



**Homosexuals and the Contemporary Gay Rights
Movement in Korea:
Movement participation and collective identity**

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DECLARATION FORM

The work I have submitted is my own effort. I certify that all the material in the Dissertation which is not my own work has been identified and acknowledged. No materials are included for which a degree has been previously conferred upon me.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how elements of collective identification are reflected in Korean male homosexuals and how it impacts on their engagement with the gay rights movement. Quantitative research was conducted regarding the elements of collective identification of Korean male homosexuals and the outcome of participating in collective action for gay rights.

The first part (chapter 1, 2, 3) of this study is the basis for the development of this collective identification research. A set of research questions are introduced along with an examination of two dominant literatures on the subject: collective identity theories and social movement theories. These have been pursued to generate a theoretical framework for collective identification in terms of the gay rights movement. Further, the situation of homosexuals and gay rights in contemporary Korea is analyzed.

The second part (chapter 4, 5, 6, 7) discusses the methodology, conduct of the quantitative research and the findings. A correlation is discovered between elements of collective identification and their relation to an outcome (collective action participation). Elements of collective identification analyzed in this research are self-categorization, private regard, social embeddedness, interdependence and ideology (belief in gay visibility, belief in collective action and recognition on social oppression). For each element, the study illustrates the concept and measurement items. Further, the researcher discusses how social context moderates the relationships between the elements and the outcomes.

Finally, the research confirms the unique motivating influence of a number of collective identity elements based on the survey and previous studies. Some of recommendations are made for promoting the gay rights movement in Korea. The research could potentially help Korean gay rights activists and human rights defenders, who are facing the difficulty of encouraging individual homosexuals to participate in collective action for gay rights.

Keywords: Gay rights movement, collective identity, social movement, homosexuals, homosexuality, Korea, collective action, human rights, quantitative research

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The universal principles of human rights, especially the rights to equality and human dignity are applied to all human beings including homosexuals. However in practice, they are excluded, marginalized, oppressed and discriminated against by state authorities and dominant majority groups at both international and local levels. Although there existed limited struggles to change this situation, the sexual rights of homosexuals were not recognized anywhere in the world until a few decades ago. Homosexuals' rights were in general unaccepted or ignored, and they were even treated as immoral or mentally ill people deserving penal sanction (Plummer 2006, p. 152).

Thus, homosexuals have been trying to change this injustice through gay rights movements. Claims for the right to different types of sexual orientations were slowly made through social movements which emerged in a number of countries and helped create "a language of rights around sexualities" finally in the late modern times (Plummer 2006, p. 155). Particularly, two recent milestones, *Yogyakarta Principles 2007* and *the Statement on Human Rights, Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity* presented in the UN General Assembly 2008, affirmed that homosexuals are entitled to all human rights (Farrior 2009, pp. 87-8; O'Flaherty & Fisher 2008; UN General Assembly 2008).

Nevertheless, homosexuals are indeed facing a lot of oppression and challenges in many countries because of religion, tradition and culture (Farrior 2009). In addition, the notion of gay rights is even fiercely contested in many countries across the world (Plummer 2006 p. 156).

1.1 Background to research

A few ground-breaking events on homosexuality came about in Korea after the new millennium. A famous comedian, Seokcheon HONG, declared his homosexuality in public

for the first time in history in 2000. The implicitly homosexual-themed movie, *Wan-ui-nam-ja* (The king and the clown), became a record-breaking box office hit in 2005 (Bong 2008, pp. 92-3) and the first feature film about homosexuality, *Chin-gu-sa-i* (Just friends), was released in 2010. Furthermore, a homophobic advertisement printed in the major newspapers spoke against a television drama in which a homosexual couple appeared, *Eun-saeng-eun-a-reom-da-wo* (The life is beautiful), triggering a fierce dispute in 2010. Lady GaGa's Seoul concert in 2012, moreover, caused huge debates about homosexuality.

However, these events were isolated and have not been linked to the continuous gay rights movement. With regard to this status quo and its reason, Bong (2008) argued based on interviews with Korean gay rights activists that "as long as homosexuals do not cross the boundary of ghettos set by invisible rules" (p. 98) in Korean society, their access to gay life is guaranteed. Remaining within the boundary might mean staying in the closet and not openly coming out. The expected benefits of maintaining the status quo and the cost for breaking it thus put homosexuals "in a serious dilemma of collective action" (p. 98). Finally, this results in the difficulty of mobilizing homosexuals for collective action. The causes of the emergence of any social movements are various and complex, however one shared aspect is that they are "all purposeful products of collective action" (Santos 2013, p. 7). In other word, social movements cannot emerge without collective actors, and thus the difficulty of mobilizing collective actors (homosexuals) in Korea may make the gay rights movement remain inactive.

Meanwhile, Poindexter (1997) outlined two significant premises for developing gay rights movements: indigenous gay networks and collective identity among homosexuals. He researched the 1969 Stonewall riot in the U.S, which was "widely celebrated as the beginning of the modern gay rights movement" (p. 607), and suggested that there were well identified indigenous gay networks and a community sharing a collective identity as an oppressed group. The Stonewall riot and subsequent movement could not have been widely noticed and spread out without this indigenous base.

Consequently, Bong and Poindexter's study led me to consider collective identity among Korean homosexuals and the motivations for their involvement in the gay rights movement.

1.2 Research aims and questions

The main purpose of this research is to find out how collective identity elements are reflected in Korean homosexuals and how these affect homosexuals' engagement with collective action in the gay rights movement. This research is therefore derived from the following set of research questions:

- How does collective identity impact gay rights movements?
- How can collective identity be assessed?
- Which elements of the identity are weaker or stronger among Korean homosexuals?
- How are these interpreted with regard to the Korean gay rights movement, especially on oppression, gay networks and community issues as motivators for participating in collective action?

Most importantly, this research ultimately aims to provide a meaningful resource for developing the gay rights movement in Korea.

1.3 Justification of research

When it comes to the relation between the research and human rights, homosexuals themselves have been the most important actor to develop gay rights movements for equal human rights and justice (Poindexter 1997; Price 2010). It is not human rights itself but rather people have the agency to change situations through social action and this action is constructed "by complex combinations of interest, rationality, and values" (Swidler 2001, cited in Lamb 2010, p. 996). For gay rights activists and other relevant human rights defenders facing the difficulty of collectively mobilizing homosexuals in Korea, this research should provide considerable hints for empowering homosexuals and strengthening their collective identity for developing the gay rights movement.

1.4 Scope

The most well know term, LGBT indicates four main sexual minorities: lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual groups. This study only examines the gay group, which refer to male homosexuals, for two reasons. First of all, the lack of academic research and literature on

Korean sexual minorities, evaluating all four groups' collective identities is overly broad, in particular considering the difficulty of reaching sexual minorities in a conservative Korean society. Secondly, male homosexuals are a more salient group than the other three groups in Korea in terms of accessibility and community. The biggest sexual minority community, *IVANCITY*, overtly aims at male homosexuals and has approximately 280,000 members (details are available from the web site <http://www.ivancity.com>).

1.5 Disposition

This paper is divided into seven chapters. First is the introductory chapter that outlines the background and objectives of the research. This chapter briefly discusses problems in the gay rights movement in Korea. The second chapter is the literature review. It explores previous studies related to collective identity, measures to assess it, social movements and gay rights movements in general, and the relation between oppression, gay networks and the movements. In chapter three, the status of homosexuals and their rights in contemporary Korea are critically approached. This includes the issues of homophobic groups, homosexual youth problems, invisibility of homosexuals, the legal status of homosexuals, and a specific case showing controversy surrounding homosexuality. Chapter four describes the methodology used for assessing collective identity elements of Korean male homosexuals. Here, the selected quantitative survey is discussed alongside the data collection. Chapter five discusses the analysis procedure and the findings from the survey. In chapter six, the main arguments of this research from the literature review and the quantitative survey analysis are discussed according to the ultimate research aims and questions. The last chapter suggests recommendations for promoting collective identity and developing the gay rights movement in Korea, and the conclusions of this research.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This research draws on two major sets of previous studies: collective identity theories on the one hand and social movement and gay rights movement studies on the other hand. These two main bodies result from the first two research questions: (1) how collective identity impacts gay rights movements; (2) how collective identity elements are constituted and assessed. The important points found from this review were applied to designing and developing this research, and interpreting the results of the statistical analysis.

2.1 Collective identity theories

Above all, social identity theories provide the most effective theoretical background to understand individual's identification with a group and group membership (Capozza & Brown 2000).

2.1.1 Social, personal, group identity and collective identity

The term social identity is interpreted as meaning the identity of an individual as a member of a group. This term has traditionally been used by social psychologists in order to describe the identity arising from social groups' membership (Abrams & Hogg 1990, pp. 2-3; Tajfel & Turner 1979, 1986, cited in Simon & Klandermans 2001, p. 320). Groups are here defined as social structures, which develop their own norms, boundaries and goals from their members in order to produce their own distinctive identity (Abrams & Hogg 1990, p. 1). This identity forms that "those who we see as belonging to the same category as ourselves constitute *us*; those of a different category are *them*" (Hoggett 2009, p. 29).

Social identity is distinctive from personal identity. Personal identity originally refers to features of personality that one believes to be distinct to the self and which come from the unique circumstances of a person's life history. In contrast, social identity is linked to people

outside the person and is held in a space that is shared with other group members (Sedikides & Brewer 2001, Simon 1997, cited in Ashmore et al. 2004, p. 82; Hoggett 2009, p. 27).

On the other hand, all aspects of identity are indeed socially influenced and its significance is acquired only within a social context through a person's relations to others (Hoggett 2009, p. 26; Simon 1997, p. 321). All the types of identity, even individual identity, are therefore inherently and necessarily social, thus the expression of collective identity instead of social identity may be more appropriate (Simon & Klandermans 2001, p. 320).

More importantly, collective identity is different from group identity. Group identity refers a person's identity as a member of the group. In contrast, collective identity is collective in that a person shares the source of his / her identity with other group members (Simon & Klandermans 2001, p. 320). Consequently, collective identity is therefore understood and approached in the present sense not as the group identity but as the personal identity of a group member which is shared by other group members.

2.1.2 Important characteristic of collective identity

People are accessible to "multiple shared places" in this modern society, thus one may have multiple collective identities and these sometimes overlap, intersect and conflict (Simon & Klandermans 2001, p. 321). Moreover, all these multiple collective identities of a person may not be noticeable at the same time. The significance of a specific collective identity depends on the person's individual variables such as distinguishable prior experiences and life histories (Turner et al. 1987, Simon 1999, cited in Simon & Klandermans 2001, p. 321). For instance, a homosexual or heterosexual identity becomes more salient when homosexual and heterosexual men discuss same-sex marriage rather than foreign politics (Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 264). Furthermore, collective identity contributes to "a meaningful social existence" by satisfying people's fundamental psychological needs (e.g., belongingness and distinctiveness) (Simon & Klandermans 2001, pp. 321-2).

2.1.3 Impact of collective identity on social movements

Strong collective identity is required for group members to engage in collective actions and this is proven by various empirical studies (Brown 1978, Tajfel 1981, Tajfel & Turner 1986, cited in Stürmer & Simon 2004, pp. 264-5). In general, collective identity impacts people's willingness to engage in collective actions for social movements (De Weerd & Klandermans 1999, Klandermans 2000, Simon et al. 1998, cited in Simon & Klandermans 2001, p. 320), and identification with social movement organizations in particular increases members' engagement in collective actions, whereas participation itself in turn probably strengthens identification with the social movement organizations (De Weerd & Klandermans 1999, Kelly & Breinlinger 1996, cited in Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 273). Indeed, "highly identified group members are prepared to stand and fight collectively when their in-group is disadvantaged or threatened" (Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 265). This perspective significantly supports Poindexter (1997)'s analysis on the modern gay rights movement in the U.S emphasizing the importance of strong collective identity among gay population with regard to the success of the Stonewall riot and followed gay rights movement (see para. 2.4.2). The current research provides overt support for the function of collective identity in social movement mobilization beyond 'the perceived individual and collective costs and benefits' theory (Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 276). I will discuss this costs and benefits theory in depth in para. 2.3.

2.2 The elements of collective identity and its assessment

The multidimensional concept of collective identity originally came from Tajfel's study on social identity which offered three measurable aspects of the identity: (1) awareness of group membership; (2) group evaluation; (3) emotional aspects of belonging (Glöckner 2007, p. 39) Hinkle, Taylor, Fox-Cardamone and Crook (1989, cited in Glöckner 2007, p. 39) additionally introduced three facets of collective identity: (1) positive group membership; (2) negative effect due to interdependence; (3) strong ties to the group. Ellemers, Kortekaas and Ouwerkerk (1999, cited in Glöckner 2007, p. 39) also offered three components: (1) group self-esteem; (2) self-categorization; (3) affective commitment to the group.

Finally, Ashmore, Deaux and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) suggested a multidimensional framework of collective identity alongside measurable identity elements. Ashmore et al.

identify the individual-level elements of collective identification, which derived from an analysis of current and past collective identity researches.

2.2.1 Ashmore et al.'s arguments on collective identity

Before the particular elements of collective identity and its possible measures are discussed, Ashmore et al. (2004)'s main arguments need to be briefly approached. At first, the broad range of collective identity concepts leads to much confusion since research groups from different theoretical backgrounds may refer to different aspects and dimensions of collective identity, or they may label it differently even though they use the same concepts. Secondly, collective identity elements are influenced by both inter-individual and inter-group variability, along with the stability of an individual's self-esteem. Furthermore, the elements are explicitly affected by social context and social settings, "in which a person is embedded at any one point in time" (p. 103).

This surrounding context also explicitly impacts the effect of collective identity. Regarding the importance of social context, Ashmore et al. stressed that collective identity is "a contextualized phenomenon" through social context (p. 81). The elements of collective identity therefore can be negotiated and modified by a person's interconnection and interaction with group members and society. In other word, which element of collective identity becomes more salient and which does not depends on social contexts encompassing a person in the situation

Finally, the elements of collective identity presented by Ashmore et al. are: (1) self-categorization; (2) evaluation; (3) importance; (4) attachment and sense of interdependence; (5) social embeddedness; (6) behavioral involvement; and (7) content and meaning (for details see Appendix A).

2.2.2 Self-categorization

Self-categorization is the most basic element of collective identity and the precondition for all other elements: "identifying self as a member of, or categorizing self in terms of, a particular social grouping" (Ashmore et al. 2004, p. 84). In order to assess this element, the combined

use of open-ended questions and close-ended questions can be recommended. Open-ended questions allow respondents to select their own personal label (e.g., “in terms of my ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____”), and close-ended questions require respondents to select among pre-specified options. However, these measures may inform research only if “a person has placed the self inside a social category; they provide no information regarding how certain the person is of the categorization” (p. 85). To deal with this issue, respondents can be required to answer about their degree of identification by asking “how much do you identify with _____?” (p. 85). In addition, respondents’ uncertainty about identity concepts often leads to the ambiguity of collective identity. In order to deal with the issue of uncertainty of self-categorization, they suggest identity-confusion-subscale items such as “I’m not totally sure that I’m a lesbian/gay man” or “I keep changing my mind about my sexual orientation” may be helpful (p. 86).

2.2.3 Evaluation

Evaluation is probably “the simplest way to think about identity, once basic categorization is established” (Ashmore et al. 2004, p. 86). Through this element, a researcher is allowed to understand a person’s positive or negative attitude toward the social category. A typical sample of the private type of evaluation is a private-regard-scale item (e.g., “I am happy that I am Black”). Specific adjectives such as “glad, happy, proud”, or “regret, unsatisfied” in the item description need to be applied in order to designate positive and negative evaluation (p. 87).

2.2.4 Importance

Importance is the degree from low to high of how meaningful a particular group membership is for a person’s overall self-conception. Explicit importance refers to the degree to which a collective identity is important to a person’s overall sense of self. Simple examples of measures of this element is asking “Being _____ is an important reflection of who I am” or “in general, being Black is an important part of my self-image” (Ashmore et al. 2004, pp. 87-9).

2.2.5 Attachment and sense of interdependence

A person's attachment and sense of interdependence to the group is "the affective involvement a person feels with a social category or the degree to which the fate of the group is perceived as overlapping with one's personal fate". This can thus be measured by items such as "do you think that what happens to a group generally will have something to do with what happens in your life?" or "my fate and my future are bound up with the group members" (Ashmore et al. 2004, pp. 90-2).

2.2.6 Social embeddedness

Social embeddedness is the degree to which a person's collective identity is implicated in interpersonal relationships. This element may be operationalized by asking about "the number of friends made while engaged in identity-relevant activities", or what proportion are with people from the group of a person's ongoing social relationships (Ashmore et al. 2004, p. 92).

2.2.7 Behavioral involvement

Behavioral involvement is defined as "the degree to which the person engages in actions that directly implicate the collective identity category in question." This element is not an outcome of collective identity but "a clear expression of the identity" as an element itself of collective identity (Ashmore et al. 2004, pp. 92-3).

It is particularly important to distinguish behavioral involvement from collective identity outcomes. However, distinctions between behavioral involvement and outcomes are "not always evident in the identity literature" (p. 81), thus Ashmore et al. described some of the outcomes that have been connected to collective identification (pp. 101-3): (1) physical and psychological well-being; (2) academic achievement; (3) interpersonal relations; (4) organizational commitment; (5) civic and social engagement. Most importantly, this civic and social engagement probably includes involvement in public protests or demonstrations. "Although some activities in which a person might engage can be most appropriately considered indices of behavioral involvement" (p. 102), such resultant political behaviors "might be most appropriately considered an outcome of identification" (p. 103). Hence,

homosexuals' participation in collective actions for gay rights might be considered as an outcome rather than behavioral involvement.

2.2.8 Content and meaning

Content and meaning includes “self-attributed characteristics, political ideology and developmental narratives” (Ashmore et al. 2004, p. 94). Ideology especially makes reference to many different types of beliefs about historical experiences of the group. This may indicate group consciousness by referring to the group's past and present position in society, a group's political power or “a belief in collective action” (pp. 94-7)

2.3 Social Movements theories

Social movements have evolved significantly since the 1960s. Contemporary movements are featured by new and multiple aspects such as “self-reflexivity as a form of action, the planetary dimension of social action and the relationship between latency and visibility”, rather than typical class-driven characteristics (Melucci 1995, cited in Santos 2013, p. 20). Through social movement theories, motives for social movement participation will be looked at in this section.

Even though disadvantaged groups agree with what a social movement aims for, only a small number of them actually involve themselves in collective action for the movement (Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 263). How, then, can group members be motivated to engage in collective activities? The model of Klandermans (1997, cited in Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 263) provides a prominent approach to this question.

In Klandermans's model, three different motives are discussed: (1) collective motive; (2) reward motive; (3) normative motive. The collective motive is based on “the collective benefits for which the social movement fights”, such as antidiscrimination and equality. On the other hand, the reward motive is connected with more individual incentives and opportunity costs, like having a good time with group members or wasting time. Meanwhile, the normative motive is built on “the expected reactions of significant others to one's participation in collective action” (e.g., praise or derision) (Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 264).

When it comes to a motivating force of these motives, the collective motive is probably inadequate and insufficient. This is because once the collective benefits are achieved, all members of “the relevant social category benefits, even those who never contributed to their achievement”. Unfortunately, people may want a free ride (Klandermans 1984, 1997, cited in Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 264). The reward motive is also less crucial with regards to the gay rights movement because the movement is embedded “in an extensive subculture, which offers a diversity of opportunities to satisfy personal needs outside the context of social movement participation” (Kriesi et al. 1995, cited in Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 275).

Then, what motive is the most important motivating force for the gay rights movement? Stürmer & Simon (2004, p. 275) argue that inspiration, help and support from significant others such as family members or close friends may lessen fear and discomfort resulting from participation in collective actions and should encourage involvement in the gay rights movement. This argument indicates that the normative motive could be more significant for the gay rights movement compared to other two motives. The expected positive reactions of others may lead homosexuals to collective activities, whereas the expected negative reactions should discourage their engagement with the gay rights movement.

2.4 Integration of identity and movement approaches

Social movement theories (based on sociology) have been developed separately from social identity theories (oriented toward social psychology). However, several attempts have been made recently to integrate these approaches to provide better explanations of social movement participation (Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 265).

For example, Simon et al. (1998, cited in Stürmer & Simon 2004, p. 265; Simon & Klandermans 2001, p. 328) researched ‘the German older people’s movement and the U.S. gay movement’ based on a combination of Klandermans’s model (collective, normative, and reward motives) and the social identity approach. In this research, two different types of collective identity were measured: (1) identification with the oppressed group and its members (old people, gay men); (2) identification with the movement itself or the organization led movement (the Gray Panthers, the gay movement). As a result, this research generated two meaningful findings. First, identification with the movement itself or the

organization leading the movement was a more significant predictor of the willingness to get involved in the movement than identification with the group or the members. Secondly, only this identification with the movement itself or the organization “retained its unique predictive value even when the contributions of the collective, normative, and reward motives traditionally considered in social movement research were controlled”. These results also replicated in other researches (Stürmer & Simon 2004, pp. 265).

So far I have discussed collective identity theories and social movement theories with regard to the gay rights movement participation. Next I will turn to how the gay rights movement has historically developed and which social contexts have impacted this development.

2.5 Gay rights movement (historical perspectives)

Moving from the early stages of the gay rights movement to present times, there have been important thematic changes. This part of the thesis will discuss historical thematic development of the gay rights movement. In particular, this section will be focused on the gay rights movement in the U.S., especially the Stonewall riot and the subsequent movement as it provides important indicators that by which social contexts the gay rights movement becomes active and prominent.

2.5.1 Development of gay rights movement

In its earliest stage, the gay rights movement focused on decriminalization of homosexual acts. The acceptance of homosexuality was therefore the ultimate goal of the earliest movements. But by the time of liberation movement, the claims made for gay rights became much more vociferous. The emphasis of the movements changed from the decriminalization of homosexual acts to a broader recognition of equal rights for homosexuals (e.g., legal equality and equal opportunities in work) (Plummer 2006, p. 157). Most theoretical focuses on the movements in the 1980s were on the context of an emerging social movement at the time, such as “liberation, oppression and the practicalities of making a new social movement” (Adam 1995, Cruikshank 1992, cited in Santos 2013, p. 24). Meanwhile, in the mid of 1980s the gay rights movements started to make claims that homosexuals should have equal rights to marriage and raise children. Actually, this was the only controversial issue that “seriously

discriminated homosexuality from heterosexuality” in some nations (e.g., Scandinavian countries) “where equal rights had been obtained in a number of areas (the laws had been changed, equal opportunity charters had been introduced, governments had incorporated the thinking of many gays and lesbians into governmental policies)” (Plummer 2006, p. 157).

On the other hand, an increased awareness of the broad impact of gay politics, partly caused by the AIDS crisis, introduced new themes such as ‘globalization, identity and politics’ to the movements in the 1990s (Adam et al. 1999, Bristow and Wilson 1993, DeLaet 1997, Epstein 1999, cited in Santos 2013, p. 24). These thematic changes demonstrate that gay rights movements have been historically developed by providing or emphasizing new political agendas which are salient at the time.

2.5.2 The Stonewall riot and the gay rights movement in the U.S.

The reason why the Stonewall riot and the following movement in the U.S. is important is that: (1) the Stonewall riot is widely recognized as the beginning of the modern gay rights movement; (2) gay networks and collective identity, which are directly related to this research, played a significant role in the movement (Poindexter 1997).

Above all, I will briefly look at how historical trends in modern gay activism in the U.S. In the 1950s to 60s are understood at the time as a demand to “give us a hearing”. Gay people quietly and slowly became to be visible in this period. The movement jumped in earnest towards more active and collective strategy after being triggered by the Stonewall riots. During this “here we are” time, the “out of closet” movement, which required and encouraged the coming out of gay individuals, appeared. After the period of ‘AIDS activism’ in 1980s to 90s, the movement is in a “let us in” stage, seeking more legal and social equality (D’ Emilio 2000, cited in Price 2010, pp. 53-4).

Poindexter (1997, pp. 608-9) focused on and applied the indigenous model of Morris (1984) in order to interpret the emergence of the Stonewall riots. Although Morris originally developed this indigenous model so as to analyze “the modern black civil movement”, it also successfully explains “the emergence of the modern gay rights movement” in the U.S.

Morris skeptically examined three traditional social movement theories, which were classical collective behavior theory, Weber's theory of charismatic movements, and resource mobilization theory. First, classical collective behavior theory works on the premise that collective actions spontaneously emerge in response to such "unusual cultural situations" or "periods of rapid social change", and thus do not fit the early gay rights movement in the U.S. The Stonewall riot did not occur under the circumstances classical collective behavior theory promised. Weber's charismatic model does not fit the Stonewall riots either since his model explains that "at certain times charismatic individual leaders mobilize a following that can cause revolutionary changes". The ordinary black and Hispanic transvestites were the main rioters but not charismatic leaders. When it comes to resource mobilization theory, it emphasizes support from outside the oppressed groups because the groups are unlikely to possess necessary resources for social protest. This model therefore does not explain the Stonewall riots since there was not considerable outside assistance and "members of the gay community had the skills to mobilize on their own" (Poindexter 1997, pp. 609-10).

Finally, according to the indigenous model of Morris, the emergence of social movements from oppressed groups and their sustainability depend on the existence of resources, activists and indigenous social networks. For the Stonewall riot and subsequent movement, it was demonstrated that there were well identified indigenous gay networks and community as an oppressed group sharing collective identity (D'Emilio 1983, Duberman 1986, Humphreys 1972, Katz, 1976, Marcus 1992, cited in Poindexter 1997, pp. 610-11).

Poindexter's perspective points out two significant premises for developing gay rights movement: (1) indigenous gay networks and community; (2) shared strong collective identity.

2.6 Considerable social contexts

This review introduces two key social contexts surrounding homosexuals' collective identity and gay rights movements: gay networks and oppression (see para 1.1; 2.2.1; 2.5.2). These are also explicitly related to the research questions and thus will be discussed more in this part.

2.6.1 Networks and community

Minority groups traditionally label themselves as communities and collective identities of these groups are also often manifested through the concept of community. The idea of community may include not only geographical boundaries but could also be bound by non-geographic characteristics such as faith, ethnicity or sexual orientation. A concept of community is actually “a social construction, existing in the minds of those who participate in this construction”. This probably means that the social networks and institutions referring to community are more accurately understood in terms of social structures and forms such as class or ethnicity. In this social construction perspective on communities, the development and management of communities’ boundaries becomes important since boundaries, which differentiate inside from outside, define and categorize a sense of *us*. Boundaries can also vary amongst similar groups. For example, transsexuals are might be included in a gay community in Sydney, while being excluded in Washington, D.C. (Hoggett 2009, pp. 38-9).

Most importantly, what should be underlined here about community and networks is how they play a role in generating collective action and motivating participants. According to social movement theories, collective actions which are especially political occur when individuals get involved through “friends, workmates, neighbors, or other social networks”. These contacts to social networks do not always change an individual’s perspective, opinions or feelings about an issue since most of these are likely already established. However, these contacts may lead those, who would not get involved by themselves, to engage in activism (Hoggett 2009, pp. 85).

2.6.2 Oppression

The most explicit oppression against homosexuals in the U.S. came from sodomy laws. All the states in the U.S. in 1960 had a sodomy law which prohibited certain sexual behavior such as anal sex and oral-genital contact. This law has been used during the past fifty years in order to control homosexuals although the law was initially enacted to ban non-procreative sex acts. Homosexuals have additionally been arrested “in undercover sting operations” in cruising areas and clubs, and denying their custody rights and employment has been justified in the name of the law. Furthermore, the sodomy law supported a hetero-normative order that

positioned homosexuality and homosexuals' identity as deviant. "Eliminating the sodomy statutes" thus has impacted the emergence and the development of the gay rights movement in the U.S., and it become a crucial goal of the movement since 1960s (Bernstein 2001, Greenberg 1988, Halley 1994, cited in Bernstein 2003, pp. 353-4; Poindexter 1997, pp. 610-1; also see para. 2.5.2).

2.7 Summary

This section reviewed two major sets of previous studies; collective identity theories and social movement / gay rights movement studies.

First, the definition of a concept of collective identity, the elements and assessment measures, and its impacts on social movements were discovered based on social identity theories. Collective identity is collective in that a person shares the source of his / her identity with other group members, thus should be understood in the present sense as the personal identity of a group member, which is shared with other group members. A person possesses multiple collective identities so that these are sometimes overlapping and conflicting. The significance of specific collective identity also depends on the person's individual variables (e.g., prior experiences and life histories). Importantly, collective identity impacts people's willingness to involve in collective actions for social movements. Meanwhile, Ashmore et al. (2004) suggested a multidimensional framework of collective identity alongside measurable identity elements.

Secondly, motives for social movement participation were approached according to social movement / gay rights movement theories. In particular, the model of Klandermans discussed three different motives (i.e., collective, reward and normative motives) and suggested that the normative motive, which was built on the reactions of significant others to one's engagement with collective action, might have a stronger motivating force. In terms of the gay rights movement, the positive normative motive (e.g., inspiration and support of family members or close friends) may lessen a person's fear and discomfort resulting from participating in collective action.

Finally, two significant premises for developing gay rights movement (i.e., indigenous gay networks and community, shared strong collective identity) were underlined by Poindexter.

Under that conceptualization, homosexuals' contacts with gay networks and the gay community lead those, who would not otherwise be involve, to participate in the gay rights movement.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 GAY RIGHTS IN KOREA

This section will analyze gay rights in contemporary Korea rather than examining historical changes or the development of the rights. It is focussed on how homosexuals are legally recognized and socially treated, and the problems and challenges they are facing in relation to the gay rights movement.

3.1 Overview

Social minorities in general have only become more structured and organized since 1980s along with the development of civil society in Korea. This has caused social minority movements aimed at social changes which by present each social minority's features (Jeon 2007, cited in Kim 2011, p. 146). However, these social minorities and their voices did not receive much attention from society until human rights issues were emerged in earnest following to the establishment of the National Human Rights Commission of Korea in 2001 (Yun 2004, cited in Kim 2011, p. 146).

On the other hand, this historical development of social minorities' rights has not applied to the case of gay rights. Homosexuals' rights are still not recognized by Korean society (Choi 1996).

3.2 Case of the movie, 'Just Friends'

Since 1995, the homosexuality issue has had a huge moral impact on Korean society through challenging conventional family values and traditional ethics. Especially, this has mainly been caused by the film industry and mass media. The first prominent celebrity came out and homosexuality-themed movies and TV programs became popular (see para. 1.1). However, these changes did not bring any reforms on gay rights. The gay community is still oppressed by media, governmental body and public (Tsang 2009, pp. 8-9).

An interesting case occurred in 2009, in which a homosexuality-themed movie caused a fierce dispute in the society. The movie about homosexuality, *Chin-gu-sa-i* (Just friends), was produced in the year. The Korea Media Rating Board (KMRB) gave this movie the rating of no children under eighteen (NC-18) indicating the inclusion of harmful contents for teenagers (details are available from the board's web site < <http://www.kmr.or.kr/> >). Immediately, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) argued that the rating was discriminatory against homosexuality since the other movies including similar level of scenes between man and woman had received the rating of no children under fifteen (*Newsis* 4 February 2010). On the other hand, other NGOs claimed that the State had a duty to protect teenagers from homosexuality (*Kukminilbo* 20 April 2011). Meanwhile, regarding the complaints about discrimination, the board claimed that they were neutral and had not considered homosexuality (*Asia Economy* 12 November 2009). This case finally went to the court and the rating was ruled to be illegal. The court stipulated that the rating NC-18 on this movie was risking violating sexual minority rights (*The Financial News* 20 April 2011). In response to this decision, anti-homosexuality, religious and conservative groups organized broad homophobic campaigns.

This case revealed two key points. At first, KMRB tried to avoid bringing the issue to human rights discourse. The board needed to only deal with networks in the film industry if the dispute remained about the simple matter of a rating. It was inevitable that KMRB would face complains from organizations in the field of human rights once the dispute became part of human rights discourse. It might be because the dispute related to human rights is complicated, it sometimes causes outside interference (Freeman 2002, p. 115). This case representatively shows how governmental body reacts to the issues on homosexuality. Secondly, homophobic campaigns were immediately, broadly and systemically organized. I will discuss more this in the next part.

3.3 Homophobic acts

Homophobic groups and organizations become more systematized and well organized and thus aggravated collective hatred and violence. These groups and organizations organize collective activities in order to prevent placing any human rights systems for homosexuals (MINBYUN-Lawyers for a Democratic Society 2012, pp. 286-8).

3.3.1 Religious group

The Korean Protestant fundamentalists are emerging as an especially overt homophobic group. They act as an organizer facilitating and gathering all the homophobic groups and campaigns in order to protest against the National Human Rights Commissions of Korea. This campaign includes slogans that homosexuals are needed to be healed by God and homosexuality is a social pathology (LGBT Act 2008, p. 17). They argue that Korean society is facing a danger of widespread of homosexuality and thus national health and public order are threatened. These homophobic groups require Korean Christian Churches' members, and other conservative groups to take an active role to prevent homosexuality to preserve the justice in the bible (*Kukminilbo* 20 April 2011).

3.3.2 Sociological approach to homophobic group

These actors' arguments are more related to relativism than universalism as they claim that customs in Korean society and values in Christianity are more vital than universal human rights. Sometimes, specific constituents of relativism such as "religion, tradition, and culture continue to be used as a shield for violating" human rights, "despite strong and persistent statements adopted by states in United Nations" (Farrior 2009, p. 84). These claims from the homophobic group reveal how strong the religious norm is among these constituents in Korea.

Although the international conventions indicate that cultures endorsing the violation of human rights cannot be respected just "because they are cultures" (Freeman 2002, p. 109), this issue is still very controversial in practical sense. Indeed, the value of society and community can dominate human rights at multiple levels (Lamb 2010, p. 1002) and human rights principles sometimes do not reach all the members of each State in which they have been implemented.

Meanwhile, people in this group have a strong loyalty to religious norms and these norms do not allow homosexuality. Maintaining and encouraging these norms is considered their duty, and this has led them to the conclusion that some of other rights are not respectable. Loyalty makes the members of the group feel "the sense of the belonging", however loyalty itself may need to provoke conflict through competing with other groups so that "people think of

themselves primarily as members of a group”. Thus, loyalty must always have an “other against which to define itself” (Lamb 2010, pp. 99-1000). This explains why other universal human rights, such as homosexual rights, which are not combined with religious norms, are easily ignored or attacked. At the same time, this brings again the old dispute regarding rights which violate other rights such as hate speech and the freedom of expression of certain religions.

3.3.3 Hate speech

Many nations have laws to punish hate speech against homosexuals and various human rights treaties also stipulate regulating and controlling hate speech, which instigates discrimination and violence. However, the reality is in Korea that hate speech against homosexuals does not face any sanctions (MINBYUN-Lawyers for a Democratic Society 2012, p. 288).

In other nations’ cases, homosexuals have been visible for a long time, which means hate speech and crimes against them have also been overtly exposed. This may have led the nations to prepare an institutional strategy in order to prevent it. In contrast, hate speech against homosexuals has probably been happening for a long time ago in Korea, however, homosexuals only recently became visible, thus hate speech has only recently and slowly visible and recognized (National human rights commission of Korea 2005, p. 129).

3.4 Legal status

Current law in Korea does not accept any type of homosexual relationship, and thus disregards and marginalizes homosexuals (National human rights commission of Korea 2005, p. 95). Due to the non-existence of legal acceptance of homosexual relationship, most of claims of gay rights groups are mainly based only on ethical perspective.

The standpoint referring only to the ethical perspective might be inadequate to change the settled social norms, whereas law and judicial decisions are indeed able to initiate considerable changes of social norms in many cases. For example, the implementation of the *European Court of Human Rights case law* shifted social norms related to the rights of homosexual in European countries (Anagnostou 2010, p. 722, p. 727). Some international

conventions can be used to show the international “efforts to eliminate gender discrimination” or show international consensus on equality without sexual orientation discrimination (e.g., the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights General Comment* no. 18 (2006), the *Committee against Torture’s recent general comment* no. 2 (2008)) (Farrior 2009, p. 86). However, international law is never equivalent to domestic law.

Meanwhile, how homosexuals are reflected in the governmental body can be approached through certain regulations. According to the article 10 in the *Act of Registration, etc. of Periodicals, and its enforcement ordinance*, homosexuality is stipulated as a sexual behavior which is not socially accepted and permitted. The article 92 in *Military criminal act* regulates that any sexual behavior between same genders is regarded as indecent assault regardless of consent and is thus punishable. In addition, homosexuality is classified as personality disorder according to personnel management and recruitment regulations in the military (National human rights commission of Korea 2005, p. 28, pp. 30-1).

3.5 Invisibility

For homosexuals, openly presenting sexual orientation is very challenging and risky since it usually causes discrimination and violence by the society when their sexual orientation is exposed. Therefore, the most serious problem with regard to gay rights should be that homosexuals are hidden in a closet.

Because of this invisibility, the social oppression and discrimination against them is also invisible and thus hard to recognize. Even for homosexuals themselves, it is sometimes challenging to define what discrimination is since they are neither familiar with nor well aware of discrimination. This makes revealing the reality of discrimination against homosexuals and researching the present situation more difficult (National human rights commission of Korea 2005, p. 21, 25, 219).

3.6 Homosexual youth

According to the survey conducted in 2005 for Korean sexual minority youth aged between 13 and 23, 70% of the respondents had considered more than once committing suicide, and 45.7% of them actually had tried. Reasons pointed to were the lack of appropriate information

regarding sexual orientation, stress from the educational system and teacher's prejudice (LGBT Act 2008, p. 16). A juvenile right to self-determination for sexuality is seriously ignored or violated in Korea (Cultural Action 2009). With regard to this issue, Juvenile Activists Networks for Human Rights criticizes that homosexuality is always treated as a subject which adults should protect teenagers from. They underline that limiting access to appropriate content regarding sexuality deprives juveniles the right to peruse their happiness and that educating based on distorted facts about homosexuality generates homophobia (*Oh My News* 28 Jul 2010). Indeed, while the rights of homosexuals are sometimes discussed in Korea, the educational perspective and juvenile rights are rarely claimed.

On the other hand, I can see a positive sign here for gay rights. Some of the debates on the homosexuality issue have developed from a matter of discrimination to one of educational perspective and juvenile rights. When a country meets adequate "democratic and economic development", human rights education relevant to minorities often emerges (Tibbitts 1995, cited in Bajaj 2011, p. 486). The claims for youth homosexuals' rights here might demonstrate this new emergence in Korea, and thus probably denote that Korean society has reached the early stages of an ability to discuss human rights education related to homosexuality.

3.7 Gay rights movement organizers

The history of Korean gay rights movement is approximately 10 years old, however there presently exist only a small number of gay rights organizations. Even worse, none of them is a corporate body. Gay rights activists also find it very hard to continue their activities since their career is not actually recognized by society and there is always a risk that their sexual orientation is unwillingly or forcedly exposed. Under this circumstance, it is extremely difficult to find any gay rights activists consistently involved in the gay rights movement over the past 10 years, thus this may result in the lack of continuity for the gay rights movement (National human rights commission of Korea 2005, p. 214). This problem of poor conditions for gay rights activists and organizations has been usually disregarded on the discussion of gay rights movement in Korea.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 METHODOLOGY

This section will discuss the methodology applied to this research. It involves looking at the overall research design, data collection and analysis method. How the findings from previous literature review are applied to the research methodology will be also discussed.

4.1 Overall research design

This research is derived from the four primary research questions. Secondary data, which is sourced from previous literatures and academic theories, was used for the first two questions (influences of collective identity on the gay rights movement and measures to assess the degrees of collective identity elements).

More importantly, the researcher uses primary sources of data in order to seek a solution for the last two research questions: (1) which elements of collective identity are weaker or stronger among Korean homosexuals; (2) how these elements interconnect to and affect homosexuals' involvement in collective activities for gay rights. Methodologically, a quantitative research method is used as the main mode of the primary data collection.

4.2 Quantitative method

A quantitative survey method is chosen for the last two research questions because for two reasons. First, the researcher wants to assess the degree of collective identity elements among individual homosexuals in Korea and quantify the results objectively compared to which elements are stronger or weaker, and which are more correlated with participating in collective action. Secondly, any statistical or quantitative resources are unlikely to be found during the preparatory research on data and academic literatures on gay rights in Korea. Most of the resources were qualitative research (e.g., interviews with a very limited number of homosexuals or gay rights activists). Under this circumstance, it should be useful and

meaningful to generate a quantitative resource on Korean homosexuals for both future research and gay rights activists.

4.3 Quantitative survey design

The quantitative survey is intended for Korean male homosexuals (see para. 1.4). When it comes to its' conduct and data collection procedures, two technical concerns emerge: (1) how to access Korean male homosexuals; (2) how to compose a questionnaire.

4.3.1 Access to respondents

It is hard to reach homosexuals and collect valid data through randomly surveying them in the gay districts. The survey should ask respondents about their specific reaction and attitudes regarding homosexuality and surrounding social contexts, which are extremely private. In a conservative society, respondents' hesitation or unwillingness to discuss these types of issues can risk the quality of the data (Gibson 2005). Enough time and a friendly environment are therefore required to adequately explain the aims and content of the survey and obtain homosexuals' consent to get involved. After careful consideration, two different forms of homosexual gatherings were finally chosen to conduct the survey: (1) an annual meeting of a gay rights organization; (2) a unique type of male homosexuals' social meeting.

First, an organization called *Chin-gu-sa-i* (Between friends) is one of the oldest and most representative gay rights organizations (Bong 2008, p. 89; Seo 2001, pp. 71-2). Historically, the first official pan-sexual minorities association, *Ch'odonghoe* was founded in 1993. Two months later, this association was dissolved and male and female homosexuals separately founded their own respective organizations. *Chin-gu-sa-i* was one of them: a male homosexuals-based organization. This organization has focused on gay rights issues since 1994. I contacted a director of the organization and had a preparatory meeting. As a result, conducting the survey in an annual meeting of the organization was permitted.

Secondly, *Dan-chaе-beon-gae* (Group blind dating and social gathering) is a very unique, popular and representative type of social meeting for male homosexuals in Korea. The term of '*Beon-gae*' for this distinctive meeting will be used in this research. According to *IVANCITY*

(details are available from the web site <http://www.ivancity.com>), approximately four to six different meetings of *Beon-gae* are organized per day in gay districts in Seoul, the capital city of Korea. For each meeting, there are one or two facilitators. These people gather participants, and organize programme for the meeting. The facilitators are mostly volunteers, but they get a small facilitating fee from the participants. Male homosexuals drink and have chats and games, along with a speed-dating for about three hours in *Beon-gae*. Anyone is allowed to join in *Byongae* (but the participants are usually aged between 20 and 35) and the number of participants vary from 5 to 40 for the each meeting. I contacted facilitators and was assured that the atmosphere was friendly, facilitators were supportive and homosexual participants were open-minded enough to participate in this survey.

4.3.2 Questionnaire composition

Ashmore et al. (2004) introduced well defined collective identity and practical sample questions to assess the elements of collective identity (see para. 2.2). Most of the items for this research were therefore generated based on Ashmore et al.'s study. In addition, a 5-point-Likert-Scale is applied in order to measure the degree of different collective identity elements (Appendix B for the entire questionnaire).

A Likert scale is basically a multiple-item measurement of a set of attitudes toward the issue under study. There are key points that a researcher should keep in mind when applying this scale. First, the items must not be questions but statements. Secondly, the items must all be related to the same object and interrelated to each other. It is also “useful to vary the phrasing so that some items imply a positive view of the phenomenon of interest and others a negative one” (Bryman 2012, p. 166; Kumar 2011, pp. 170-2). Based on these guidelines, all the items in this survey were composed as statements and related to the same object. In terms of interrelation between items, internal reliability was tested through Cronbach's alpha. Also, some items implying a negative view of collective identity were included, whilst the others mainly implied a positive view.

The composed items are divided into two component sets, the components for collective identity elements on the one hand, and the components for collective identity outcome on the other hand.

4.3.3 Initial components set for collective identity elements assessment

This set of components was composed in order to assess the elements: *self-categorization*, *private regard*, *importance*, *interdependence*, *social embeddedness*, *behavioral involvement* and *ideology*.

Self-categorization measures the degree to which a respondent identifies himself as a homosexual through three items (Item 2, 3, 4). To confirm the right respondents, a respondent is first asked to choose from a list of groups to which they feel they belong in terms of their sexual orientation (Item 1). Only those who belong to homosexual group are required to answer the other items. *Private regard* assesses the degree of favorability of self-judgment on being homosexual using two items (Item 5, 22). *Importance* evaluates the degree of importance of being homosexual to a respondent's overall self-concept through one item (Item 19). *Interdependence* estimates the degree of awareness of a shared fate and perception of the commonalities in the ways homosexuals are treated in society through four items (Item 7, 17, 18, 21). *Social embeddedness* measure the degree of a person's social contacts and relationship with other homosexuals in everyday ongoing social relationships and activities via three items (Item 8, 9, 13). *Behavioral involvement* assesses the degree of a person's participation in any regular meetings or groups related to homosexuality through one item (Item 10). *Ideology* measures the degree of a person's belief in collective action and homosexuals' social visibility, and social oppression against homosexuals via seven items (Item 6, 14, 15, 26, 20, 23).

4.3.4 Initial components set for collective identity outcome assessment

In order to analyze collective identity's relation to homosexuals' participation in collective action, it should also be assessed the degree to which a respondent involves in collective action. This degree should be more appropriate to be classified into outcome of collective identity rather than behavioral involvement, which is the element of collective identity (see para. 2.2.7). As a result, an additional set of components was generated in order to assess the outcome of collective identity: present collective action participation and willingness for future participation.

Collective action participation-present evaluates the degree to which a respondent participates in collective action for gay rights at this present time through one item (Item 11). *Collective action participation-future* measures the degree to which a person is willing to participate in collective action via one item (Item 12).

Most importantly in this stage, these initial component sets are not yet concrete and will be modified and developed to the final set for the analysis procedure. This will be discussed in the next chapter (see para. 5.2).

4.4 Quantitative survey conduction

The survey was conducted for a week from 19th to 26th January 2013. The researcher collected the data through the respondents from the annual meeting of the organization, *Chin-gu-sa-i* (Between friends) and the five different meetings of *Beon-gae*. As a result, 203 cases were gathered. Since this research only targeted male homosexuals, the respondents were asked to choose a group they belonged to regarding sexual orientation in the first item of the questionnaire. According to this criterion, the finally sorted cases were 188. Only these 188 cases from overall 203 cases (92.6%) are therefore determined to be analyzed. On the other hand, the cases includes missing values, which were not answered by the respondents, thus the number of cases for each component are slightly different.

4.5 Ethical considerations

The issue of homosexuality in Korea is particularly highly sensitive and controversial. Therefore, the researcher kept in mind three important ethical considerations in order to ensure that there was no harm to homosexual respondents. First of all, full consent of the respondents involved in this research was obtained prior to conducting the survey. Anyone felt uncomfortable was not required to participate in the research. The respondents were also allowed to stop answering the items at any point they felt unwilling to continue. Secondly, the researcher's identity and position, the aims of the research, and data collection procedure were clearly explained before the survey. The respondents were in addition guided that there were no right or wrong answers, but that honesty was required. Moreover, it was allowed to ask the

researcher if there were any items not so clear for the respondents. Finally, the privacy of the respondents was greatly respected. No personal information was required and the collected data were kept strictly confidential.

4.6 Validity and reliability

4.6.1 Validity

Validity is the issue of whether a set of indicators, which are intended to measure a concept, really assess that concept (Babbie 2007; Bryman 2012; Kumar 2011). There are three forms of validity which specify particular types of testing of the validity of measures in quantitative research.

Firstly, content validity refers to “the degree to which a measure covers the range of meaning included within a concept” (Babbie 2007, pp. 146-8). As a simple type of content validity, face validity questions the degree to which the measure clearly reflects the content of the concept. A researcher can establish this validity by asking other people or recognized experts whether the measurements seem to validly reflect the concept (Bryman 2012, p. 171; Kumar 2011, pp. 179-80).

Criterion validity indicates “the degree to which a measure relates to some external validity” (Babbie 2007, pp. 146-8). As the measure of criterion validity, concurrent validity uses a well-accepted previous measure in order to compare and test the validity of newly established measure by a researcher. However, it might be difficult sometimes to find comparable previous criteria (Babbie 2007, pp. 146-8).

Lastly, construct validity refers to the degree to which a measure relates to other variables as expected within a system of theoretical relationships (Babbie 2007, pp. 146-8). Importantly, this validity is based on statistical procedures. It is determined by testing the contribution of each component to the total variance. For example, if a researcher carries out a study on the degree of job satisfaction, s/he can consider *status* and *the nature of job* as two significant components indicative of satisfaction. Then while analyzing the collected data, the researcher statistically tests the contribution of each component to job satisfaction. The degree of these

components' contribution to the total variance is "an indication of the degree of validity" of the measure (Kumar 2011, pp. 180-1).

In terms of first two validity forms, this research has been developed through consultations with gay rights activists in Korea and academic supervisors specializing in sociology, human rights and social research methods. The well-developed previous theories on collective identity and the gay rights movement were also analyzed prior to conducting the quantitative research. As a comparable criterion, Ashmore et al.'s research on collective identity elements and framework was also valued. With regard to the construct validity, a factor analysis using the programme SPSS was conducted and a more valid set of components was obtained. This will be specified in the next chapter (see para. 5.1 and 5.2).

4.6.2 Reliability

To be valid the measure should first be reliable and thus reliability is a pre-requisite for validity (Field 2009, p. 13). Reliability refers to the consistency of an assessment of a concept and there are three specified forms involved when determining whether a measure is reliable: stability, inter-observer consistency and internal reliability (Bryman 2012, pp. 168-70).

Stability entails testing "whether a measure is stable over time". The easiest way of assessing the stability is the test-retest method (Bryman 2012, p. 171; Field 2009, p. 13). On the other hand, there are some problems with this method. For example, certain events can intervene between the two tests that impact the degree of stability (Bryman 2012, pp. 169-70), or a respondent recalls the answers that s/he responded in the first test, which in turn may also impact the reliability of the measurement (Kumar 2011, p. 183). Because of these problems, many "reports of research findings do not appear to carry out test of stability" (Bryman 2012, pp. 169-70).

Inter-observer consistency emerges when different observers simultaneously measure the same phenomenon, which requires "a great deal of subjective judgment". There is the risk of "a lack of consistency in their decisions" (Bryman 2012, p. 169).

Most considerably for this research, internal reliability questions whether the items that make up the measure are consistent (Bryman 2012, p. 169). Individual item measuring a single component “should give highly correlated results which would reflect the homogeneity of the items” (Kumar 2011, pp. 183-4). Cronbach’s alpha is the most common test for internal reliability (Bryman 2012, p. 170).

With regard to this research, it is hard to see that the issue of inter-observer consistency emerges, whereas Cronbach’s alpha was used in order to verify internal reliability of the quantitative survey. The results are analyzed in the next part of this paper (para. 5.1).

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This section analyzes the results of the quantitative survey. The findings will help one understand how collective identity elements are reflected among Korean male homosexuals and how these interconnect to participation in collective activities for gay rights. The statistics programme: PASW Statistics 18 (SPSS) is used for this analysis procedure.

5.1 Factor analysis and Cronbach's alpha

A factor analysis and Cronbach's alpha were conducted for the purpose of validating the analysis procedure, assuring internal reliability of the items in the questionnaire, and understanding the structure of a set of variables so that they generate an appropriate final set of components. **Table 1** shows the results of exploratory factor analysis and Cronbach's Alpha.

A principle component analysis (PCA) was selected among several ways of conducting a factor analysis, based upon Field (2009, pp 627-82)'s guideline. Three items were excluded from PCA (Item 1 functioned as assuring that a respondent was homosexual; Item 11 and 12 assessed not elements of collective identity but an outcome of it). As a result, PCA was administered on the twenty-one items with orthogonal rotation (varimax). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, $KMO = .86$ ('superb' according to Field 2009), and all KMO values for individual items were $> .73$, which is well above the acceptable limit of $.5$ (Field 2009). Bartlett's test of sphericity $\chi^2(210) = 1550.952$, $p < .001$, indicated that correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each fact in the data. Five facts had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 60.93% of the variance.

When it comes to reliability analysis, the value of Cronbach's Alpha for 21 items is $> .88$, which is well above the acceptable level of internal reliability of $.8$ (Bryman 2012, p. 170).

Table 1 : Summary of exploratory factor analysis and Cronbach's Alpha results (N = 172)

Item	Rotated Factor Loadings					Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	
Item_09	.89	.15	.07	.06	.06	.877
Item_13	.87	.10	.05	.08	.14	.878
Item_08	.80	.08	.08	.18	.20	.877
Item_10	.77	.15	.12	.22	.03	.877
Item_21	.11	.75	.04	.01	.26	.879
Item_19	.10	.73	.02	-.02	.09	.881
Item_15	.18	.67	.31	.28	.05	.875
Item_18	.22	.61	.42	.27	.00	.875
Item_16	.10	.58	.42	.21	-.08	.879
Item_06	.20	.53	.16	.41	.08	.877
Item_14	.20	.02	.78	-.09	.14	.883
Item_07	.05	.29	.63	-.06	.27	.882
Item_23	.08	.46	.56	.28	.07	.877
Item_20	-.05	.42	.49	-.29	.24	.884
Item_22	.21	.09	-.09	.83	.12	.883
Item_05	.38	.18	-.08	.68	.13	.880
Item_24	-.10	.27	.42	.44	-.13	.885
Item_03	.05	.11	.20	-.08	.75	.884
Item_04	.13	-.04	.14	.35	.68	.883
Item_02	.35	.30	.18	.06	.49	.878
Item_17	.38	.20	-.32	.08	.48	.884
Eigenvalues	3.47	3.34	2.44	2.12	1.84	
% of variance	16.54	15.88	11.64	10.09	8.78	

Overall reliability of the scale (Items 2-10, 13-24): Cronbach's Alpha = .885

- Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold.
- Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
- a. Rotation converged in 12 iterations.
- Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

5.2 Final set of components

Initial sets of components were generated in order to assess the degree of different elements of collective identification among Korean male homosexuals. Each component was composed of a set of items, which were intended to measure what the component refers to (e.g., Item 2, 3 and 4 for the first component: *self-categorization*) (see para. 4.3.3). However, especially in

quantitative research, it needs to be verified whether these items are well clustered and consistently structured around a component in practice. A factor analysis is the common tool “to explore the extent to which there were distinct groupings of items that tended to go together” (Bryman 2012, p. 174).

Therefore, the initial sets of components were reconsidered and developed here based upon the results from a factor analysis (Table 1) for more valid and accurate research. Importantly, the five factors in Table 1 could not be directly adapted for analysis in this research because the items indicated distinctive elements of collective identity although they clustered on the same factor. For example, Item 7 and 14 clustered together significantly on Factor 3, however they assessed distinctive elements: *interdependence* and *oppression*. Hence, both the findings from the factor analysis and the distinctive characteristics of each element were considered together. This procedure yielded the final set of ten components, which are represented in **Table 2**.

There are a number of changes in this final set compared to the initial setting (see para. 4.3.4-4). Previously, Item 8, 9, 10 and 13 separately composed two different components: *social embeddedness* and *behavioral involvement*. However, these items significantly cluster together on Factor 1 (see. Table 1) and ultimately indicate a similar concept in how much and how often a respondent contacts homosexual groups and other homosexuals and thus are combined together into *social embeddedness*.

More importantly, the researcher decided to drop Item 7, 17 and 19 from the analysis because they exhibited poor internal consistency with the other items. At first, Item 7 and 17 were not clustered with other items in the same category (*interdependence*). Therefore, it was probably not valid to categorize these into the same component. Alternatively, making up a new component composed of each item was considered. However, assessing an element of collective identity through a single item could be inaccurate and invalid, thus these items were consequently excluded. For the same reason, Item 19, which was designed only to measure the degree of *importance*, was also dropped from analysis.

Table 2 : Final components (variables) assessing the elements of collective identification

<i>Component</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Item description</i>
Self-categorization	The degree to which a person certainly identifies self as homosexual	2 3 4	Indicate how much you identify with homosexuals It is accurate if I was described as a typical homosexual I keep changing my mind about my sexual orientation
Private regard	The degree of a person's favorability judgment on being homosexual	5 22	In general, I am happy that I am a homosexual In general, I regret that I am a homosexual
Social embeddedness	The degree of a person's social contacts with homosexual groups and other homosexuals in ongoing social life	8 9 10 13	In my ongoing social relationship, I am with many homosexuals I participate in social gatherings, cultural or leisure activities with other homosexuals I participate in any regular groups, meetings or societies related to homosexuality In my ongoing leisure activities, I am frequently with other homosexuals
Interdependence	The degree of a person's awareness of shared fate and perception of the commonalities	18 21	The movement for homosexuals' rights affects me personally My fate and my future are not bound up with that of other homosexuals
Belief in gay visibility	The degree of a person's belief in homosexuals' visibility and its necessity	6 15	Homosexuals need to be less visible Homosexuals need to coming out more
Belief in collective action	The degree of a person's belief in collective action, and its values and functions	16 23 24	Homosexuals need to participate in collective actions for gay rights Stronger and more frequent collective actions need to be organized for gay rights Homosexuals do not need to collectively take more active role against oppression
Oppression-group	The degree of a person's consciousness to social oppression in general	20	In general, homosexuals have been oppressed in Korean society
Oppression-individual	The degree of a person's consciousness to oppression in ongoing daily life	14	In daily life, I feel I am oppressed as a homosexual
Collective action -present	The degree to which a person participate in collective action	11	I participate in collective actions for gay rights
Collective action -future	The degree to which a person is willing to participate in collective action	12	I want to participate in collective actions for gay rights

* Item 4, 6, 21, 22, 24 are reversely coding

5.3 Analysis procedure

5.3.1 Variables and adoption of parametric tests

Multiple-item measures, like Likert scales, strictly speaking generate ordinal variables for which the intervals between values are not equal although they have a rank order. The legitimacy of assuming an interval scale is an important issue since the appropriate statistics and analysis differ for ordinal and interval variables. Valid inferential statistics for ordinal variables are non-parametric tests (e.g., Spearman's Rho, the Mann-Whitney), whereas the collected data must "be measured at least at the interval level" to be analyzed by parametric tests (e.g., ANOVA, Pearson Correlation) (Field 2009, pp. 132-3).

However, many researchers argue that variables generated from Likert scales "can be treated as though they produce interval / ratio variables, because of relatively large number of categories they generate". It is also common that Likert-type categories are treated as interval variables and parametric tests are applied since parametric statistics probably produce more accurate and specific results in general and thus can raise the quality of research (Blaikie 2003; Bryman 2012, p. 335).

As a result, parametric tests based on SPSS were used for this research. Issues such as levels of measurement and parametric analysis were considered at the research design stage and it was also ascertained that previous research on similar collective identity related issues used parametric statistics for Likert-type categories.

5.3.2 Analysis procedure

First, the researcher looked into the descriptive statistics of the finalized components and compared the mean scores to see differences between the degrees of collective identity elements in all cases. An inter-component correlation analysis was also used.

Secondly, the collected cases were divided into two groups (collective action participants and non-participants) and a comparison of collective identity in two groups was carried out. Although a meaningful result was obtained from the comparison, the significantly different

Table 3 : Component statistics of the collective identity questionnaire

Component	N	M	SD	Range	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Self-categorization	183	3.1	.8	4	.494	.845
Private regard	181	2.2	1.0	4	.456	.847
Social embeddedness	184	2.0	1.1	4	.528	.841
Interdependence	183	2.7	.9	4	.687	.828
Belief in visibility	184	2.6	1.0	4	.690	.827
Belief in collective action	183	2.5	.8	4	.630	.834
Oppression-group	185	3.1	.8	3	.320	.856
Oppression-individual	186	2.0	1.1	4	.371	.855
Collective action-present	188	1.2	1.4	4	.692	.826
Collective action-future	187	2.0	1.3	4	.733	.820

Valid N (likewise) = 172

Overall reliability of the components: Cronbach's Alpha = .852

-The highest or lowest means appear in bold.

-Total sample size (N) of each component is slightly different due to the missing values, which were not answered by respondents.

number of cases between two groups raised an issue. To deal with this issue, an independent T-Test was conducted and validated what had been found in the comparison.

Finally, an inter-component correlation analysis was again conducted, but this time was done separately to the collective action participant group and the non-participant group. Through this test, it was discovered which elements of collective identity are most interconnected to participating in collective action for those whom are presently involved in action, and also which elements significantly relate to the willingness to get involved in action for those who are not presently participating.

5.4 Results and Findings

5.4.1 Component statistics of total cases

Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics of the components. Cronbach's alpha overall for ten components is high at 0.852, which suggesting that internal reliability is well above the minimum acceptable level. A number of findings are obtained from these statistics.

- a. The respondents well define and identify themselves as a member of the homosexual group. The mean score of *self-categorization* (3.1) is one of the highest figures.
- b. The respondents' *social embeddedness* with homosexual groups or other homosexuals is relatively weak. The mean score of this component (2.0) is one of the lowest figures.
- c. The respondents are well aware that homosexuals have been oppressed in Korean society. However, they personally experience less of this social oppression in their daily lives. The mean score of *oppression-group* (a person's consciousness to social oppression against homosexuals in general) is tied for the highest figure (3.1), but the mean score of *oppression-individual* (a person's consciousness to oppression in ongoing daily life) is one of the lowest figures (2.0).
- d. The respondents are less willing to get involved in collective action, in contrast to their understanding and support for collective action. The mean score of *belief in collective action* for gay movement (2.5) is near the average, however the willingness to participate (*collective action-future*) is much lower (2.0). The actual participation (*collective action-present*) is the lowest figure (1.2) among all components.

5.4.2 Inter-component correlation of total cases

Pearson correlations between components are presented in **Table 4**. A number of features were found from this test.

- a. Most of the collective identity elements are very strongly interconnected to each other among the respondents. Components significantly correlate to other components.
- b. An awareness of shared fate and perception of the commonalities most broadly relates to overall collective identity of the respondents. *Interdependence* is significantly correlated with all elements and outcomes of collective identity.

Table 4 : Inter-component correlations (Pearson)

Component	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Self-categorization	1	.303**	.427**	.389**	.351**	.280**	.275**	.300**	.342**	.355**
2. Private regard		1	.430**	.328**	.403**	.271**	-.114	.024	.488**	.473**
3. Social embeddedness			1	.341**	.391**	.237**	.055	.232**	.575**	.386**
4. Interdependence				1	.636**	.583**	.410**	.268**	.457**	.538**
5. Belief in visibility					1	.584**	.335**	.276**	.522**	.548**
6. Belief in collective action						1	.317**	.322**	.457**	.630**
7. Oppression-group							1	.437**	.114	.241**
8. Oppression-individual								1	.212**	.310**
9. Collective action-present									1	.697**
10. Collective action-future										1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

-Feature over 5.0 appear in bold.

- c. A favorable self-view for being homosexual does not relate to a person's consciousness to social oppression against homosexuals among the respondents. *Private regards* is correlated to neither *oppression-group* nor *oppression-individual*.
- d. A person's social contacts with homosexual groups and other homosexuals in ongoing social life is the most interconnected element in the individual's participation in collective action, among all collective identity elements. Also, a person's belief that homosexuals need to be and should be more visible in Korean society is significantly correlated to participating in collective action. For *collective action-present*, *social embeddedness* and *belief in visibility* are the most significantly correlated elements.
- e. In particular, a person's willingness to participate in collective action is highly associated with his present perception of the action. For *collective action-future*, *belief in collective action* is most prominently correlated among measured collective identity elements. This is followed by *belief in visibility* and *interdependence*.
- f. Unexpectedly, a person's consciousness to social oppression against homosexuals shows no relation to his participation in collective action among the respondents. *Oppression-group* does not present a statistically meaningful correlation with

Table 5 : Comparison of components statistic between collective action participants and non-participants

Component	Group division	N	SD	M	M difference
Self-categorization	Non-participant	128	.73	2.95	.55
	Participant	38	.66	3.50	
Private regard	Non-participant	125	1.00	1.93	.98
	Participant	38	.70	2.91	
Social embeddedness	Non-participant	127	1.01	1.62	1.41
	Participant	39	.85	3.03	
Interdependence	Non-participant	127	.90	2.44	.98
	Participant	38	.70	3.42	
Belief in visibility	Non-participant	128	.98	2.32	1.20
	Participant	38	.60	3.51	
Belief in collective action	Non-participant	126	.79	2.31	.87
	Participant	39	.70	3.18	
Oppression-group	Non-participant	129	.89	3.05	.30
	Participant	39	.67	3.36	
Oppression-individual	Non-participant	129	1.12	1.87	.57
	Participant	39	.97	2.44	

-Mean difference over 0.9 appear in bold.

collective action-present. Also, the correlation of *oppression-individual* with *collective action-present* is not so significant.

5.4.3 Comparison of component statistics between two groups

The respondents responded about the degree to which they participated in collective action, through Item 11: 'I participate in collective actions for gay rights'. The researcher classified the collected cases, which answered either 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' on the item, into the non-participant group, whereas the respondents, who answered 'strongly agree' or 'agree', were categorized into the participant group. Base on this classification, collective identity of these two groups is compared in **Table 5**. The cases which responded 'neither nor' were excluded.

- a. The elements of collective identity are in general considerably greater for the collective action participants than the non-participants among the respondents. The mean scores of all measured collective identity elements are higher for the collective

action participant group.

- b. In particular, the extent of a person's social contacts with homosexual groups and other homosexuals is significantly greater for collective action participants. The distinction in the mean scores between the two groups is significant on *social embeddedness* (1.41).
- c. On the other hand, the distinctions in *self-categorization* (0.55) and in a consciousness to social oppression (*oppression-group*, 0.30; *oppression-individual*, 0.57) between the two groups are not significant.

Meanwhile, a problematic issue emerges in this comparison. As one can see, the number of cases (N) for each group is considerably different. It was therefore decided to conduct an Independent T-test.

5.4.4 T-Test to valid the mean differences between two groups

The aim of this Independent T-Test is to verify that the mean differences are statistically meaningful in spite of the size difference of the cases. Thus, the hypothesis is established that the mean of each component of the participant group is distinctive from the mean of the non-participant group ($H = \mu(A) \neq \mu(B)$). Then, the null hypothesis is made that the means are not distinctive between the two groups ($H_0 = \mu(A) = \mu(B)$). If the null hypothesis is rejected according to T-Test, it is statistically ascertained that the degree of collective identity is higher for the collective action participant group than the non-participant group.

Table 6 shows the result of T-test. Under the significant level of 95%, P value (Sig.) is 0.05. If P value (Sig.) is <0.05 , the Levene's test signifies that equal variances cannot be assumed. If P value (Sig.) is >0.05 , the Levene's test indicates that equal variances are assumed. Based on this, the equal variances assumption for each component is determined. Finally, Sig. (2-tailed) values of all components are less than 0.05, therefore the null hypothesis is rejected and the hypothesis is selected (Acton & Miller 2009, pp. 123-40; Field 2009, pp. 339-41). Hence, the difference showed in 'Mean Difference' between two groups is statistically

Table 6 : Independent T-Test

Component	Equal variances assumption	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Self-categorization	assumed	.18	.67	-4.16	164.0	.000	-.55	-.81	-.29
Private regard	not assumed	7.20	.01	-6.76	88.2	.000	-.98	-1.26	-.69
Social embeddedness	assumed	2.28	.13	-7.94	164.0	.000	-1.41	-1.77	-1.06
Interdependence	assumed	7.35	.01	-6.16	163.0	.000	-.98	-1.29	-.66
Belief in visibility	not assumed	12.45	.00	-9.21	100.5	.000	-1.20	-1.45	-.94
Belief in collective action	assumed	.05	.82	-6.13	163.0	.000	-.87	-1.15	-.59
Oppression-group	assumed	1.91	.17	-1.98	166.0	.049	-.30	-.61	.00
Oppression-individual	assumed	1.29	.26	-2.86	166.0	.005	-.57	-.96	-.18

-P value (Sig.) >.05 appear in bold.

significant, which verifies that the means of collective identity elements are greater for the collective action participant group.

5.4.5 Comparison of inter-component correlation between two groups

Separated Pearson correlations of the components for the participant group and the non-participant group are presented in **Table 7**. A number of interesting results are generated from this comparison.

- a. The degree of a positive self-judgment for being homosexual and the degree of social contacts with homosexual groups and other homosexuals are most significantly related to the collective action participants' present participation. For the participant group, *private regard* and *social embeddedness* are the elements which correlated most to *collective action-present*.
- b. Surprisingly, ideology-related elements are not related to participating in collective action for those who participate in the action. For the participant group, none of *belief in visibility*, *belief in collective action*, *oppression-group* and *oppression-individual* shows correlation with *collective action-present*.

Table 7 : Comparison of inter-component correlations between collective action participants and non-participants

Group division	Component	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Non-participant	1. Self-categorization	1	.195*	.307**	.270**	.229**	.153	.220*	.258**	.134	.173
	2. Private regard		1	.291**	.181*	.221*	.136	-.260**	-.071	.309**	.301**
	3. Social embeddedness			1	.143	.232**	.101	-.063	.173	.259**	.058
	4. Interdependence				1	.542**	.499**	.391**	.162	.166	.343**
	5. Belief in visibility					1	.488**	.315**	.152	.229**	.319**
	6. Belief in collective action						1	.299**	.280**	.222*	.534**
	7. Oppression-group							1	.410**	-.084	.120
	8. Oppression-individual								1	.062	.181*
	9. Collective action-present									1	.399**
	10. Collective action-future										1
Participant	1. Self-categorization	1	.357*	.415**	.516**	.404*	.331*	.255	.084	.446**	.497**
	2. Private regard		1	.331*	.131	.311	.115	.128	-.120	.650**	.395*
	3. Social embeddedness			1	.300	.157	-.123	.222	.039	.541**	.405*
	4. Interdependence				1	.496**	.487**	.433**	.247	.241	.527**
	5. Belief in visibility					1	.459**	.292	.407*	.244	.475**
	6. Belief in collective action						1	.288	.165	.153	.490**
	7. Oppression-group							1	.443**	.243	.646**
	8. Oppression-individual								1	-.140	.260
	9. Collective action-present									1	.640**
	10. Collective action-future										1

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
 **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

-Feature over 5.0 appear in bold.

- c. However, ideology-related elements, particularly a person's consciousness to social oppression against homosexuals in general, and a person's awareness of shared fate are strongly interconnected to continuity of participation once a person gets involved in collective action. For the participant group, *oppression-group* and *interdependence* significantly correlates with *collective action-future*. In contrast, these are not correlated with their present participation.
- d. Meanwhile, neither a person's consciousness to social oppression in general nor this consciousness in his ongoing daily life impacts the non-participant's willingness to participate in collective action. For the non-participant group, none of *oppression-group* and *oppression-individual* correlates to *collective action-future*.

- e. On the other hand, for the non-participants, a person's belief in collective action is significantly interconnected with his willingness for collective action participation. For the non-participant group, *belief in collective action* is the element which correlates most to *collective action-future*.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings from the literature review, the analysis on gay rights in Korea and the quantitative survey. Therefore, it will examine in light of the fundamental research questions and aims. Due to the lack of statistical data on the size of the homosexual population in Korea, the findings of this research cannot be generalized to the overall homosexual group. The scope of the homosexuals included here is therefore limited to the respondents of the quantitative survey.

6.1 Collective identity and gay rights movement

The homosexuals are inactive in participating in collective action for gay rights in Korea

The difficulty of mobilizing homosexual individuals for collective action has been emerging as one of the main concerns in Korea. That concern is supported by this quantitative research in that the degree to which homosexuals are willing to participate in action and the degree of actual participation were the weakest figures among all measured components (see para. 5.4.1). In other words, homosexuals in Korea are generally reluctant to participate in the gay rights movement either as an aspiration or in practice. The question therefore is why, given that, as I have already indicated, internationally the gay rights movement has gained considerable prominence in other countries.

Collective identity significantly relates to the homosexuals' collective action participation

With regard to the homosexuals' engagement with the gay rights movement, the researcher considered collective identity as the one of the most important indicators in understanding this reluctance. Indeed, it was discovered by this survey that the levels of all assessed collective identity elements were greater for the homosexuals participating in collective action compared to the non-participants (see para. 5.4.3). This may mean that collective identity probably

functions as a strong motive for those already participating, in contrast to those who have not yet participated. This perspective is also supported by previous researchers. Representatively, Poindexter (1997) emphasized the importance of collective identity among homosexuals for promoting collective action and developing gay rights movement (see para. 1.1).

6.2 More salient collective identity elements

If collective identity played an important role as a strong motive, the next crucial issue which arises is that which elements would be more significantly related to participating in actions.

How a person understands present collective action is probably the most important element for those, who does not yet involve in collective action, to get engaged with the gay rights movement in the future

In the non-participant group, the level of a person's positive recognition of and supportive position for collective action, in particular regarding the action's necessity and role, was determined to be the mostly significant component for his willingness to participate (see para. 5.4.5). A person's willingness probably refers to a greater likelihood of his involvement in the gay rights movement.

Korean gay rights activists mainly seek the reasons of the difficulty of mobilizing the homosexuals for collective action outside the gay rights movement. For example, as I discussed, social oppression is not strong enough, homosexuals are invisible, and they are embedded in an extensive subculture, which satisfies personal needs (i.e., the homosexuals are guaranteed to access the gay life) (see para. 1.1 and 3.5). However, the finding of this research emphasizes that internal factors of collective action and the gay rights movement (e.g., why homosexuals are required for collective action) could be more substantial for the non-participants rather than external factors (e.g., ideology or oppression related external goals which need to be challenged) in contemporary Korea. In other words, the homosexuals should understand and support the present gay rights movement in order to be engaged with collective action.

Once the homosexuals get involved in collective action, his favorable self-judgment about being homosexual and his ongoing social contacts with homosexual groups and other homosexuals become more important for his active participation

For the participants, *private regard* and *social embeddedness* most significantly relate to the degree of participation (see para. 5.4.5). Given the fact that these elements do not correlate to the non-participants as greatly as it does to the participants, it probably demonstrates that these two elements become more crucial for the active participation once a person gets engaged with collective action. This may yield that *private regard* and *social embeddedness* are strongly influential in activating the participation of those already participating although these elements are not as strong as *belief in collective action* (person's positive recognition of and supportive position for collective action), as the initiating motive for those who have not yet participated.

In particular, *private regard* is indeed one of the most interesting findings from this research. The issue related to this element is not really found in any of previous research on Korean gay rights. Further studies are required, but it should be considered that a person's happiness and self-esteem associated with being homosexual might be a strong motive for active participation in collective action.

The degree of consciousness to social oppression and the degree of awareness of shared fate may be crucial for the continuity of participation once the homosexual get involved in collective action

The degree of consciousness to social oppression in general (*oppression-group*) and *interdependence* are not significantly correlated with either the level of non-participants' willingness for the action or the level of the participants' present participation in the action. On the other hand, these components significantly interconnect with the willingness for collective action for those who already participate (see para. 5.4.5). This signifies that although the consciousness to social oppression and *interdependence* are not so related to present participation, they are more salient motives for continuity once a person gets involved in the gay rights movement.

6.3 Gay networks and social embeddedness

The degree of social contacts with homosexual groups and other homosexuals in a person's ongoing social life emerges as the key issue for mobilizing the homosexuals for collective action

The importance of gay networks and community on the gay rights movement was adequately outlined in the literature review. According to the indigenous model of Morris, the emergence of social movements from a group depends on the existence of indigenous social networks within the group. This was also demonstrated by the Stonewall riot and subsequent movement in the U.S. (see para. 2.5.2). Collective action occurs when individuals get involved through social networks. Individuals' contacts to social networks may lead those who do not get engaged by themselves to collective action (see para. 2.6.1).

In addition, the normative motive provides theoretical explanation why gay networks and community are so essential. The normative motive outlines that the expected reactions from significant others (e.g., family members, close friends) function as a strong motivating force for a person's participation in collective actions (see para. 2.3). The more homosexuals become connected to gay networks and community, the more commonality and identification with in-group members should be strengthened. Therefore, the expected positive reactions (e.g., encouragement and inspiration) from other homosexuals and gay community members lessen their fear or discomfort regarding participation in collective action.

How to define gay networks and community and how they appear in practice may be in question, however the level of a person's social contacts with other homosexuals or homosexuality related groups should be greatly associated with the concept of gay network and community. Consequently, the greater the degree of social contacts with homosexual groups and other homosexuals in a person's ongoing social life, the greater the possibility that they will participate in the gay rights movement.

The low level of social contacts with homosexual groups and other homosexuals in a person's ongoing social life may be interpreted as an important indicator of the weakness of the gay rights movement in Korea

A number of tests conducted in the analysis section of this research also demonstrate the degree of the homosexuals' *social embeddedness* as the most essential element for participating in collective action. This element most strongly correlates to the level of participation in collective action both for the all cases (see para. 5.4.2) and for the separated participant group (see para. 5.4.5). Moreover, the level of this element appears much greater for the participants than non-participants (see para. 5.4.3). Finally, this quantitative research shows the degree of *social embeddedness* is the weakest figure among collective identity elements (see para. 5.4.1), which means that the low degree of *social embeddedness* is one of the important reasons for the inactiveness of the gay rights movement in Korea.

6.4 Oppression

Social oppression against homosexuals itself may not be so interesting or influential issue for the homosexuals in contemporary Korea

It is commonly argued that oppression against homosexuals in Korea is real and pervasive, however it is weak enough not to advance calls for promoting homosexuals' rights. This unique level of oppression makes it difficult to mobilize homosexuals and develop the gay rights movement (see para. 1.1). However, if this were so, it would be expected that the level of homosexuals' consciousness on *oppression* would be a low figure in comparison to the levels of other collective identity elements in this research. Also, it might be more reasonable to expect the meaningfully higher figures of *oppression* consciousness among collective action participant group compared to the non-participant group.

However, the figures actually appear to be opposite in this research. Homosexuals are well aware that they have been oppressed in Korean society (see para. 5.4.1) and the differences of in the degree of the consciousness regarding the *oppression* are found to be not so significant between those already participating and those who have not yet participated (see para. 5.4.3).

Based on this, the researcher approaches the oppression issue more skeptically. It could be understandable to interpret that oppression itself is not important or interesting issue for homosexuals at least in contemporary Korea. Indeed, the level of the consciousness of *oppression* unexpectedly shows no relation to the degree of a person's participation in collective action (see para. 5.4.2; 5.4.5).

Current law in Korea does not accept homosexual relationships, and thus marginalizes homosexuals. Openly presenting homosexuality is very risky because it causes discrimination (e.g., a famous comedian, Seokcheon HONG, was not allowed to appear in any types of TV shows for about a decade after declaration of his homosexuality). On the other hand, homosexuals can enjoy *gay life* as long as they do not cross the boundary set by the society (i.e., not coming out to public). The biggest gay online-community, *IVANCITY*, has also approximately 280,000 members and homosexuals join in the group blind dates and meetings such as *Beon-gae* (see para. 4.3.1). There are in addition a lot of gay bars and clubs. Therefore, it would not be wrong to argue that social oppression in Korea remains in the unique position that it is strong enough to oppress homosexuals into being invisible and weak enough to make homosexuals not fight against oppression.

However, it must be also underlined that oppression as an issue in and of itself might be not one of the main interests of homosexuals at the present as the quantitative survey shows. Gay rights activists' concerns and objectives for research relevant to homosexuality in Korea mostly remain on the issues of oppression. This argument therefore finds, departing from earlier work, that oppression related issues themselves may not possess the motivating power for homosexuals in Korea at this present.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There have been a number of findings and arguments that have been drawn from this research. Prior to highlighting them, it should be summarized what the whole project have presented so far.

The first chapter introduced the main objectives of this study. Until recently, homosexuals have faced a lot of challenges in many countries and the gay rights movement in Korea remains weak and inactive. The research aims to approach this concern through the collective identity perspective. In the second chapter, existing literatures on the topic were reviewed. Collective identity theories provided how collective identity impacted social movements and by which measures the various elements of the identity could be assessed. Social movement theories suggested the important motives for homosexuals' participation in the gay rights movement and the possibilities for developing the movement. The third chapter presented data on homosexuality and gay rights in Korea. Controversial issues in contemporary Korea, like legal recognition and homophobic manifestation, were discussed. Chapter four introduced the methodology that was used to administer this research. Approximately 190 male homosexuals responded to the quantitative survey examining the degrees of collective identity. In chapter five, the findings of the survey were analyzed through parametric tests. The components assessing different dimensions of collective identity revealed a number of interesting results. Chapter six discussed major findings that were drawn from the quantitative research. A number of major arguments were put forward here.

Through this quantitative study, the researcher observed that the homosexuals studied were inactive in participating in collective action for gay rights in Korea. Although they identify themselves as a member of oppressed group in the society, the degree of their present participation and willingness to get involved gay rights movement is relatively low.

This research was intended to provide both practical and academic resources for gay rights activists to help them empower and encourage homosexuals for collective action and thus promote the more active gay rights movement in Korea. In fulfilling this objective, a number of arguments were presented on which elements of collective identity could be more meaningful with regard to a motivating force for homosexuals' involvement in collective action. A number of recommendations are provided according to the arguments.

First, this research suggests that the level of social contacts with other homosexuals in a person's ongoing daily life is the key issue for inspiring homosexuals to get engaged with collective action. Also, this research demonstrated that ideology related elements are not associated with the participation in collective action. This indicates that gay rights activists need to strategically approach homosexuals to increase social contacts with them and between them in everyday ongoing life prior to encouraging them, based on ideology related perspective, to participate in collective action. For example, more frequent casual and informal meetings (e.g., movie nights and hobby-based meetings) could to be organized and facilitated. Initiating social contacts with homosexual youth, who struggle to access information regarding sexual orientation (see para. 3.6), should also strengthen the element of social embeddedness of the youth, and thus motivates their future engagement with the gay rights movement.

How a person understands present collective action is probably most influential for a person's future participation amongst those who are not already engaged with collective action. This indicates that homosexuals are first required to recognize and be supportive of collective action in order to join in the action. More efforts should be made to raise awareness of the stories, people, meanings and roles of the gay rights movement among the homosexuals. The story of the movement can affect what happens next. As Meyer (2006, p. 202) explains, "the stories people hear about the past influence how they view future possibilities and, most significantly, their prospective role in making it".

This research also argues that social oppression against homosexuals may not significantly affect collective action participation even though it is well recognized by the homosexuals that they are oppressed. Thus the issue of oppression itself is probably not a significant motivator for mobilizing the homosexuals in contemporary Korea. If so, a new agenda should be developed for gay rights movements. The thematic changes in the history of international

gay right movements demonstrate that a focused agenda of the movement has been developed according to the changes of salient issues over time. A new agenda can be legal equality or visibility of homosexuals. More practical themes can be also considered, such as gay marriage or “the gay right to adopt and have children” (Plummer 2006, p. 156). Importantly, the movement should be associated with more salient collective identity elements on collective action participation in contemporary Korea (e.g., private regard, interdependence or social embeddedness).

On the other hand, one positive finding is that most of the collective identity elements are significantly interrelated to each other, which probably means that strengthening collective identity can be challenging for gay rights activists at the early phase, however it should be easier and faster once one or some elements are strengthened. Particularly, an awareness of shared fate and perception of commonalities interconnect most broadly to overall collective identity for the homosexuals. This element of interdependence therefore can act as a mediator to strengthen other elements more efficiently.

Meanwhile, which collective identity elements become significant for a person differs depending on whether the homosexual is a present participant or not, and which stage of involvement the person is in. For example, the degree of a person’s positive self-judgment for being homosexual becomes crucial for his active participation once the homosexual gets involved in action. On the other hand, when it comes to the continuity issue of participation, the degree of consciousness to social oppression and the degree of awareness of shared fate are more essential. This means that gay rights activists and movement organizers need to approach homosexuals based on separated strategies. The strategy and emphasis should be different when they inspire non-participants versus when they encourage participants.

In conclusion, collective identity significantly relates and interconnects to homosexuals’ collective action participation for gay rights. Strong collective identity is indeed required for homosexuals to get involved in the movement. Hopefully, the arguments and recommendations offered in this research based on the collective identity perspective will promote homosexuals’ rights and activate the gay rights movement in Korea.

Word count: 15,309 (Chapter one to Chapter seven; Tables are not counted)

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Elements of collective identity

Elements of Collective Identity as Individual-Level Constructs

Element	Definition
Self-categorization	Identifying self as a member of, or categorizing self in terms of, a particular social grouping
Placing self in social category	Categorizing self in terms of a particular social grouping
Goodness of fit/perceived similarity/prototypicality	A person's subjective assessment of the degree to which he or she is a prototypical member of the group
Perceived certainty of self-identification	The degree of certainty with which a person categorizes self in terms of a particular social grouping
Evaluation	The positive or negative attitude that a person has toward the social category in question
Private regard	Favorability judgments made by people about their own identities
Public regard	Favorability judgments that one perceives others, such as the general public, to hold about one's social category
Importance	The degree of importance of a particular group membership to the individual's overall self-concept
Explicit importance	The individual's subjective appraisal of the degree to which a collective identity is important to her or his overall sense of self
Implicit importance	The placement of a particular group membership in the person's hierarchically organized self-system; the individual is not necessarily consciously aware of the hierarchical position of his or her collective identities
Attachment and sense of interdependence	The emotional involvement felt with a group (the degree to which the individual feels at one with the group)
Interdependence/mutual fate	Perception of the commonalities in the way group members are treated in society
Attachment/affective commitment	A sense of emotional involvement with or affiliative orientation toward the group
Interconnection of self and others	The degree to which people merge their sense of self and the group
Social embeddedness	The degree to which a particular collective identity is embedded in the person's everyday ongoing social relationships
Behavioral involvement	The degree to which the person engages in actions that directly implicate the collective identity category in question
Content and meaning	
Self-attributed characteristics	The extent to which traits and dispositions that are associated with a social category are endorsed as self-descriptive by a member of that category
Ideology	Beliefs about a group's experience, history, and position in society
Narrative	The internally represented story that the person has developed regarding self and the social category in question
Collective identity story	The individual's mentally represented narrative of self as a member of a particular social category
Group story	The individual's mentally represented narrative of a particular social category of which he or she is a member

Retrieved from Ashmore et al. (2004), Table 1, p. 83

Appendix B: The quantitative survey questionnaire

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE

In the following I would like to know how you live in Korean society as a homosexual and how you are reflecting the identity with regard to homosexuality. Please note again that everything you tell me on this survey (and later) will be kept strictly confidential. There are no right or wrong answers and there is no norm. I'm interested in your feelings and opinions. So it is important for me and my work that you try to be as honest as possible.

If there is something you don't understand, please feel free to ask and I will try to explain things differently. While going through the questions you can always tell me about how you feel at the moment (e.g. when it is especially stressful for you) and whether you need a break

01. Choose from a list of groups to which you feel you belong in terms of your sexual orientation

- 1) Homosexuals
- 2) Bisexuals
- 3) Heterosexuals
- 4) None of above (reason: _____)
- 5) I am not sure

Only if you consider yourself to belong to homosexuals, please answer the next questions

02. Indicate how much you identify with the homosexual group

- 1) Very slightly
- 2) Slightly
- 3) Neither nor
- 4) Strongly
- 5) Very strongly

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please, choose only one choice for each statement

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
03. It is accurate if I was described as a typical homosexual					
04. I keep changing my mind about my sexual orientation					
05. In general, I am happy that I am a homosexual					
06. Homosexuals need to be less visible					
07. If someone said something bad about homosexuals, I feel almost as if he/she had said it about me					
08. In my ongoing social relationship, I am with many homosexuals					
09. I participate in social gatherings, cultural or leisure activities with other homosexuals					
10. I participate in any regular groups, meetings, or societies related to homosexuality					
11. I participate in collective actions for gay rights					
12. I want to participate in collective actions for gay rights					
13. In my ongoing leisure activities, I am frequently with other homosexuals					

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
14. In daily life, I feel I am oppressed as a homosexual					
15. Homosexuals need to coming out more					
16. Homosexuals need to participate in collective actions for gay rights					
17. I do not feel accepted and respected by many members of homosexual group					
18. The movement for homosexuals' rights affects me personally					
19. Being homosexual is important for me on reflection of who I am					
20. In general, homosexuals have been oppressed in Korean society					
21. My fate and my future are not bound up with that of other homosexuals					
22. In general, I regret that I am a homosexual					
23. Stronger and more frequent collective actions need to be organized for gay rights					
24. Homosexuals do not need to take more active role against oppression					