A Study of Language Assimilation Process for North Koreans in South Korea[*]

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Kim, Kyung-Ryung. 2007. A Study of Language Assimilation for North Koreans in South Korea. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal, 15*(4), 21-40. This study is about North Koreans language assimilation process in South Korea. one hundred North Koreans participated in language test and answered survey questions. Using the data, two regression models are built: 1) the model that estimates the impact of 10 factors such as education and TV watching hours on accuracy/fluency 2) the model that estimates the impact of language skill(accuracy/fluency) on self evaluated adjustment level. It is found from the first model that the educational background plays the most important role in accuracy/fluency of South Korean language. From the second model, it is found that language skills, as represented as accuracy/fluency, do have impacts on the chance of getting any income. This indirectly supports the hypothesis that better language skill helps the adjustment process of North Koreans in South Korean society.

Key Words: North Korean, language assimilation process, language policy, correlational analysis, reaction time test, linear probability model, regression analysis

1. Introduction

Since the 1990's, the number of North Koreans defecting to South Korea has increased. Recently, the defection type has changed from individual defections to family defections, mainly via China. This change leads to various compositions of defecting North Koreans in age from teenagers to persons in their sixty years old and from an analytical point of view, the accessibility to data for linguistic

difference between South and North Koreans has improved (Gwak 2005; Lee 1999, Lee 1996).

When North Koreans settle down in South Korea, they encounter serious problems with cultural adaptation, finance, education, and language. Among them, language proficiency is the necessary and sufficient condition for successful settlement and is the key to resolve other problems (Kim,2003). Many researchers propose that language assimilation plays an important role in relocating North Koreans in a new society (Chung et al, 2001, Kim, 2003; Lee et al, 2004;etc.).

In the 2006 report (Moon, 2006), 100 selected North Koreans from teenagers and persons in their fifties participated in the survey and language test. In the report, based on the abundant data and by using statistical methods, various correlational factors are analyzed. Correlational analysis is helpful to understand general tendencies but there seems to be limitations to understand the details of interactions among the factors.

In the 2006 report, several questions remain unanswered. The North Koreans who are not satisfied with their current job are found to be experiencing difficulty in learning South Korean language. They also have longer periods to acquire South Korean language and to adjust to South Korean society. However, their actual language proficiency is found to be significantly superior to other North Koreans. This may seem to be a contradicting result because many researchers argue that language proficiency plays an important role for North Koreans' social assimilation. Based on the 2006 report, data will be analyzed more critically so that social factors that influence social accommodation processes can be found. A regression analysis is employed to find which social factors influence language accuracy or fluency.

In the 2006's report, these social factors are analyzed using a correlational analysis. In this study, qualitative factors such as age, gender, educational background, job experience in North Korea, willingness to participate in social meetings, prohibition of North Korean language usage at home, TV watching, asking correction when mistakes are made, and accepting level of South Korean language, are explicitly considered using a regression analysis. It is also examined whether or not language proficiency specially influences North Koreans social adjustment in South Korea.

2. Literature Review

South Korea and North Korea have been separated for almost 60 years. This separation resulted in heterogeneous language usages and generations of new words and expressions in the two Koreas. Researchers argue that in order to successfully adjust themselves in a new society, the North Koreans have to overcome these language differences. Many researchers (Chung et al, 2001; Kim, 2003; Lee et al, 2004; Moon et al, 2005) argue that acquiring South Korean language mainly influences their success in social adjustment.

Communication problems occur because of different lexical usage, different tone of North Korean language, different usage at discourse, different rhetoric expressions (Kim, 1999). Also, personal efforts for the adjustment such as understanding South Korean society, practicing rhetoric expression, acquiring new vocabulary, understanding rhetoric expression, increasing working hours, are necessary (Chung et al,2001; Lee et al, 2004).

Language accommodation directly or indirectly plays an important role in the social adjustment, which is supported by many foreign researchers (Bosher, 1998; Ratzlaff & Nishinoharah, 1998; Rodermund & Selbereisen, 1996; Short & Porro-Salinas, 1996; Ushioda, 1993).

Even though South Korean and North Korean are still used in the same syntactic system, the constituent-lexical use, rhetoric expression, language usage at discourse have changed significantly. During the interviews, most of the North Koreans were confused because the language discrepancy between the two Koreas was bigger than they had expected.

To many South Koreans, contacting North Koreans can be a confusing experience due to North Koreans' different accents. Therefore, it is expected that North Koreans do not want to expose their native origins by acting like South Koreans. However, these efforts are not so successful because of their accent and/or misunderstanding in discourse. Therefore, North Koreans put more effort in making themselves familiar to South Koreans' language usage, value system and way of life. This level of assimilation can influence the chance of getting a job in South Korea. If they decide to avoid these and live on pension money from the South Korean government, they have to live on as lower class citizens in South Korea.

Inferior communication skills can lead to many adjustment problems such as

divorce and losing a job. Personal backgrounds also influence the success in adjustment. Researchers (Chung et al, 2001; Moon et al, 2005, 2006) argue that North Koreans' educational background strongly influence job selection. North Koreans with higher educational background are found to be more successful in South Korean language acquisition. These findings imply that the language programs at Ha-Na-Won need to be revised to consider various educational backgrounds of North Korean refugees.

The most serious adjustment problem of North Koreans is getting an appropriate job in South Korea. Usually, they fail to get a job or have a job that only pays for the minimum livelihood (Yoon, 1999). Lee (2004) proposes that economic viability plays an essential role in social accommodation. Securing a job in South Korea implies many things for North Koreans. Through economic activity, they not only earn money, but also get a chance to communicate with South Korean people. North Koreans who fail to adjust themselves usually have weak social relationships. At work places, they communicate with South Koreans and can learn various aspects of language usage.

Chung (2001) reports that 71.90% of the participants feel uncomfortable in their daily life because of the language difference. Some of them strive to overcome the difference and others simply give up. There exists individual differences in doing so.

The factors to improve social accommodation are: staying period, gender, education, language proficiency, marriage, religion, willingness to adapt and personal effort. Among these factors, many researchers argue that language assimilation is the most important factor for North Koreans.

North Koreans who have graduate or undergraduate levels of educational background seem to achieve higher linguistic fluency faster. Furthermore, they can get a job in a shorter period of time and work as a regular worker rather than a temporary worker.

Fluent language usage directly or indirectly influences their daily life in South Korea. The objective of this study is to analyze the various correlational relationships among these factors.

3. Research Method

One hundred North Koreans participated in this study. In order to build representative data of the group, various factors such as gender, age, staying period in South Korea, are considered to select participants. Fifty male and fifty female North Koreans are re-grouped based on various ages; 20 teenagers, 20 people in their twenties, 20 people in their thirties, 20 people in their forties, 20 people in their fifties and over.

For the teenage group, research assistants had to visit 'Yeo-Myoung' and 'Han-Gye-Rae' high schools for interviews and language tests under permission from the principles because the teenagers at these schools were not allowed to leave the vicinity. Adult participants were recommended by the government agency, Sae-Jo-Wi. Research assistants individually contacted each participant and scheduled the date of language tests and explained the experiment[1]. There are fifty survey questions[2] for this study. Ten questions are for basic personal backgrounds – education, age, religion, marriage, etc. Thirty one social adjustment questions are asked using 5 Likert scale[3] and last nine questions are open-ended style.

In the 2006 study of Moon et al, it is found that language fluency is positively correlated with the thirty variables that present social adjustment level. However, five other variables such as job satisfaction, language learning difficulty, expected period for language acquisition, self evaluation of social adjustment level are negatively correlated with language fluency. This is the primary question to be answered in this study.

Common sense dictates that a person with a higher language fluency will be more apt to adjust to a society and many studies support the common sense. This study will investigate the axiom in a critical way using experimental and survey data.

The language test consists of 702 sentences. Each sentence includes three levels[4] of

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1) Adult participants answered interview questions by mail first in order to save time and to work efficiently. Following the designated schedule, participant's visited the researchers' organization for the language test. When visiting, they were asked to bring their completed survey forms. Research assistants checked out their answers carefully and if skipped answers were found, they were asked to fill them out.

2) The contents of survey questions were based on a 2005 pilot study. At that time 101 questions were asked to 30 participants. Following the analyzed results, the most meaningful questions were selected again and reorganized for this study. Survey questions were mainly about social adjustment processes in South Korea.

3) Likert Scale: 5 Never or almost never true of me, 4 Generally not true of me, 3 Somewhat true of me, 2 Generally true of me, 1 Always or almost always true of me

4) Lexical items are based on Moon (2006), which are used in the study by the National

basic, intermediate, advanced vocabularies.

In this study, both reaction time and error analysis test are executed simultaneously. The language testing software is originally developed by C.C. Cheng who was a faculty of computational linguistics at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA and used in Kim (1998). For this study, Kim (2006) developed a computer testing software specially designed for handling Korean language data. Participants' error rate and reaction time are measured simultaneously for testing sentences.

4. Analysis

4.1 Correlational Analysis

Figure1[5] illustrates the correlation between job satisfaction and reaction time/ accuracy, where Accuracy = 100 - Error Rate(%).[6]

In the 2006 report, when participants are not satisfied with their job in South Korea, they tend to show higher accuracy and shorter reaction time. In contrast, when satisfied with their job, the language proficiency drops (or reaction time increases) and accuracy drops as well. This is not an expected result because we expect that participant with high levels of South Korean language proficiency might be more satisfied with their job. However, the result shows that is not the case. In order to reexamine the counter-intuitive result, participants' data that showed the highest language proficiency but answered low satisfaction are separated and analyzed.

Institute of the Korean Language (NIKL, 2002). It categorized lexical items depending on different frequencies of usage. Furthermore, frequently used idioms, Four-word-idioms and idioms were added. Basic lexical items were based on Im (1991), Kim(1993). These items were compared with the NIKL (2002) and rearranged as final lexical items (Moon et al, 2006, P.10).

5) This figure is reproduced from Moon et al, 2006 (P.239, P240).

6) Shorter reaction time and higher accuracy may imply higher fluency.

Figure 1. Job Satisfaction and Reaction Time/Accuracy
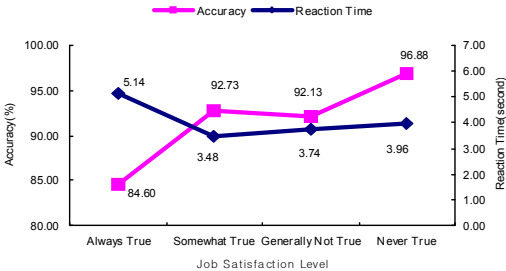
An interesting finding is related to participants' educational backgrounds; 75.00% of the participants possess bachelor degrees or higher degrees from North Korea. Some of them even got a masters degree in South Korea. However, the North Koreans with higher education usually get lower class, blue color jobs in South Korea.

Among the highly educated participants, 93.75% have jobs and earn more than 1 million won per month on average. One of them even earns 3.5 million won per month. This is an outstanding characteristic of the higher education group because only 30.00% of all participants have any job in this study. Therefore, it is proposed that North Koreans with higher educational backgrounds do have better chance in getting a job but many of them are not satisfied with their working conditions or their income. The job composition of the higher education group is as follows.

There are 31.25% who works at general offices, 18.75% work in agriculture, 12.50% work in manual labor, 6.25% attend school. This indicates that, excluding participants at school, 62.50% of the participants have blue color jobs even though they had higher educational backgrounds in North Korea. Their educational background in North Korea seem meaningless in South Korea.

Only 6.25% of the participants find jobs by themselves. If somebody does not help, they can not find a job in South Korea in most cases.

Of the higher education group, 75.00% recognize the difference in language much more severely compared to the other North Koreans in this study.

An interesting point is that even though they are not satisfied with their current status in the new society, they are very positive about their future. They have strong confidence for their successful assimilation into South Korea. Especially, the longer they stay in South Korea, the more they believe that they can live a better life in the future. In an open questionnaire, one of the participants answered "I used to have a white color job in North Korea, but I have a blue color job in South Korea. But recently I am learning computer, so I will get a white color job that pays more in near future". She believes that further education and ability to learn will pay off eventually.

Figure 27) illustrates the relationship between language learning difficulty and reaction time/accuracy.

Figure 2. Learning Difficulty and Reaction Time/Accuracy
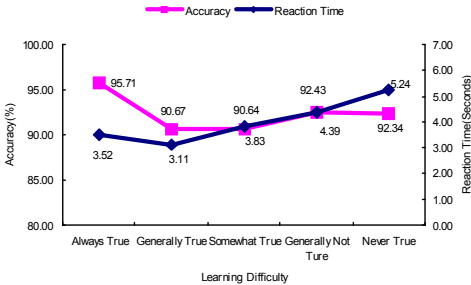
In the above graph, the participants who have language learning difficulties show higher accuracy and shorter reaction times. Participants with lower language learning difficulties show the longest reaction time. This is also an interesting result. Participants who say they suffer from learning difficulty have

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7) This figure is reproduced from the 2006 report (P.69, P.70).

superior language proficiency compared to other participants.

In order to examine this discrepancy, data set of participants with high language proficiency, but answered negatively about language learning are separated and reanalyzed. Many of the participants who are included in this group are females with low educational background in North Korea. They only graduated primary school in North Korea. They did not express confidence in their future. However, they are very anxious about their work and social relationships. They have difficulty in adjusting to their current life and show low confidence in overall survey questions.

Participants in this group put a lot of effort in order to overcome the language differences. However, even though their language proficiency is superior to other participants, they are not confident in their future. This result indicates that proficiency in South Korean language may not be the necessary and sufficient condition to understand positive social adjustment.

In figure 2, participants who do not have serious difficulties in language learning show lower levels of language fluency. This can be interpreted in several ways. Not every working place demands a high level of language proficiency. Therefore, some of the North Koreans may not need to learn a high level of South Korean language, or some of the North Koreans simply do not feel significant language differences.

Figure 3[8] indicates the relationship between the expected period for language assimilation and reaction time/accuracy.

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8) This figure is reproduced from the 2006 report. (Moon at al , 2006, P.251).

Figure 3. Expected Period for Language Assimilation and Reaction Time/Accuracy
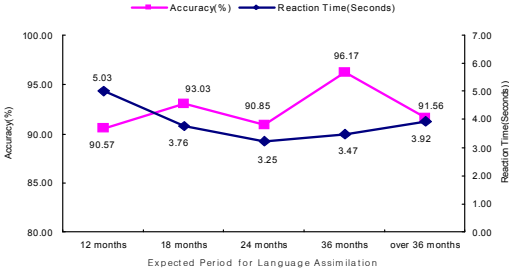
When participants expect a shorter assimilation period, their actual language proficiencies are not necessarily superior to the other participants. Participants who expect their assimilation to be completed in 12 months show the longest reaction time of 5.03 and lower accuracy of 90.57. In contrast, participants who expect a longer assimilation period (over 36 months) show a shorter reaction time of 3.47 and higher accuracy of 96.17.

Most of the teenager group expects 36 months or longer assimilation periods than the other age groups. From the survey, it is found that many North Korean teenagers want to go to a college or university. In order to achieve a ceratin level of academic objective, the teenager group seems to demand a higher level of language proficiency and needs longer time to assimilate South Korean language.

In the case of the adult group who expect a longer assimilation period, most of them have lower educational backgrounds. Of the participants only 68.18% graduated from primary schools and 90.00% of them do not have any kind of income.

Another interesting point is that, participants with lower educational backgrounds, if they have a job and a certain level of income, give positive answers about the future and expect shorter periods of time for adjustment.

As implied in Figure 3, people with higher expectation for their jobs have higher standards for language ability and therefore expect longer periods of language acquisition. In contrast, Korean refugees with less education expect to have manual labor jobs in Korea and therefore have lower standards for their

language ability, hence again, expect shorter language assimilation periods. Thus , more educated people are more sensitive to language barriers and expect to take longer to assimilate into the society.

Figure 4[9] illustrates the relationship between the self evaluation of adjustment level and reaction time/accuracy.

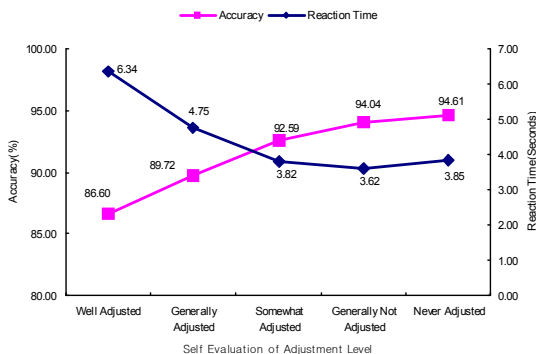Figure 4 Self Evaluation of Adjustment Level and Reaction Time/Accuracy

Figure 4 shows a distinct trade-off relationship. Participants with lower self evaluation for adjustment to a new society show higher accuracy and shorter reaction time than the others. They show higher accuracy of 94.61 and shorter reaction time of 3.85. In contrast, participants with higher self evaluation on their adjustment in South Korea show the worst result at language proficiency (lowest accuracy of 86.60 and longest reaction time of 6.34.

Among participants with higher levels of language proficiency, but lower self evaluation, 70.00% do not have a job. Participants who answer very positively about their social adjustment show lower language proficiency. In this case, many of them got a job in South Korea. Self evaluation level seems to depend more on

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9) This figure is reproduced from the 2006 report (Moon et al, P.249, P250).

whether they have a job or not.

4.2 Regression Analysis

In the 2006 report, only quantitative factors such as age are analyzed and correlated with accuracy or reaction time. However, the qualitative factors are only analyzed using simple figures that show 1:1 correlations of accuracy/reaction time and each of the qualitative factors. However, those qualitative factors such as education and willingness to acquire South Korean language are as important as the quantitative factors in explaining North Koreans' social adjustment.

To analyze the comprehensive impact of quantitative/qualitative factors on North Koreans' adjustment process, a multiple regression analysis is used in this study. Unlike a single regression analysis that estimates the impact of a single factor, a multiple regression estimates the impact of multiple factors. Therefore, using a multiple regression analysis, the magnitude of impact of concerned factors can be estimated and we can learn which factor plays a greater role.

4.2.1 Impact of Quantitative/Qualitative Factors on Accuracy/Reaction Time

Among many quantitative and qualitative factors that affect accuracy/reaction time, 10 of them are selected as explanatory variables. They are; age, gender, education, period of stay in South Korea, previous job in North Korea, participation in social meetings, prohibition of North Korean language usage at home, TV watching hours, asking for correction when mistakes are made, and willingness to accept South Korean language. These variables are selected in the survey from the beginning because they are believed to affect the level of language performance.

The relationship of these factors with accuracy/reaction time can be expressed as a linear equation (1) as follows.

$$Y = a_0 + a_1*X_1 + a_2*X_2 + ... + a_{10}*X_{10} \qquad (1)$$

In this formula 'Y' represents the explained (dependent) variable, the accuracy or reaction time; X_i (i=1,...,10) represents the 10 explanatory (independent)

variables, ai (i=1,...,10) represents the estimated impact (coefficients) for each variables and a0 is constant.

Qualitative factors such as gender can be represented as dummy variables in the regression analysis. For example, males can be represented as 1 and females can be represented as 0 for the variable gender. The estimated impact of the 10 explanatory variables are presented in Table 1.

<Table 1> Impact on Accuracy

Variables	Coefficient	t - value	p - value	Significance
constant	92.1427	26.8010	8.2262E-44	*
age	-0.0831	-0.9380	0.3508	
gender	0.4985	0.2691	0.7885	
education	4.4421	2.2052	0.0301	*
period of stay	-0.0003	-0.0087	0.9931	
job in N. Korea	0.2202	0.1007	0.9200	
social meetings	-1.8648	-0.8828	0.3798	
prohibition of N.Korean lang.	2.0400	0.5659	0.5729	
TV watching	3.6482	1.8646	0.0656	*
asking correction	1.2844	0.5330	0.5954	
willing to accept S. Korean lang.	0.4555	0.2084	0.8354	

* indicates significant variable. R2=0.14

It is found that the 10 variables explain 14.00% of accuracy level (R2=0.14). Among 10 variables, except the constant, the impact of education and TV watching hours are found to be significant at 10.00%. The estimated impact of education is 4.44 or the accuracy of the North Koreans with college or higher education is 4.44% higher than the others with lower education background. TV watching hours is also found to be significant with an impact of 3.65. This can be interpreted as one who watches TV longer than others speaks South Korean language with 3.65% higher accuracy.

Other factors are not found to be statistically significant, but interesting results are as followings. When they get older by 1 year, the accuracy drops 0.08%. Men understand more accurately than women by 0.49%. The ones with white collar jobs in North Korea understand 0.22% more accurately. If you ban using North Korean language at home, the accuracy improves by 2.04%. If you ask for

correction or are willing to accept South Korean language, accuracy improves 1.28% and 0.46% respectively.

Confusing results are also found. When they stay 1 year longer, accuracy drops by 0.0003%. Also, if they are active in social meetings, the accuracy drops by 1.86%. These are against our common sense. Possible interpretation are as follows: It is possible that the early (therefore longer period of stay) refugees are mostly blue color or lower class North Koreans and their language accuracy is low. This might lead to the counter-intuitive results of 'longer stay-lower accuracy' relationship. The same conjecture can apply to the 'active social meeting-lower accuracy.' The more you are educated, the less you want to attend social meetings.

The impact of the same 10 variables on Reaction Time are presented in Table 2. Other than the constant, 3 variables are found to be statistically significant. They are age, education and period of stay. When North Koreans grow older by 1 year, they take 0.08 seconds longer to react. When they have more education, they react 1.33 seconds faster than the ones with less education. When they stay in South Korea 1 more month, they react 0.01 seconds faster.

Although statistically not significant, men tend to react slower than women by 0.05 seconds. Also. white collars react slower (0.22 seconds) and participating in social meetings helps to shorten reaction time (so that to improve fluency by 0.51 seconds). TV watching helps as well (0.89 seconds faster). However, asking correction or willingness to accept S. Korean language does not help. This is counter-intuitive, but not significant.

<Table 2> Impacts on Reaction Time

Variables	Coefficient	t - value	p - value	Significance
constant	2.3503	3.6256	0.0005	*
age	0.0780	4.6709	1.08372E-05	*
gender	0.0474	0.1356	0.8924	
education	-1.3300	-3.5017	0.0007	*
period of stay	-0.0122	-1.6758	0.0973	*
job in N. Korea	0.2202	-1.2335	0.2207	
social meetings	-0.5085	0.5005	0.6180	
prohibition of N.Korean lang.	0.1994	-1.3095	0.1938	
TV watching	-0.8901	-0.8308	0.4084	
asking correction	0.0919	0.2022	0.8402	
willing to accept S. Korean lang.	0.1440	0.3494	0.7276	

* indicates significant variable. R2=0.27

4.2.2 Impact of Accuracy/Reaction Time on Self Evaluation of Adjustment Level

In the previous section, the impact of quantitative/qualitative factors on accuracy/ reaction time are discussed. However, so far, the impact of language ability (expressed as accuracy/reaction time) on the self evaluated adjustment level of North Koreans is not analyzed.

To analyze the impact, Linear Probability Model (LPM) is used in this section. In the previous analysis, the qualitative explanatory variables are expressed as 1 or 0. Instead, in this analysis, the explained (dependent) variable is expressed as 1 or 0. That is, the explained variable is 1 if they evaluate themselves to be well adjusted to South Korean society, 0 otherwise. For explanatory variables, accuracy, reaction time, age, period of stay in South Korea are used. The relationship can be presented as the following equation (2).

$$Y = b_0 + b_1*X_1 + b_2*X_2 + b_2*X_3 \qquad (2)$$

In this formula, 'Y' represents the explained (dependent) variable, the self evaluation of adjustment (1 if adjusted, 0 otherwise); X_i (i=1,...,4) represents the 4 quantitative explanatory(independent) variables, b_i (i=1,...,4) represents the estimated impact (coefficients) for each variable and b_0 is constant.

The statistically significant variables are found to be reaction time and period of stay. When they become more fluent (faster in reaction by 1 second) in South Korean language, the chance of positive self evaluation decreases by 4.96%. Also, when they stay 1 month longer the chance of positive self evaluation drops by 0.46%; the longer they stay, the more negatively they evaluate their adjustment. Although not statistically significant, higher accuracy seems to decrease the chance of positive self evaluation as well by 0.46% and getting older tend to improve the chance of positive evaluation.

<Table 3> The Impact of Accuracy/Reaction Time on Self Evaluation of Adjustment to South Korea

Variables	Coefficient	t - value	p - value	Significance
constant	0.4898	0.9258	0.3569	
accuracy	-0.0046	-0.8661	0.3886	
reaction time	0.0496	1.7934	0.0762	*
age(year)	0.0039	1.0164	0.3121	
period of stay(month)	-0.0046	-2.4744	0.0152	*

* indicates significant variable. R2=0.14

The above result implies that ones with higher accuracy and fluency (more educated North Koreans) tend to evaluate themselves lower for the adjustment level to South Korean society. This may be caused by the difference between higher expectations and reality. To remove the subjectivity in the evaluation, the dependent variable of self evaluation is replaced by income (1 if they have any income, 0 otherwise). The result makes more sense than before as presented in Table 4.

<Table 4> The Impact of Accuracy/Reaction Time on Income

Variables	Coefficient	t - value	p - value	Significance
constant	-0.3375	-0.6741	0.5019	
accuracy	0.0021	0.4061	0.6856	
reaction time	-0.0256	-0.9792	0.3300	
age(year)	0.0140	3.8413	0.0002	*
period of stay(month)	0.0026	1.4770	0.1431	

* indicates significant variable. R2=0.24

Only one variable is found to be statistically significant; the chance of having any income improves by 1.40% when they get older by 1 year. However, although still not statistically significant, improved accuracy by 1.00% leads to a 0.21% better chance of having income. The same happens for reaction time; when they react 1 second slower, they lose the chance of income by 2.56%. That is, the chance of having any income improves when their language competence improves.

5. Conclusion and Implications

North Koreans with higher education tend to be less satisfied with their jobs in South Korea because they believe they deserve better. They also have superior language skills, showing higher accuracy and shorter reaction times. Of them, 75.00 do think the language difference is serious and believe better language skills can provide them with better jobs in South Korea.

Family members that do not allow North Korean language tend to have higher accuracy and shorter reaction times. Also, 85.70% think that they are disregarded by South Koreans when they use North Korean accents or words. Females and others with lower education tend to think so more distinctively. North Koreans with difficulty in learning South Korean language have better accuracy and fluency (shorter reaction time).

Others who think South Koreans welcome North Koreans have better accuracy and fluency. For example, 80.00% of them are Christians and it is found that the religious activity helps to improve language skills.

Using the regression analyses, several points are revealed. In the dummy explanatory variable analysis, 2 factors are found to be relevant in explaining accuracy. They are education and TV watching hours. Improving educational background after adulthood is hard to achieve. Therefore, to improve accuracy, North Koreans are recommended to watch TV more often, not only to learn language, but also to assimilate the culture. To improve fluency (or shorten reaction time), age, education and period of stay are found to be significant. However, all these factors are not easy to control or change; you can't age faster, for example. Although slightly not significant (t value=-1.3095), prohibiting North Korean language can help to improve fluency.

The LPM model is used to estimate the impact of language ability on self evaluated adjustment levels. The result is confusing due to subjectivity of self evaluation. To remove subjectivity, self evaluated adjustment level is replaced by income. By doing so, overall implications are more intuitive and conform to theory; improved language ability enhances the chance to have any income.

Ha-na-won is the primary educational institute for North Korean refugees. As a part of the curriculum, they learn South Korean language. But the single textbook used may not be suitable for the refugees with various backgrounds. Also, classes need to be diversified according to learners' backgrounds.

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