workforce.

The existing research in this area uses similar literature and dates back to the late-1990s, which will be briefly covered. After the 1990s, various research on North Korea was launched that was affected by the post-Cold War and an effort to rightly understand North Korea (Nam 2013). A refined analysis was first done to investigate the specific role of the family in the coordination mechanism in which family becomes the basic economic unit for survival (Kornai 1992, 106-107). In line with such research trends, empirical policy research was conducted on the concept of North Korean women and family (Unification Ministry 1991, 97; Administrative Office of the Courts 1998, 217; Shin 1992, 299). Moreover, systemic research on women and related family policy has increased general understanding towards women, family policy, and participation in political activities and economic life in North Korea (Lee 1988; Yoon 1991; Sohn et al. 1991; Kim 1996; Kim et al. 1997). Some of them were connected to feminist studies and provided a comparison between North Korea and South Korea in terms of family, education, jobs, economic activity, status, and “women’s policy” (Nam 1992; Lee 1997). Additionally, the subject of patriarchal socialism and related family policy has also been handled in systematic research attempts (Cho 1992; Chang 1992; Kim et al. 1992). Recently in the 2000s, the subject of women-related policy and legal systems under the North Korean regime has been dealt with in various research articles (Park 2003; Chung 2000). As food shortage aggravated by the North Korean Famine in the mid-1990s directly and indirectly affected the entirety of North Korea with small and big changes, the subject of food shortage and

the changing role of women and its awareness has been examined in several papers (Lee 2004; Lim 2004; Moon 2008). The subject of women and family for reunification has also been handled in several works, mostly by the Korean Women's Development Institute (Park 2014; Kim et al. 2015; Chang et al. 2015).

The existing research put focus on interpreting the authorities' official publications and analyzing their implications due to restricted access to the site. Implication analysis was based on the review of the North Korean official propaganda newspaper, *Rodong Sinmun*, a women's propaganda journal: *Women of Joseon*, various North Korean references, movies, and surveys of North Korean refugees in South Korea. *Women of Joseon* was intensively analyzed through the work of Kim Gui-ok (2000), Park Young-ja (2004), Kim Seok-hyang (2006), and Mun Jang-soon (2008). In the research, which analyzed *Women of Joseon* together with the *Rodong Sinmun*, novels, and movies, Kim (2000) studies the existing body of research believing that women issues are not limited to conflict between men and women, but rather are the result of North Korean-socialism traits and environmental conditions. In a fairly recent study, Park (2004) examined the *Rodong Sinmun* and the "Kim Il-sung Writing Collection" and studied the formation and distortion of gender equality policy in North Korea with a focus on *Women of Joseon*. Kim (2006) analyzed the logical structure of the discourse on how North Korea officially explains the concept of "gender equality" and "women's rights," Mun (2008) interprets that the new changes found in North Korea boil down to North Korean women's increased involvement in economic activity and a more active role in society. The Ewha Institute of Unification Studies (2010) attempted to examine differences between the present and future of North Korea through the life of North Korean women and to interpret the changing awareness prompted by utilitarian socialism. Previous studies on *Women of Joseon* argued that women took on a bigger role and their status partially improved after the food shortage, but women themselves do not raise issues within the patriarchal society and are assimilated to its culture.

Our research, however, seeks to reflect the recent North Korean ruling practice, with a focus on Kim Jong-un's women's policies made after 2012

that have rarely been addressed in previous studies. Our research aims, which utilize our new classification method, take an in-depth look at women's policies in North Korea by classifying heroines from the *Journal*. This paper introduces a slightly different method that is distinct from the existing research on *Women of Joseon*. As opposed to the precedent researches focusing on a time series analysis, we have introduced a cross-section analysis of 5 years of women's policies during Kim-Jong-un's reign, with the key word "heroine."

The ruling function of the journal can be explained by the two theories of social science. First, according to the agenda-setting function of mass media, mass media gives people the evidence for what they need to concentrate on (McCobms and Shaw 1972). Mass media guides the public's attention towards potential agendas that call for their attention. As North Korea completely controls its mass media, they put their desired agenda at the forefront, which invariably reflects the party's views, and thereby distribute their propaganda. Conversely, by grasping closely the highlighted points of North Korea's mass media, inferring the policy's purposes that guide North Korea's actions will be possible for us.

Second, the theory of political image manipulation systematically explains the phenomenon that leader and elites want to make the masses believe their policy by skillfully manipulating images like symbols and stories. Dr. C.E Merriam classified the political symbols as miranda, a symbol of praise like anecdote, beautification of history, and a parade, and credenda, a symbol of trust like constitution, creed, and ideology (Merriam 1934). The dictators try to reinforce the loyalty of the mass to the power by heightening the sense of unity. Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbles, minister of communication for Nazi Germany in 1930s, effectively manipulated the image of a demagogue, Adolf Hitler, by mixing the symbols of miranda and credenda (Reuth 2006).

North Korea has periodically published mass media controlled by the regime by demonstrating many cases of miranda and persuaded the people to unresistingly follow its policy. North Korea has been striving to find heroes through creating periodic movements of social change since the foundation of the regime. A classic example of this would be a movement entitled "Learn through Jung Chun-sil" since 1983 under the guidance of Kim Il-sung's rule.

In this policy promotion system all people have to benchmark by manipulating and discovering virtual characters. The North Korean regime promotes its policies by using the technique of creating heroines who are desirable women who actively participate in the construction of socialism. Policies which tactfully find heroes and encourage people to work hard as if they themselves are heroes, originate from the Stakhanov movement in the Soviet Union in 1935.

*Women of Joseon* can be one exemplary model that puts across the authorities' policy and explores various types of "the heroine." Heroines in the journal are categorized into five types of ideal womanhood – the hardworking woman, the woman revolutionary, the professional woman, the good wife and wise mother, and the woman of military support and volunteering. Those five types were used to identify the reality of the regime's women's policy and infer the implications of the policy made during the rule of Kim Jong-un in what's known as the third-generation succession. For an overview of the women's policy in North Korea from a macroscopic perspective, the *Rodong Sinmun* and the *Korean Central News Agency* during Kim Jong-un's rule have been consulted to understand the overall trends, and for a detailed approach and substantiation, 60 volumes of *Women of Joseon* (2012.1-2016.12) were subject to analysis. This is the monthly journal published by the Joseon Democratic Women's Federation. Its first issue came out in September of 1946, with 703 issues as of late 2016. It is specially designed to advocate North Korean propaganda to women as an official medium that disseminates the regime's policy to women in the field. Due to the peculiarity of research on North Korea, such literature is viewed as the sole channel that enables us to closely look into specific North Korean policies and principles. This paper attempts to provide a critical analysis of the contents and intentions of "women's policy" advocated by the North Korean regime and seeks to provide our basic research findings that will help to bring about gender equality for a united Korea in the future.

## II. MECHANISMS OF WOMEN'S POLICY IN NORTH KOREA

### ***1. Political and social structure and women's participation in North Korea***

North Korea builds and implements national projects seasonally and annually in order to achieve economic and social policy objectives. The Workers' Party builds project plans and sets production targets. Then, the press publicizes and instigates plans finalized by the authorities and party. For example, *Women of Joseon* strongly encourages women to commit to duty and responsibility related to their execution of state projects. The North Korean authorities are responsible for publicizing the regime's policy through a working-level organization of the Joseon Democratic Women's Federation (JDWF) established in Myeon and Ri administrative zones in November 1945. The federation works as the channel that expedites the project execution at the right time and establishes plans for project implementation according to the local reality. Some of the federation members are responsible for ideology education. Known as the education teacher and the senior teacher, they are eloquent speakers from the labor unit for instigation and propaganda and teach ideology for federation members by subunits. Ideology education is about teaching greatness of great men from Mt. Paektu, nationalism, instilling communism, uplifting morality, the leaders' historical speeches, orders, directions, and the party's policy. They work to instill ideas and policy into women. Ideology education claims that patriotism is to return to the regime's leader through implementing plans built by the party (*Women of Joseon* 2015, 4th, 51).

The Worker's Party, cabinet, federation and *Women of Joseon* work as one united body to involve women in the policies. In the process, the party and cabinet are responsible for the overall planning and execution, the press publicizing, disseminating, propagating, and instigating the party's plan, and the federation offering ideology education to induce more involvement from women. Based on this organized system, the North Korean authorities make

use of female workforces to push for the state strategy in tactical manners. According to Janos Kornai, operation of a socialist economic system causes chronic labor shortages. North Korea is no exception. Someone should fill the labor shortage created by North Korean men who are obligated to do 10 years of military service. Thus, North Korea attempts to utilize women workforces in efforts to address its chronic labor shortage problem in the name of gender equality, economic growth, and socialist state construction.

## ***2. Legal structure of women's multiple roles***

The journal argues that exploitation and feudal practices of the Japanese colonial rule still remained even after the independence from Japanese rule. It propagates that in 1946 the former leader, Kim Il-sung, made thorough preparation for women to exercise gender equality through active struggle, believing that the call to realize gender equality is a very complicated and difficult issue. With the land reform law promulgated on March 5 in 1946, the regime divided the land into similar proportions for men and women in efforts to realize gender equality in the lives of working people. Moreover, the “law on gender equality in North Korea” that was announced on July 30 in 1946, stipulates in its Article 1 that “women are entitled to the same rights as men in every area of state affairs, economy, culture, society, and politics” (*Women of Joseon* 2016, 4th, 10-11). At the initial stage of the regime’s establishment, it quickly built the legal framework for gender equality. The North Korean authorities promulgated gender equality law in an effort to free women from social restraints arguing that women should be the leaders of society and their own fate and commit to the construction of a socialist state. It also maintains that together with men, women are the one pillar and wheel that contribute to the construction of the socialist state, and so they should perform the work just as men do in the field of construction, agriculture, and mining, and in doing so, they can truly be liberated from patriarchal society.

North Korea enacted “family law” at the Supreme People’s Assembly on October 24 in 1990, and revised and supplemented the old version in 1993 and again in 2004 (North Korean Statute Book 2008, 175-180). The



eye-catching part of “family law” is that the traditional family system and heritage has been recovered. Under Chapter 1, Article 6 of the family law (protection principles of children and mothers), mothers shall do their duty of caring for and disciplining children. Under Article 35 (relationship between grandparents and grandchildren), grandchildren shall be responsible for the healthy life of their grandparents when they grow older. This is to pass the state duty onto individuals by extending the scope of relatives to a wider area of family support (Mun 2008). “Family law” stresses the importance of a mother’s role at the official level and extends the scope of family support, tightening the state control of family formation and disintegration. State regulation and involvement in family affairs eventually added to the burdens women already faced. The responsibility of the existing social welfare program also shifted from the authorities to women with the revised laws, forcing women to perform diversified and multiple tasks. With the enactment of laws that call for the multiple roles of women, legal responsibility that women should bear has been expanded.

### **III. IDEAL IMAGE OF THE HEROINE IN NORTH KOREA**

*Women of Joseon* allots more than half of its pages for introducing ideal womanhood in North Korea. In a journal of some 60 or so pages, over 30 pages contain articles that vividly describe the sacrifices of heroines and the rest of the journal covers topics from Kim Jong-un to local maps, explanations of the Juche and military-first ideas, and common knowledge like “how to raise chickens in winter.” In the “Socialist Morality and Life” section, there are stories titled “My Daughter-in-Law,” “Harmonious Family” and “Women with Fidelity Can Grow Flowers Even on a Rock,” showing examples of a good wife and wise mother to set a precedent for women. In the “Rightly Set Lifestyle of Socialism” section, the journal deals with women’s dress codes and their role of teaching language to children. The 30 pages of articles are mostly about the heroines being recognized for their efforts to get through difficulty and achieve their goals. So, then, we will now turn our outline of this

study as we look to examine North Korean policy by categorizing five types of ideal womanhood – the hardworking woman, the woman revolutionary, the professional woman, the good wife and wise mother, and the woman of military support and volunteering.

### **1. The Hardworking woman**

North Korea strongly encourages women's participation in society because women make up half of the total population and can contribute to economic growth if actively involved in the construction of the socialist state. *Women of Joseon* advocates women who make remarkable achievements or are devoted to the authorities' core industries. The areas where these women mostly engage are agriculture, mining, and silk worm cocoon production. In line with the authorities' core policy, the journal introduces examples of heroines who had done extremely well in forest recovery, recovery from flood damage, and support for construction sites.

Men originally were responsible for food supplies with the distribution system at work, but their capacity to supply food reached its limit when the public distribution system collapsed. The view spread that stay-at-home women should take responsibility for supporting the family on behalf of the men who counted on an inefficient distribution system of the incompetent state (Lim 2004, 80). The journal advocates that farming is the way to bring honor to the regime and addressing food shortage is the way to win the fight against the enemy. It also maintains that solving food problems is what the former leaders wanted them to do (*Women of Joseon* 2015, 10th, 49).

The journal also calls for an increase in crop production, citing women examples who are recognized for their efforts to address food shortage through such methods as weed removal and manure production. Notably, in spring, it introduces the hardworking heroine who produces manure and takes it to the farm. For example, there is a story about a former-track athlete Yoon Ok-sil who walked for 40 km taking manure in the freezing winter and sweltering summer (*Women of Joseon* 2015, 2nd, 42-43). In autumn, the season of harvest, the journal runs articles about crop harvest and threshing.

Those articles are there because in rural areas where threshing facilities and equipment are often lacking, harvest and threshing are important tasks to be done:

It is necessary to accumulate the pile of grass manure by cutting the grass on time, and improve fertility of the soil in order to further increase the grain production. The farmers as well as our women should keep in mind that production of manure helps raise productivity (*Women of Joseon* 2015, 8th, 31).

Greenhouses for vegetables can be the best way to get through food shortages during harsh winters (2014, 12th, 50). The North Korean regime intends to grow vegetables in any season by building greenhouses for vegetables and growing hay in Gangwon Province to increase livestock production:

By actively promoting the activities of the female shock brigade, the Committee of the Joseon Democratic Women's Federation in Sepo Gun (County) produced a large amount of organic fertilizer every year on the land of tens of jongbo (10 hectare). They also produced a large number of livestock feeds by closely planning fertilization and management in Sepo Gun livestock base. The Committee of the Joseon Democratic Women's Federation in Pyunkang and Icheon Gun have been devoting themselves to construction of a livestock base. (*Women of Joseon* 2016, 2nd, 45)

North Korea stresses the importance of coal and electric power production as a way to improve the economy and people's lives. As socialism emphasizes quantitative production, the regime cites the speed of Chollima, Mallima, and Masikryeong, encouraging more coal to be extracted and used (Kornai 1992, 184). *Women of Joseon* advocates the hardworking heroines who strive in coal production in order to solve the serious shortage of energy. This is seen as attempts to utilize women workforces in coal production, which had originally been an area completely dominated by men (2015, 2nd, 50). More than this, women are mobilized for railway-building and water-storage tank construction to support male miners. Electricity is the basic driving force for today's industry and expansion of electricity production is the key to economic

growth and people's livelihood (2015, 2nd, 48). Accordingly, women have jobs in which they visit power plants and supply necessities to the construction site like padded clothes and rain clothes (2015, 2nd, 51).

North Korea designated March 2 as a tree planting day like South Korea's Arbor Day and conducts projects for forest protection. Tree nurseries are built and tree-planting is recommended in efforts to protect forests (2012, 3rd, 27). The journal stresses that Kim Jung-sook, wife of the former leader Kim Il-sung, also took the lead in keeping forests green, and encouraged women to be involved in forest projects, citing episodes of her life. In the journal, the North Korean authorities induced women's active efforts to recover damages from harmful insects and forest fires (2016, 2nd, 31). Housing and street building is the core project pursued by Kim Jong-un. In the journal, hardworking heroines at construction sites offer assistance for construction workers. Although not directly offering support, women lift the moral of male construction workers in the form of various ideology projects involving word-of-mouth and art instigations (2016, 5th, 41).

## ***2. The woman revolutionary***

Types of the woman revolutionary are mostly figures of the past. This type of womanhood is divided into anti-Japanese fighters and Korean War heroines, and Kim Jung-sook (wife of former North Korean leader Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il's mother) and Gang Ban-seok (mother of former North Korean leader Kim Il-sung). With stories of those ordinary women who endeavor to fight against Japan, the journal can instill socialist ideas and patriotism into the North Korean people. By introducing the anti-Japanese struggles of Kim Jung-sook, the journal aims to elevate the people's loyalty toward the leader and strengthen justification of the "Paektu Hyultong" or "Paektu Bloodline" members.

### **(1) Glorification of Kim Jung-sook**

North Korea advocates Kim Jung-sook, mother of Kim Jong-il, as the

regime's primary woman revolutionary. There are three images envisioned in Kim. First, she has the anti-Japanese fighter image. In the journal, Kim is described as a wise and brave heroine, devoted to independence from Japan by involvement in various anti-Japanese protests and organizing women's units to assist military forces. Skilled in arms, Kim has the ability to test arms, and with knowledge of military affairs, she is able to give easy explanations about combat techniques:

In order to realize the great leader's idea of building a modern tank mechanization unit as soon as possible, Kim Jung-sook personally made uniforms for the tank commanders and often went to the unit to help. She frequently visited the training camps of the soldiers and told the soldiers about the combat techniques of guerrilla and modern warfare in an easy-to-understand manner. She demonstrated gunning and led them to be sharp shooters who handle weapons professionally and shoot guns well. (2015 *Women of Joseon* 2nd, 20-21)

Second, she has the image of mother of the regime, depicted as a woman with warmth who comforts bereaved families and takes care of the wounded and other soldiers at the battlefield (2015, 2nd, 23). Her third image is a wise intellectual who leads through turbulent times. After independence, Kim helped the federation members go to school in efforts to fight illiteracy. At the same time, Kim is depicted as a person of activeness and enthusiasm visiting women who are not allowed to go to school due to their in-laws and husbands (2016, 4th, 23). She is also described as a woman who made a great contribution to gender equality and the women's movement. Kim called for gender equality, arguing that women should join in social and political activities in order to exercise their equal rights, just as men do.

In *Women of Joseon*, despite being a woman, Kim Jung-sook had abundant military information and a pioneering-ability to lead women during turbulent times, such as the Japanese occupation and through the subsequent anti-Japanese protests. On the surface, Kim's calls for gender equality and women's participation in social and political activities seem ideal. In fact, it is unclear whether Kim actually engaged in those acts, and even if she did,

it does not matter. It is merely the North Korean tactic to make the drama that it wants with Kim starring in the main role. By showing that the wife of Kim Il-sung, the woman at the highest position, engages in diverse activities, the regime aims to instigate other ordinary women to join in on active and dedicated social activities. Women's involvement in social and political activities means that women participate in diverse aspects in order to succeed in completing the party's projects. All in all, the call for gender equality is translated into women's involvement in social and political activities, and this is the North Korean complex intention to instill revolutionary ideas into women and mobilize women labor forces (*Women of Joseon* 2016, 4th, 25).

## **(2) Women revolutionaries in the Korean War and anti-Japanese protests**

In *Women of Joseon*, women who lost their lives in the independence movement, the Korean War, and the fight against the enemy are seen as revolutionary soldiers. Former North Korean leader, Kim Jong-il, praised women for their efforts to instill their revolutionary and combat spirit and their heroic struggle for the victory in the rear and forefront of the battlefield. Some examples are Ahn Soon-hwa, Ko Jin-hee, and Cho Ok-soon. The journal describes them as virtuous women revolutionaries who performed exemplary revolutionary actions (*Women of Joseon* 2015, 1st, 26). There are other revolutionary heroines noted in the journal, such as a woman throwing herself onto an enemy's tank with a grenade, or another who spent years to save her hometown, and women who supplied food and supplies to the battlefield.

North Korea sheds light on women who contributed to the anti-Japanese struggle and war and calls them "the People's Republic Heroes" with the regime's unification prize (2015, 8th, 26). By consistently advocating women revolutionaries in the Korean War and anti-Japanese protests, the North revives the history of invasion and brutality by Japan, making its people feel victimized by the enemy. It blames the U.S. and Japan as the main enemies establishing the warfare logic that North Korea is still vulnerable to attack from the U.S. and Japan, and it deploys a comprehensive strategy to make the

people believe that they can be protected by the regime from foreign invasion and thus be united.

### **3. The women professional type**

In North Korea, the liberation of women and gender equality has its roots in the equal involvement of men and women in social and political activities. The North propagates that women are one of the wagon wheels of the revolution. As women make up half of the contributions to the revolution, the regime nurtures professional women and induces their involvement in areas where only men were dominant players. Women professions in the journal include soldiers, scientists, athletes (coach), and so on.

#### **(1) Women scientists**

North Korea calls scientific technology as the patriotic business that can prop up the next generation of the nation. In his speech at the 4th Conference of Cell Secretaries of the Workers' Party of Korea, Kim Jong-un noted that the time we live in now is the time of scientific technology and a knowledge economy and that science is the key to building a strong state and its future (*Women of Joseon* 2014, 2nd, 20). Thus, he encourages equal involvement of men and women in scientific technology projects and state policies. *Women of Joseon* introduces scientists and technicians in various fields, such as Dr. Choi Seung-bok who completed research on bio-pesticides (Pyeongyang Biotechnology Research Institute), researcher Kim Jung-ae who was recognized for her medical research on stomach disease treatments (Cheongjin Clinical Medicine Center), and Dr. Lee Hyun-seul who realized plant automation is recognized as well (National Science & Technology Commission). The journal advertises that the regime offers various benefits for scientists who strive to promote the science-first principle, and women scientists are treated as equally as their male counterparts with residence and special stores provided. It also publicizes that it was the North Korean leaders who nurtured those women as science and engineering experts and made their research possible.

The women, in turn, all attribute their achievement to Kim Jong-un and his forefathers. Its logic follows the idea that the leaders of North Korea found scientific talents in women and fostered them as doctors.

## **(2) Women soldiers**

North Korea deploys “Songun” or a military-first policy, which prioritizes the Korean People’s Army. Under the policy, the army plays a critical role in the revolution. As the army had been exclusively for men, examples of women soldiers who made heroic achievements is very appropriate to support the regime’s logic for gender equality. The journal advertises that its leader, Kim Jong-un, gives instruction on tactical maneuvers for women pilots and additional guidance in firing weapons for women gunners. There is also in-depth coverage that women can perform as much as men do, encouraging women to be a part of the army:

The respectable leader was satisfied with the flight training of female pilots flying into the blue sky of the motherland and proud of them for flying chase as well as a man and for landing at an unfamiliar airfield under adverse weather conditions. He complimented female pilots for showing off the spirit of Korean women and he called them good daughters of the hero Joseon and heroines of training. (*Women of Joseon* 2015, 9th, 17)

## **(3) Women athletes**

In *Women of Joseon*, athletes who were awarded prizes and won titles are covered. Examples are track athlete Shin Keum-dan, gymnast Choi Myung-sim, soccer players Kim Kyung-hwa and Hur Soon-hee, and swimmer Kim Kook-hyang. The journal claims the East Asian Cup title of the North Korean women’s soccer team revives the past victory and glorifies women athletes:

Shin Keum-dan was a turner at one of the local factories and won 180 gold medals in domestic and international competitions and renewed the world



record 11 times. She contributed to North Korea becoming a world record holder in the women's 400 m and 800 m running. She did what she needed to do as an athlete, but the great leader presented her an award and pinned the badges on her chest. The leader granted her with the title "distinguished athlete" in 1961 and the title of "people's athlete" in 1966. (*Women of Joseon* 2014, 2nd, 7)

The reason that North Korean athletes are highly appreciated is that winning medals and competition is a way to enhance the national prestige to the international community. Despite international opposition, North Korea pushed for nuclear tests and found itself isolated from the outside world. International competitions like the Olympics and World Cup are the only channels that allow for the North's communication and involvement in international affairs, offering the chance to prove itself to its people that North Korea is a member of the international community. The regime praises athletes for their achievements in international competitions and encourages them with prizes and titles in addition to recognizing them as great as scientists and soldiers. Notably, in international competition, women players perform better than their male counterparts so their cases are often used to introduce heroines.

#### ***4. The good wife and wise mother type***

In South Korean society, a good wife and wise mother is the idealized traditional role for women. North Korea presents the extended image of the good wife and wise mother under the socialist monolithic ideology system. First, a good wife and wise mother in North Korea is encouraged to induct many children into the armed forces. North Korea is faced with a low fertility rate due to a depressed economy that has lasted since the North Korean Famine in the mid-1990s, so the regime tries to persuade women to give birth to many babies, informing women that it is the job of women and an act of patriotism. In the North, which holds to the Songun policy (the army-first policy), the policy to promote childbirth matters because more babies translates into more military forces. Women who have many babies are

awarded the title of heroine and are given chances to have a discussion in the national competition for mothers. Moreover, North Korea uses various ways to encourage and promote childbirth (*Women of Joseon* 2016, 8th, 43). North Korea glorifies the idea of having more babies as an act of lofty patriotism and the job of the mother under the Songun policy. However, women who have more children lead a more difficult life because they have to juggle childcare, office work, and house chores. Notably, they have to help their children study and socialize while paying attention to their health if they want their children to work for the army (2015, 6th, 45; 2016, 9th, 46):

There was an occasion to celebrate in a village in Gisan-ri, Pyeongyang County last April. One of women's union members Song, Gyum-sook gave birth to her ninth child. The more the children grew up, the more work she did. She had to take care of her children and lead them to study well. She also had to raise livestock for their nutritional care. She did not have much time to rest and sometimes she fell down. But each time, she thought it is patriotism and the job of the mother under the Songun policy. She decided to give birth to more children and devoted all her intellect and effort to raise them up stately and well. (*Women of Joseon* 2012, 9th, 44)

Through such propaganda, the regime encourages more childbirth. The happiest and most honorable mother advocated by the regime is the mother of a soldier, so the yardstick to evaluate the life of a woman is not ultimately the woman herself, but the performance of her children in the army. The family whose children are in the army is called "the rear family" meaning that people who aren't in the military support the soldiers. That kind of family is considered to be respected and is encouraged to be devoted to providing reinforcement as they raise their family (2012, 10th, 30).

Second, in North Korea the role of the mother is stressed more than that of father in child-rearing and education. When it comes to providing children with an education, only the role of the mother is emphasized with no consideration of the father's role. Generally, both mother and father share responsibilities for child-rearing and education, but in the North, the first educator for children is the mother, so their upright and sound mindset,

mental health, and cultural and moral character are highlighted (*Women of Joseon* 2014, 1st, 12):

In home education, the parents' education is important, and especially the roles of women and mothers are very important. The person who children see for the first time in the world is the mother. With a mother's help, children learn everything they need, including walking, talking, dressing, and eating. The first education of children has a great influence on their growth and development. Therefore, mothers realize that they should fulfill their responsibilities and roles (*Women of Joseon* 2016, 11th, 42)

North Korean mothers are required by the regime to mind the dress code and hair styles that affect their children's decency and education so their responsibility and roles are always emphasized. Notably, the regime intervenes in the mother's speech style, attitude, and appearance, encouraging them to be very careful about these things in the name of children's education. The regime argues that it is inappropriate for women to go out of their house wearing working clothes without wearing makeup. It maintains that the mother should be at all times neat, decent, and beautiful in the eyes of their children in order to earn trust and respect from them. Through this, we can learn that North Korean society advocates women as the ones who nurture the regime's future but actually tightens control of their personality and freedom (2013, 11th, 12). It is also emphasized that mothers should rear globally gifted children, through updating the school curriculum. The specific gravity of education has slightly shifted since 2012, in Kim Jong-un's era, reflecting a global trend.

Third, a North Korean wife should support and serve her husband at home. An ideal wife in the North is someone with warmth and generous understanding. North Korean society favors an understanding and considerate woman rather than respecting the individual character of woman, and it is the woman who first pleases her husband and lifts up the mood in the relationship with her husband. The journal argues that a wife is charming when she relieves her husband's feelings of stress and burden, and helps lift up the mood in any situation. No matter who was in the wrong, wives have to

obey their husbands in all things and understand their husbands in a way to keep the romance alive. Moreover, the journal writes that the role of women is not to reveal their feelings but to offer support for their husbands and to help them do their duty as the proper breadwinner (*Women of Joseon* 2012, 8th, 43).

Fourth, a North Korean daughter-in-law should devote herself to her parents-in-law in general. Daughters-in-law do everything for their family-in-law, whether it is good or not, and serve their husbands and raise children while taking care of their brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. It says that the daughter-in-law cannot compare with married daughters in terms of care and the burden of housework. This means that a married daughter is no longer a member of her own family in North Korea, but focuses on married life in the home of the husband's family.

North Korean women give birth to as many children as possible in an act of patriotism and assume the role of nurturing those children for the future. At the same time, they are required to serve husbands as a wife and support the parents-in-law and family-in-law as a daughter-in-law. However, North Korean society has not highly evaluated the efforts and sacrifices that women make, and it only stresses the importance of the role for women, rather than the individuals themselves. The regime just encourages women not to fix the outdated practice of raising children and supporting husbands, but enter into society to be actively involved in the construction of the new state. A stay-at-home housewife is negatively portrayed as “someone who does nothing at home,” and doing house chores is also neglected as “a mere kitchen thing,” thus substantially devaluing the role of women at home (*Women of Joseon* 2013, 1st, 11). The four types of the good wife and wise mother model advocated by the North Korean regime seriously distorts the traditional image of the good wife and wise mother.

### ***5. The woman of military support and volunteering type***

The fifth type of the heroine in the journal is the woman of military support and volunteering. North Korean society presents two grounds to

spur women to participate in assisting troops and providing support to the military. First, it educates women that the value of women's lives lies in devoting their life to their community and society, country and people, and the ruling Workers' Party and revolution. The society emphasizes that the most honorable way of life is to dedicate oneself to society rather than living for oneself and constantly encourages women to give support to the military by instilling in them that volunteer work and sacrifice are the fundamental duties to build a revolutionary society. Second, North Korea portrays support for the military as the tradition of Joseon women. In his memoir, Kim Il-sung wrote of women who supported troops in many ways, for example, by taking risks to secure and provide valuable supplies such as fabrics, shoes, and firearms in their contribution to military victory. The North Korean authorities appeal to women to actively offer assistance to the people's army, a proud tradition of the Joseon women's movement, in response to the international community that seeks to stage a pre-emptive strike against North Korea (*Women of Joseon* 2016, 11th, 44). North Korean society prioritizes better treatment for soldiers. Yet faced with a limited budget, it seeks to obtain service from civilians and assigns the supportive roles to women. The supplies vary from crops to livestock to everyday essentials to side-dish foods to military uniforms. Women's volunteer work for wounded soldiers and war veterans is often taken for granted. News reports highlight women who sacrifice their lives by marrying war veterans and becoming their wives. North Korean women take care of war veterans on their birthdays and public holidays, as well as their families. The journal depicts in its articles heroines who take active involvement in the private aspects of the lives of war veterans, such their food preference, hobbies, and financial situation:

Ryu Soon-ok visited the injured soldier's house and checked his hobbies, tastes, and even household as though she were his mother. Since then she visited his house on national holidays and birthdays, as well as on ordinary days and checked his health condition and helped him not to have any difficulties and discomforts. (*Women of Joseon* 2012, 5th, 47)

On January 1, 2015, the Chairman of the Workers' Party of Korea, Kim

Jong-un, visited an orphanage in Pyongyang and instructed the JDWF (the Joseon Democratic Women's Federation) to take charge in assisting daycare centers and kindergartens. Following his instructions, a volunteer program for preschoolers emerged. Through volunteering for preschoolers, North Korean society intends to demonstrate the chairman's focus and love for younger and future generations. Volunteering for preschoolers also falls on women and members of the JDWF. This volunteer activity consists of activities such as cooking special treats for little children and giving supplies needed for nurturing children such as underwear, toys and daily essentials, or sewing clothes (*Women of Joseon* 2015, 11th, 41):

It wasn't easy to get clothing to be worn by many children, not even one or two. But she was enthusiastic about the leader's love for the future generation and prepared warm and cozy clothing. Hong Jung-sook and other women's union members who operated the sewing machine day and night put smiles on their faces imagining children who will receive the clothes and will be happy with the new clothing. (*Women of Joseon* 2015, 9th, 29)

North Korean women live busy lives of juggling their schedules among family, work, and volunteering. North Korean society leverages patriotism to spur women on to give birth to many babies, while it capitalizes on gender equality to employ women's labor. At the same time, the society propagandizes the true virtue of life in demanding that they volunteer and sacrifice for the provision of military supplies and aid war veterans and wounded soldiers as well as children.

#### **IV. IMPLICIT INTENTION AND EVALUATION OF MIMICKING HEROINE POLICY**

The JDWF's periodical is in essence a tool for manipulating symbols to enforce policies by identifying, creating and promoting the heroine intensely to propel all women into mimicking heroic actions. Their propaganda has

an aspect of a political campaign, with its presentation of a model of a sort of 'super mom' who dedicates herself to society in many fields and sends a message that women are capable of leaving behind their passive awareness in traditional patriarchy and contributing to national projects in a manner equal to that of men. The five types of the heroines carry the following policy goals.

### ***1. Collapse of Conventional Gender-Based Boundaries of Labor Areas***

During the Joseon dynasty era, when traditional Confucianism reigned, the prevailing perspective was that men and women needed to be segregated as it dictated that boys and girls must not be present in same space from the age of seven. The dominant thinking was that, in accordance with the mentality that preferred men over women, men and women possess different capacities and roles. Under the colonial rule, Japan never felt the necessity to execute a policy to correct gender discrimination on the Korean peninsula, thus resulting in no big change in social awareness. The Japanese authorities deemed that the culture of their colonial subjects that called for women's obedience was not a negative element in their colonial rule. In a sense that women's non-resistant obedience effectively controlled one pillar of resistance against colonial governance, it can be said that Japan ironically fueled gender discrimination.

Kim Il-sung believed that eliminating gender inequality was vital to fully accomplishing his revolution in the process of nation building. He concluded that women's participation would be effective in removing the psychological barrier of men who were passive in fulfilling the revolution. He recognized that shifting away from the thinking that distinguishes jobs based on gender was urgent in the early days of founding the nation. In the early days of his regime, Kim Il-sung recruited women for administrative and assistive duties and men for areas that required physical strength such as construction and, in particular, heavy construction. However, with over 90 percent of the workforce in their 20s serving in the military, the employment of women became inevitable as an alternate source of labor for mining and construction of

power plants, a field that was considered only for men. Since 1998, when Kim Jong-il took the helm, the gender distinction in labor started to disappear. This has accelerated in terms of the depth and width since 2012, when Kim Jong-un came to power.

The policy of hiring women in civil engineering and construction, fields conventionally reserved for men, is a convenient alternative for North Korea that has often experienced a shortage of labor. Large populations of women also joined in agricultural work, coal, and power plants for the production of energy, and field projects such as silk-farming and flood prevention, as well as the preservation of forests. The move aims to recruit as many women as possible in labor fields that relied on men by promoting dedicated heroines. North Korea's economic crisis led to a shortage of heavy equipment, prompting all processes to be executed in handcraft and thus increasing the difficulty of jobs and accidents. Even men stayed away from these traditional fields of labor. All these factors led to a greater promoting of the heroines in heavy industries such as mining and were seen as an effort to spur on both women and men (Kim 2000, 211). North Korea sought to stimulate pro-activeness of women by showing that women can also partake in the male-dominated areas of the military and on the battlefield and treating female soldiers as professionals.

## ***2. Spread of the Stakhanov movement***

For core national projects, the journal promotes specific heroines. Some of them were selected as examples of the heroine by achieving actual results. On the other hand, there are cases where the hero is deliberately manipulated, beautified, and created intentionally in order to derive the achievement from a specific field. In particular, cases where achievements far exceed acceptable labor standards of the general public are those in which an artificial virtual person is created to pursue the party's goal. The primary example of a fabricated hero is the mine worker "Stakhanov," whom the Soviet Union advocated in the 1930s with an aim of coal production. The Soviet Union pushed for a socialist competition movement in efforts to improve labor productivity in line with its second 5-year plan in 1935. The authorities expanded the movement



nationwide after Stakhanov achieved a remarkable production rate by making new technology that brought about innovation. He succeeded in producing 102 tons of coal, 14 times higher than the norm, delivering a nationwide message to workers to “learn from him.” However, his achievement, though impressive, is doubtful, and even the entire movement eventually had to come to a halt amid criticism of it being nothing but a tactic to raise the intensity of labor.

Moreover, propaganda techniques are used to encourage people to memorize and remember the deceased and maintain revolutionary and invincible spirits. The regime drummed up a deceased 19-year-old girl who became known for conducting a train and providing war supplies while going through a severe attack and shelling from the enemy during the Korean War in March, 1952. The deceased are easy to use examples of exemplary sacrifice as it is impossible to identify whether the stories are true or not.

The journal runs articles that encourage coal production for heating in the winter. It urges workers to quickly produce more coal, citing the speed of Chollima (a thousand-ri-a day horse) and speed of Masikryeong. The North has used quantitative methods to emphasize the speed battle in production. Especially, under the orders of Kim Jong-un, the Masikryeong ski resort opened on December 31 in 2013. Subsequently, 2013 and 2014 were years in which the expression “Masikryeong speed” came to be frequently used. The slogan, “Socialism competition production at the speed of Masikryeong” in 2014 was changed into the “revolutionary spirit of Paektu for socialist competition over production that advances the final victory” in 2015. Only the slogan is different, and the North again designated coal production as the part of the core project and calls for the people to be heavily armed with a revolutionary Mt. Paektu spirit. The journal introduces the heroine saying that there is no distinction between men and women in the speed battle. In the 12<sup>th</sup> issue of *Women of Joseon* in 2013, Baek Jung-sook and Lee Yeong-sil are described as “hardworking heroines” of coal production. Its aim is that all North Korean women promote the North’s version of the Stakhanov movement as an inspirational model case. However, the article about hardworking heroines does not give an exact date of the event and is thus far from concrete and accurate.

As such, this propaganda article in the North is difficult to confirm as valid. The article seems to be just utilized to propagate the heroine and appeal to the party's policy for women. All in all, there is a possibility that the story of the hardworking heroine has been exaggerated or glamorized.

### ***3. Spread of the theory of great family and paternalism of women***

The North Korean authorities urge women to enter society, but they emphasize the role of women at home more. The North promotes gender equality in efforts to mobilize the women's labor force and calls for women's social participation. This is to instill the idea that women are essentially the same "economic players" as men and that it is necessary to let them work as much as men do. The theory of the "great family" – in which "the whole society is one family" – creates a social atmosphere where women serve in areas outside of the home and office. To this end, the JDWF gives the third duty of social service to women who are already suffering from the double whammy of office work and housework. This has blurred the line between home and society, providing grounds for individual and social issues to be solved from social community perspectives (Kim 2000). The authorities, who can no longer serve as paternalistic guardians for the people after suffering through a food shortage, have deployed a three-burden policy by imposing housework, office work, and service on women. Under socialism, a distribution system is a critical element that justifies the state and leadership. The authorities shift their responsibility of protecting old soldiers and honored soldiers, and place the burden on women to provide support services and supplies that cannot be procured by the authorities and mobilize women workforces for the nationally-important projects that cannot be executed due to shortages of labor and supplies. The statement that the whole society is "one family" based on the Kim family indicates that a leader does not follow paternalistic principles under which the leader is responsible for food, clothing, and shelter of the people.

#### **4. Succession by the third generation and political power of women**

North Korean women are utilized to ensure success of the Kim Jong-un regime and maintain leadership in various forms. The story of the heroine in revolution and war describes brutality, sacrifice, torture, and death experienced by those women. This aims to lead to respect and preferential treatment toward women soldiers and give grounds to the regime's Songun policy. Kim Jung-sook is the woman who is the most frequently introduced in the journal. The authorities put Kim Jung-sook at the top of 10 million North Korean women to justify the third-generation succession and unite women in the JDWF to strengthen political support forces.

North Korea held the 7th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea for the first time in 36 years in May 2016. With the congress around the corner, the North Korean society urged women to do their job as women revolutionaries under the Songun policy. This is because the regime sees women as revolutionaries who can contribute to combat power. North Korean women play multiple roles - serving as workers who perform the party's policy and also becoming soldiers in wartime. The regime advertises that women in the world find their status and role limited, but North Korean women find no boundaries in their role, leading a truly happy life with confidence. As the 7th Congress neared, *Women of Joseon* ran a special feature about the history of the ruling Workers' Party of Korea in efforts to solidify authenticity of the congress. Ideology, technology, and cultural promotion are the three areas of revolution advanced by North Korea, and it promotes a public movement to turn over a new leaf in these three areas. The necessity of brainwashing that uses diverse materials, logic, and symbols to appeal to women is emphasized more in efforts to mobilize the public.

## **V. CONCLUSION**

Celebrating the 68th anniversary of the proclamation of the gender

equality law on July 30, 2014, the North announced that women should “play the role of pioneer” and become a sort of “superwoman.” Meanwhile, North Korean authorities changed the name, for the first time in 65 years, from “Joseon Democratic Women’s Federation” to the “Joseon Socialism Women’s Federation.” The Korean Central News Agency reported that the resolution on the new name was adopted at the sixth congress (17th-18th) on November 18. The new name uses “socialism” instead of the word “democratic.” The word “democratic” is a political term referring to something passive and inactive. It is based on the authorities’ orders while the word “socialism” alludes to the active and leading role of women in socialist economic activities.

The propaganda media in the North stresses that women’s policy from socialism is better than women’s policy from capitalism. It also argues that women workforces in South Korea are paid less than their North Korean counterparts for the same amount of labor and suffer from discrimination in every aspect of social life (Social Science Economic Institute 1970). On the surface, diverse laws in the North seem to allow for equal treatment of men and women, but due to the occupation-based gender segregation policy in economic activities, males are employed in high-paying heavy industry and professional areas with various pension benefits, while women are hired in low-paying light industries such as “store” or public health areas, causing actual gender discrimination in the end. North Korea propagandizes that it gives special consideration to women through external division of occupation instead of welfare benefits like salaries. It promotes the idea that women should join men in their drive for revolution in terms of the use of labor forces in the name of class liberation and human liberation. In reality, however, it only puts a severe burden on women.

Like other socialist states, Pyongyang advocates gender equality through government policies. It defines the view toward women under its unique “Juche Idea” so the North Korean women are dominated by patriarchal ideology that prioritizes the “father” and are socially restrained to realize themselves within the boundary of the party and organization. They are also haunted by a male-centered patriarchal view in the family and undertake production activities as labor forces to do housework and childcare. Worse

yet, women are faced with hardworking competition, production-quotas, and ideology-learning programs that aim to cover the shortcomings of the social economic system and maximize the use of labor forces causing them to be burdened with a double and even triple whammy.

This paper tries to grasp the intention and implication of Kim Jong-un's women's policy using a different research method from the time series analyses of the existing research. The systematic classification of ideal heroines has been adopted. According to the announcement of the equal rights for both genders in 1946, the women's policy of North Korea was established. Its basic frame has continued on regardless of the heredity succession of the third generation of leadership since 2012. Kim Jong-un's women's policy has just changed the role and function of women adjusting to the conditions at the time such as economic difficulty, low birthrate, and military first-policy, with the essence of women's policy remaining unchanged. Nowadays, Pyongyang has seriously caused confrontation with international society due to the development of nuclear weapons and missiles. North Korea is desperately concentrating its energy on the survival of the regime and minimizing the structural contradictions of the unique socialist country by maximum build-up of the mobilization system and military first policy. The mobilization policy has made maximum use of the women's power, which occupies half of the population (Kim 1967). That is the reason why we should focus on North Korean women.

- Received on 10 April 2017
- Reviewed on 24 April 2017
- Accepted on 16 May 2017

## REFERENCES

- Board of Unification. 1991. *Bughan gajogbeobgwa gajogsiltae [North Korean Family Law and Reality of Family]*. Seoul: Board of Unification.
- Chang, Phil-hwa. 1992. *Bughansahoeui seongbyeolbun-eob [Gender-based*

- Labor Division in the North Korean Society]. Seoul: North Korean View on Women: Data Collection of 1st Academic Seminar on Unification, Ewha Womans University Korean Women's Institute.
- Chang, Hye-kyung and Kim, So-young, Choi, Jin-hee, Kim, Byoung-lo, and Park, Sung-mi. 2015. *Tong-il daebi yeoseong-gajogjeongchaeg chujin jeonlyaggwa tong-ilhangug sahoetonghab jeonmang yeongu [Research on Women and Family Policy Drive Strategy and Prospect for Social Integration for Future Unification]*. Seoul: Korean Women's Development Institute.
- Cho, Hyung. 1992. Bughansahoechegyewa gabujangje [North Korean Social System and Patriarchy]. Seoul: North Korean View on Women: Data Collection of 1st Academic Seminar on Unification, Ewha Womans University Korean Women's Institute.
- Chung, Sung Lim. 2000. "Bughan-ui yeoseongjeongchaeggwa yeoseong-insig gujo [North Korean Women Policy and Structure of Women Awareness]." *Tong-il-yeongu [Research on Unification]*. Vol. 4, No. 2.
- Collection of North Korean Laws and Regulations. 2008. *Min.hyeongsabumun-Gajogbeob [Civil and Criminal Cases – Family Law]*. Seoul: National Intelligence Service.
- Court Administration Office. 1998. *Bughan-ui gajogbeob [Family Law in North Korea]*. Seoul: Court Administration Office.
- Ewha Womans University. 2010. *Seongunsidae bughan-yeoseong-ui salm [Life of North Korean Women under Songun Policy]*. Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press.
- Joseon Democratic Women's Federation. (2012.1-2016.12). *Women of Joseon*. Pyongyang: Worker's Organization Press.
- Kornai, János. 1992. *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*. New Jersey: Princeton University.
- Kim, Ae-sil. 1996. Gyeongjehejewa nambughan yeoseong-ui gyeongjejeog jiwi : tong-il-eul daebihan nambughan yeoseong-ui salm-e daehan bikyo [Economic System and Economic Status of Women in Two

Koreas: Comparison of Women in Two Koreas for Preparation]. Seoul: North Korean View on Women: Data Collection of 1st Academic Seminar on Unification, Ewha Womans University Korean Women's Institute.

Kim, Gwi-ok, Lim, Sun-im, Lee, Kyun-ha, and Hwang, Eun-ju. 2000. *Bughan yeoseongdeul-eun eotteohge salgo iss-eulikka* [How North Korean Women Live]. Seoul: Daedong.

Kim, Il-sung. 1967. [Selected Writings of Kim Il-sung's Writings: The First Volume]. Pyongyang: Joseon Worker's Party Press.

Kim, Seok-hyang. 2006. "Namnyeopyeongdeung-gwa yeoseong-ui gwonlie daehan bughandang-gug-ui gongsigdamlon byeonhwa - 1950nyeon ijeon 1979nyeon ihu 『joseonnyeoseong』 gisaleul jungsim-eulo [Change in the North Korean Regime's Official Discourse on Gender Equality and Women's Rights – Focusing on Articles of Women of Joseon before 1950 and after 1979]." *Bughan-yeonguhaghoebo* [North Korean Research Academic Society Collection]. Vol. 10, No. 1.

Kim, Seon-wook, Kim, Won-ghengm, Kim, Young-hae, and Kim, Dong-yung. 1992. *Bughan-yeoseong-ui jiwie gwanhan yeongu: yeoseong-gwanlyeon beobgwa jeongchaeg-eul jungsim-eulo* [Research on Status of North Korean Women: Focusing on Women-related Law and Policy]. Seoul: Korean Women's Development Institute.

Kim, Hye-young and Park, Sun-hye. 2015. *Tong-il-eul daebihan nambughan yeoseong-ui salm-e daehan bigyo* [Research on Family Awareness and Cultural Integration in Two Koreas for Unified Korea]. Seoul: Korean Women's Development Institute.

Lee, Bae-yong. 1997. *Tong-il-eul daebihan nambughan yeoseong-ui salm-ui bigyo* [Comparison of Life of South and North Korean Women for Future Unification]. Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press.

Lee, Mi-kyung. 2004. "Gyeongjenan ihu bughan-yeoseong-ui salmgwa uisig-ui byeonhwa-talbug yeoseong-gwau simcheungmyeonjeob-eul jungsim-eulo [Changing Life and Awareness of North Korean Women after Economic Crisis – Focusing on In-depth Interview on

- North Korean Women Refugees].” *Aseayeongu [Asiatic Research]*. Vol. 47, No. 2.
- Lee, Tae-young. 1988. *Bughan-yeoseong [North Korean Women]*. Seoul: Silcheon Publisher.
- Lim, Soon-hee. 2006. *Bughan yeoseong-ui salm: jisoggwa byeonhwa [Life of North Korean Women: Consistency and Change]*. Seoul: Haenam.
- Nam, In-sook. 1992. *Nambughan yeoseong, geudeul-eun nugu-inga [Who are South and North Korean Women]*. Seoul: Seoul Newspaper.
- Nam, Sung-wook. 2013. “8onyeondae nambuggwangyewa hangugsahoewi daebuggwan: isang-gwa hyeonsil [Inter-Korean Relations and View of South Korean Society toward the North in the 1980s: Ideal and Reality].” *Gugjemunjeyeongu [International Affairs]*. Vol. 14, No. 2.
- Merriam, Charles Edward. 1934. *Political Power: Its Composition and Incidence*. New York: Whittlesey House.
- Mun, Jang-soon. (2008). “Bughan-yeoseong-ui yeoghal byeonhwawa geu yoin- 1990nyeondae ihuleul jungsim-eulo [Changing Role of North Korean Women and its Causes – Focusing on after-1990s].” *Nambugmunhwayesul-yeongu [Journal of Korean Unification Culture and Arts]*. No. 3, 159-189.
- Park, Bok-soon. 2014. *Tong-ildaebi nambughan yeoseong-gajog gwanlyeon beobje bigyo yeongu [Study on Comparison between Women, Family-Related Legislation in Two Koreas for Unification]*. Seoul: Korean Women’s Development Institute.
- Park, Hyun-seon. 2003. *Hyeondae Bughansahoewa Gajog [Today’s North Korean Society and Family]*. Seoul: Hanul Academy.
- Park, Young-Ja. 2004. “Bughan-ui namnyeopyeongdeung jeongchaeg-ui hyeongseong-gwa guljeol(1945-70): bughan-yeoseong-ui jeongchisahoejeog jiwi byeonhwaleul jungsim-eulo [Formation and Distortion of Gender Equality Policy in the North (1945-70): Focusing on Change in Political and Social Status of North Korean Women].” *Asiayeoseong-yeongu [Journal of Asian Women]*. Vol.



43, No. 2.

Reuth, Ralf Georg. 2006. Goebbles. Translated by Kim Tae-hee. Seoul: Kyoyangin.

Rodong Simmun, Choseon Central Communication, every year.

Shin, Young-ho. 1992. “Bugghan gajogbeob-ui naeyong-gwa geu teugsae [Contents of North Korean Family Law and its Traits]” *DanGookbauphak [Dangook Science of Law]*. Vol. 3.

Social Science Economy Institute. 1970. Gyeongjesajeon 1 [*Economy Dictionary 1*]. Pyongyang: Social Science Publisher.

Sohn, Bonk-sook and Lee, Kyung-sook, Lee, On-Jook, Kim, Age-sil. 1991. *Bugghan-ui Yeoseongsaenghwal [Life of North Korean Women]*. Seoul: Nanam.

Yoon, Mi-rryang. 1991. *Bugghan-ui yeoseongjeongchaeg [Women Policy of North Korea]*. Seoul: Hanul Academy.

