REPRESSIVE COVERAGE IN AN AUTHORITARIAN CONTEXT: THREAT, WEAKNESS, AND LEGITIMACY IN SOUTH KOREA'S DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT[*]

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While most studies of the repression-mobilization relationship have focused on the impact of the former on the latter, recent work has shown that characteristics of protest can influence state repression strategies. This article corroborates recent work on the repression of social movements and shows that both weak and threatening attributes of protest events contribute to the "repressive coverage"—the likelihood of repression—of social movements in an author- itarian context. In addition, results from logistic regressions show that authoritarian states not only respond to weak-status actors and situational threats but also act strategically to repress social movements that challenge their political legitimacy. This article extends the scope of the repression-mobilization literature by differentiating factors affecting the repressive strategy of a non-Western authoritarian state.

The recent interest by social movement scholars in the repression of political protest activity has taken two distinct forms. On the one hand, since the World Trade Organization protests in Seattle in 1999, there has been extensive new research on how the police handle protest activity in Western democracies. On the other, there has been an increase in scholarship on state-centered repression in a variety of political settings. The former group has tended to take a more "blue-centered" approach to understanding repression through the lens of police knowledge, while the latter group has put the strategic state at the center of explanations of repression. While the police approach has emphasized on-the-ground factors in explaining the level of police repression (della Porta and Reiter 1998; Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003; Earl and Soule 2006; Martin, McCarthy, and McPhail 2009; Ayoub 2010), the state approach has emphasized the degree of regime threat (Davenport, Johnston, and Mueller 2005; Almeida 2003; Olzak, Beasley, and Olivier 2003; Goldstone and Tilly 2001). This article explores factors contributing to the "repressive coverage" of protest events, or the likelihood and severity of repression, by consid- ering both sets of dynamics using the case of South Korea during the height of authoritarianism in that country. In the process, we show that both police- and state-centered approaches need to better define the role of radical goals and targets in understanding the repression of political protest.

It has been well-established that collective action engenders a response from state author- ities in relationship to the "threat" protests represent to state actors (Ayoub 2010; Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003). Definitions of the nature of this threat, and the danger it poses, however, remain somewhat elusive. In particular, the threat that street demonstrations pose in stable Western liberal democracies may be very different from the state's perception of threat in non- democratic settings. It is important, therefore, to differentiate between protest actions that are perceived by state actors to threaten the fundamental stability of their regimes and those that

primarily concern police authorities because they only affect everyday public order. To determine this, it is necessary to more clearly distinguish between protest activities that directly challenge regime stability and those that compromise public order without necessarily questioning the legitimacy of the state. At the center of this assessment should be the salient tactics, targets, demands, and social composition of the groups engaging in protest activity.

Past blue-centered approaches to protest policing have focused primarily on protest tactics and the social composition of participating actors, with only limited focus on demands and no attention to targets. Various characteristics of protests, such as threatening attributes and weak status, have been proffered as contributing to the likelihood of police presence and subsequent repression. State-centered approaches, on the other hand, have tended to be vague about the specific characteristics of protest activity that are repressed, looking instead at political opportunity structures. As a result they are not able to offer much explanation as to why some protests are more heavily repressed in the same political environment. Recent events in Europe, the U.S., the Middle East, and North Africa, however, have shown that the level of state repression is neither constant nor consistent despite the involvement of similar political actors in comparable political contexts.

This study assesses the case of South Korea during the dictatorship of Park Chung Hee in the 1970s, during what many consider to be the most authoritarian period in modern Korean history (Lee 2010; Lee 2006). Using a novel dyadic structured dataset that includes separate variables for protest and repression events we show that while situational threatening characteristics of protest events, such as disruptive tactics, do invite greater repression, authorities also respond to the basic nature of social movements as represented by the fundamental goals protestors pursue and the targets they identify. Relative to liberal democracies, authoritarian regimes are forced to negotiate the legitimacy of their regimes and thus strategically repress social movements that challenge that legitimacy by pursuing revolutionary goals. Our findings extend the body of literature on the repression-mobilization relationship by showing that authoritarian states not only respond to situational on-the-ground threats, such as disruptive protest tactics, and weakness, such as low status of protesting groups, but act strategically to repress movements that through their choice of targets and demands challenge the stability and legitimacy of the regime.

REPRESSIVE COVERAGE

While most studies on the repression-mobilization relationship have focused on the impact of the former on the latter, recent work has shown that characteristics of protests can influence the likelihood and types of repression protestors face (Ayoub 2010; Earl, Soule and McCarthy 2003). Appropriating terminology commonly used in media studies, we introduce the concept of "repressive coverage" to indicate the possibility of differential attention paid by the state to protest events in the form of varying applications of repression. That is, in the same way that media personnel choose to show up and cover some events and not others, authorities decide whether protest events warrant repression or not. Stretching the analogy, state organs also have to decide on the extent of repression they will employ in the same way that journalists choose the extent of their media coverage of an event.

The Blue-Centered Approach

The blue-centered approach (Earl and Soule 2006) emphasizes rational police procedures that determine the level of repressive coverage police will undertake. The common finding in this literature is that police make assessments about situational risk based on factors closely tied to the past behavior of groups and the likelihood that their protest will cause significant disorder. Assessments about the level of threat protestors pose are critical determinants of police

repression strategies. Tactics, especially, are a salient aspect of protest events that significantly influence the level of situational threat attributed to the event. Past studies have found that protest tactics are a source of threat for police especially when protestors use disruptive, confrontational, multiple, and noninstitutional tactical forms (McAdam 1982; Earl, Soule and McCarthy 2003; Earl and Soule 2006; Martin, McCarthy, and McPhail 2009; Ayoub 2010).

Contrary to the threat approach, those advocating the weakness approach argue that movements that have relatively less power are more likely to be repressed (Gamson 1990). The assumption in this approach is that authorities are not as likely to directly challenge movements that are capable of initiating a costly conflict. For movements staged by strong actors, other strategies such as cooptation might prove to be more efficient than direct repression. According to this logic, repression is reserved for those groups that the state believes "will collapse under pressure" (Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003: 583). Building on Gamson's (1990) study of the relative weakness and strength of movements, Earl, Soule, and McCarthy (2003) identify different sources of a movement's vulnerability. First, they suggest that vulnerability can come from within, that protestors' internal characteristics can increase or decrease the state's willingness to repress them. This focuses on the status or identity of protestors in that "politically subordinated groups, such as racial and ethnic minorities, religious minorities, and the poor, are perceived as being less able to resist repression by police" (Earl, Soule and McCarthy 2003: 584). Although it is debatable whether certain racial groups represent weakness or, on the contrary, are perceived more threatening to the police (Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong 2011), the point is that some groups are more likely to be repressed than others. Second, they argue that vulnerability can come from without where perceptions of threat depend on third-party attitudes toward protesting groups: political dissidents who enjoy popular support are less likely to be repressed. For example, in the case of China's student movement, perceptions of movement legitimacy by nonstudent and nonstate actors had a direct bearing on how the state responded to student protest (Zhao 2000: 1595). In another case, Wisler and Giugni (1999) have found that protest events that were favorably covered by the media were less likely to be repressed than those events that did not receive media coverage. Thus, media attention can act as a protective umbrella to discourage police repression, contributing to the overall strength of the movement.

This awareness of threatening and weak attributes of protest events on the part of the police can be characterized as a form of police knowledge in which the police are sensitive to situational factors when developing a response to protests (della Porta and Reiter 1998). This concept of police knowledge, however, tends to view decision making about protest policing largely as an internal process based on assessments of the immediate situation as well as reactions to past protest events. In essence, the police attempt to gauge the severity of the situation and anticipate the political reaction based on past failures to either adequately police an event or to "over police" it. This is similar to Waddington's (1993) concepts of "on-the-job" versus "in-the-job" concerns. In the former the police are primarily concerned about situational and internal issues such as the appropriate handling of the protest event according to principles dictating the adequate use of force as well as the boundaries set by law. The latter, in turn, emphasizes the police's anticipation of the potential political consequences of failing to respond to protests appropriately and how this foresight is incorporated into the control tactics they choose. In either case, the decision-making process is centered on the immediate and internal considerations of the police and are thus more tactical in nature rather than strategic.

While these studies contribute to our understanding of when repressive police tactics are used, the scope of this literature has for the most part been confined to western liberal democracies (e.g., della Porta and Reiter 1998). Some have applied the useful framework developed by Earl, Soule and McCarthy (2003) to new cases and contexts in an attempt to extend the scope of past findings on the repressive coverage of social movements. Ayoub (2010), for example, has corroborated Earl, Soule, and McCarthy's (2003) findings in his analysis of four European countries. His study shows that the positive impact threat has on the likelihood of repressive police tactics holds for countries other than the U.S. and those in Western Europe, as

well as for less-contentious periods (Ayoub 2010). But still, Ayoub's important extension of Earl, Soule, and McCarthy's (2003) findings primarily looks at "affluent and stable democracies" and questions remain as to whether these findings are generalizable to drastically different political and regional contexts (2010: 466).

State-Centered Approach

Attempting to understand the diverse types of repression protestors face, Koopmans (1997) makes an important distinction between institutional and situational repression. As Koopmans notes there is a difference between "the *institutional*, formal, more general, less direct, and usually legally sanctioned repressive measures taken by higher-level state authorities, such as governments or the judiciary, and the *situational*, informal actions of lower-level state agents, most importantly the police" (1997: 154). Of course these are related as the limitations imposed by the state on the ability of protestors to mobilize influence the extent and kinds of repression the police will pursue. But still, Koopmans (1997) alerts us to the fact that the state and police often consider distinct calculations when responding to social movements. To better explain varying repression patterns of state authorities it is important to consider both the larger polity in which authorities confront protest events and the nature of specific social movements.

In cases of liberal democracies where the fundamental legitimacy of the state is not questioned, the state's role in policing protest is likely to be less salient compared to cases where social movements are trying to overthrow the government. In the latter case, for the simple reason that their survival is being challenged, the state is more likely to have a greater role in controlling dissident movements. State-centered research on the repression of protests has focused on the role of state action in engendering or thwarting social movement activity (Chang 2008; Davenport, Johnston, and Mueller 2005; Almeida 2003; Olzak, Beasley, and Olivier 2003; Goldstone and Tilly 2001; della Porta 1996). Almeida (2003), for example, argues that state repression of civil society is likely to induce more radical responses by dissidents when repression comes after a period of relative political openness. While these studies have explored the impact of state-centered repression on social movements, less is known about the factors that influence state repression strategies in the first place. What influences the repression strategies states choose to deal with dissident movements?

Both the police- and state-centered approaches have emphasized the role of threat and weakness in predicting a more aggressive police response to protest activity. The nature of who is being threatened and how that assessment is made, however, differs in the police- and state-centered literatures. Although the concerns of the state and police can obviously overlap, police authorities are more sensitive to situational factors threatening their ability to control public collective behavior while states consider the long-term structural stability of the polity. This implies that states are strategic actors that have the capacity to assess the nature of threat posed to them and, without relying on a formal rational choice model of state decision making (e.g. Gartner and Regan 1996), we explore the possibility that states change their repressive tactics depending on various factors. As Moore succinctly puts it, "states are purposive actors that are capable of acting strategically" (2000: 120).

What constitutes a strategic act of repression is dependent on the particular political context that envelops state-society relations. Regimes that feel that their basic legitimacy or stability is under threat may adopt protest-policing methods based on broader strategic concerns. Winter (1998), for instance, shows that West German protest policing in the after-war period was much more repressive than protestor tactics would have predicted because the police viewed protests as a threat to the stability of the government. This *staatspolizei* approach relegated protest policing to the realm of state directed "high policing," in which concerns of state security outweighed the usual concerns associated with a police-centered "low policing" form of protest management. This was in contrast to a later *burgerpolizei* form of German protest policing,

which viewed protest as a legitimate part of a stable pluralistic democracy, with harsh responses reserved for only those protests that were in themselves confrontational and illegal in nature.

The choice to repress is a response made by the states to challenging movements. Although states can respond to various attributes of social movements, as Davenport (1995) notes, many studies have relied primarily on the frequency of protest events as the main predictor of repression. Rejecting this unidimensional picture of the "repressive decision-making process," he argues that state perception of threat encompasses multiple dimensions (Davenport 1995: 683, 707). For example, the concept of "systemic threat" highlights social movements that challenge state legitimacy, which in turn engenders severe repression. These repressive actions emanate from the strategic state rather than reflect the on-the-ground immediate concerns dictating police response to protests. Past studies have defined threat as the targeting of any level of government with little in the way of distinctions concerning the types of demands made or the aspects of government being targeted (Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong 2011). But if states really do consider the "different attributes of the conflict behavior encountered" and if "regimes are much more discriminating than originally believed with regard to what they consider a threat and also to what they will respond to with repressive action," then a more nuanced assessment of the types of threat to the state is needed (Davenport 1995: 683, 702).

Radical Demands and Targets

In both the systemic-threat literature and the protest-policing literature, radical demands play some role in predicting levels of repression. The protest-policing literature, especially, has claimed that radical goals are a significant predictor of increased police repression within the framework of police knowledge. Several studies have used a long list of radical goals in their models predicting repression (Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003; Earl and Soule 2006; Ayoub 2010; Warner and McCarthy n.d.). This list includes support for the Equal Rights Amendment, welfare rights, freedom of speech, affirmative action, gay and lesbian rights, police brutality, antiwar, as well as more systemic ideological challenges such as Black Power, anticapitalism, communism, and fascism. Earl and Soule (2006) in particular have argued that enhanced police repression of events with multiple goals is consistent with a police centered analysis: police tend to assess events pursuing a wide variety of goals as more likely to degenerate organizationally and therefore require greater police presence.

 The systemic-threat literature, on the other hand, highlights a mix of tactical issues without much clarity on what constitutes radical goals. In a study of why states apply negative sanctions to movements, Davenport (1995) identifies several factors common in the threat literature including the frequency of protest, presence of protestor violence, use of multiple strategies, and tactics that violate cultural norms. While Davenport (1995) furthers our knowledge of the state by considering multiple factors facilitating state repression, it is curious that the issues and demands raised by dissidents are neglected in his multidimensional approach. Activists' demands are only indirectly important to the degree that protests constitute "deviance from cultural norms" (Davenport 1995: 707). Similarly, Wisler and Giugni (1999) emphasize the violation of cultural norms as an important predictor of repression in their research on protests in four Swiss cities noting that the so called "counter culture" events were much more likely to face violent police action regardless of the tactics they used.

Whether a state feels its legitimacy is being challenged also depends on the specific targets to which protestors direct their challenge. Walker, Martin, and McCarthy (2008) argue that targets should be at the center of understanding protest repertoires and point out that activists' choice of tactics is a function of the targets of their protest. While their study emphasizes the influence of target selection on protest repertoires, it follows that different targets are also likely to respond in distinct ways to social movements. For example, because the state has a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence, it is more likely than corporate or educational institutions to rely on repression versus facilitation or routinization when responding to movements that

challenge it (Walker, Martin, and McCarthy 2008: 43). Indeed, Davenport, Soule and, Armstrong (2011) have found that protest events that directly target government authorities at any level are more likely to generate police repression.

The lack of clear definitions of radical goals and targets in both literatures makes it difficult to evaluate claims about the exact nature of the threat posed by these actions and whether or not the police response is indicative of a systemic-threat approach or police-centered approach. In order to unpack this dynamic it is necessary to more clearly define which goals can reasonably be considered to be regime threatening and which are more likely to be considered to be simply disruptive to the police. To start with, Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong's (2011) blanket assertion that governments are threatened by any event directly targeting state actors, seems insufficient. Protests against budget cuts or demanding services from local government fall well within the framework of interest-group politics and even in repressive regimes may be accepted. They do not by themselves represent a threat to regime legitimacy or stability. Similarly, demonstrations for affirmative action, gay rights, and women's rights are unlikely to be viewed as a threat to the essential stability of existing political arrangements, though they may trigger strong reactions from police. However, demonstrations calling for Black Power, significant changes in suffrage, efforts to oppose on-going wars, and demands to scale back repressive police powers are more obviously tied to regime stability.

AUTHORITARIANISM AND REPRESSION IN SOUTH KOREA

While past studies have primarily focused on stable democracies in the West, our study assesses the relationship between mobilization and repression in a markedly different political context. Park Chung Hee's dictatorial regime in South Korea during the 1970s is a promising case because it was the decade in which the Korean democracy movement emerged while state repression increased (Kim 2000). In reaction to the democracy movement that challenged the legitimacy of the regime, the South Korean state stepped up its repression of the movement by applying political control laws and calling upon the KCIA, the military, and the national police to subdue the increasing number of antigovernment protest events. Indeed, in figure 1 we can see that repressive coverage, operationalized by the percentage of public protest events that were repressed, increased over the duration of the democracy movement in the 1970s.

The relationship between state and police in authoritarian polities differs from that of liberal democracies in that authoritarian leaders typically wield greater authority over agencies of social control (Axelrod and Phillips 1994; Ezrow and Frantz 2011). Park's control of security agencies was more or less absolute throughout the 1970s as his military background secured loyalty from the military and direct appointment of KCIA directors and police chiefs secured the support of actors directly responsible for handling protest events (Lee 2006; Dominguez 2011; Kim 2011). But still, Park's control over the police did not preclude the necessity of the police to react to unforeseen situational threats, and the volatility of protest events ensures that police forces have to, at times, make on-the-ground decisions according to the dynamic nature of the protests they confront (Koopmans 1997; Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003; Earl and Soule 2006).

Throughout the 1970s the Korean police utilized a variety of tactics to suppress public protest. State organs employed situational tactics to address on-the-ground concerns as well as preventive tactics intended to discourage further mobilization. The state would often deploy riot police to contain demonstrations, sit-in rallies, employee strikes, or public declarations. In addition, arrest and incarceration of dissidents without due process of law were common methods used to deal with protestors. Preventive tactics included investigation of individuals, firing of union employees, closing down factories and schools, censoring media, and the deportation of foreign agitators. The state also used creative tactics, including the bribing of

dissidents and the creation of organizations to mobilize state supporters. In addition to these less confrontational forms of repression, the state used more extreme forms including "legalized murder" as in the case of the People's Revolutionary Party when eight individuals were accused of being communists and executed within a day of their sentence. In short, the state's response to the democracy movement was varied as it included both situational and preventive strategies as well as nonconfrontational and violent tactics.

Figure 1 clearly shows that, overall, the South Korean authoritarian state increased its repressive coverage of protest events as demonstrated by the higher rates of repressed protest events over time. But still, it is equally important to note that not all protest events were repressed and questions remain as to what factors facilitated state repression. Repression is a choice that states make, as they must first decide whether to respond to a protest event, and if they do, how severe the response should be (Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003). If states are indeed discriminating and consider the different attributes of the challenges they face, it is important to consider the most salient characteristics of the public protest events confronting them. In the South Korean case we specifically consider the main actors engaged in protest, the choice of tactics, the central goals of the movement, and the targets of protest.

Figure 1. Repressive Coverage of Protest Events (1970-1979)

DATA AND METHODS

All data for this study come from the Stanford Korea Democracy Project (KDP).[1] For the years 1970-1979 there are 2,954 protest and repression events recorded in the dataset. Of the total, there are 1,845 protest events, 1,043 repression events, and 66 events that were neither a protest nor a repression event but were linked to them in a significant manner (e.g., government elections). Descriptions of protest and repression events in South Korea during the 1970s were provided by the Korea Democracy Foundation (KDF). The KDF is a quasi-government organization established in 2002 by the South Korean government to commemorate and memorialize the democracy movement. A main objective of the KDF is to archive all materials related to South Korea's democracy movement. For this purpose the KDF produced sourcebooks that consist of over 3,000 pages of narrative accounts of protest and repression events that occurred in the observational period. Adapting the coding manual for a separate and independent dataset (Olzak and West 1995), we coded the KDF sourcebooks to produce the Stanford KDP datasets.

A unique attribute about the Stanford KDP data is that they comprise of dyadic structured datasets that include separate sets of variables for protest and repression events while identifying

the relationships between events. For example, variables associated with a protest event include the identity of participants, the tactics they chose, the issues they raised, their targets, and so on. A repression event is described by a different set of variables including the repressing actor (e.g., police, military, Korean Central Intelligence Agency), the type of repression employed, the severity of repression, the number of participants repressed, and others. Through the "link" variable that specifies which events are in response to a previous event, we were able to observe the types and severity of repression that protest events elicited.

Most studies analyzing protest event datasets have used newspapers as the main source for data construction. Many have pointed out, however, that protest data from newspapers can be biased in several ways: newspaper accounts tend to report on large events that use disruptive tactics while not being consistent in the kinds of information they provide for different events (Barranco and Wisler 1999; McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996; Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, and Augustyn 2001; Oliver and Maney 2000; Woolley 2000). Notwithstanding past efforts using newspapers to study South Korea's democracy movement (Shin 2002), newspapers are especially problematic for gathering information on protests in 1970s Korea. During South Korea's authoritarian period, one of the main issues for the democracy movement was media censoring by the state, a fact that introduces obvious problems along with the usual tendencies internal to the media industry. We are hopeful that by relying on the KDF sourcebooks many of these concerns are addressed. The KDF sourcebooks were produced with the explicit purpose of creating a systematic account of the democracy movement by pooling information from a variety of sources.

The majority source category was archival materials (71% of total sources) that included government documents, organizational histories, memoirs, primary research manuscripts and reports. Other sources included major newspapers (21% of sources), websites (1.5% of sources), minor newspapers (5.6% of sources), and scholarly journals and magazines (1.5% of sources). One of the strengths of the KDF sourcebooks is that multiple sources were consulted when putting together the description of a single protest or repression event. On average, 5.85 different sources were referenced per event with the highest being 52 references for one event. This allowed us to compare descriptions of a single event from multiple sources but at the same time it was incumbent on us to adjudicate between sources in cases where differing information was presented. Because we did not feel qualified to adjudicate in most cases of discrepant information, we decided to not privilege any one source and in cases of quantitative data (e.g., total number of protestors at event) we averaged the numbers between sources. Although there are limitations to the KDF sourcebooks, and consequently to the Stanford KDP datasets, the KDF sourcebooks represent the most exhaustive effort to archive the democracy movement.[2]

Dependent Variables: Repressive Coverage and Severity

States not only have to make the decision to repress social movements but also have to decide on the type and extent of repression they will employ.[3] Not all repressive actions are the same. As Gartner and Regan (1996: 275) remind us, "Repression is not a dichotomous choice, where a government either does or does not engage a repressive strategy, but rather can be thought of as a continuous outcome." One helpful conceptualization of the *process* of state repression is offered by Earl, Soule, and McCarthy (2003). They suggest that state repression is a "two-stage process in which police must first decide to attend a protest event and then decide what actions to take once they are present" (Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003: 585). Accounting for police presence is the first step to understand state repression, and explaining the different types of repression employed is the second. Corresponding to the first part of the repression process, the first dependent variable is a dichotomous dummy variable operationalizing repressive coverage: whether the state did or did not repress a protest event. While it is possible for police to be present at a protest event without intervening directly, we consider

their very presence to be a response by state organs. In cases where there was no mention of state actors being present at a protest event, we coded this as an instance of nonrepression. After excluding cases with missing information we consider a total of 1,833 protest events, of which 701 events experienced some form of repression. The discrepancy between the 701 repression events and the 1,043 repression events in the dataset is because the state sometimes organized independent unilateral repressive actions that were not directly tied to a particular protest event. We exclude these cases from our analysis and only consider those repression events that were directly linked to a protest event.

The second dependent variable takes into consideration the severity of state repression. As Earl (2003) notes, repressive severity has been mainly conceptualized in two different ways. While most studies have focused on the *extent* of state repression, often operationalized as "more of" some repressive activity (e.g., more arrests made, more bullets fired), the *type* of repression is an important indicator of state response to dissident activities (Earl 2003: 46). Following the latter conceptualization of repression, we operationalize the *severity* of state repression as a function of the qualitatively different types of repressive action the state uses. We aggregate different repression types into four categories with incrementally higher levels

Table 1. Repression Categorization and Frequency[a]

Severity of Repression	Type of Repression Event	Frequency	Percent
Mild Repression (1)			
	Denial of petition or request	14	0.54
	Spoken critique or threat	126	4.84
	Government propaganda	2	0.08
	Bribing	2	0.08
	Subtotal 144		5.54
Moderate Repression (2)			
	Surveillance or spying	26	1
	Censoring	44	1.69
	Illegalizing movement organization	24	0.92
	Harsher working conditions	34	1.31
	Cooptation	12	0.46
	Subtotal 140		5.38
Heavy Repression (3)			
	Containment, disruption, or barricade	356	13.67
	Arrest or take into custody	1,076	41.32
	Trashing office and confiscating files	14	0.54
	Expulsion from school	62	2.38
	Interrogation or investigation	98	3.76
	Closing schools or stopping classes	128	4.92
	Wage cut or limiting funding source	16	0.61
	Legal prosecution	20	0.77
	Harsher treatment of prisoners	12	0.46
	Fired from job or forced resignation	130	4.99
	Closing down of factory or company	16	0.61
	Subtotal 1,928		74.03
Extreme Repression (4)			
	Violence	348	13.36
	Forced assimilation or brain washing	16	0.61
	Kidnapping	6	0.23
	Death sentence	4	0.15
	Killed	2	0.08
	Deportation or denial of visa	10	0.38
	Physical humiliation	6	0.23
	Subtotal 392		15.04
Total		2,604	100

Note: [a] Totals for different repression types can exceed the total number of events (= 1,043) because of cases where multiple repression types were employed in a single repression event (e.g., barricade, violence, and then arrest).

Figure 2. Annual Average Scores for Repression Severity (1970-1979)
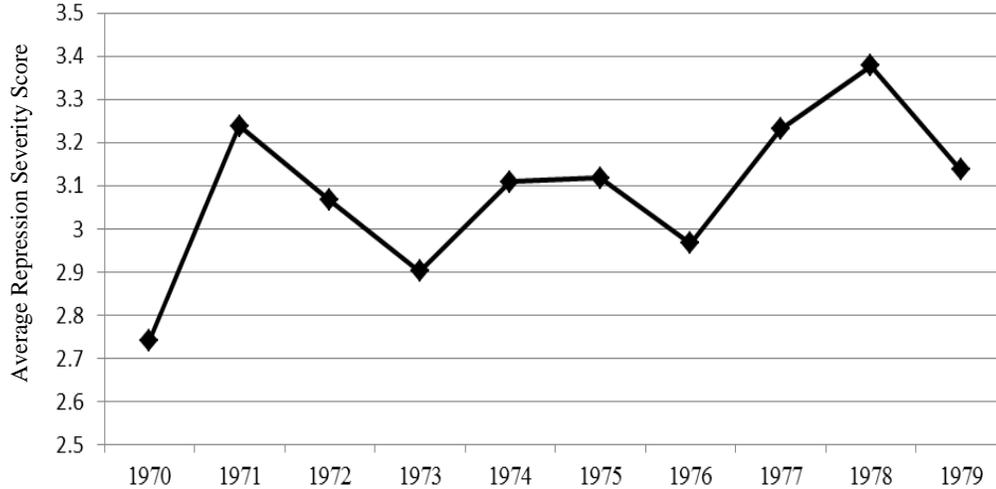
indicating more severe forms of repression. As shown in table 1, types of repression events were first aggregated into a four level ordinal variable where 1 denotes mild repression and 4 extreme repression. Because the four ordinal levels do not constitute an interval scale, the "distance" between levels is not known and we only assume the simplest pattern of increasing severity. We attempted to increase the internal reliability of the classification scheme by having four different coders independently categorize each repression type into the four severity levels. In the few instances of discrepancy between the coders, they went back to the sourcebooks to reread the narrative accounts of these repression events. After some delib- eration, the four coders reached consensus on the categorization of repression types.

As shown in figure 1, the percentage of protest events that were repressed increased over time. In addition, a temporal analysis reveals that the severity of repression varied with time. Figure 2 depicts the annual average scores of the types of repression protestors faced based on the categorization scheme detailed in table 1. Annual average scores of repression severity were calculated by summing all repression severity scores within a given year divided by the total number of repression events for that year. With the exceptions of 1971, when the state used a garrison decree to subdue protests, and 1976, when the draconian Emergency Decree Number 9 resulted in the drastic reduction of the number of protests, figure 2 shows that the state increasingly used more severe forms of repression over time. This general trend tapered off in 1979, the year that Park Chung Hee was assassinated.

Operationalizing Threat and Weakness: Actors, Tactics, Goals, and Targets

Variables measuring several protest-event characteristics are appropriated as independent variables in the analyses. Specifically, dummy variables identifying the actors who staged protest events, the tactics they employed, the goals they raised, and the targets they chose are included in the regression models. Dummy variables were created by identifying events with a specific characteristic (e.g., events staged by students) and juxtaposing them with all events that did not have that particular characteristic. Based on univariate analyses of these protest event characteristics, we chose to include the seven most salient actors organizing protest events in the 1970s. We also include the seven most frequently used tactics, the top six goals raised, and the seven most frequently targeted actors. The specific actors, tactics, goals, and targets included in the analyses are presented in table 2.

Table 2. Salient Actors, Tactics, Goals, and Targets [a]

Variables	Frequency	Percent
Actors		
Students	690	31.71
Labor	370	17.00
Christians	359	16.50
Journalists	139	6.39
Christian Students	137	6.30
Intellectuals	118	5.42
Politicians	96	4.41
All Others	267	12.27
Total	2,176	100
Tactics		
Demonstration	455	18.82
Declaration	453	18.74
Resolution Meeting	206	8.52
Petition	196	8.11
Propaganda	176	7.28
Sit-In Rally	146	6.04
Prayer Protest	130	5.38
All Others	655	27.10
Total	2,417	100
Goals		
Antirepression	857	29.10
Labor Rights	411	13.96
Media Freedom	191	6.49
Yusin Constitution	184	6.25
Educational Freedom	156	5.30
Overthrow Dictatorship	118	4.01
All Others	1,028	34.91
Total	2,945	100
Targets		
Yusin Government	1,072	47.79
Employers	369	16.45
Park Chung Hee	289	12.88
Local Actors	115	5.13
Individual Politicians	86	3.83
Police	22	0.98
KCIA	10	0.45
All Others	280	12.48
Total	2,243	100

In order to assess the impact that differential levels of threat have on the likelihood and severity of repression we categorize certain actors, tactics, goals, and targets as contributing to the perception of threat by authority figures. First, following the literature identifying actors who are more or less vulnerable to repression, we categorize students, Christian students, and laborers as low-status actors in Korean society.[4] In the Korean context, relative to other protesting groups, students had less political power and social status than other groups, due to their age and their lack of professional standing. This is not to imply that students did not represent a threat to the state. Indeed, a student revolution brought down the first president of South Korea, Syngman Rhee, in April 1960. More generally, however, we hypothesize that students were more vulnerable to state repression because of their lower social status *relative* to other social groups participating in the democracy movement. Laborers also constituted a relatively weak group as they did not, in the 1970s, have access to organizational resources such as pro-worker labor unions (Ogle 1990).

While students and laborers were constantly active in the democracy movement, they did not enjoy the kind of social prestige commanded by other dissident groups, including Christian leaders, journalists, public intellectuals, and oppositional politicians (Lee 2007). Christians not only enjoyed symbolic legitimacy as moral leaders of society but also had material resources through their connections to international religious and human-rights organizations (Chang 2006). Journalists also had ready access to international media groups, but more importantly, the media industry enjoyed high status in Korean society at the time (Kern and Nam 2011). Public intellectuals—including professors, writers, poets, and philosophers—maintained high status in society, often benefiting from the Confucian tradition of venerating scholars. Finally, while opposition party politicians were marginalized in the institutional political arena in the 1970s, they still maintained some distinction and social status as they usually came from the upper echelons of a highly stratified society and had more access to material and cultural resources.

Second, we distinguish between disruptive and nondisruptive tactics. In the Korean context the most popular protest tactic utilized in the democracy movement was the demonstration. The "demo," as it was commonly known, became the "archetypical protest tactic" in South Korea's democracy movement, gaining wide recognition through international media portrayal of violent clashes between protestors and riot police in the 1970s and 1980s (Shin, Chang, Lee, and Kim 2011: 33). The level of threat the "demo" presents to authority figures is juxtaposed to relatively less disruptive tactics including public declarations, dissidents' organizational planning meetings, petitions, spreading of propaganda, sit-in rallies, and prayer protests.

Third, based on the theoretical discussion above we categorize goals that represented a direct challenge to the legitimacy of the authoritarian state as more threatening than goals that addressed local and/or extraneous issues. Goals that directly challenged the legitimacy of the state include annulling the Yusin Constitution that legalized dictatorship in Korea (Eckert, Lee, Lew, Robinson, and Wagner 1991) and overthrowing the government. Protest events that did not mention these two goals explicitly and addressed other concerns such as anti-repression, labor rights, freedom of the press, and educational freedom were categorized as less-threatening goals. We do not mean to imply that issues such as media and educational freedom were not sensitive for the state. These issues did challenge key strategies the state employed to discipline and control society. However, there is an important distinction between questioning the very existence of the authoritarian state and challenging the policies, albeit critical ones, that are used to quell protest. Finally, we considered the differential levels of threat that unique targets of protest present to the state. Protest events that directly targeted the government, the dictator personally, and police organs were categorized as more threatening events than were events that targeted local actors and/or individual minor politicians. Specifically, protest explicitly directed at the Yusin government, Park Chung Hee, the KCIA, or the national police were considered threatening events while events that targeted employers and local or minor politicians were identified as less threatening.

Methods

Binary and ordinal logistic models are estimated to assess the effects of independent variables on dependent variables. Because repressive coverage is operationalized with a dummy variable indicating whether or not a protest event was repressed, we estimate a series of binary logistic models for the first part of the analysis regressing the likelihood of repression on the protest characteristics described above. The reference categories for the independent variables are all of the events that did not include that event characteristic (e.g., student events vs. all nonstudent organized events). Once the authorities decide to repress, they have to choose the severity of repression they will apply (Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003). Thus, in the second part of the study, we analyze a subsample of the dataset limiting analysis to only those events that were repressed. Excluding those events with missing data, 672 out of 701 events are included in this analysis. Repressive severity is operationalized

using a four-level ordinal variable, from mild to extreme forms of repression, derived from the categorization scheme outlined in table 1. In cases where a repression event included multiple repression types (e.g., spoken threat and then arrest), the maximum level of repression was assigned to that event based on the understanding that the choice to pursue more extreme forms of repression supersedes the motivations governing the use of less severe forms of repression. Because repressive severity is a polytomous ordinal variable, we estimate ordinal logistic models that regress the severity of repression on the same salient protest characteristics used in the binary logistic models.

RESULTS

Results from binomial logistic regression models indicate that, overall, the South Korean authoritarian state was selective in which protest events they chose to repress and which ones they ignored. Table 3 reports results from five logistic models estimating the impact of protest event characteristics on the state's decision to repress. Each larger set of protest characteristics—actors, tactics, goals, targets—is analyzed separately in models 1 through 4 whereas the full final model 5 assesses the impact of each set while controlling for all other sets of characteristics.

Low-Status Actors

As indicated in models 1 and 5, low-status actors were more likely to be repressed than high-status actors. Without controlling for other event characteristics such as tactics, goals, and targets, results indicate that events organized by both secular and Christian student groups were significantly more likely to be repressed than events by other social groups. However, model 5 indicates that after controlling for other movement characteristics, only secular students had a higher chance of being repressed: the odds of being repressed were 1.53 times (= exp[.425]), or 53%, higher for events organized by secular students versus nonstudent protest events. While laborers, another low-status actor, were not more likely to be repressed it is interesting that one high-status group was significantly less likely to be repressed when other event characteristics are not controlled for: model 1 reports that the odds of repression was 43.95% lower (= 100*[1–exp(–.579)]) for protest events organized by intellectuals compared to nonintellectual groups. This finding, however, did not hold when controlling for other event characteristics. On the whole, only secular student protest events were more likely to be repressed compared to events organized by other low status and high status actors.

Threat

Table 3 also shows the impact of perceived threat on the likelihood of repression. While model 2 looks exclusively at the effects of disruptive versus nondisruptive tactics on repression, model 3 analyzes only the influence of threatening versus nonthreatening protest goals. Model 4 considers the threat associated with events that directly challenged government targets as well as events that targeted local and minor targets. And, again, model 5 reports the likelihood of repression after controlling for the relative effects of all sets of event characteristics. Overall, it is evident that protest tactics had the greatest effect on the state's decision to repress as indicated by the relatively larger Model Likelihood Ratio Chi^2 and Pseudo R^2, as well as the greater number of significant variables. These findings are fairly robust in both the exclusive and full models. It is clear from both models 2 and 5 that disruptive tactics such as street demonstrations were significantly more likely to be repressed: the odds of repression were 4.03 times (= exp[1.394]), or 303%, higher for demonstrations than events utilizing other tactics after controlling for all other event characteristics. Interestingly, while some nondisruptive tactics were significantly less likely to be repressed than expected (declarations

Table 3. The Impact of Event Characteristics on the Likelihood of Repression

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Low-Status Actors					
Students	.951***				.425*
	(.143)				(.173)
Christian Students	.796***				.319
	(.204)				(.239)
Labor	-.012				.431
	(.165)				(.338)
High-Status Actors					
Christians	.103				.202
	(.153)				(.179)
Journalists	-.281				-.260
	(.226)				(.277)
Intellectuals	-.579*				-.257
	(.244)				(.268)
Politicians	.225				.225
	(.243)				(.269)
Disruptive Tactics					
Demonstrations		1.610***			1.394***
		(.129)			(.152)
Nondisruptive Tactics					
Declaration		-.324*			-.469**
		(.135)			(.151)
Planning Meeting		-.269			-.200
		(.182)			(.192)
Petition		-.567**			-.572**
		(.198)			(.209)
Propaganda		1.849***			1.525***
		(.197)			(.211)
Sit-in Rally		.012			.037
		(.204)			(.216)
Prayer Protest		.721***			.651**
		(.199)			(.228)
Threatening Goals					
Yusin Constitution			1.139***		.808***
			(.174)		(.206)
Overthrow Dictatorship			1.223***		.713**
			(.219)		(.257)
Less-Threatening Goals					
Antirepression			-.063		-.144
			(.103)		(.122)
Labor Rights			-.345**		-.166
			(.129)		(.278)
Media Freedom			.351*		.564**
			(.165)		(.212)
Education Freedom			-.016		-.230
			(.184)		(.226)
Direct Government Targets					
Yusin Government				.595***	.278†
				(.125)	(.150)
Park Chung Hee				.751***	.419*
				(.136)	(.171)
KCIA				1.026	1.592*
				(.662)	(.678)
Police				.734†	1.332**
				(.442)	(.471)
Local and Minor Targets					
Employers				.011	.295
				(.159)	(.260)
Local Actors				-.041	-.270
				(.212)	(.239)
Minor Politicians				-.080	.061
				(.253)	(.287)
Constant	-.892***	-.975***	-.603***	-.971***	-1.513***
Model LR Chi^2	108.86***	358.18***	118.66***	80.98***	442.13***
Pseudo R^2	.045	.147	.049	.033	.181
N	1833	1833	1833	1833	1833

Notes: † p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001 (two tailed test)

and petitions), others such as spreading propaganda and prayer protests were more likely to be repressed. We speculate that in cases where propaganda contributed to the state's willingness to repress, the issue may have had to do with the content of the propaganda rather than the tactical form. While spreading propaganda itself is not a relatively threatening tactic, propaganda usually consisted of disseminating antigovernment literature that could have amounted to a threatening goal for the authoritarian state.

The impact that threatening goals had on the likelihood of repression is clearer in model 3. Results indicate that protest events that challenge the legitimacy and existence of the dictatorial state were significantly more likely to be repressed than protest events that did not pursue these goals. Again, these results are robust and after controlling for all other sets of protest characteristics model 5 reports that the odds of being repressed for events that sought to annul the Yusin Constitution that legalized dictatorship in South Korea were 2.24 times (= exp[.808]), or 124%, higher than events that did not. Similarly, the odds of repression for events that explicitly attempted to overthrow the dictatorship were 2.04 times (= exp[.713]), or 104%, higher than events that did not challenge the existence of the state. Further support for distinguishing the relative effects of threatening versus nonthreatening goals are found in models 3 and 5. Consistent with expectations, three of the four less-threatening goals in model 5 have a negative coefficient, although not significant, while in model 3 the goal of labor rights is significant and negatively associated with the likelihood of repression.

One unexpected result is the impact of the goal of media freedom on the likelihood of repression. While media freedom is not a goal that directly threatens the legitimacy and/or existence of the authoritarian state, events that addressed press censorship were more likely to be repressed than events that pursued other goals. This finding, however, does make sense given the important role journalists played in publicizing the protest events of other dissident groups. Media freedom in the 1970s became an issue that facilitated solidarity in the democracy movement and because of this, might have been an issue that was more readily repressed (Kern and Nam 2011). On the whole, however, results from the logistic models support the argument that, in an authoritarian context, movements that pursue goals that challenge the legitimacy of the state are more likely to solicit repression than less-threatening goals.

Results assessing the impact of threatening versus nonthreatening targets also provide clear support for the threat hypothesis. In model 4 we can see that three of the four measures identifying protest events that directly challenged the government are positively significant: protest events that targeted the Yusin government, the dictator Park Chung Hee, and the national police were more likely to be repressed than events that did not target these actors. In addition, although not statistically significant, the coefficients for two of the three variables measuring events that targeted local and minor targets are negative. The results are even more compelling after controlling for all other sets of protest characteristics in model 5: events that directly targeted all four aspects of the government are positively significant. The odds of being repressed for events that targeted the Yusin government were 1.32 times (= exp[.278]), or 32% higher, while events that explicitly targeted Park Chung Hee were 1.52 times (= exp[.419]), or 52%, more likely to be repressed than events that did not directly target the dictator. Also, the odds of repression for events that targeted the KCIA were 4.91 times (= exp[1.592]), or 391%, greater than events that did not target the KCIA while targeting the national police directly increased the odds of repression by 3.79 times (= exp[1.332]), or 279%, compared to events that did not target the police.

Repressive Severity

Analyzing a subset of the data that only includes protest events that were repressed, table 4 reports the results from ordinal logistic models regressing the severity of repression on the same variables included in the binary logistic models. Following the same strategy as the models reported in table 3, we include each distinct group of protest characteristics before

Table 4. The Impact of Event Characteristics on Severity of Repression

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Low-Status Actors					
Students	.629*				.442
	(.250)				(.293)
Christian Students	.032				-.170
	(.337)				(.367)
Labor	-.115				-.200
	(.316)				(.556)
High-Status Actors					
Christians	-.241				-.195
	(.276)				(.302)
Journalists	-1.517**				-.899†
	(.455)				(.522)
Intellectuals	-.132*				.370
	(.469)				(.509)
Politicians	-.696				-.335
	(.446)				(.475)
Disruptive Tactics					
Demonstrations		1.500***			1.385***
		(.199)			(.245)
Nondisruptive Tactics					
Declaration		-.639**			-.507†
		(.243)			(.262)
Planning Meeting		-.292			-.240
		(.339)			(.353)
Petition		-.547			-.620
		(.409)			(.432)
Propaganda		-.182			-.328
		(.231)			(.258)
Sit-in Rally		.687†			.586
		(.360)			(.388)
Prayer Protest		.157			.484
		(.304)			(.358)
Threatening Goals					
Yusin Constitution			.415†		.674*
			(.227)		(.264)
Overthrow Dictatorship			-.060		.378
			(.274)		(.313)
Less-Threatening Goals					
Antirepression			.685***		.652**
			(.180)		(.204)
Labor Rights			-.237		.208
			(.233)		(.429)
Media Freedom			-.953**		-.705*
			(.298)		(.320)
Education Freedom			.954**		.276
			(.320)		(.346)
Direct Government Targets					
Yusin Government				.837**	.380
				(.241)	(.266)
Park Chung Hee				-.193	-.680**
				(.209)	(.249)
KCIA				-.394	.710
				(.900)	(.991)
Police				1.929**	2.060**
				(.664)	(.746)
Local and Minor Targets					
Employers				.235	.558
				(.315)	(.542)
Local Actors				.229	-.189
				(.371)	(.395)
Minor Politicians				.919*	.208
				(.460)	(.503)
Model LR Chi^2	39.89***	86.14***	33.09***	21.98***	137.38***
Pseudo R^2	.037	.079	.030	.020	.126
N	672	672	672	672	672

Notes: † p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001 (two tailed test)

fitting the full model that includes the most salient actors, tactics, goals, and targets. Without controlling for other protest characteristics, model 1 indicates that secular students were more severely repressed than other protesting groups. Considering these results with the binary models estimating the likelihood of repression, it is evident that secular students were not only more likely to be repressed but the odds of moving from a lower level of repression to a higher level on the four-level ordinal scale was 1.88 times (= exp[.629]), or 88%, higher for events organized by students than other social groups. In addition, while other low-status actors were not more likely to be severely repressed, some of the high-status actors, journalists and intellectuals, were significantly less likely to be confronted with higher levels of repressive severity.

The results reported in model 2 also corroborate the finding that events utilizing disruptive tactics are more likely to face harsher forms of repression. The odds that demonstrations faced a more severe level of repression were 4.48 times (= exp[1.500]), or 348%, higher compared to events that used less-disruptive tactics. Also consistent with the results for the likelihood of repression, declarations were significantly less likely to face higher levels of repression. Model 2 also reports that, other than sit-in rallies, most of the nondisruptive tactics were not more or less likely to face severe repressive forms. It is also important to note that, overall, the impact of tactical forms on the severity of repression is stronger than other groupings of protest characteristics as indicated by the larger Model Likelihood Ratio Chi^2 and Pseudo R^2. This indicates that protest tactics are a salient consideration for state and police organs when implementing their repressive strategies.

Model 3 assesses the impact of protest goals on the severity of repression without considering other protest characteristics. Slightly different from what we found in models estimating the likelihood of repression, only events that challenged the legitimacy of the Yusin Constitution were more likely to be severely repressed, and even that relationship is only marginally significant. A new finding reported in model 3 is the significantly positive impact that the goal of antirepression had on the severity of repression: events that addressed the issue of repression were associated with an increase in the odds of facing higher levels of repression by 1.98 times (= exp[.685]), or 98%, compared to events that did not mention repression. In addition, interestingly enough, events that raised the goal of media freedom were significantly less likely to face severe forms of repression while the issue of education freedom prompted greater repression.

Some of the targets also affected the severity of repression protestors faced. Model 4 indicates that targeting the Yusin government was associated with a 2.31 times (= exp[.837]) higher odds of facing increasing levels of repressive severity. Model 4 also shows that targeting Park Chung Hee or the KCIA did not affect repressive severity while targeting the police did: the odds of facing increasing levels of repression for events that explicitly targeted police forces were 6.88 times (= exp[1.929]), or 588%, higher than events that did not target the police. The impact of targeting the police is the strongest amongst all of the independent variables in both the exclusive and full models. And finally, it is curious that events that targeted minor politicians were more likely to be severely repressed as these events were not any more likely to be repressed in the first place, as indicated in table 3 (although the effect disappears in the full model).

A relatively clear picture arises from the results shown in models 1 through 4. We understand model 5 to make that picture more precise as the full model controls for other groupings of protest characteristics. Notwithstanding the negative impact that targeting Park Chung Hee had on repressive severity, overall, model 5 shows that engaging in disruptive tactics, pursuing certain goals, and targeting specific state organs invite more severe forms of repression. In addition, while the impact of secular students disappears in the full model, events organized by journalists were still less likely to face severe forms of repression. As indicated earlier journalists, relative to other social groups, had strong connections to international media and received greater international attention, and secondary sources indicate

this could have limited the kinds of repression strategies the state employed to quell their protest events (Tonga T'uwi 2005: 156, 158). In light of the findings from the binary logistic results, where the issue of media freedom was significantly more likely to be repressed, it is possible that the issue of media freedom was a sensitive one which motivated greater attention by the state while journalists' standing in Korean society and connection to international media limited the state's ability to severely repress events organized by journalists.

The most interesting findings in the full model, however, are the effects of antirepression goals and targeting the police. Model 5 indicates that the odds of events that directly addressed a specific act of state repression were 1.92 times (= exp[.652]), or 92%, more likely to invite severe forms of repression than events that did not raise the issue of repression. Similarly, when events directly targeted the police, they faced an increase in the odds of higher levels of repressive severity by 7.85 times (= exp[2.060]), or 685%. After controlling for all protest characteristics, targeting the police produced the strongest effect on repressive severity. Taken together, we believe these results point to the importance of on-the-ground situational factors in influencing the types of repression police employed (Koopmans 1997). As discussed above, if repressive severity is more likely to be a function of unplanned situational factors (e.g., escalation of violence during protestor-police encounters) compared to the decision by state organs to show up to a protest event, it makes sense that challenging the police's use of repression and targeting them directly would increase the severity of repression.

DISCUSSION

By assessing the effects of the most salient aspects of public protest on the state's willingness to repress, we showed that the state implemented a specific strategy for dealing with South Korea's democracy movement. Corroborating past studies we found strong support for the role of situational threat and group status on both police presence and increasing levels of repressive severity (Koopmans 1997; Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003; Ayoub 2010). The South Korean government was quick to increase its repressive coverage of those groups that it thought were more likely to conduct protest activities outside the boundaries of acceptable tactics, such as public demonstrations, prayer protests, and the dissemination of propaganda. Conversely, tolerated forms of political pleading such as petitions and public declarations were less likely to be met with police repression. In addition, weak status groups such as students were more likely to be repressed while some politically sensitive targets and goals resulted in greater levels of police repression. In particular, political activity that directly targeted the authority, legitimacy, and repressive capacity of the dictatorship was much more likely to be subjected to heavy and extreme forms of repression such as mass arrests, dismissal from jobs or school, violence, and even torture and death.

By testing a greater variety of individual targets and goals, we were able to specify which ones were more likely to engender greater repression. This allowed us to identify the importance of goals that challenged the central features of the dictatorship and targeted the police apparatus used to keep it in power. Our findings indicate that state-centered theorists need to develop more nuanced assessments of the nature of protest threats in nondemocratic settings, since in the case of South Korea not all protest events experienced the same level of repressive coverage. For blue-centered researchers, our results demonstrate the need to better differentiate the role of goals and tactics in explaining levels of repressive coverage. Rather than grouping together a large number of goals under the heading of radical, we need to specify the mechanisms that make those goals and targets either a concrete threat to regime stability or produce an exaggerated police response due to either internal police bias or external political pressures (Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003; Ayoub 2010).

The findings of Earl, Soule, and McCarthy (2003) and Ayoub (2010) indicate a depoliticization of police response to protest activity. In both studies the police were seen as

simply responding to cues about the potential threat to order posed by protest activity rather than being influenced by a specific political orientation, larger state priorities, or even concerns over state stability. This police-doing-their-job argument comports well with the relative stability of Western democracies, whose police have significant political independence and therefore are at least partially insulated from direct political considerations, focusing instead on their institutional mission to maintain order. In contrast, the South Korean police had very little political independence. The head of the police service was under the direct control of Park Chung Hee, who was involved in setting strategic priorities for the police. Therefore, decisions about the presence of police and level of repression were dependent in part on political considerations larger than just the maintenance of public order in a more narrow sense.

This distinction between depoliticized Western protest policing and a politically interventionist South Korean police highlights the role of strategic concerns in understanding police responses to protest activity. In the most stable regimes police responses are driven primarily by the goal of maintaining order and, consequently, they tend to utilize tactics that depend on situational factors. In a military dictatorship such as South Korea in the 1970s, however, larger strategic concerns about regime stability play an important role in shaping police responsiveness to protest activity. The police's strategic mission of maintaining order becomes subsumed by the state's strategic concerns with regime stability, reducing the police role to at most tactical decision making on-the-ground. The South Korean police were in essence engaged in a form of *staatspolizei* in which levels of repression were based not only on tactical concerns about protest militancy and disruptiveness, but also on strategic concerns about maintaining regime stability.

NOTES

[1] http://ksp.stanford.edu/research/stanford_korea_democracy_project/

[2] While it has been the goal of the KDF to house and archive all materials related to the democracy movement, it is still possible that events that were not recorded in any source were overlooked when creating the sourcebooks. It is plausible that similar biases found in newspaper accounts, such as neglecting small and relatively inconspicuous protest events, are applicable to the KDF sourcebooks and the Stanford KDP datasets.

[3] We limit the scope of our analysis to repression employed by the state, government organs, and organizations directly under the influence of the state (e.g., universities influenced by the Ministry of Education and corporations influenced by the Ministry of Finance). This does not preclude the ability of actors independent of the state to negatively influence the democracy movement. In the Korean case, important nonstate actors included, among others, conservative churches that criticized Christians' participation in political protest and family members that discouraged students from neglecting their studies to mobilize workers (Chang 2006; Lee 2007).

[4] In table 2 and in the text we distinguish between secular students, Christian students, and Christians. We do this as these social identities are the ones used by the actors to self–identify in the archival sources that are the basis for the KDP dataset. For example, in paraphernalia used to spread word of events and in names of their social movement organizations, Christian students (in Korean *kiddokyo haksaeng*) identified themselves as such. It was also common knowledge amongst activists in the 1970s and 1980s that Christians (in Korean *kiddokyo–in*) referred usually to the Christian clergy and leadership that were salient in the democracy movement as well as sometimes to the adult laity. Furthermore, secular students, Christian students, and Christians each had their own distinct organizational networks and drew from them when mobilizing protest events. In short, these three groups were easily distinguishable in the democracy movement.

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