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# Unintended Consequences of Repression: Alliance Formation in South Korea's Democracy Movement (1970-1979)

Paul Y. Chang, *Singapore Management University*

*Research regarding the impact of repression on social movements has yielded conflicting findings; some argue that repression decreases the total quantity of protest events while others argue that it motivates protest. To move beyond this impasse, various scholars have suggested exploring how repression influences the quality of social movements. This study assesses the impact repression had on the formation of alliances between different social groups participating in South Korea's democracy movement. Results from negative binomial regression analyses show that repression facilitated the formation of alliances between movement actors at a time when the overall number of protest events decreased. This study contributes to the literature on coercion and mobilization by pointing to the possibility of movement development during low levels of a protest cycle.*

Recent studies of social movements have identified repression as one important aspect of the larger political opportunity structure that significantly shapes movement trajectories (Davenport, Johnston and Mueller 2005; Zwermer and Steinhoff 2005; Earl 2003, 2006; Goldstone and Tilly 2001; della Porta 1996). Empirical findings from past studies have revealed a "paradox" regarding the impact of repression on social movements (Brockett 2005, 1995). While some argue that repression reduces movement vitality (Olzak, Beasley and Olivier 2003) because of the added costs associated with repression (Tilly 1978), others argue that repression increases the rate of protest and collective action (White 1989; Khawaja 1993, 1994). In reviews of this literature researchers have puzzled over the fact that, "Both threats and opportunities can mobilize activism... For some challengers, increased political openness enhances the prospects for mobilization, while other movements seem to respond more to threat than opportunity." (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996: 1645, 1634; see also Earl 2006; Lichbach 1987).

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And still, other scholars have argued for a non-linear relationship between repression and protest. But even here the non-monotonic pattern describing the impact of repression on protest is contested. Some argue that the relationship between repression and protest takes on an inverted U shape; lower levels of repression might offer the opportunity to express grievances and thus motivate participation in protest events. If the repression becomes severe, the costs associated with participating in protest might be too high, eventually leading to movement decline (Brockett 2005; Muller 1985; Weede 1987). Others, however, argue the reverse; repression is a threat to movement participants and initially deters protest activity. If this repression is determined unjust, the same repression can lead to the radicalization of a movement and facilitate further protest (Opp and Roehl 1990; Rasler 1996).

The above conflicting findings have led some to the unhelpful conclusion that “there are theoretical arguments for all conceivable basic relationships between government coercion and group protest and rebellion, except for no relationship.” (Zimmerman 1980:191 as quoted in Lichbach 1987:267) While the relationship between repression and protest is indeed complicated, past studies have primarily analyzed the most general and public component of a social movement: overall count or rate of protest events (Olzak, Beasley and Olivier 2003; Rasler 1996; Opp and Roehl 1990; Barkan 1984). As Hoover and Kowalewski (1992:156) recognize, however, studies that use overall protest event count as the main dependent variable “are limited by their use of single dimensions of dissent and repression.”. While repression might increase or decrease (or both) the count of protest events, we can gain greater insight into the impact of repression on social movements if we look more closely at how movement form changes as it interacts with repressive state organs (McAdam 1996).

One helpful way to disentangle the relationship between repression and protest is to disaggregate a movement into its various parts and assess how repression affects individual components. That is, we can shift our focus away from the total *quantity* of protest events, as in most event count studies, to the *quality* of movement characteristics. Loveman (1998), for example, has shown that movement actors in Latin America were motivated to establish social movement organizations during heightened periods of repression (see also Chang and Kim 2007). In addition, several scholars have shown that movement actors will alter their tactical strategy when confronted with repression (McAdam 1983; Lichbach 1987; Moore 1998; Titarenko, McCarthy, McPhail and Augustyn 2001), while others have found that high levels of repression motivate the construction and development of movement frames (Davenport and Eads 2001; Chang and Kim 2007). Thus, an increase in organizational capacity, changes in the tactical repertoire and frame development are just a few of the various

(unintended) consequences of repression. This study contributes to this growing literature by showing how different forms of repression motivated the formation of alliances between social groups participating in South Korea's democracy movement.

Drawing from the literature on coalition building and alliance formation, I empirically explicate the impact of outgroup contention on ingroup solidarity in the case of South Korea's democracy movement. Based on analyses of a novel time-series events dataset, I show that the attempts to repress the democracy movement by the Korean authoritarian state, with the passing of repressive laws and increasing police coverage of protest, galvanized solidarity within the movement, even as it decreased the total number of protest events. Various movement actors were motivated to create alliances with each other during the most authoritarian period in Korea's modern history and when the state became increasingly efficient at policing protest. This study highlights the usefulness of specifying the differential impact repression has on various movement characteristics and contributes to the theoretical literature on coercion and mobilization by raising the possibility of movement development during low levels of a protest cycle.

### **Authoritarianism in South Korea**

General Park Chung Hee's coup d'état on May 16, 1961 marked the beginning of successive military regimes in South Korea that lasted until democratic reforms were instituted in 1987. Immediately after the coup, Park dissolved the National Assembly, instituted martial law and began the campaign to consolidate his power by arresting, threatening and eliminating opposing figures. Park also strategically placed many of his military cohorts in positions of power. In 1961 the Korean CIA was created by Kim Jong-pil (Park's military subordinate and nephew by marriage) and within three years this repressive organization developed a vast network of agents that monitored any opposition in Korean society. Partly due to pressure from the United States to restore the democratic constitution, Park reinstated direct presidential elections. Park officially retired from the military in December of 1962 and ran for the presidency in the 1963 election. Through various manipulative methods Park succeeded in winning the election and thus became the third president of South Korea. Park organized the state-government into executive, judicial and legislative branches.

Throughout the 1960s Park focused governmental efforts at industrializing and developing the economy of the country with a series of "five year plans." Orchestrated by the Economic Planning Board, South Korea's economy was transformed from an agricultural based economy to one

concentrated in the manufacturing of export goods (Shin 1998). Aided by the influx of foreign resources in the forms of grants and loans, first from the United States and then Japan, Park Chung Hee's economic strategy was successful in raising the GNP 7.8 percent from 1962 through 1966 and another 10.5 percent 1967-1971 (Oh 1991). Overall per capita real income rose from 87 U.S. dollars in 1962 to 293 dollars in 1972. As the export driven economy created the demand for labor, unemployment dropped from 8.3 percent in 1963 to 4.5 percent by 1971 (Oh 1991).

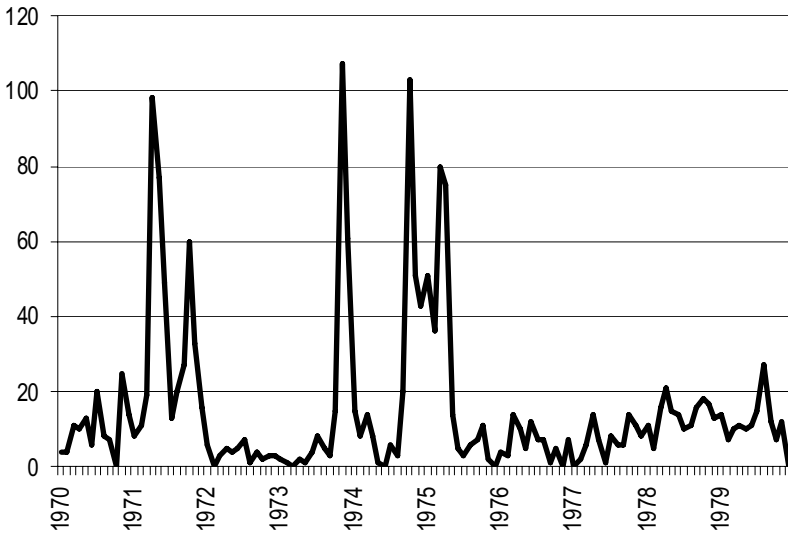
The state's development strategy of the 1960s and 70s helped catapult South Korea from a war-torn nation in 1953 to the 13<sup>th</sup> largest national economy it is today. All of this occurred in a relatively brief period of time, and "South Korea was unrivaled, even by Japan, in the speed with which it went from having almost no industrial technology to taking its place among the world's industrialized nations." (Vogel 1991:59) Park appropriated the economic gains to mount a propaganda campaign because "he needed economic progress to defend his political base against those who regarded his seizure of power as illegitimate." (Vogel 1991:51) Park used economic success as a main platform to win reelection in 1967 for his second and supposedly last term as president.

Park did not abdicate at the end of his second term and instead forced the National Assembly to amend the existing constitution to allow him to run for a third term in 1971. Again through coercive tactics Park won the election, but by the end of 1972 frustrations with the existing political system led Park to enact the Yusin Constitution.<sup>1</sup> The Yusin Constitution ended Korea's brief experiment with democracy and concentrated all political power in the executive branch. Limitations on presidential tenure were lifted and all future "presidents" were to be chosen indirectly by the National Council for Unification which was in turn headed by the president. Although the National Assembly was allowed to meet again, under the Yusin Constitution the president had the power to directly appoint a third of the seats in the assembly, effectively guaranteeing support of the legislature. All members of the judicial system, from local judges to Constitutional Court justices, were appointed directly by the president without the possibility of veto by political parties. All of these political moves severed whatever democratic processes were upheld in the 1960s and in all practicality "transformed the presidency into a legal dictatorship." (Eckert et. al. 1991:365) Replacing the existing constitution with the new Yusin constitution was in effect an "in house" coup d'etat.

### *The Emergency Decree Era*

Throughout the 1970s, Park's Yusin regime became increasingly autocratic. In addition to the Yusin Constitution that drastically limited the democratic

Figure 1. Monthly Counts of Protest Events (1970-1979)



Source: Stanford Korea Democracy Project Events Dataset (1970-1979)

participation of citizens, Park Chung Hee issued a series of “Emergency Decrees” that further facilitated the closing of the political opportunity structure. The Presidential EDs were ad hoc laws or measures that Park used to address situations as they arose and did not need the approval of the National Assembly. EDs 1 and 2, issued on Jan. 8, 1974, disallowed criticism of the Yusin Constitution and forbade anti-government petition drives, respectively. On April 3, 1974, Park promulgated ED 4 which illegalized key student political organizations, and a year later (April 8, 1975) issued ED 7 which closed down Korea University, a hotbed of student activism. And finally, on May 13, 1975, Park issued the infamous ED 9 that illegalized all forms of criticism of the government and was worded vaguely enough to be applied to almost all protest situations. “Legally” justified by the EDs, the government began its systematic repression of the democracy movement utilizing various coercive tactics including arrest, torture and murder. The “Emergency Decree Era” (1974-1979), then, constitutes the most authoritarian and repressive period of South Korea’s modern history. The EDs were relatively successful in subduing the democracy movement as evident in the decline of protest events following the promulgation of ED 9.

As can be seen in Figure 1 the total number of protest events spiked from 1971 to 1972 primarily due to two reasons. First, Park’s efforts to amend the existing constitution to allow him to run for a third presidential

**Table 1: Social Groups Participating in Protest Events (1970-1979)**

<b>Social Group</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Students/youth	690	31.71
Laborers/workers	370	17.00
Christians (Protestant & Catholic)	359	16.50
Journalist/media personnel	139	6.39
Christian students	137	6.30
Intellectuals	118	5.42
Politicians (and staff)	96	4.41
Professionals	37	1.70
Family of prisoners	37	1.70
General activists/civil groups	33	1.52
Prisoners	27	1.24
Foreigners (including diaspora)	18	.83
Educators/school officials	15	.69
Other religious	12	.55
Christian farmers	11	.51
Citizens (general)	7	.32
Urban poor	6	.28
Farmers	5	.23
Student prisoners	4	.18
Other	3	.14
Judges/judicial system staff	2	.09
Merchants	2	.09
Other religiously identified students	2	.09
Christian prisoners	2	.09
Military personnel	1	.05
(MISSING)	43	1.98
<b>Total</b>	<b>2176</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Stanford Korea Democracy Project Events Dataset (1970-1979)

term sparked public outrage. In addition, in order to discipline and subdue the protest-prone university students, Park Chung Hee's government increased the number of hours of mandatory military training exercises on university campuses.<sup>2</sup> This new military training policy infuriated students who took to the streets in mass demonstrations. The number of public protest dropped significantly in 1972 mainly due to martial law and the garrison decree ordered by Park to support his new Yusin Constitution. During most of that year, universities were closed down, curfews were stringently enforced, and the military patrolled the city streets in full force (e.g., tanks and other heavy military equipment were placed in strategic locations throughout the city of Seoul and other large urban centers). Dissidents began anti-government protests after martial law was lifted and the number of protest events steadily rose from 1973 through 1975. However, the number of protest events again dropped after the

promulgation of the EDs in 1974 and 1975 and aside from the martial law period in 1972, reached its lowest points in 1976 and 1977. In the Korean case then, state repression was relatively effective in reducing the total quantity of protest events in the latter half of the 1970s. But still, questions remain as to what impact this repression had on the quality and type of protest events that occurred during the highly repressive ED era.

### **Coalitions and Alliances in Social Movements**

Large-scale social movements rarely involve a single group of actors. Rather, movements are often staged by actors from multiple sectors of society (Staggenborg 1986; Rucht 2004; Almeida 2005; Meyer and Corrigan-Brown 2005; Whittier 1997). As Staggenborg (1986:374) found in the Pro-Choice Movement, "...modern social movements are not monolithic entities, but consist of shifting coalitions of constituents from varying backgrounds." After the establishment of the Yusin Constitution, various social groups in South Korean society joined the movement to restore democracy. While students were the first to initiate anti-government protests, they were quickly followed by laborers, Christians, intellectuals, journalists, marginalized politicians and other social groups. Thus, South Korea's democracy movement in the 1970s constituted a diverse range of actors.

With the diversification of social groups participating in a movement comes the potential for alliances between them. As Shaffer (2000:112) found in the environmentalist movement, "...the rich diversity of groups which comprise the environmental movement provides an ideal setting for exploring the dynamics of coalition participation among movement organizations." The importance of coalition building for the success of social movements has been reported in several studies (Rucht 2004; Shaffer 2000; Van Dyke 2003; Staggenborg 1986; Meyer and Corrigan-Brown 2005; McCammon and Campbell 2002; Bystydzienski and Schacht 2001). The formation of alliances between different groups working towards a common end can contribute to the vitality of a social movement by motivating protest events, increasing the pool of resources, and facilitating frame development. Indeed, scholars have argued that the additional resources and leverage coalitions bring to a movement contribute to its overall success (Van Dyke 2003; Meyer and Corrigan-Brown 2005; Staggenborg 1986; Shaffer 2000; Rucht 2004). Brockett (2005:322), for example, argues that the differences in outcomes between successful social movements in Nicaragua and the legacy of state terrorism in El Salvador and Guatemala are partly due to the lack of interclass coalitions in the latter countries.

Movement scholars have identified both internal and external mechanisms that facilitate coalition work between social groups participating in a



social movement. While it is not the focus of this study, scholars have pointed to various internal factors that galvanize alliances such as the organizational structure of SMOs in a movement (Staggenborg 1986; Shaffer 2000), ability of dissidents to construct a common frame or movement identity (Barvosa-Carter 2001; Boudreau 2004; Van Dyke 2003; Croteau and Hicks 2003; Griggs and Howarth 2002; McCammon and Campbell 2002), and whether or not there is coalitional precedence or a shared history of working together (Meyer and Corrigan-Brown 2005; Boudreau 2004).

In addition to the internal factors are external mechanisms that act as a catalyst for coalition building or alliance formation between diverse movement actors. Scholars have pointed specifically to the external political opportunity structure that can galvanize coalition work and as Meyer and Corrigan-Brown (2005:327) note, "...external circumstances, or political opportunities, are critically important factors that affect the propensity of social movement organizations to cooperate in common cause." While early work on political opportunity structures focused on expanding or increased opportunities, recent work has included "threat" or the contraction of the opportunity structure as a significant external influence on movement development (Goldstone and Tilly 2001).

Based on Goldstone and Tilly's (2001) reformulation of the political opportunity thesis, scholars have pointed to the facilitating capacity of increased threat for movement development including alliance formation between different movement actors (McCammon and Campbell 2002; Van Dyke 2003; Boudreau 1996, 2004; Shaffer 2000; Staggenborg 1986; Almeida 2005; Alves 2001). In this view, repression can lead to a change in tactical strategy by movement actors to compensate for the heightened threat (Lichbach 1987; Moore 1998) and coalition building or alliance formation between actors is one such strategy (McCammon and Campbell 2002; Boudreau 1996, 2004; Van Dyke 2003; Almeida 2005; Alves 2001).

Repression is a relatively large factor in an authoritarian context when other political recourse such as legal recognition of basic rights and *habeas corpus* are suspended. The centralization of power in authoritarian states, while contributing to a higher level of repressive capacity, ironically provides diverse movement actors a unique motivation for cooperative work. As Tarrow (1998:82) points out, "In authoritarian settings... the centralization of power offers dissidents an odd sort of advantage – a unified field and a centralized target to attack..."

The flip side to the centralization of power in authoritarian states is the tendency for movements that challenge autocratic regimes to be diverse, originating from a wide variety of social sectors (Almeida 2005). The authoritarian state inadvertently motivates different challengers to join the movement against it because its policies are applied to all social sectors within its political jurisdiction. In regards to repression, "Authoritarian states

also unintentionally create multiple oppositional groups by committing repressive acts against more than one sector.” (Almeida 2005:71) In turn, this can motivate alliances between the disparate social groups participating in anti-government protests because “A common enemy that simultaneously affects multiple constituencies or widely shared identities facilitates the formation of coalitions.” (Van Dyke 2003:228) Based on the above discussion, I suggest the following proposition:

*Proposition 1: Higher levels of repression facilitate alliance formation amongst diverse social actors participating in protest.*

We can further specify various forms of repression including both structural or institutional repression and immediate or situational repression (Koopmans 1997). The authoritarian Korean state passed repressive laws that further closed the already limited political opportunity structure. The passing of the Emergency Decrees signified the beginning of a highly repressive period in the 1970s and can be construed as the legal manifestation of institutional repression. To assess the specific effects of institutional repression on alliance formation, I test the following hypothesis:

*Hypothesis 1: There will be more cases of alliance formation between social groups during the highly repressive ED Era than prior to the passing of these laws.*

In addition, repression can take more immediate forms such as the “policing of protest.” (Earl, Soule and McCarthy 2003; della Porta 1996) Authority presence at protest events constitutes immediate forms of repression when police contain, beat and arrest protestors. As Earl, Soule and McCarthy (2003) have found, however, state authorities do not respond to every situation they face and not all protest events are repressed. That is, using a media analogy, the differential rate of police presence at protest events reflects the “repressive coverage” capacity of the state. The variability of police presence at protest events, and the multiple types of repression tactics they employ, leaves the possibility of assessing change in the levels of repressive coverage and the impact of this change on alliance formation. To assess the particular effects of situational repression on alliance formation, I test the following hypothesis:

*Hypothesis 2: Increasing repressive coverage, as operationalized by the number and severity of repression events, facilitates alliance formation between social groups participating in protest.*

And finally, because alliance-forming events are a subset of the overall protest count, it is possible that different degrees of repression have varying impact on alliance formation. As noted above, some scholars have argued for a curvilinear relationship between repression and protest. In this study, I specifically test the argument that repression has a non-monotonic inverted U shape relationship with protest; lower levels or less severe forms of repression increase grievances and motivate protest while extreme forms of repression produce too high of a cost to dissidents and thus diminish protest activity. To assess the merits of this argument I test the following hypothesis:

*Hypothesis 3: Less severe forms of repression increase the number of alliance forming protest events and extreme forms of repression decrease it.*

## **Data and Methods**

### ***The Stanford Korea Democracy Project***

To test the hypotheses that different forms of repression facilitate alliance formation amongst diverse social groups, I use a novel cross-sectional time series events dataset that is part of the Stanford Korea Democracy Project.<sup>3</sup> For the years 1970-1979, there are 2,954 events recorded in this dataset and includes various attributes of protest and repression events. This dataset is unique for two reasons. First, the dataset includes both protest and repression events with a different set of variables describing characteristics of each. Second, the dataset includes a “link” variable that shows the specific sequenced relationships between the different events in the dataset.

This dataset represents the most exhaustive effort to quantify protest and repression events relating to South Korea’s democracy movement. While the main source for Korea democracy related event datasets has been newspaper accounts in past studies (Shin 1984, 2002), the Stanford KDP datasets are based on sourcebooks compiled by the Korea Democracy Foundation. The Korea Democracy Foundation was established by the South Korean government in 2002 to commemorate and memorialize the democracy movement. One of its main objectives is to archive all materials relating to the democracy movement. To create the sourcebooks, the KDF drew upon any and all materials documenting democracy movement related events; they not only utilized newspapers, but also government documents, SMO archives, personal memoirs and other primary manuscripts. Their efforts yielded more than 3,000 pages of narrative accounts of protest and repression events from 1970-1993. Codebooks were created using as a template the coding manual for a different and independent event dataset

(Olzak and West 1995) and are available upon request. The codebooks were then used to quantify the KDF sourcebooks. While there are limitations to the KDF sourcebooks and consequentially the dataset, it is the most systematic account of Korea's democracy movement to date.<sup>4</sup>

By creating and analyzing the Stanford KDP Dataset, I hope to satisfy critics of previous studies that utilized cross-sectional data and/or relied exclusively on newspaper accounts. Many advocate the need for longitudinal or cross-sectional time series datasets when analyzing movement evolution and change (Olzak 1989; Oliver 1993; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996; Hoover and Kowalewski 1992; Moore 2000; Francisco 1995; Zwerman and Steinhoff 2005). The Stanford KDP Dataset was created with these concerns in mind and reports start and end dates for all events. Also, many have pointed to the limitations of newspaper accounts for gathering information on protest events (Barranco and Wisler 1999; Hocke 1998; McCarthy, McPhail and Smith 1996; Smith, McCarthy, McPhail and Augustyn 2001; Oliver and Maney 2000; Woolley 2000). The Stanford KDP Dataset addresses this concern by utilizing the KDF sourcebooks that pooled information from a variety of sources.

#### *Dependent Variable: Alliance*

Alliances between movement actors have been conceptualized and operationalized in the empirical literature in different ways. There are a wide variety of types of coalition work between disparate movement groups (Rucht 2004; Meyer and Corrigall-Brown 2005). Coalition work amongst dissidents range between relatively "tight" and formal inter-organizational linkages to more "loose" alliances, such as recognizing another group's actions and offering moral support. In this study, I adopt Rucht's (2004:202) definition of alliance formation: "As long as these parts [different groups] deliberately seek to support each other, they form an alliance within or as a social movement."

Rucht's broadly encompassing definition of alliances between diverse movement groups captures the wide range of coalition work occurring in large scaled social movements and is especially useful for identifying more subtle forms of alliance formation in movements that emerge in a highly repressive context. A loose definition of alliances is appropriate in 1970s Korea where important social groups such as Christians, journalists and intellectuals first joined the democracy movement and significant formal coalitions were not formed until the mid to late 1980s (Koo 2001; Kim 2000; Oh 1999). But still, while *formal coalitions* between groups such as students and labor were indeed critical to the success of the democracy movement in the 1980s (Lee 2007, 2002), research that focuses only on formal coalitions miss the importance of the initial foundation-building steps toward inter-group solidarity in the 1970s.

**Table 2: Count of Alliance Forming Events vs. All Other Events by Year**

Year	Alliance Events		All Other Events		Total	
70	0	(0)	123	(100)	123	(100)
71	10	(2.32)	421	(97.68)	432	(100)
72	0	(0)	44	(100)	44	(100)
73	27	(12.86)	183	(87.14)	211	(100)
74	137	(50.18)	136	(49.82)	273	(100)
75	65	(22.41)	225	(77.59)	290	(100)
76	14	(18.67)	61	(81.33)	75	(100)
77	12	(14.12)	73	(85.88)	85	(100)
78	30	(17.65)	140	(82.35)	170	(100)
79	32	(22.22)	112	(77.78)	144	(100)
<b>Total</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>(17.72)</b>	<b>1518</b>	<b>(82.28)</b>	<b>1845</b>	<b>(100)</b>

Source: Stanford Korea Democracy Project Events Dataset (1970-1979)

Thus, in this study, I conceptualize alliance formation as the connection between two protesting groups when one group, in a protest event, recognizes the protest efforts of another group and explicitly declares solidarity with that other group. These alliance-forming events can be divided into *within* group alliances and *between* group alliances. First, it can be that a social group recognizes the mobilization efforts of a similar social group (e.g., students recognizing other students). The second case is where one social group recognizes and supports a different social group (e.g., Christians standing in solidarity with laborers). Substantively, the ALLIANCE variable represents between group alliance formation and is operationalized as the monthly count of all protest events in the KDP dataset where one social group recognized and declared solidarity with a different social group. Based on this conceptualization, 327 events out of a total of 1,845 protest events were coded as alliance forming events between two different social groups. Table 2 reports the annual count of between group alliance events versus all other events.

#### *Independent Variables: Institutional Repression*

As mentioned above, there are different types of repression and I operationalize both institutional and situational forms (Koopmans 1997). Institutional or structural repression is a key aspect of an authoritarian state's repressive strategy. The democracy movement can be divided into two periods in the 1970s. Park's promulgation of the EDs, starting in 1974, changed the political opportunity structure in significant ways. The EDs made illegal all political public gatherings and provided the legal justification for arbitrary arrest and incarceration. Also in 1974, the government went on the offensive against the student movement by systematically hunting down and imprisoning hundreds of student

Table 3: Repression Index Categorization, Weights and Frequency (1970-1979)

<b>Severity of Repression (Weight)</b>		
Type of Repression Event	Frequency	Percent
<b>Mild Repression (1)</b>		
Denial of petition or request	14	.54
Spoken critique or threat	126	4.84
Government propaganda	2	.08
Bribing	2	.08
Subtotal	144	5.54
<b>Moderate Repression (2)</b>		
Surveillance or spying	26	1.00
Censoring	44	1.69
Illegalizing movement organization	24	.92
Harsher working conditions	34	1.31
Cooptation	12	.46
Subtotal	140	5.38
<b>Heavy Repression (3)</b>		
Containment, disruption or barricade	356	13.67
Arrest or take into custody	1076	41.32
Trashing office and confiscating files	14	.54
Expulsion from school	62	2.38
Interrogation or investigation	98	3.76
Closing schools or stopping classes	128	4.92
Wage cut or limiting funding source	16	.61
Legal prosecution	20	.77
Harsher treatment of prisoners	12	.46
Fired from job or forced resignation	130	4.99
Closing down of factory or company	16	.61
Subtotal	1928	74.03
<b>Extreme Repression (4)</b>		
Violence	348	13.36
Forced assimilation or brain washing	16	.61
Kidnapping	6	.23
Death sentence	4	.15
Murder	2	.08
Deportation or denial of visa	10	.38
Physical humiliation	6	.23
Subtotal	392	15.04
<b>Total</b>	<b>2604</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Stanford Korea Democracy Project Events Dataset (1970-1979)

leaders. This "*minchung* incident" (named after the nation-wide student organization Democratic Youth and Student Association), along with the EDs, marked the beginning of the most repressive period in Korea's modern history. In order to capture the variation in authoritarian settings in the 1970s, I use a time-dummy variable signifying those events that took place in the "Emergency Decree Era" and those that did not. The variable

ED\_ERA was created by identifying all events taking place after Jan. 8, 1974, when the first two EDs were promulgated.

*Independent Variables: Situational Repression*

The passing of repressive laws, such as the EDs, signifies the closing of the political opportunity structure. Along with structural closure, repression also takes the immediate form of authority presence at protest events (della Porta 1996; Earl, Soule and McCarthy 2003). A REPRESSION\_INDEX was created in order to model the effects of immediate or situational repression on alliance formation in South Korea's democracy movement. Situational repressive coverage has at least two dimensions to it and the REPRESSION\_INDEX attempts to incorporate both. First, the total count of protest events that are repressed reflects the sensitivity of authorities to a social movement and their willingness to expend resources to subdue protest activities. Thus, taking into consideration the total count of repression events is the first step in creating an overall REPRESSION\_INDEX.

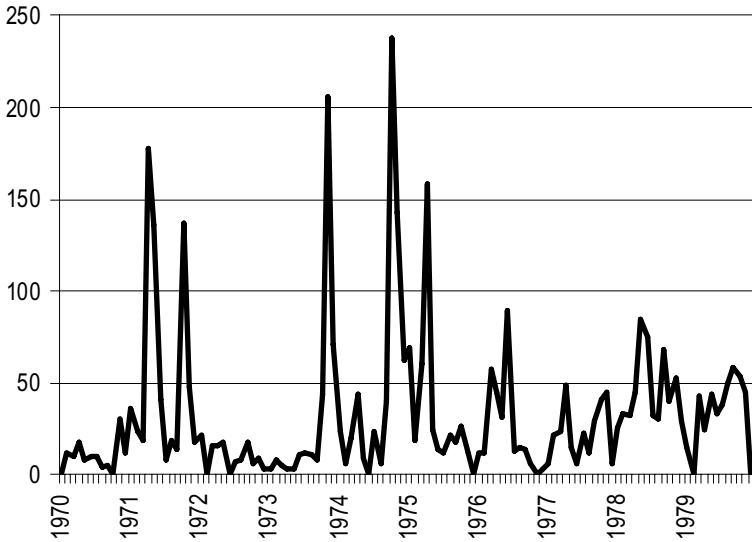
In addition, immediate or situational forms of coercion include a wide variety of repressive tactics including bribing, surveillance, censoring, containment, barricades, arrests, violence and more. These different types of repression events constitute qualitatively distinct experiences for protestors depending on the severity of the repressive action. To account for the variation in the severity of different repression types, I assign weights to all repression events following the categorizing scheme outlined in Table 3.

Types of repression events are first aggregated into a four-level ordinal variable where 1 denotes the mildest forms of repression and 4 represents extreme forms of repression. The choice of weights was an arbitrary one, guided only by the desire to reflect the simplest pattern of increasing severity. Thus, increasing levels of repressive severity are operationalized by a one-unit increase in the weight scale, and I do not impute any substantive interpretation to differences in weights other than "more or less severe." To obtain internal reliability of the assignments of weights, four different coders independently categorized all repression types into the four-level ordinal classification. The four coders then met together to discuss any discrepancies between coders. There were only three inconsistencies in the coding of repression types and the coders went back to the sourcebooks to reread the narrative accounts of these repression events. After some deliberation, the four coders reached consensus on the categorization of repression types.

Building on the steps outlined above, the REPRESSION\_INDEX is a weighted-count variable derived from the following equation:

$$RI_i = \sum C_i W_i$$

Figure 2. Monthly Repression Index Score (1970-1979)



Source: Stanford Korea Democracy Project Events Dataset (1970-1979)

Where  $t$  denotes a one month time interval,  $i$  represents a particular repression type,  $RIt$  equals the Repression Index score at time  $t$ ,  $Cit$  is the count of repression type  $i$  at time  $t$ , and  $Wi$  represents the weight of repression type  $i$ . As evident in the equation, the REPRESSION\_INDEX reflects the total count of repression events in a month's time but also gives additional incremental weight to more severe forms of repression. The distribution of the REPRESSION\_INDEX in monthly time spells is displayed in Figure 2.

Finally, using the weighting scheme reported in Table 3, I distinguish between mild to heavy types of repression events and extreme forms of repression events. Various specifications were attempted to recategorize repression events into degrees of severity and based on narrative descriptions of the types of repression in other cases studies (e.g. Brockett 2005), separating repression events by weight categories 1-3 and weight category 4 best matched the classification of repression types found in the other cases. Bifurcating a continuous or ordinal variable into "low" and "high" levels is a common way to model curvilinear relationships (see for example, Olzak and Uhrig 2001). By including measures of the count of mild to heavy repression events and extreme forms of repression, we can empirically test the hypothesis that less severe forms of repression motivate protest while extreme forms of repression decrease all protest activities including the formation of alliances between social groups.



### *Control Variables*

In addition to variables measuring institutional and situational repression, the models control for the number of social groups participating in protest events through a diversity measure: DIVERSITY\_GROUP. The diversity of social groups participating in protest is calculated using the Simpson Diversity Index (Olzak and Ryo 2007). It is a proportional statistic and values range between 0 (no diversity, only one group participating in that month) and 1 (only a theoretical possibility of complete diversity).<sup>5</sup> I control for diversity based on the assumption that the potential for alliances between social groups is directly related to the number of groups participating in protest.

I also control for the larger economic context by introducing macro-economic indicators into the models. I control for changes in GDP during the 1970s. GDP is measured in Korean currency (won) fixed at the value for year 2000. Because only quarterly data are available, I impute the same GDP datum for months in a single quarter, assuming no variation within a given quarter. Tracking GDP helps measure the rapid changes South Korea underwent during the the 1970s. Again, Park's state-driven economic policies put Korea in the fast lane to industrialization and important social changes occurred during this time including rapid urbanization and the shift from agriculture to manufacturing as the foundation of Korea's economy. Thus, it is quite feasible that this changing economic context influenced participation in protest events.

Finally, I also include the variable UNEMPLOYMENT\_RATE in the analyses. Overall increase in GDP is a sign of economic transformation but a growing national economy does not necessarily mean equal distribution or access to resources. Thus, as a measure of economic grievance I include the unemployment rate calculated as the percentage of employable persons without jobs. The data are only available quarterly, and I impute equal unemployment rates for each set of three months in a given quarter.

### *Methods*

Because the dependent variable is an aggregated non-negative monthly count of ALLIANCE events, event count models are appropriate. Following convention in the literature, the population of protest events is treated as the unit of analysis at risk for an alliance event to occur (Olzak 1989; Barron 1992; Carroll and Swaminathan 2000; Swaminathan 1995). Modeling based on the Poisson distribution is one way to analyze event count data (Olzak 1989; Barron 1992). However, because the distribution of the ALLIANCE variable is overly dispersed and the variance ( $\sigma^2 = 7.51$ ) is greater than the mean ( $\mu = 2.73$ ), modeling based on the Poisson process can lead to the misspecification of standard errors for coefficients (Swaminathan 1995). To

account for over-dispersion, a more general form of the Poisson process, the negative binomial distribution, can be used. The negative binomial process relaxes the assumption that the mean and variance are equal by including an over dispersion parameter (Barron 1992; Swaminathan 1995). Specifically, the negative binomial model allows the mean of the Poisson distribution to vary based on a fixed parameter given by the gamma distribution (Barron 1992). Negative binomial models are estimated with the following equation:

$$\ln \lambda t = \alpha + \beta X_t + e$$

Where  $\lambda t$  is the rate of alliance forming events occurring at time  $t$ ,  $\alpha$  is a constant,  $\beta$  are the coefficients for the vector of covariates  $X_t$ , and  $e$  is an error term. Finally, in building the models, I lag the REPRESSION\_INDEX variable and all control variables by one month in order to temporally isolate the causal direction of effects.

## Results

Table 4 reports results from negative binomial regression analyses of alliance forming event counts. Maximum likelihood methods are used to estimate parameters of the independent and control variables. Model 1 is the baseline model and includes only our control variables. The positive and statistically significant coefficient for the DIVERSITY\_GROUP variable indicates that the increasing diversity of social groups participating in protest events contributed to the growing number of alliances created between them. This finding is intuitive as alliances are only possible once a multi-actor field is established. In addition, Model 1 indicates that GDP has a statistically significant positive impact on alliance formation; as South Korea's GDP increased over time, so did alliances between movement actors.

Model 2 introduces the first independent variable used to measure structural or institutional repression and significantly improves upon Model 1 (LR Test = 9.92, significant at the .01 level). As described above, the ED\_ERA variable distinguishes between events that occurred during the Emergency Decree era and those that occurred prior to the passing of these repressive laws. The positive and statistically significant coefficient indicates that alliance forming events were more likely to occur during the highly repressive ED period than prior to these decrees. Extrapolating from the raw coefficient, Model 2 reports that events that occurred during the ED era are 3.92 times [ $\exp(1.365)$ ] more likely to be an alliance forming event than events that took place prior to the EDs. This large effect indicates that most all alliance forming events occurred during the ED period.

**Table 4: Negative Binomial Regression Estimates of the Effects of Repression on Alliance Formation**

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>Repression Variables</b>					
ED_ERA	–	1.365*** (.409)	–	1.517*** (.399)	1.349*** (.405)
Repression_Index (t-1)	–	–	.009* (.005)	.011* (.004)	–
Mild to heavy repression (t-1)	–	–	–	–	.061* (.024)
Extreme repression (t-1)	–	–	–	–	-.137 (.106)
<b>Control Variables</b>					
Diversity_Group (t-1)	2.991*** (.716)	2.381*** (.750)	2.514*** (.704)	1.821* (.715)	1.879** (.707)
GDP (t-1)	.775* (.331)	.397 (.320)	.463 (.319)	.046 (.296)	.087 (.289)
Unemployment rate (t-1)	.167 (.185)	.187 (.191)	.040 (.181)	.033 (.185)	-.054 (.188)
Constant	-3.607** (1.279)	-3.333** (1.231)	-2.421 (1.304)	-2.067 (1.218)	-1.775 (1.202)
Observations	120	120	120	120	120
LR Chi2 (df)	18.65*** (3)	28.57*** (4)	23.74*** (4)	36.64*** (5)	39.12*** (6)
LR test (Model 1 vs. Models 2, 3, 4, 5)		9.92**	5.10*	17.99***	20.47***

Notes: \* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$  \*\*\* $p < .001$  (two-tailed test)

(t-1) indicates variable measured one month prior to the dependent variable.

In Model 3, the ED\_ERA variable is replaced by the second independent variable measuring immediate or situational repression. Model 3 indicates that increases in the repression index score have a positive and statistically significant impact on the count of alliance forming events in a given month. Technically, the incidence rate of alliance forming events is estimated to increase 1.01 times [ $\exp(.009)$ ], or 1 percent, with one-unit increase in the repression index score. It is evident that, while the effect is relatively small, social groups were more likely to recognize and stand in solidarity with other groups as the authoritarian regime increased the number and severity of police coverage of protest events. Model 3 also significantly improves upon base Model 1 (LR Test = 5.10, significant at the .05 level).

In our full model, both institutional and situational forms of repression are included in the analysis. Model 4 reports that while controlling for the other, both forms of repression positively and significantly increase the count of alliance forming events. Compared to events prior to the ED

era, events that occurred during the height of authoritarianism were 4.56 times [ $\exp(1.517)$ ] more likely to be an alliance forming event. Furthermore, one additional unit increase in the repression index score increased the number of alliance forming events 1.01 times [ $\exp(.011)$ ]. To sum, alliances between diverse social groups participating in the democracy movement were more likely to be formed during the highly repressive ED era and were also facilitated by the increasing state repressive coverage of protest events. Model 4 significantly improves upon our base model (LR Test = 17.99, significant at the .001 level).

Finally, in Model 5 the types of situational repression are divided between those that fall under the “mild to heavy” categories and those classified as “extreme” repression (see Table 3). Model 5 tests the hypothesis that repression has a non-monotonic, inverted U shape effect on protest activity; lower levels of repressive threat promote protest activity and high or extreme forms of repression diminish mobilization. As reported in Model 5, increasing the count of mild to heavy repression events has a positive and significant effect on our dependent variable and accounts for a 1.06 time [ $\exp(.061)$ ], or 6 percent, increase in the count of alliance forming events in a given month.

In addition, Model 5 reports that the coefficient for the effect of extreme forms of repression on alliance formation is not statistically significant ( $p = .195$ ). This non-significant finding for extreme forms of repression suggests that it is the less severe forms of repression that is driving the count of alliance forming events in models 3 and 4. It is worth noting, however, that the coefficient is negative, possibly suggesting that a strategy of extreme repression might indeed decrease overall protest activity including alliance forming protest events. It is also important to acknowledge that while the types of extreme repression (e.g., kidnapping, death sentence, murder, etc.) are not unlike those found in other highly repressive contexts such as El Salvador and Guatemala, the overall number of these events are relatively small in comparison to those countries where tens of thousand were kidnapped and/or murdered (Brockett 2005). The question remains as to what would have happened if the South Korean state had implemented the same sort of wide-spread extreme repression found in these Central American countries.

## Discussion

The positive impact repression had on alliance formation in Korea’s democracy movement points to the importance of analyzing the dialectical interplay between authoritarian regimes and social movements. This study highlights the usefulness of considering the unintended consequences of state repression. In an authoritarian context, repression is a key factor

influencing the characteristics and evolution of social movements. Analyses of repression's impact on overall protest event count have yielded conflicting findings and scholars have suggested specifying the effects of repression on disaggregated components of social movements (Lichbach 1987; Hoover and Kowalewski 1992). That is, while repression might decrease or increase overall protest event count, it also can facilitate the founding of social movement organizations (Loveman 1998; Chang and Kim 2007), alter the choice of protest tactics (McAdam 1983; Lichbach 1987; Moore 1998; Titarenko et.al. 2001), motivate frame development (Davenport and Eads 2001; Chang and Kim 2007), and in the present case study, lead to the formation of alliances between different movement groups.

The formation of alliances can, in turn, lead to practical advantages such as the pooling of material and cultural resources (Weiss 2006). To be sure, the alliances that were forged during the highly repressive ED period remained limited to identifying with and supporting other groups, but this still laid the groundwork for future solidarity work. These kinds of "informal ties" can be important for movement development and as Tarrow (1998:52) notes, "what movements needed to be successful were strong informal connective structures among heterogeneous and interdependent social groups and localities." Awareness of the protest activities of different social groups, and an increasingly shared understanding of oppression, provides "the experience with which groups may... build cross-cutting coalitions..." (Weiss 2006:44) These shared experiences become "resources" or "coalitional capital" needed to facilitate solidarity in large social movements and for groups to pursue common goals (Weiss 2006:32). Indeed, the strength and unity of Korea's democracy movement in the 1980s, manifest in a variety of formal ecumenical umbrella social movement organizations, originate in the informal alliances that were created in the 1970s (Sunhyuk Kim 2000; Samuel Kim 2003).

In addition, movement development during periods of nadir has important implications for the literature on protest cycles. As seen in Figure 1, the total number of protest events declined following the promulgation of EDs in 1974 and 1975. And yet, more of the protest events that occurred in the highly repressive ED era constituted alliance-forming events compared to events that occurred during the relatively less repressive period. This in turn shows that while repression had a negative impact on the overall quantity of protest events, it still positively contributed to the quality of the movement as evident in the increasing solidarity between disparate movement actors. Thus, this study points to the possibility of continuing movement development during low points in a movement's cycle.

Although Tarrow's (1998) conceptual definition of protest cycles is not limited to a simple count of protest events, empirical operationalizations of high or low points in a cycle are often defined by the frequency of

protest events occurring in a given time period (Tarrow 1993; White 1993). Consequently, most scholars analyzing cycles of protest have focused on movement development during high periods of activism defined by event count. That is, scholars have argued that greater numbers of protest events are associated with movement “intensity,” founding of social movement organizations, creation of cultural frames, diversification of actors, tactics, and forms, and general diffusion processes (Tarrow 1993; Tarrow 1998; McAdam 1995).

In contrast, this study reveals that movements continue to evolve during low points in the cycle, or during the “doldrums,” when the number of protest events is relatively small (Rupp and Taylor 1987; Scott 1987; Armstrong 2002). This is another manifestation of the “repression paradox,” namely that “Repressive states depress collective action of a conventional and a confrontational sort, but leave themselves open to unobtrusive mobilization which can signal solidarity that becomes a resource when opportunities arise.” (Tarrow 1998:85) In sum, by focusing on repression’s impact on total event count, and by highlighting movement development only during high periods of a protest cycle, we overlook the important adaptive strategies movement actors engage in to cope with increasing coercion. While maybe not evident in the number of inter-group protest events, or formal ecumenical social movement organizations founded, the formation of loose-based alliances is a critical initial step in the development of movement solidarity and one unintended consequence of repression.

## Notes

1. Yusin means “revitalization” and is, significantly, the Korean equivalent of the Japanese word Meiji, the discursive hallmark of the latter country’s industrial-modernization drive in the late 19th and 20th centuries.
2. Every eligible male in South Korea to this day is mandated to serve in the military and throughout the Park period university students were required to participate in military training exercises on campus.
3. For information go to: [http://aparc.stanford.edu/research/stanford\\_korea\\_democracy\\_project](http://aparc.stanford.edu/research/stanford_korea_democracy_project).
4. While the Korea Democracy Foundation did make every effort to collect information on all protest and repression events related to Korea’s democracy movement, it is quite feasible that some events were overlooked because they were simply not recorded in any source. Given that, it is still likely that there was no systematic exclusion of sets of events. Also, there were cases where a single event was reported by different sources with inconsistent facts between two or more sources. In the cases where conflicting facts dealt with quantitative data (e.g.,

number of participants at an event), we took the average number from all sources rather than adjudicate between the sources.

5. The Simpson Diversity Index is calculated with the following equation:

$$S = 1 - (A/\text{monthly\_total})^2 + (B/\text{monthly\_total})^2 + (C/\text{monthly\_total})^2 + \dots$$

Where A is the number of events organized by group A in a months time, and B is the number of events organized by group B, etc. The denominator "monthly\_total" is the total sum of the number of events organized by all groups and thus can exceed the number of actual events (e.g. when two or more groups participate in a single event together).

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