

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: HAVE THE LOCAL PEOPLE BECOME
INVISIBLE? A CASE STUDY OF A
MILITARY INSTALLATION ON JEJU
ISLAND, SOUTH KOREA.

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This study examines the effects of the construction of a military base on local communities on Jeju Island, South Korea. The South Korean military's intent in building these facilities is to demonstrate military sovereignty to neighboring countries while also providing socio-economic benefits to the local population (Korean Navy, Ministry of National Defense of Korea). However, local communities and NGOs continue to resist contemporary military construction policies due to the ecological, social and economic impacts of this process, which are exacerbated by the government's unilateral approach and its failure to implement a system where the surrounding localities can influence construction policies (Sze et al., 2009). While resistance to military facilities is widely documented, this research highlights the disconnect between the different political scales represented by the military and the local community, or those who are empowered and the average local citizen, whose voice has been marginalized. This study focuses on the local people's experience

through the theoretical frame of environmental justice, and the concepts of scale and political ecology while using phenomenology to analyze open-ended interview data. This research concluded that 1) the local people were made voiceless and invisible through marginalization by the government; 2) this case is an environmental injustice case by identifying how the current process marginalizes local communities and environmental impacts through the analytical frames of environmental justice and the concept of scale; and 3) the combination of environmental justice theory and the concept of scale from political ecology is a more effective application of this study and can contribute to future related studies.

HAVE THE LOCAL PEOPLE BECOME INVISIBLE? A CASE STUDY OF A
MILITARY INSTALLATION ON JEJU ISLAND, SOUTH KOREA.

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
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Doctor of Philosophy

Dedication

Dedicate this to my husband, Louis Keddell

You said you love me because I am a strong woman, but you make me strong.
Without you, it is much more difficult to finish this. Love you.

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I am deeply grateful to my dissertation committee. Dr. Martha Geores who has been an insightful and supportive advisor. I could share my thrilled feeling after my successful defense with her the most! I am grateful equally from the other members of my committee, Dr. Sun, Dr. Kweon, Dr. Haufner and Dr. Brown for their guidance and encouragement. All of you have held me well throughout the overall process and persistently supportive. Also thanks to my former advisor, Dr. David Sonnenfeld, who introduced me the concept of EJ for the first time, and shared the world of academia for this newbie in this area.

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Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
List of Abbreviations	viii
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Main Research Question	5
Structure of this Study	12
Chapter 2. Background	16
Historical settings.....	17
Geography	22
Cultural References in Jeju and Gangjeong.....	24
Economic status in Gangjeong Village.....	25
Political Structure in South Korea and Gangjeong Village	27
Backgrounds of Naval Base Construction at the national and provincial level.....	34
Chapter 3. Literature Review	42
Scales	44
The Relations between Nature and Society	48
The concept of Justice – Environmental Justice	51
Literature Review of the case of Naval Base in Gangjeong village	54
Chapter 4. Methodology	57
Ontological Grounds of Qualitative Methods.....	57
Qualitative Research Strategies	60
Data Collection Procedures.....	62
Data Analysis Strategies	67
Researcher Recognizes Her Role.....	72
Participants.....	74
Limitations and Validation	79
Chapter 5. Overall Findings and Finding 1: Environmental Indicators.....	81
Introduction for Overall Findings	81
Introduction for Finding1. Environmental Knowledge	87
Environmental Condition before the Construction	88
Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Process and Limitations	91
Main Issues of EIA on the naval base site	93
Local people's experiences and knowledge	98
Actual environmental degradation experiences	99
Appreciation of Environmental Value	109
Summary and Analysis	112
Chapter 6. Finding 2: Participation and Marginalization.....	117
Introduction.....	117
Excluded from Decision-Making Process:	120
Government's violent response to the Local People.....	123

Summary	131
Chapter 7. Finding 3: Social Indicators with the Concept of Scale	135
Introduction	135
Comparison with historical incident	137
Objectification and Disparities	147
Summary	155
Chapter 8. Finding 4: Local People's Expanded Understanding	157
Introduction	157
Entities – new larger scaled entity (US)/ government	159
The local people's learning process and experiences	162
The Process of Evolving the Anti-Naval Base Movement	164
Transitioned Perception to 'Development'	170
Summary	176
Chapter 9. Conclusion	178
Summary of Overall Findings	178
Summary of Empirical Findings and Interpretation	181
Theoretical Finding and Contribution to Literatures	186
Implications and Policy Suggestions	191
Limitations and Future Research	193
Appendices	195
Appendix I. General Backgrounds: Time Series and Site Maps	195
Appendix II. Environmental Regulations	198
Appendix III. Environmental Justice Framework and Assessment Phases	201
Appendix IV. The Modern History of Korea	203
Appendix V. Data Coding Strategies	214
Bibliography	218

List of Tables

Table 1 Age Groups for Haenyeo	27
Table 2. Participants Information for open-ended interview	74
Table 3. Focus Group Participants.....	74
Table 4. Overall Themes	82
Table 5 Environmental Impact Assessment Process	92

List of Figures

Figure 1 Research Issues, Focus, Theories and Approach.....	4
Figure 2 the involved political entities within the existing social structure	11
Figure 3 Maps and a Satellite Image of Naval Base	23
Figure 4 Administrative District System in S. Korea	27
Figure 5 the Administrative District of Gangjeong Dong	31
Figure 6 Details of Gangjeong village and the Location of the Naval Base.....	31
Figure 7 Village Map drawn by Gangjeong Community Council.....	34
Figure 8 Functions of Naval Base in Jeju by the Navy.....	41
Figure 9 Conceptual Framework	44
Figure 10 Cross-Scale Chain of explanation	48
Figure 11 Philosophical grounds of Phenomenology, Political Ecology and Environmental justice	60
Figure 12 Data Collection Strategy for Phenomenology	63
Figure 13 A Continuum of Analysis Strategies	68
Figure 14 Ecosystem Conservation Area around Gangjeong Village	96
Figure 15 Unsuitability of the Location: the impacts by Typhoon	107
Figure 16 Contribution to Literature.....	187

List of Abbreviations

DoD: Department of Defense (of South Korea)

EIA: Environmental Impact Assessment

EJ: Environmental Justice

(U.S.) EPA: United State Environmental Protection Agency

IUCN: International Union for Conservation of Nature

ME: Ministry of Environment (Korea)

National Assembly: The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

PE: Political Ecology

ROK: the Republic of Korea (South Korea)

THAAD: Terminal High Altitude Area Defense

UNESCO: United Nations of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1. Introduction

This study is about the conflicts and issues surrounding the construction of the Jeju Civilian-Military Complex Port in a protected area on Jeju Island, South Korea from 2007 - 2014 (Appendix I: Table A1). Originally constructed to support the Pacific missile defense strategy and strengthening military power of the United States in the southern part of Korea (Bae 2012), this new naval base has raised various controversies, including: the decision-making process for determining the base's site and the limited local people's participation in that process, the possible environmental impacts of the naval base construction on the protected area, and the possible changes in the relationship of South Korea with its neighboring countries. These controversies have caused people to question whether there needs to be a military base on Jeju.

While these controversies surrounding the Jeju naval base construction have been analyzed most frequently as a case study in poor public administration by government authorities, a well-known study done by Kirk (2013) analyzed this case in the context of international relations and the role of the U.S. military in East Asia. In this study, Kirk compared the controversies surrounding the Jeju naval base case with the controversies surrounding the U.S. military presence on Okinawa. The study starts by discussing Okinawa's comparatively long history (compared to Jeju) of having the U.S. military bases with an in-depth analysis of the relation of the Okinawa people to the central government, and the transitioned attitudes of the local

people towards the U.S. military bases over time. The case study of Jeju, then, follows by comparing the similarity of Okinawa and Jeju as island identities with strained relationships with their respective national governments on the mainland. By focusing on the people who have confronted the expansion of military power in these islands, this study maintains the international and national context of the Jeju naval base case by examining how the “Island of Peace,” Jeju, established after the infamous historical event (4-3 incident) orchestrated by the government, can be changed by this new naval base as a part of the expanding U.S. military role in East Asia beyond Okinawa.

My study will contribute to Kirk’s research (2013) by utilizing Environmental Justice as a theoretical framework and the paradigm of Political Ecology to analyze local people’s experiences through phenomenology. Adopting Environmental Justice as a theoretical frame and the concepts of Scale and Political Ecology as analysis frames and tools, my study will illustrate the circumstance of the community during the construction through the local people’s perspective using the phenomenology method. This method delves into the complexities of the local people’s experiences with these theoretical and methodical approaches to the case. In this way, my study will supplement Kirk’s study and the existing literature with a more detailed narrative of the local people, whose discourse of the case has changed since his interviews were conducted in 2012 in the context of international relations.

With having the analytical tool of Environmental Justice and the theory of Political Ecology and the concept of Scale, this study focused on the local people’s experiences and perceptual changes while constructing the naval base in Jeju. The

most tangible issue that my study focused on is the decision that was made to have the naval base in this community near environmentally protected areas without a proper consensus of the local people living there. The research problems can be summarized as 1) environmental problems in the protected area and the environmental impact assessment for the national scale project, 2) the lack of local people's participation in the decision-making process (conflict), and 3) the multi-scaled geopolitical grounds for the site that involves various levels of political stakeholders.

The research problems are interrelated in the overall process of installing the naval base in the village so that these problems require multi-focal theories rather than a single focused theoretical approach to the case. This study, therefore, analyzes the case through a theoretical lens that combines Environmental Justice with political ecology and the concept of scale. By doing so, this study can expand the applications of the framework of environmental justice and contribute to the environmental justice discourse further with a consideration of the interconnection between environmental impacts and various social stakeholders involved in this case. These theoretical frameworks are adopted to understand the main focus of this study, the local people's experience, with the phenomenological approach that explains the research issues. The overall structure of this study formulating research problems, the focus of this study and theoretical and methodological approach are shown in the figure (1) below.

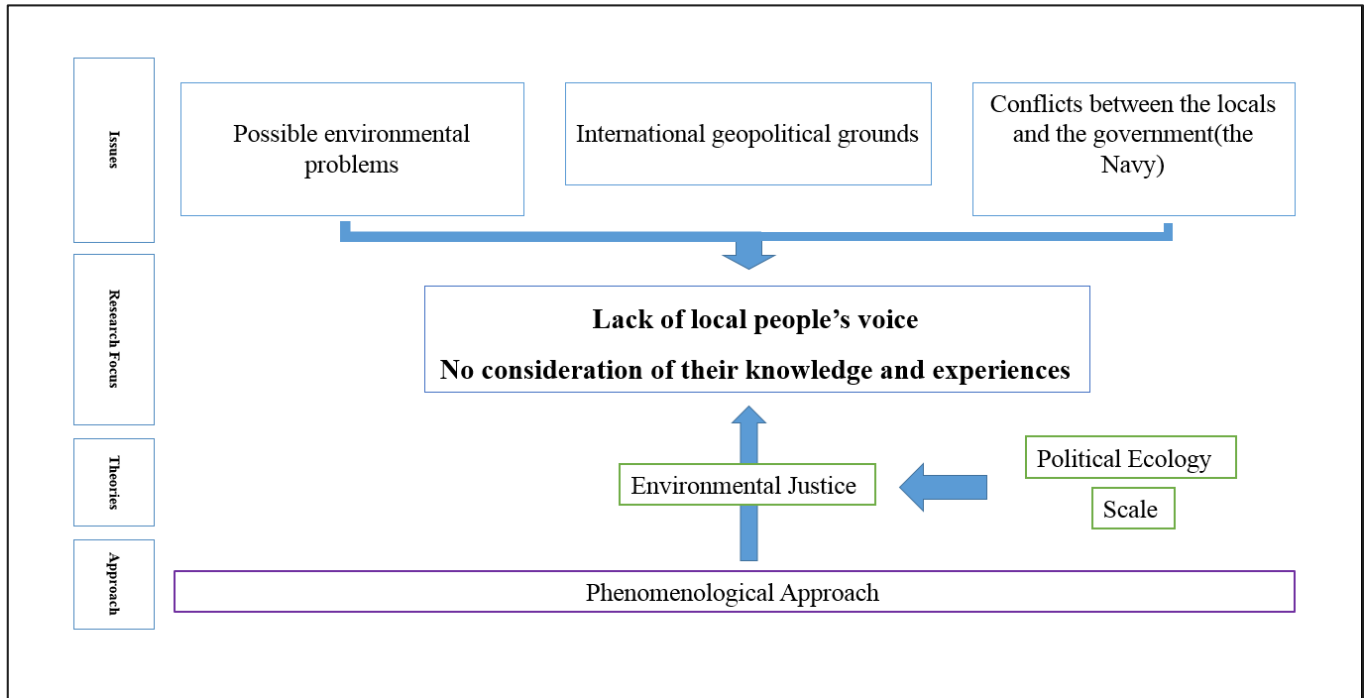


Figure 1. Research Issues, Focus, Theories and Approach

While focusing on the common experiences shared by the local people, certain phenomenon were observed as their perceptions and understandings changed during the process of naval base construction. As Creswell (2012) stated, these shared experiences reveal the core of the phenomenon. Through the phenomenological approach to the local people's voice and experience, Environmental justice and political ecology focus the inquiry for this study. Environmental Justice as an analysis tool and discourse is the guideline to understand the complicated phenomenon of this case with its pluralistic base. However, Environmental Justice cannot explain the structural factors that produce injustice as found in this case, where the local villagers' conflicts and struggles are involved with different political entities in different levels of government and regulation from the local to international. From

here, Political Ecology¹ provides a theoretical framework and approach for this case that encompasses the complicated social structure and social relations that also involve international scales. In other words, by using Political Ecology, the research was able to reveal underlying social structures that cause conflicts and disparities on different political scales by focusing on the different relationships that result from these different scales and environments.

With these research problems and approaches, the following are the main research questions that this research investigates:

Main Research Question

How is the local people's understanding of the naval base construction process interpreted and analyzed phenomenologically by the researcher using Environmental Justice theory, the framework of Political Ecology, and the concept of scale?

To answer this, these sub-main questions will be answered:

1. What is the lived experience of local people as they interact concerning the construction of the naval base in their community?

1-1. What are the contested interests among the local people deciding their opinions toward the naval base?

¹ Political ecology, even with its broad and non-consensus definitions, is the new concept of ecology as a set of space-time relations to better understand the complex dynamics of local environmental relations rather than simply as environment or nature as harmony or resilience (Peet and Watts 2002). One of the important concepts in Political Ecology is the concept of Scale, which can bridge the case analyzed with Environmental Justice theory to the paradigm of Political Ecology.

1-2. How has the perception and opinion of the environment and the government changed for locals involved in protesting against the naval base?

To answer this sub-question 1 (and 1-1, 1-2), this study will identify the represented interests among the various political scales; determine how they are involved in this case, as interpreted by the local people; and better understand how the local people may have internalized the interests of larger governmental and/or international scales.

2. Could the conflicts among the local people be interpreted as reflecting the conflict on larger political scales between the anti-naval base movement (locals and NGOs) and the government?

The purpose of answering this question is to figure out different possible reasons why most of the community people disagree; and the subtle differences in perceptions among the locals and possible influences from entities on larger political scales

To answer these research questions, I expect to achieve three main goals: 1) to understand the people's experiences and trace their perceptual changes with their own words; 2) to analyze the people's experiences with the environmental justice framework through the political ecology approach; 3) and to contribute to the theoretical discourse of environmental justice with this case study that adopts the approach of political ecology and scale. The first two goals seek to better understand the local people's perspective under both theoretical and analytical frameworks of environmental justice. The last goal seeks to add this case study to the current

discourse of environmental justice by analyzing this case through the lens of political ecology supplemented with the concept of scale. With these goals guiding this study, the underlying focus of this research is to identify whether and how environmental justice, political ecology and scale as conceptual categories can be understood and interpreted in the Naval Base Construction process.

To meet these goals, I conducted in-depth interviews with the local people based on the phenomenological data collection method. The data collected through open-ended interviews used indicators from the environmental justice framework (Appendix VI) that were influenced by people's opinions, which subsequently emerged through the analysis and were categorized into specific variables. Also, the logic or arguments that the governmental entities made were presented by conducting the content analysis. The inductive indicators derived from these secondary data could then be compared to the indicators from the interviews with the local people. More procedural details involved with the phenomenology method will be discussed in the method chapter (4).

Overall the purpose of this research is to understand and emphasize the detailed contextual analysis of this case. Therefore the purpose of this study is not to test possible hypotheses, but to evaluate the case itself to understand it from multiple perspectives. By doing so, it will be possible to understand the case which has complex phenomenon intricately connected to political, social, historical and personal issues. In other words, this argument is not for testing but for suggesting this study's basic assumption with a perspective grounded in the theoretical frames of political ecology and environmental justice.

The detailed research context

Many local people on Jeju have struggled to have their objections heard by the national government, and parts of the government have taken action to discourage the local people from voicing their objections. After getting approval from the National Assembly of Korea in 1995, the Korean Navy looked for a possible location for a new naval base in the southern part of South Korea. The selection of the location for the naval base took more than ten years due to the strong opposition to the naval base among local people in two villages on Jeju Island. Ultimately, in 2007, Gangjeong village in Jeju was selected as the location for the base, even though it was not even on the official list of candidates for the naval base location (Bae 2012; Yun 2011; Shim 2012). This sudden decision for the naval base location raised questions and doubts about how Gangjeong village was selected (See Table 1: Appendix I).

After discovering the plans to build a naval base where they had lived their whole lives, the people of Gangjeong wanted to clarify the procedures followed that resulted in the decision to build the naval base in their village. The majority of the local people did not know the decision had been made until the news media held a conference in the community to announce the decision of the naval base location in Gangjeong. In the process of understanding the causes and the consequence of the decision about the naval base, the community people learned that the government conducted illegal procedures of decision-making. Disregarding the local people in the decision-making process has provoked a strong response from them. The community people, led by the community council² and the new community leader, expressed their

² The community council consists of the community representatives elected by the local people. It is

strong disagreement with the construction of the naval base since they learned about the new naval base in their village.

Along with the unjust decision-making process, the local people have protested against the naval base on the basis of the inadequate environmental impact assessment process conducted. The local people were concerned about the possible destruction of their environment and questioned the inconsistency of building military facilities on Jeju Island when many protection zones have been established on Jeju by numerous environmental laws recognizing the value of Jeju Island's local ecosystems (see Appendix II: Table A2). In fact, Jeju Island has been recognized as a world natural heritage site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Gangjeong village has particularly unique environmental value on Jeju Island. This village is located less than 0.5 miles away from Gurumbi (Appendix I: Figure A1), a rare broad rocky wetland area adjacent to the sea. Bum sum, an island less than 1 mile from Gurumbi, was protected by the absolute preservation law (by the National Assembly of Korea) which only allows access to people for the purpose of scientific investigation (Kim 2011), and was also included in the UNESCO biosphere zone.³

not an official governmental entity, but acts as the smallest unit of public service as a form of self-governing entity. In Gangjeong village, the community council became the main hub to participate in the anti-naval base movement (more details in Chapter 3 and 5).

³ The unique ecosystem in this volcanic island is protected by various environmental protection laws and has gained a greater reputation from UNESCO's recognition within three different areas. In 2002 Jeju was designated for inclusion in the 'World Network of Biosphere Reserves' from UNESCO, MaB (Man and the Biosphere Program) (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization); and In 2007 'Jeju Volcanic Island and Lava Tube' was listed on the World Heritage List

Despite these controversies, construction on the naval base has proceeded. While the opposition from the local people with the decision-making process and environmental impacts caused by the new naval base continued, the navy and the government started to call the 'Naval Base' an "Eco-Friendly Civilian-Military Complex Port." The government (navy) also changed the expected completion date for the construction from the end of 2014 to 2016 (Ministry of Korean National Defense, 2012).

The disagreement of the local people in Gangjeong village to have the naval base in their village created the anti-naval base movement, which drew many activists from Korea and other countries. Furthermore, the issues around Jeju naval base attracted the attention of the international news media and many liberal critics who supported the protest movement as a means of opposing U.S. militarism (Kirk 2013: 116). Kirk(2013) cited an op-ed in the *New York Times*(2011) that "Gangjeong villagers know full well what their future holds if their cry for peace is not heeded: an influx of South Korean and foreign military personnel, advanced armaments, and a world of suffering delivered to a small island that has already endured enough," writes Chomsky. In a statement sent to the Gangjeong village council, Chomsky(2012) stated that "these projects not only have highly destructive effects on the environment and on the lives of the people of the island but also sow the seeds of dangerous conflict, even potential superpower conflict" (Save Jeju Now). These liberal critics include Noam Chomsky, the famous activist, and linguistics professor

by UNESCO(UNESCO World Heritage), and UNESCO Global Geoparks in 2010 (Jeju, UNESCO), (Jeju World Nature Heritage Center)

emeritus at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and one of the most vocal foes of U.S. policy; Gloria Steinem, the feminist leader; and Oliver Stone, the film director (Kirk 2013).

The conflicts and struggles of the local people involve the South Korean government and several international entities (see the figure 2 below). During the long and conflicting process to build the naval base, Jeju Island's ecosystems and ecological processes, as well as its political and economic interests, have and continue to be rearranged in a web of existing power structures (Sze, et al. 2009). The new military installation in Jeju cannot be separated from U.S. military interests,

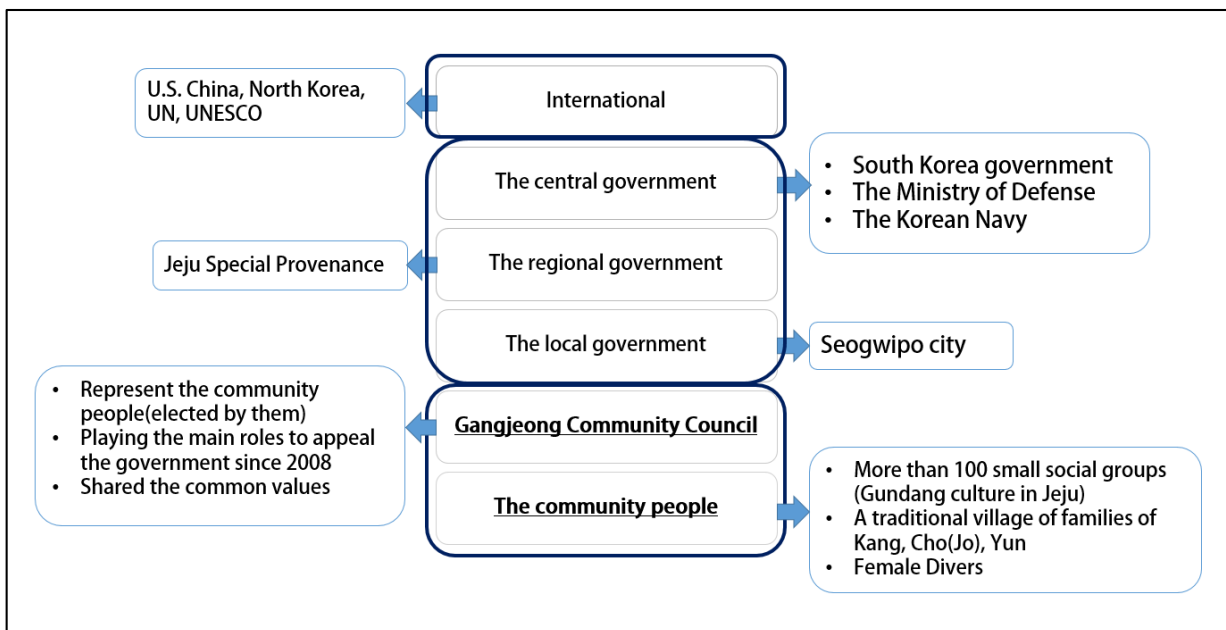


Figure 2 the involved political entities within the existing social structure

considering the existing military agreement between the U.S. and South Korea⁴. The

⁴ Facilities and Areas and the Status of United States Armed Forces in Korea (SOFA: Status of Forces Agreement): Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea, Signed in Seoul July 9, 1966. : see more <http://www.usfk.mil/About/SOFA/> : According to this, Wartime Operational Control (WT-OPCON) is still with the U.S. military, which means that the U.S. is the main

South Korean government has begun to set up a naval base on Jeju Island not only to bolster its self- defense against North Korea (Korean Navy) but also to support the U.S. Pacific missile defense strategies (Report to Congress, 1999). At the same time, the Chinese government has expressed their opposition to this additional military base that is in close proximity to a territorial dispute in the Yellow Sea between China and Korea (see Appendix I, Map A1) as well as the increased influence of the U.S. over the Korean peninsula (Choe, “Island’s Naval Base”).

The controversies around constructing the new naval base in Jeju involves various scalar complexities in the temporal setting, political entities, and spatial boundaries (more details of the concept of scale will be discussed in chapter 3). The local people learned more about these complicated controversies involving various scales from their experiences during the construction process with a consideration of their historical experiences and their inherent knowledge of the local environment and the geopolitical traits of Jeju. During this process, the local people’s knowledge was developed to the point where they could dispute the necessity of having a military base on Jeju Island while considering its context within international relations.

Structure of this Study

Chapter 2 provides the geopolitical and historical context and background of the study site. It also scales down the study site regarding political boundaries and local

stakeholder for military operations (rather than Korean government) in South Korea, particularly during wartime.

perceptions of historical incidents. While considering the concept of scale and political ecology that cover the set of space and time relations to understand the dynamics of local environment (Peet and Watts 2002), this study's research question can fully grasp the connection of various layers of temporal, geographical and political scales. Then, the discussion then proceeds to the general information about the location of the naval base and the issue of the environmental assessment done by the government. The chapter explores the scale of regulation in the community that is perceived differently between the local people and the Navy. One historical incident that happened in 1948 that led to the local people's traumatic experience with the government is discussed in the context of the international geopolitical grounds to the local scale background. The background information, environmental assessment, scale of regulation, and historical settings help to explain the findings of this study discussed in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter 3 establishes the theoretical framework of this study. This chapter explains the necessity of supporting the theoretical frame of environmental justice with the analytical frame of political ecology supplemented by the concept of scale. This chapter at first explains the common grounds of environmental justice and political ecology, and then asserts why the current issues around the newly built naval base must be viewed and evaluated under the nexus of these theories.

Chapter 4 includes a detailed description of the methodology of the study. The rationale for selecting the phenomenology approach is discussed along with the epistemological grounds for this approach. This chapter also includes the information of participants, the procedures of building rapport with participants, and the capability

of the researcher to meet the phenomenology method process requirements.

Interpretative phenomenology data analysis (IPA) is explained as the analysis method as a part of the procedures of data interpretation.

From chapters 5 to 8, the results and findings from analyzing data collected by open-ended interviews with the local people are reported. In the beginning of Chapter 5, the overall findings that emerged from the data are discussed, followed by the local people's knowledge about their environment that they already possessed and new knowledge gained after the construction began. Focusing on the environmental justice framework, this chapter also introduces the physical environment in this community and the process of the environmental impact assessment, followed by an examination of the extensive and in-depth environmental knowledge that the participants had based on their experiences which they used to challenge the governmental environmental assessment results related to the naval base construction.

Chapter 6 discusses the marginalization that the participants experienced due to challenging the government. The local people, especially the participants of this study, were marginalized at every step, from the decision-making process to their participation in the anti-naval base movement. From intensive descriptions of their experiences, this chapter presents the involved actors in this case and their understanding and perceptions of other political scales including the national and international levels.

Chapter 7 takes the local people's experiences of marginalization further by examining the direction of their reasons and consequences. Their prolonged experiences of being objectified from the government and the people on the

mainland, and the local people's learning process from their current experiences, is extended in context to the historical incident. Chapter 6 and 7 also include the participants' emotional transition as the naval base was constructed and their intrinsic fear of the government due to historical events. Their feeling toward the government and the navy was never positive due to historical repression of the locals by the government, but their experiences of being marginalized as explained in chapter six have caused these feelings to become even more negative.

Chapter 8 focuses on the different political entities involved in this case. While chapter 7 analyzed the case with the expanded time scale, chapter 8 borrows the concept of political scales to analyze how this expanded political scale involvement affects the local people's experiences and their notions towards development and environment.

Chapter 9 summarizes the findings from chapters 5 - 8 and concludes that the local people's learning process from their experiences is an overarching theme that is found throughout the main findings in each chapter. This chapter also discusses how the study's findings can be linked to the framework of environmental justice and the concept of scale based on political ecology. In this chapter, the implication of this study will be discussed along with its possible use as a reference and for political recommendations to similar cases that violate environmental values for military purposes involving various actors in expanded political and time scales. The chapter concludes with a discussion of future directions for research to supplement the findings of this study.

Chapter 2. Background

This chapter discusses the geopolitical background of this case which provides the foundation for this study. First, this chapter covers the historical experiences of the local people struggling with larger scale issues, then focuses on Jeju and its historical incident that illustrates the hostile relationship between the government and the local people, which is also reflected in other historical events in the modern history of Korea. This chapter then discusses the detailed background of Gangjeong village and its geography, culture, economy, and political structure, followed by the specific details about the process of constructing the new naval base in Gangjeong and the stakeholders involved in this case. These cultural, political and geographical backgrounds of Gangjeong village expands the understanding of the case from the perspective of the local people as historical and social entities.

Based on the perspective of political ecology, a set of space and time relations to better understand the complex dynamics of local environment (Peet and Watts 2002) that this study adopts, this chapter can provide the general time and spatial scale background that provides the foundation for the people's experience in Gangjeong now. By doing so, this study will shed light on the basic grounds of this study's focus on the people who are still suffering from the one-sided governmental project within the greater international political scale.

In other words, to understand the background of Jeju Island and Gangjeong village can give a better understanding of the local people by accessing the relation of the place to the local people. These grounds have been constructed on people's perceptions and thoughts on historical experiences, which is a requirement to fully

understand the local people's experiences with the naval base construction. This also supports the local people's understanding of the research problems in the context of their historical, geographical and cultural backgrounds.

Historical settings

Although Korea seems to be located in an isolated part of the world, it has geopolitical importance to other countries due to its geographical location between China, Japan and Russia; Korea also has a unique political situation where a war truce still divides the Korean peninsula at the 38th parallel, which also involves the U.S., the U.N., and China. The geopolitical traits of Korea are both the consequences and causes of the involvement of other powerful countries. By delving into the modern history of Korea from the early 20th century, from the rise of imperialism to the Korean War, it can be clearer how and why South Korea has become extremely susceptible to other powerful countries' decisions and influences, particularly the U.S. and China (see Appendix IV: International Geopolitical Background of Korea).

Modern Korean history is full of examples of ordinary people struggling with the effects of foreign power games and ideologies within the country. Famous examples include the Japanese occupation from 1910 to 1945, the Korean War in 1950, and the No-Geun-Ri Massacre by the US army in 1950 during the Korean War. The voices of ordinary people were intentionally suppressed by the Korean government too. After the war, the local citizens' suffering as a result of complicated international events and influences seemed to be over. However, ideology came forward and became the main tool for the government to marginalize the citizen. The

most famous examples in South Korea of people being massacred due to being labeled as communists are the 4-3 incident (or Jeju Uprising) in 1948 and the Gwangju Uprising in 1980. This hatred of communism in South Korea started even before the Korean War (i.e. the 4-3 incident) and was strengthened by the dictatorship in South Korea. Anti-communism became the main ideology for the South Korean government and played a major role in South Korean governmental policies during the dictatorships of the first president, Rhee (Kim, 2000), and President Park Junghee in the 1970s. During the President Park regime, many civilians were killed and tortured after being labeled as communists for opposing the regime of Park.

The oppression historically experienced by the people in Korea is not completely different from that in other countries, but it is distinct because of the current geopolitical situation in South Korea, where the war truce was actively used to suppress the voice of ordinary citizens by labeling them as communists. These experiences of oppression are even persisting now. Citizens' experiences are still not commonly considered by the government when national scale projects are involved, such as the THADD missile deployment in Sangju and the newly built naval base in Jeju (in this study). There are multilayered pressures from both national and international stakeholders in this case which are enrooted in modern Korean history and cannot be separated from the current international political situation. In this context, the local people's voices in Jeju are not difficult to be diminished when the Korean and U.S. military strategies are involved.

Local Scale Historical Experience: 4-3 Incident (Uprising)

South Korea's anti-communism philosophy started before the Korean War. Considering the U.S. military government in South Korea after Korea's independence while the USSR governed in North Korea, as discussed above, this anti-communism philosophy was dominant in South Korea. Therefore when there were a series of Communist armed uprisings in Jeju in 1947, a brutal anticommunist suppression campaign was held (Kim 2014; Merrill 2011), involving "mass arrests and detentions, forced relocation, torture, indiscriminate killing and many large-scale massacres of civilians (Kim, 2014)."

4-3 incident (Jeju Uprising) is known for its cruelty and murder of Jeju people by the South Korean government along with U.S. involvement. The Jeju Uprising occurred to protest the general election in May 1948 that was only held in the southern half of the Korean peninsula and was a unilateral attempt by the U.S. government under the flag of the United Nations (Kim 2014). Also, the Soviet Union refused to comply with the U.N. resolution and held an election in the north. The members of the Jeju branch of the South Korean Labor Party (Communists group) attacked several police stations in Jeju with different historical grievances related to confronting the difficulty of revitalizing Jeju after independence from Japan and their dissent to the unilateral general election.

The Korean government and U.S. military dispatched 3,000 soldiers to quell this insurrection and concluded that Communists led this rebellion. Police not only suppressed these protestors but also masqueraded as innocent people who only seemed like they were involved in this protest (Kim 2014). The government

announced that people living near Mt. Halla were to be executed (since the communists hid in these areas), so most people in Jeju fled to the coastal areas. The South Korean government and military subsequently slaughtered all the people in these areas (near to Mt. Halla) with the purpose of getting rid of the rebels (communists). Not only people living close to Mt. Halla but also people in the beach areas were killed because they were suspected of cooperating with communists. As a result, more people from the beaches fled to Mt. Halla and were then killed there. For these operations, the South Korean government asked for help from the U.S. By accepting this request, the U.S. military government (which governed South Korea at that time) established the 'Jeju emergency military base' and helped the South Korean government dispatch the army and police officers to Jeju Island (The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident: retrieved in January 2017).

Like the No-geun Ri case that has been intentionally hidden, the huge massacres that happened during 4-3 incident were also systemically hidden by forty years of anti-Communist dictatorial and authoritarian rule (H. J. Kim 2014). The experiences of people in Jeju during 4-3 incident were finally revealed years after a movement to reveal the truth came about after South Korea's democratization in 1987 (H. J. Kim 2014). The Jeju Commission for Investigation of the Truth of 4-3 incident was created in 2000.

Summary of Historical Background

The fluctuating modern history of Korea and its geopolitical significance terrorized many citizens not only by the war but by being marginalized by the government. The history of the local people's experience of oppression from the South Korean government in partnership with the U.S. from 4-3 incident connects the various scales of politics and time, which lead to the current issue around the newly built naval base. The local people's experiences from the 4-3 incident were repeated again in this small community through the suppression of the local people's voices as a result of the influence of the larger political powers.

In addition to these historical settings, the socio-economic status and culture of the community can provide a better in-depth understanding of the local people's thought process towards the case. By understanding the relationship between the people and the place (Gangjeong, Jeju, Korea), with a focus on different political and spatial scales, the local people's experiences can be the grounded phenomenon of this case.

Geography

Jeju Island is located in the southernmost part of South Korea (Figure 1; Appendix I), and has different geographical traits that come from its volcanic eruption thousands of years ago. Due to its unique geological traits, Jeju Island was designated by the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations as a Natural Preserve in 2002, a World Natural Heritage site in 2007, and a Global Geological Park in 2010, making the sub-tropical island the only place on Earth to receive all three UNESCO designations in natural sciences. (Feffer, 2012; <http://english.jeju.go.kr/>) (Appendix II: Table A2). The Korean government also appreciated the importance of the rare ecosystem found in Jeju Island by setting various laws and acts that ban severe development projects (Appendix II: Table A3). Geopolitically, its location is perceived to be strategically important, as the island is situated between Korea and Japan and is near the southeastern part of China (Appendix I: MAP A1).



Figure 3 Maps and a Satellite Image of Naval Base

Gangjeong village Geography

Located in the southern part of Jeju Island, Gangjeong Village is in proximity to where the naval base is being constructed on the island comprising 15,633,000 square meters (1563 hectares) and containing about 1200 households. Gangjeong is a place with plentiful fresh water, compared to other villages in Jeju Island which have relatively little spring water. Due to the availability of local fresh water resources, Gangjeong village is also one of the few villages involved in agricultural practices. Seogwipo, a city nearby Gangjeong village (2nd largest city on the island), depends on 80% of its drinking water from the Gangjeong stream located near the village center (*Come on do not cry gureom non-crackers* 2011).

Cultural References in Jeju and Gangjeong

Jeju Islanders have developed their own unique culture which is quite different from that of mainland Korea due to its historical and geographical settings. Jeju was once a separated kingdom called Tamla which became a part of Korea (Goryeo dynasty 918-1392) in 1105. Due to its remoteness as an island, Goryeo and next Chosun dynasty used Jeju Island as a prison for sinners, particularly nobles or governmental officers, to exclude them from the main political arena.

With a long distance from Jeju to the capital cities in the Korean peninsula (like Goryeo, Chosun or even the modern country of Korea), and as a good size island on which people could sustain themselves, it is not difficult to find their own distinguished identities developed from their own culture. Jeju Island people have a strong dialect and accent which is almost like they have their own language⁵; they also have their own kinship system called 'Guendang'⁶ focusing on individual's social network to various family groups from the necessity of easier labor exchange (Kim, 1992). This unique kinship system is different from the mainland Korea, which focuses on family clans based on the paternal line. Guendang is persisting to this day,

⁵ There is no document how this Jejueo (Jeju language) started, but there are historical documents when it was aparted from standard Korean. According to Yang (2014), this separation of languages happened during Goryeo dynasty (918-1392) especially during Mongols' occupation over Korean peninsula when Mongol built a special government unit in Jeju.

⁶ The basic 'Guendang system' is based on marriage and lineage, but any personal connections can become a Guendang. Membership structure is vague unlike paternal based family system but people in the same Guendang are connected for the common duties and obligations (Kim, 1992 p97). This unique bonding system were born based on the traits of living in an Island where has lack of labors as well as the condition of the frequent marriages within the same village. It means that everyone is connected if you trace their origins in Jeju. (Kim, 2005)

which has created a unique awareness in Jeju people toward outsiders in the way of bolstering inclusiveness of themselves along with their own language use (Lee, 2008).

There are many Guendang in Gangjeong village based on a few last names, and Gangjeong village also has a strong bond among the people in the same age group. Like other places in Jeju, people in Gangjeong cannot explain 'self' without their relationship with others in the village (Lee, 2008). In addition to this, there are two distinct characteristics that can explain the inclusiveness of Gangjeong village more clearly: one is that there is a shared traumatic experience of the people in Gangjeong from 4-3 incidents. The second characteristic is that Gangjeong has not been developed as a tourist spot so that there is almost no incoming population. There are only three households out of about 600 households that are new to the village, preserving the strong face-to-face encounter traits in this village, meaning that they know each other so well that there is even no need to greet each other because they are like a big family (Lee, 2008).

Economic status in Gangjeong Village

Traditionally, the main economic activities within the community were agriculture and fishery. Especially due to plenty of spring water in Gangjeong, rice farming was the main income source until 1960 (Seogwipo Gov.). It is rare that agricultural practices could be the main economic activity in Jeju Island in general; and rice farming, as the main income source, was an even rarer case in Jeju Island. Although after 1960, there have been no rice farming practices in this village

anymore due to the increased inflow of rice from the mainland Korea⁷ (Woo, 2008). In these days, the main agricultural products in Gangjeong village are orange, garlic, and flower. For fishery, there are 32 ships, 27 fishermen and 136 haenyeo (female divers) involved with fishery but they are also involved in small farming too (Lee, 2008, cited from fishery records in Gangjeong village).

In addition to these two main economic activities, other economic activities include the governmental sector, small business, education, and tourism sector. While tourism composes the largest economic activities in general in Jeju⁸, Gangjeong has not developed tourism sectors as much compared to other communities. There is no oceanic view highway in this community, which is the main route the tourists usually take to circle around Jeju Island. Also, there are not many touristic spots in this community except the walking route called Olle road 7, which was opened in 2009 here. In addition, there are restrictions on any ‘development’ projects (like building high buildings or extended highways) due to its proximity to the absolute preservation area⁹ so that the dependency to agriculture and fishery is higher than other communities in Jeju Island.

⁷ That leads to selling the land to the people coming from other regions. In 2008, people own 35% of the overall land from the mainland (Woo, 2008).

⁸ As a result, the service sector in Jeju became the largest(75.9%) compared to the agricultural- fishery sector(20.7%) or the manufactural sector(3.4%), which results in Jeju having a different industrial structure from other regions in South Korea (Lee 1987)

⁹ Bio diversity, the underwater scenery is one of the best in Korea so famous for diving spot. 50% of oceanic species out of overall South Korea is found in Jeju area, and 50% of them is only found in Jeju (Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries 2002).

Table 1 Age Groups for Haenyeo

Age	Numbers of Haenyeo	Percent (%)
40-49	9	6.6
50-59	23	16.9
60-69	60	44.1
70-79	37	27.2
More than 80	7	5.1
Total	136	100

Cite from Lee(2008)

Political Structure in South Korea and Gangjeong Village

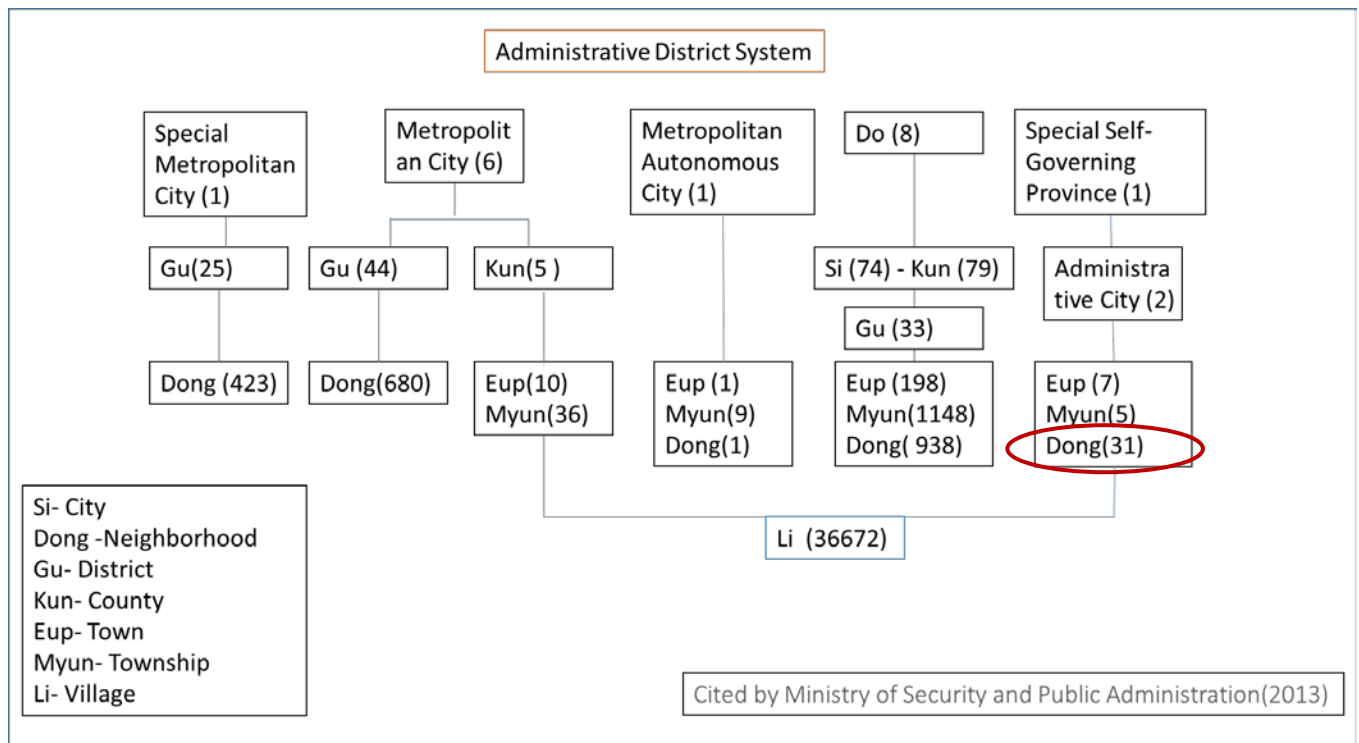


Figure 4. Administrative District System in S. Korea

It is important to note that the degree of local autonomy is limited in the political system in South Korea due to the lack of a local judicial branch and having

very little influence in other areas such as education, which is controlled by national ministries. Even though local autonomy has been strengthened to a certain extent through local elections for the primary and secondary administrative divisions from local assemblies, what the local governments can do is ultimately limited by the national policies implemented by the central government.

The basic administrative districts¹⁰ in South Korea are ‘Dong’ ‘Myun’ or ‘Eub’ depending on their population size. ‘Dong’¹¹ has the largest number out of these three due to the number of cities in Korea so that it is the most common administrative district. This basic administrative system comes from a mixture of the political systems of the Chosun Dynasty and Japanese occupation periods. Due to the different political system origins, some administrative districts ‘Dong’ includes the common-law districts ‘Dong’ geographically. These bi-layered political districts within the same area can lead to disagreements among the people about large-scale projects regarding the distribution of compensation and the actual impacts of the construction. For example, the compensation is distributed based on the administrative district as well as the right of voting for the issues, but the possible

¹⁰ Under this level, there are smaller administrative districts called ‘Li’ or ‘Tong,’ but these level districts have no administrative governmental office.

¹¹ Above Dong (‘Myun’ or ‘Eub’) level administrative districts, there are ‘Gu’, ‘Gun’, or ‘Si’ depending on their population size. ‘Si’ in this level political district is different from the special ‘Si’ which are same with ‘Do’, which is like provenance or prefecture in Japan. ‘Do’ or the special city (Si) level, metropolitan city. There are 8 Do in Korea excluding Jeju Special Self-Governing Province(can be called as Jeju Si in Korean), 6 metropolitan cities excluding Seoul Special Metropolitan City and Sejong Special Self-Governing City. Jeju Island is the only special self-governing providence in Korea, different from other metropolitan cities or Do, which have two administrative cities: Jeju city and Seogwipo city. Jeju City are the entire northern half of Jeju Island while Seogwipo’s boundaries are to include the southern half of it. Seogwipo City includes Deachon Dong(which inclues Gangjeong ‘Dong’).

impacts of the construction are remaining in the common-law district, which tends to be smaller in size under the administrative districts.

Gangjeong Dong is a common-law district under Deachon Dong, the administrative one (see the circle in the chart). Deachon Dong, as a basic political unit, administrates Gangjeong Dong (used to be Gangjeong Li or village), Dosoon Dong, YoungNam Dong, and Walpyung Dong. As explained above, the administrative Dong is working as a basic political administrative unit while community-based activities remain in the common-law Dong level. This common-law Dong is called as 'Maul' in Korean, meaning a village or community. Gangjeong village (maul), therefore, is the smallest common-law unit that was started from Chosun Dynasty (1439). More details of the consequences of these confusing political boundaries will be explained under the section of Scale of Regulation below. In Gangjeong village, there is the Gangjeong community council and the village leader voted by Gangjeong village people.

Scale of Regulation: Boundary of Gangjeong Village

“Scales of regulation are domains for spatial practices such as the setting and operation of jurisdictional boundaries. (Sze et al. 2009 821)”

This study area can be distinguished between the boundary that the government assigned and the one where shared communal value among the local people existed. Geographically speaking, the main disagreement at issue here is about the different boundary of the study site with the government, more specifically the

navy, and the community. The difference between the official administrative district (Gangjeong ‘Dong’) and national village (Gangjeong ‘village’ in Korea ‘Ma-ul’) is that the administrative district is larger than the natural village where the local people think their community is. Gangjeong Dong is a larger administrative area, including the original Gangjeong village and other regions near Halla Mountain where there used to be other natural villages, such as Yongchong village. This administrative district was changed in 1981(Seogwipo-si, Jeju Gov.).

Participants referred to Gangjeong village as a small natural village where their ancestors had lived. Gangjeong village for them has a shared history and community values which would be affected by building the naval base. But available governmental documents used both Gangjeong village and Gangjeong-Dong interchangeably while participants thought of them as different, even though Gangjeong village is a part of its larger governmental district. Therefore, the first step to understanding different perspectives about the issue is to understand how various entities define the boundary of the community.

There are maps that show the difference between the boundaries that the locals perceived as Gangjeong village and the official district designated by the government. Figure 2 shows the administrative district of Gangjeong Dong with the red boundary, and the green box in it is what the local people consider Gangjeong Village. In Figure 3, the satellite imagery is zoomed in to the green boundary in Figure 2 and shows in more detail Gangjeong village, where the local people have resided for generations.

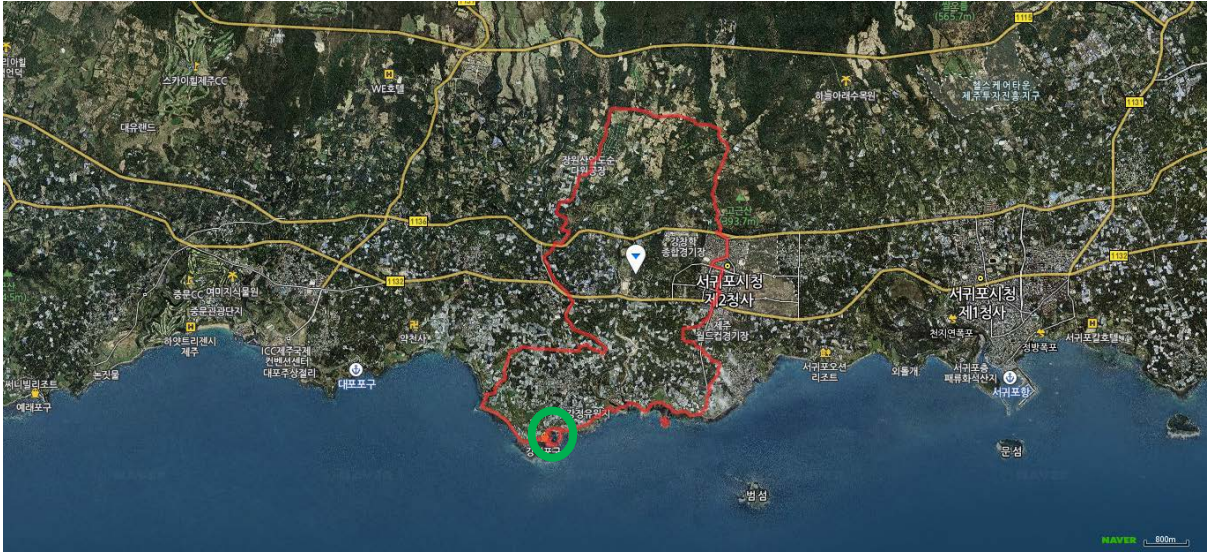


Figure 5 the Administrative District of Gangjeong Dong

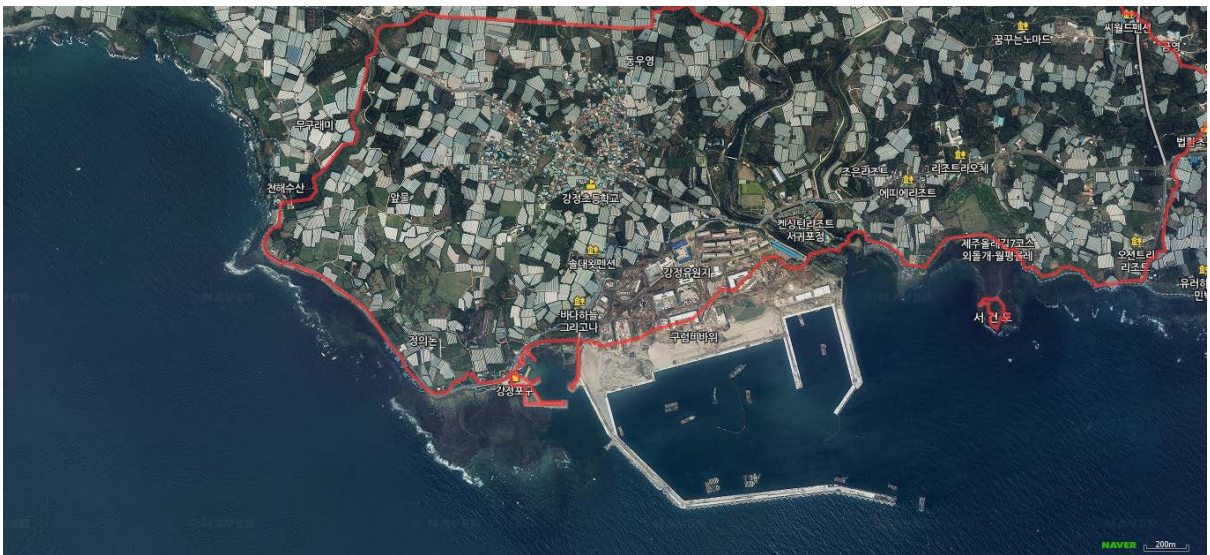


Figure 6 Details of Gangjeong village and the Location of the Naval Base

This different understanding of the geographical boundary between the government and the locals resulted in the misunderstanding about the numbers of people who agreed and disagreed with the naval base construction. The people who

will be most impacted by the construction and after-effects are the people who reside in what the locals considered Gangjeong Village, but the people who could vote for the naval construction included everyone within the administrative district (Gangjeong Dong). Therefore even though the majority of local people who disagreed with the naval base were from the smaller Gangjeong Village area, the poll done by the navy covered the much larger administrative boundary, which added a significant number of people who could agree and disagree.

While scaling up to the administrative boundary of Gangjeong **Dong** for the vote, the government scaled down to Gangjeong **Village** for resolving the conflicts among the community people or even between the local people and the government. This strategy of acting inconsistently across scales involved even larger scales. While decreasing the scale of conflicts to within the small village, the government also emphasized the interests of the naval base construction for the entire Jeju Island by citing the increased numbers of visitors and even scaling up to the country level and citing South Korea's military security and strength (Ministry of Korean National Defense, 2012), which will be discussed further in Chapter 9. With this confusion in scales while proceeding with the decision-making for the military facility construction, the local people had become effectively marginalized and invisible and easier to be objectified as a small group of people who disagreed with the government. The confusion of various scales related to this case can be better understood by focusing on the local people's experiences such as their perspectives on the boundary of their community. Thus the qualitative approach to this research is necessary to better understand this case with in-depth perspectives.

For example, Figure 4 below was drawn by the local people and activists who participated in the anti-naval base movement, and it shows the boundary of the village that the local people see as their own community. The flags represent the households which disagreed with the naval base (the red boxes include examples of houses with flags). The blue box on the map indicates the proximity of two small grocery stores having different opinions about the naval base. Due to the short distance between stores (approximately 50 feet), the major conflict among the community people largely centered around these two stores. The local people who agreed with the naval base went to one store while the people who disagreed went to the store with the flag. This map (figure 4) also shows the narratives of the participants and activists focusing on the community center, the peace center, the traditional village places, and their local environment. Therefore by looking at the maps as focusing on the place at a local scale, it is possible not only to understand the background of this case but also to approach the initial emergent themes for this study.

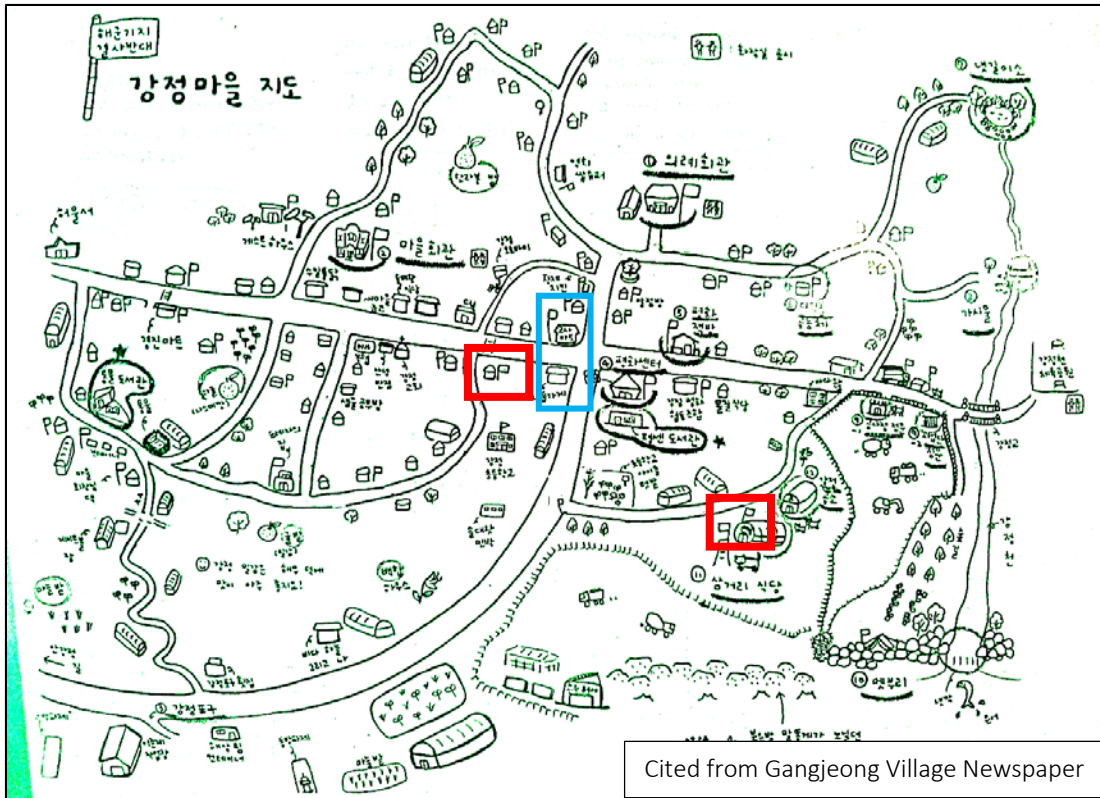


Figure 7 Village Map drawn by Gangjeong Community Council

Backgrounds of Naval Base Construction at the national and provincial level

In 1995, the Defense Ministry in South Korea included the new naval base construction in the annual military defense plan. The Defense Ministry and the Korean Navy selected the port of Hwasoon in Jeju for the naval base, and asked the Ministry of Oceans and Fisheries (MOF) to accept their requests, but MOF suspended the decision by considering the request of Jeju special government in 2002.

In 2005, the Korean Navy submitted the suggestion of the necessity of a new naval base in the southern part of Korea to National Assembly of Republic of Korea (National Assembly), and they approved it. The new naval base was requested by a need for another home port to hold large sized navy vessels in the southern sea of

Korea (Republic of Korea Navy Headquarters 2007). The Korean Navy searched for a new place for the naval base in Jeju Island, and contacted Wimi village instead of Hwasoon. However, the navy confronted another disagreement from the Wimi people. Wimi village was approached with the proper procedures of notifying local people about the new national project through the official meetings and conducting the survey several times by the Navy and the government, but they declined so the project itself seemed to halt for a while. However, the plan of having a new naval base revived and proceeded rapidly after the former Jeju governor, Kim, had changed his position from neutral to positive for the naval base, following a presidential election pledge by former President Lee, which aimed to have the naval base as a civilian-military tourist harbor (Eun, et al., 2011).

However, this decision of building a new naval base spiked the overall discussion of the necessity of a military base in Jeju, which had been annotated as “Island for Peace (Jeju Committee for Stop of Military Base 2007; Kim 2009)” due to its historical incident (4-3 incident), and it is also known for its natural beauty recognized by various governmental entities. This discussion led to the establishment of two groups in Jeju: one named “Pan Jeju Naval base Promotion Committee” and the other as the “Pan Jeju Special Committee to stop the naval base and pursue the island of Peace.” The first committee promoting the naval base in Jeju cooperated with the central government, Jeju Provincial government and Seogwipo regional government, while the Special committee to stop the naval base later cooperated with the Gangjeong community council and the community people there.

After these two villages decided not to have the naval base and after experiencing the strong opposition to the naval base in these two villages, the Navy contacted some people in Gangjeong village, which is close to Wimi village. However, the process of deciding the location in Gangjeong was different from Wimi and Hwasoon village. In 2007, within a short period of time (about 3-4 months), the government contacted a few villagers in Gangjeong(or Kangjung¹²) village who seemed to agree to the idea of building a naval base in their village due to their close relationship with local governmental workers. These few individuals from the village, including the village leader, Yun, held community meetings with a limited number of other community members (88 people out of 1200 households in the village), and sent the official proposal for building a naval base in their village (Gangjeong) to the government for compensation in return(Yun 2011; Kim and Lee 2011; Eun, Choi, and Kim 2011 cited in Bae 2012). Yun, the former village leader, along with some village people who were in the meeting held a media conference and announced that Gangjeong would be the location for the new naval base (April, 26, 2007).

After this sudden news from the press conference, most of the community people in Gangjeong held community meetings in which they fired Yun, the village leader, and elected a new village leader along with new community council members. They then held another community vote to decide whether they wanted the naval base in their community or not. This new community leader and the community council requested for the public recall vote from the Jeju governor, Kim, who had approved

¹² Gangjeong and Kangjung are replaceable and refer to the same place. Kangjung sounds closer to the original Korean pronunciation, but Gangjeong is the official name in English.

the naval base construction. However, the vote could not happen due to the lack of the numbers of support in Jeju Island. Then, the local people in Gangjeong based on the community council and a new community leader applied for the injunction of constructing the naval base so that this construction became a legal issue.

While this anti-naval base movement expanded in various directions, there was a huge disparity among the villagers, sometimes even within a family between those who agreed and those who disagreed. While the majority of community people disagreed with the decision, some of them started to agree with the plans for the naval base due to the possible financial benefits and economic growth advertised by the Korean navy and government.

Main stakeholders in the process of constructing the naval base

This case's major actors are the local people and the government, but the way to define them can vary. The local people in this study are defined as the people who are living in Gangjeong village (not Deachun Dong which is an administrative unit that covers this village) and live within a radius of 0.5 kilometers from the construction site. Even though Gangjeong village is under one political administrative unit, Gangjeong village has their own village system including community councils and boards, as well as a community leader. The local people based on the Gangjeong community council became the main group against the naval base construction. Therefore, the local people as the main actor for this study are the people living in Gangjeong village, and generally disagreed to the case.¹³ To help the local people,

¹³ There are a good number of local people who agreed to the naval base. In this study, the local

NGOs came to this village and actively became involved in the anti-naval base movement. These NGOs included environmental NGOs like GreenKorea, individual activists, religious groups (particularly catholic groups), and regional civil groups emerged from this issue.

Another main actor in this study is the central government, which as one unit actor can be disputed due to its size and the complex hierarchal governmental system. However, two reasons that the central government can be one major actor for this case are: 1) the consistency of the government's views towards the naval base issue even with 4 different regimes over a decade 2) the Navy is under the Ministry of National Defense, which uses 14% of the annual national budget (Statistics Korea). Under different regimes with four presidencies including Roh, Kim, Lee and Park, the overall process of the new naval base construction has proceeded with consistency including the approval for the plan of having a new naval base, the selection of the location, the environmental assessment, the legal response to the local people's actions. This study uses the central government and the Navy interchangeably based on the political structure in Korea that the Navy is under the central government, and as the governmental system itself.

As a part of Korean government, the Korean Navy is working closely with the Jeju provincial government. The Jeju provincial government, or "Jeju self-governing special provenance," is a regional government, which has its own special administrative power, which is unique in that it has more power than any other

people (more than 70% in the community) are interchangeable with the participants, who disagreed to the case.

regional government in South Korea, including powers over trading and taxes. For the case of building the naval base, the opinion of this regional government is crucial, since without its permission, the construction cannot proceed. But at the same time, this regional government of Jeju cannot be separated from the central government and its regimes as it is a part of the governmental system.

The Korean Navy's Argument

The Navy's approach to persuade the local people was to point out the economic development that could be brought by increasing populations and visitors to the military base as well as the expanded infrastructure that would be associated with the base including roads and community facilities. The government also promised to compensate the local people, particularly Haenyeo (women divers) and fishermen for disturbing the diving spots where the naval base is being constructed. The amount of compensation varies, but the navy said that they compensate about \$7.8 million to the union of Gangjeong Fishery (mainly consisting with Haenyeo) (Yun 2009). Moreover, the Navy argued that the regional economic effect of having a cruise port is expected to be around 500 million dollars (Kim, Gu, and Noh 2008) , even though this plan of using the naval base port as the cruise port was added after confronting the disagreement with the local people.

While the Korean Navy and the government emphasized the possible economic benefits to the local people by citing Hawaii and San Diego which have naval bases in a relatively clean environment but also have many tall buildings as a symbol of development (B. Lee, 2011); the Navy stressed to the press and media of

the importance of increased national security against the increased military powers of both Japan and China as well as the need for better control over the sea south of Jeju to secure the main oil trading route (Korea Navy). Likewise, the additional military base was argued as necessary for the faster response to the possible wartime in the current war truce situation between South and North Korea.

Lastly, the Navy also argued that there would be no significant environmental consequences based on its environmental impacts assessments. Any possible environmental disturbances during the construction would be minimized by the highly technological construction skills (Eco-Friendly Measures) as well as the inclusion of alternative energy facilities to support the energy needed by the naval base. The Navy also sought to improve their environmental impact by moving the endangered species in the area to other habitats.

The benefits of having the naval base suggested by the Navy can be summarized below:

Figure 8. Functions of Naval Base in Jeju by the Navy

1) Military Function

A Need for a home port to hold large sized naval vessels

SLOC(Sea Line of Communication) protection ¹

The improved flexibility and mobility for the possible wartime

2) Civilian Function

Maximize local development

Reflected local opinions

Contribution to Tourism in Jeju (by having a port for cruise ships)

3) No environmental Disruption: Based on Maritime environmental assessments along with two other assessments by environmental organizations

No impacts on protection area due to the distance to the preservation area and UNESCO World Heritage

Applying Eco-Friendly Measures from Planning to Construction

Chapter 3. Literature Review

This literature review covers the current understanding of existing literature related to this case for the purpose of bridging the theoretical gaps. These existing studies will support the framework of this study by presenting more valid theoretical grounds and applicable methods.

The issues and conflicts from the overall procedures of building a naval base in the research area come from the site's complex socio-nature shaped by hierarchical social, political, economic, and ecological forces (Sze et al. 2009). Particularly this research area is "the narrative, symbolic, and material site of struggle between the forces of state, capital, and nature (Sze et al. 2009: 812)." These conflicting structured problems in this case are required to utilize the concept of scale frames (Kurts, 2003), environmental justice as an important analytic dimension (Sze et al., 2009), and political ecology as an underlying frame to expand the scope of the case with larger scales and current political processes. In the complex clash of these actors, critical perspectives in scale, environmental justice and political ecology that simultaneously focus on political, economic, social and ecological factors are the conceptual categories necessary for interpreting this research.

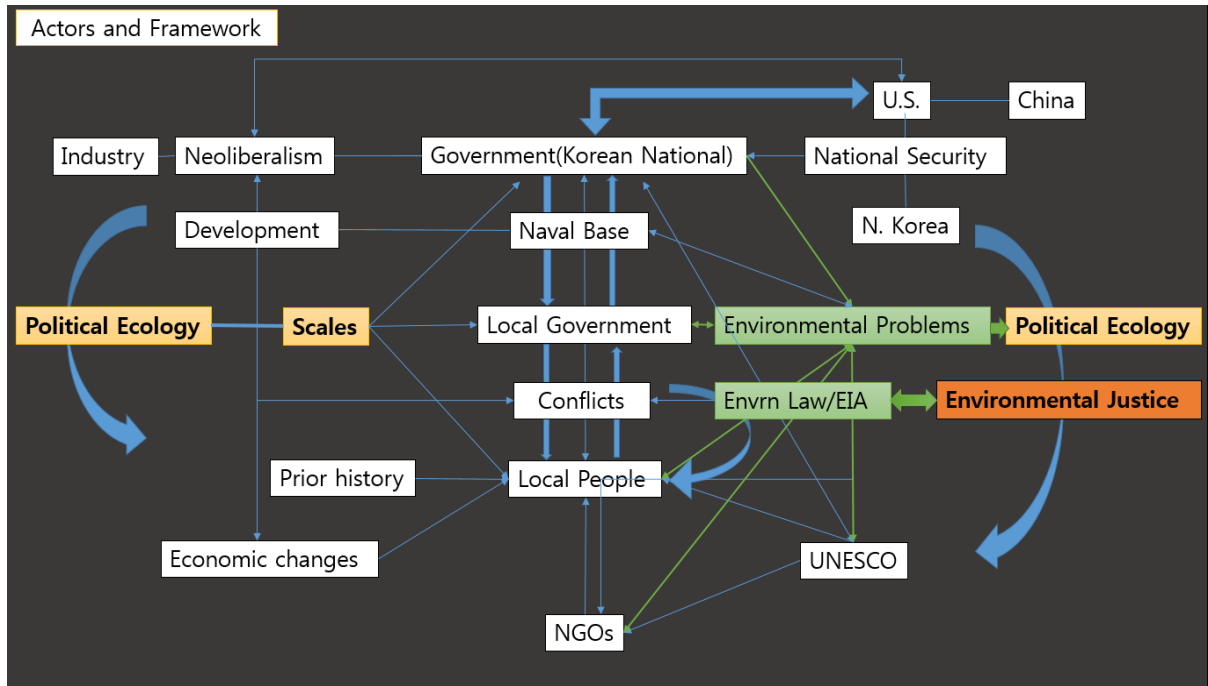
Environmental Justice Discourse, which can play an important analytic dimension (Sze et al., 2009) and theoretical approach in this study, has not been considered in any literatures analyzing this case nor discussed in the overall procedures of discussing and building the naval facilities. The possible analytic applications of environmental justice discourse would be beneficial to take into consideration for this case study, as the current process of naval base construction

neglects the local people's opinions and their relations with nature. Further, Political Ecology gives a broader view to the issues in the current international environment, which is the main engine for the current political process that emphasizes neoliberalism and globalization. The logic and discourses of higher political scales have transferred and transformed the represented language of some local people so that commercialized natural resources, economic globalization and urbanization have been regarded as privileged values for the people who have power in the village, and who ultimately agreed to the construction of the naval base.

Therefore this part of the literature review is focused on how these competing definitions and representations of political ecology, environmental justice and scale were conceptualized during the process of constructing the naval base in this small village (Figure 7. Conceptual Framework below). By examining the various actors involved on different scales, the structural problems embedded in this research area will be initially defined. Then the political ecology framework will give a detailed picture of these structural problems by linking the global and local interaction and its dependency on natural resources. In addition, the environmental justice framework (Appendix III) will supplement the lack of detail at the local level by focusing on people's experiences within the community where the impact has been felt the most due to little participation in decision-making procedures, marginalization due to their distance from the administration center, and the dominance of capitalist dynamics. In this research, these three theoretical grounds cannot be separated, because they overlap in many ways; especially in the cases of the interaction of society and natural environment, the structural problems across different scales, and consequential social

and environmental injustice within the community as a result of the naval base construction.

Figure 9 Conceptual Framework



Scales

Using the notion of scale to interpret this case study has many benefits. First, this research has multilevel societal actors involved, ranging from a small village to international political interests that are intertwined at different spatial scales; second, the complex socio-nature of the site involves “the continuous reorganization of spatial scales as an integral part of social strategies to combat and defend control over limited resources and a struggle for empowerment (Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003), cited in Sze et al., 2009”); and lastly, the concept of scale can provide common ground for adopting the political ecology and environmental justice frameworks (Sze et al. 2009, (Towers 2000), (Kurtz 2003)).

Scales are relational terms which extend to the scales of time and space, but they can also be embedded in other scales (Williams 1999), (Howitt 2007). Scale can be “shaped by the understanding of actors, and is likely to be an on-going dynamic, economic and political process (Lebel, Garden, and Imamura 2005)”. Scale is also socially produced (Williams, 1999) which, as such, can be “an empirical and epistemological tool of understanding and representing the world (Sze at el., 2009 812).” Therefore scale plays a role both as leverage to disentangle complex actors from the political, social and natural environment, and as a guideline to track the social system by focusing on the structural dynamics of capital, power and resource flows within a society.

As a theoretical common ground, the concept of scale can be a starting point to link political ecology and environmental justice. Kurtz (2003:891) observes that: “(t)he very concept of environmental injustice precipitates a politics of scale, as the locally experienced problem of burdensome pollution can hardly be resolved at the local scale, whether by capital or the state, when it originates in political and economic relationships that extend well beyond the scale of the locality.” Therefore the impact of environmental issues not being equally distributed to the people, which is largely shaped by existing social structures and scales, is one of the main arguments in the environmental justice literature. The concept of scale and its representation as an expression of power through different political scales has its origins and manifests itself from the theoretical realm of political ecology which builds on the foundation of Marxian political economy. Since actors in a society are highly engaged in power dynamics and authority structures (Lebel, Garden, and

Imamura 2005), the importance of political scales working at different spatial levels could be interpreted as one of the main assumptions supporting the political ecology framework.

Disparities among different political scales has been acknowledged through the understanding of how these social scales are involved in economic activities. While focusing on the structures of society itself, different scales embedded in a society can shift their configuration depending on how state institutions become involved across scales. Also by focusing on the idea of social structures in Marxism in terms of production and social class, scales can be interpreted as an ideological means of maintaining the vested rights of the powerful, hiding the injustice of marginalized people, and the resistance of the dominant by the dominated (W. L. Lee 2009).

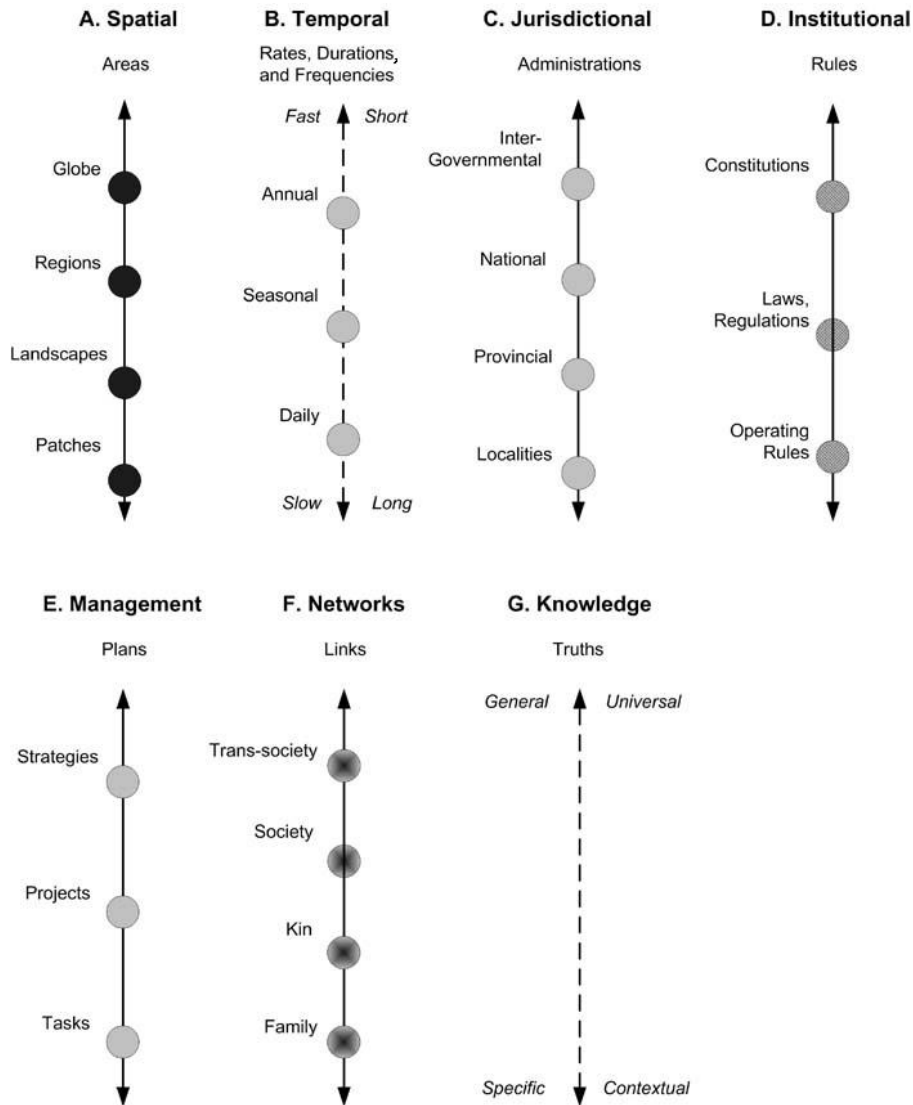
These dominant and dominated entities are emphasized differently in the literature according to how they are classified by their different social and/or political scales. The first group of literature pays more attention to the international scale in order to explore the disparities at the global level by analyzing unequal distribution of wealth and environmental impacts based on existing economic-political structures.(Swyngedouw 2008 ; Harvey 1996). The second group of literature scales down to the community level or personal level, linked more with the daily lives of people and their production processes or social movements. These existing studies focusing on regional scales touch on topics including people's collective actions, their perceptions toward the environment, and their moral sense related to environmental

and economic justice (Hampel, 1996; Watt, 2000). There is a large gap¹⁴ between these two different political levels: one is involved in small geographical areas where environmental problems and social injustice take place and the community members are impacted by these burdens, and the other level is the larger administrative or jurisdictional level where the decisions are made politically (Williams 1999). Even though there is a gap between the two different scales, they can be interconnected by way of a “cross-scale chain of explanation (See Figure 8 below)”, which illustrates the complex relations between different political scales and environmental problems that posited in local scales but were caused by larger political entities through the method of progressive contextualization (Vayda, 1983). Since different political apparatus and their structural connection are involved in production processes, these political scales have developed into the overall scale metaphor

This gap often brings out a form of conflict between the local community and the government when it comes to any consequences of environmental impacts or economic losses on the local scale, but mostly these conflicts are ignored by the higher levels of political scale. According to Williams (1999), these possible local-level risks, such as environmental injustice, result from the impersonal forces of the marketplace, and the upper level scale operating within individual communities.

¹⁴ Even though there is a gap between the two different scales, they can be interconnected by way of a “cross-scale chain of explanation” (Figure 8), which illustrates the complex relations between different political scales and environmental problems that posited in local scales but were caused by larger political entities through the method of progressive contextualization (Vayda, 1983). Since different political apparatus and their structural connection are involved in production processes, these political scales have developed into the overall scale metaphor.

Figure 10 Cross-Scale Chain of explanation



(cited from Cash et al. 2006)

The Relations between Nature and Society

There is a wide consensus among human geographers that the social construct of scale affects cultural and political landscapes (Howitt 2007). As discussed above, scales involved in social structures or landscapes are also engaged in

the natural environment. Involvement of scales highlighting the relation of social structure and natural environment is often found in political ecology literature. Unlike the classic approaches of political economy, political ecology suggests a new concept of ecology as a set of space-time relations to better understand the complex dynamics of local environmental relations, rather than simply as environment or nature as harmony or resilience (Peet and Watts 2002). But in a way of clarifying the relation between society and nature, Marxian analysis of political economy still has a great influence on explaining how these existing social structures are functioning as a whole and how they affect each other.

Political ecology was inspired by the concept of political economy, in terms of putting the connection of production and a social system as its main analytical idea of development, which is also the main idea of Marxist analysis. Marxism influenced the emergence of political ecology through its emphasis of the dynamics of interaction between the structure of society and exploitation of natural resources. These interactions among the different political apparatus and structural connections are aligned with the process of production from this analytical framework of Marxism. When focusing on the use of resources by producing products for accumulating more capital, politics and institutions not only affect access and use of these resources but the dynamics of social differentiation in the production of globally connected local landscapes (Paulson et al. 2004). "...A global connectedness through which extralocal political economic processes shape and are influenced by local spaces" (Paulson et al., 2004:p2).

Therefore, Marxian political economy expands its notion of society and nature to the connectedness between the global scale and local scale in terms of production. In this way, Marxist political economy inspired political ecologists' to focus more on the interactions of these different scales that can impact the local environment. Robbins (2004) pointed out "[t]he influence of variables acting at a number of scales, each nested within another, with local decisions influenced by regional policies, which are in turn directed by global politics and economics" (Robbins, 2004: p11). Political ecology, having the basis of Marxian political economy and scales, is theoretically appropriate to analyze the complex socio-nature relations involving various actors who have unequally distributed powers posited in different scales and their relations with the environment.

This relation of nature and society is socially structured so that the capitalization of nature is exacerbated by neoliberal paradigm-free market and trades (P. A. Harvey and Reed 2007), one of the main points of political ecology that has been criticized (P. A. Harvey and Reed 2007). This neoliberal paradigm bolsters the existing social power structure by transforming the government into a more corporate and entrepreneurial form. That again accelerates exploitation of nature (D. Harvey 1996). The results of commercialized nature are an unequal distribution of environmental risks and burdens on the people (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003) as a process of marginalized people having less power and influence over their environment (McCarthy 2002).

The research site is clearly involved with a corporate-like government's enforcement of commercialized nature. The community people have been forced to

exploit nature by the government for better economic benefits, but any eventual environmental burdens will remain at the local level. This changed relation of nature and society, influenced by the larger political scales, led to conflicts within the community and between the community people and government, which can be a praxis of political ecology.

The concept of Justice – Environmental Justice

Whereas political ecology allows for in-depth theorization of a nature-society relation based on a political economic approach, regional scale cases such as this research are concerned with more than just capitalized nature, but also practical social justice issues with environmental consequences. Harvey (2006) suggested the definition of justice as a part of a political ecological framework including (1) the social construction of justice and (2) the political economic perspective of justice. Harvey's argument about justice is more focused on justice as a social construct, rather than a philosophical and ideological interpretation.

When it comes to environmental problems, marginalized people have been impacted the most by unjust social structures due to a problematic capitalized society. The marginalized group of people who are not recognized but are impacted the most are often discussed in environmental justice literatures (Schlosberg 2004). When environmental justice involves in political ecology framework and its case studies (Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003), “the voice, interests, and visibility of human communities, especially socially vulnerable populations have been marginalized in policy debates (Sze, et al. 2009)” so that “the material conditions that comprise urban

environments are controlled and manipulated and serve the interests of the elites at the expense of the marginalized population (Swyngedouw 2008).” Therefore environmental justice, according to Harvey (2007), is not only about the different distribution of environmental burdens or benefits but also about the political empowerment of the socially weak.

The notion of environmental justice, which was developed from the pragmatic activist (Torres 2002), is the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, ethnicity, culture, income or educational status, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies (EPA 1998 cited in Draper and Mitchell 2001). And Environmental Justice offers a better understanding of this case by supplementing the political ecology literature with the underlying notion of scale and suggesting a bridge to link these research components as a method of validation.

In addition to the notion of social structure justice based on the concepts of political ecology and the scales discussed above, this research has other detailed elements concerning environmental justice. The first is distributive justice, which is concerned with the different benefit and burden distributions that occur depending on the power structure within a community or a society; different economic benefits and environmental burdens are more like a gesture on the part of powerful political and economic interests (Schlosberg, 2000). The second is the unjust procedural decision-making process resulting in a direct impact on the community people who do not have enough of an opportunity to participate (marginalization), and possible dynamic changes within the relations among the villagers. Procedural Justice, according to

(Cutter 1995) is about procedural equity which is “the extent to which governmental rules and regulations, enforcement, and international treaties and sanctions are applied in a nondiscriminatory way”; Lake (1996) emphasized self-determination in a way of inclusion, empowerment, entitlement, and active participation in institutional decision-making. Putting the state as the preferred scale of regulation or management causes relative exclusion and inclusion in the political process (Sze et al., 2009). This discussion again can show the conceptual links between the broad scope of environmental justice and multi-scalar politics (Sze et al., 2009). And lastly, apart from the possible impacts on the community, the environmentally destructive situation itself, such as the disturbance of rare species or the biosphere, would be one of the major dimensions of environmental justice.

While there is a certain level of consensus being made to define environmental justice ever since the environmental justice movement arose in the 1960s as a part of the Civil Rights Movement (EPA), the applications of environmental justice are still evolving. With a consideration of its diverse interpretations, the main elements of Environmental Justice which come from the main criticism of mainstream environmentalism are its inconsideration of poor people, environmental justice, and the social aspects of environmental conflicts (Bullard 1990; Capek 1993; Taylor 2000; Torres 2002). Therefore, environmental justice is a political theory (Schlosberg 2009) expanding from the discourse of the environmental justice movement which extends justice to the relations with the natural world.

Literature Review of the case of Naval Base in Gangjeong village

Ever since the construction of the naval base started, a good number of studies in Korea analyzed this case. Many of these existing studies about this case in Jeju are from the public administration scholars in Korea (Shim 2012). The focuses of these studies varies from conflict resolution approach (Eun 2011, Kim 2007), local people's discourse analysis (e.g. Bae 2012, Kim 2012), the analysis of the causes of conflicts (e.g. Shim 2012, Kim 2011) and the analysis of the process of decision-making by suggesting the better strategies on negotiating with the local people from the perspective of the public administration (Jang and Hwang, 2011).

The focus of most studies mentioned above remained at the larger political scale rather than focusing on the local people's perspectives, as an 'administrative' approach to the case. The struggling of the local people is a result of the failure of the administrative process, supplemented by the evidence of the local people's voices, which were the main focus in these studies which sought to better understand the governmental process from the Gangjeong case.

However, the study done by Bae (2012) has different approaches from other studies, by focusing on the local people's discourse and the cultural contexts of the local people. This is a similar approach that my study adopted, which emphasizes an empirical method to understand the voice of the local people. This study questioned the change in local people's perceptions and understandings of their experiences in the naval base construction process, and while sharing the same local scale, Bae's study focused on the concept of locality in the cultural-political context which questioned "ontological approach to the narrative of the local people (Bae 2012)."

Unlike these studies, there is one comprehensive and distinguished book (Kirk 2015) that compared the Jeju case to the Okinawa case while focusing on U.S. military roles in the East Asia region and its influences on the people living in these two islands. While shedding the light on the roles of the U.S. bases in these regions that are historically and strategically important in relation to China and North Korea, the practical struggles of the local people are revealed. Much of this book was dedicated to understanding the case in Okinawa which has a long history of involvement with U.S. bases and various confrontational experiences with the central government. The last two chapters shifted the focus on Jeju with the experiences and arguments of the activists, and the regional governmental officers' understanding of the case, which can be compatible with the long-standing case of Okinawa. This book also explored the historical settings of having the military bases in these regions to better understand the local people's experiences, which are highly related to the roles of the U.S. in this region. Considering the increasingly militarized character of these islands, this book expected the development of an international relationship in the East Asia region with a regard to the U.S. military's role.

Along with other earlier studies, this book succeeded in exploring the case of Jeju by focusing on a larger political scale, but they have a limited understanding of the local people and their own discursive structure about the issues around the naval base construction in Jeju. Therefore, my study analyzed the local people's transitioning viewpoint towards local environment and the government, and bridged various scales involved in this case. By following the narrative of the local people with the environmental justice standpoint, this study not only supplements the lack of

solid theoretical grounds of environmental justice, but also suggests the extended applications of the case that is environmental injustice with the concept of scale.

Chapter 4. Methodology

This study adopts a phenomenology approach based on human geography that contributes to the literature on environmental justice and political ecology linking with the literature on scale. The existing literature about Environmental Justice and Political Ecology guided the framework of this study as the methodology frame and theoretical frame respectively that would serve as indicators while analyzing data collected with the phenomenology method process. By analyzing the data through the phenomenology approach with these theoretical frames, this study could reach its goals of identifying how the current process marginalizes local communities and the local environment based on the analytical frames of environmental justice and scale; and how the local people's preferences toward the military base are shaped during the construction process by analyzing people's experiences based on the theoretical frames of scale and political ecology.

Ontological Grounds of Qualitative Methods

: Theoretical Grounds of Political Ecology and Environmental Justice

Before delving into specific methods adopted in this research, the explicit connections between theories that this research adopts, Political Ecology and Environmental Justice, and qualitative methods, particularly phenomenology for this study, are discussed in terms of their pluralities, epistemological approaches and multi-dimensional frameworks.

Political Ecology shares its epistemological traits in its foundation and methodology with Environmental Justice (Reed and George 2011). Political ecology is a way of framing research design and understanding the case (Robbins 2004). While there is a definition¹⁵, it cannot remain in a limited boundary and is therefore difficult to define in one particular way. Along with these pluralistic approaches of political ecology, this study accepts the new direction of political ecology that is engaged with certain ideas and concepts, particularly social constructionism and structuration, derived from post-structuralism (Peet and Watts 2002). Post-structuralism is highly engaged with the approaches of political ecology in this study, borrowing from Escobar's notion of it, which "entails the humanizing of nature and the naturalization of humanity in ways that defy the essentialist reifications underlying the modern separation of nature and society (Escobar 1998, 2001; Braun and Castree 1998, 2001; Braun and Wainwright, 2001; Peet and Watts, 1996)" (Keil 2003). Therefore the case is germane to the scope of political ecology because it does not pursue any traditional disciplinary goals or cannot be explicitly theorized, but rather tries to focus on the inherent dynamics of the issues with a more inclusive frame of understanding, which is covered by an extended approach to human-environment relations. That means the traits of political ecology, such as plurality and conjunctural explanation about the relation of society and environment (Peet and Watts 2002) could be characterized as interdisciplinary, highly diverse, and perhaps

¹⁵ Robbins defines political ecology as "empirical, researched-based explorations to explain linkages in the condition and change of social/environmental systems, with explicit consideration of relations of power. Political ecology, moreover, explores these social and environmental changes with normative understanding that there are very likely better, less coercive, less exploitative, and more sustainable ways of doing things" (12).

even as an increasingly divergent form (Bassett and Zimmerer 2003) rather than a linear dynamic involving limited numbers of actors.

Coupled with this emphasis on plurality (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987), Political Ecology as a theory, to say, is not necessarily a traditional way of theorization, but suggests a method of research which entails expanded scholarly areas concerning various priorities from land use management to power dynamics, as demonstrated through the ongoing multilayered issues that constitute political ecology (Escobar 1999; Peet and Watts 2004 ; Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter and Wangari 1996; cited in (Murray 2008). These conceptual confluences and tensions that have arisen within political ecology, later influenced by post-structuralism (Peet & Watts, 2002), suggests a transitional epistemological approach to the research. The theoretical dimensions of political ecology and environmental justice are intertwined with the various approaches of qualitative research methods used in this research to fully understand this complex multi-layered case.

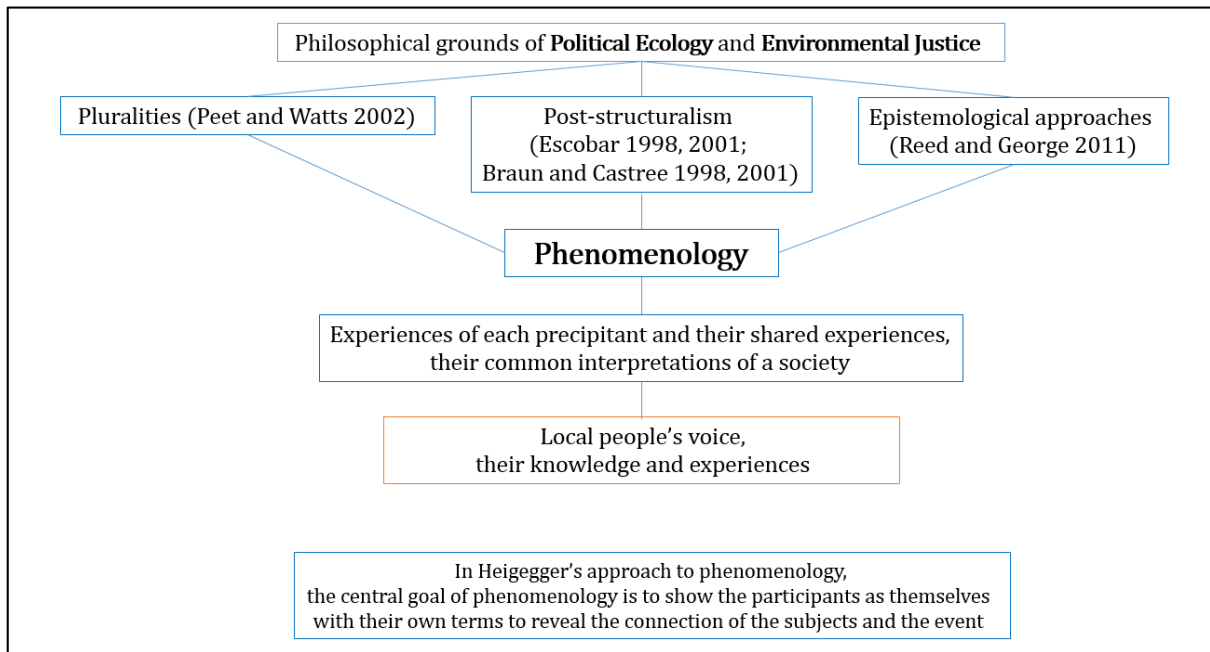


Figure 11 Philosophical grounds of Phenomenology, Political Ecology and Environmental justice

Among various qualitative research methods, this research study adopts the phenomenological method. The phenomenology method in this research study focuses on the individual experiences of each participant and their shared experiences. While paying attention to the community people who have experienced the whole process of construction of the naval base together, phenomenology methods in this study could provide the shared views toward the marginalized process from decision-making and procedural justice, as well as their common interpretations of a society being transformed in a short period of time. The shared experiences of the people could have an underlying structure, which is revealed by the essences of that phenomenon (Creswell, 2012:62). Therefore knowing some common experiences of the community people can be valuable for policy makers to develop practices or

policies, or when considering future political plans similar to this case (Creswell 2012).

Phenomenology is not only fulfilling the goal of the study to focus on the voice of the local people which has been obscured by the government, but it also shares theoretical common grounds with the main theories that this study adopts, namely environmental justice and political ecology. The theoretical frames of political ecology and environmental justice are comparable to phenomenology that this study adopts in terms of the transitional epistemological grounds that characterize them (see the figure 10 above). The epistemological approach to this study can trace in-depth how the government has forced the construction of a new naval base in the environmentally protected area and how the community people have been marginalized and continue to protest against this construction.

Adopting phenomenology as one of the main methods for this study subject shows the research paradigm that guides my interpretation of this case, considering the definition of a research paradigm as “a basic set of beliefs that guide action, dealing with first principles, 'ultimate' or the researcher's worldviews (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 157 cited in Groenewald 2004).” This study maintains its view of epistemological approaches as formulating, as data are contained within the perspectives of people that are involved with their experiences against the large government-led construction project in their village.

Data Collection Procedures

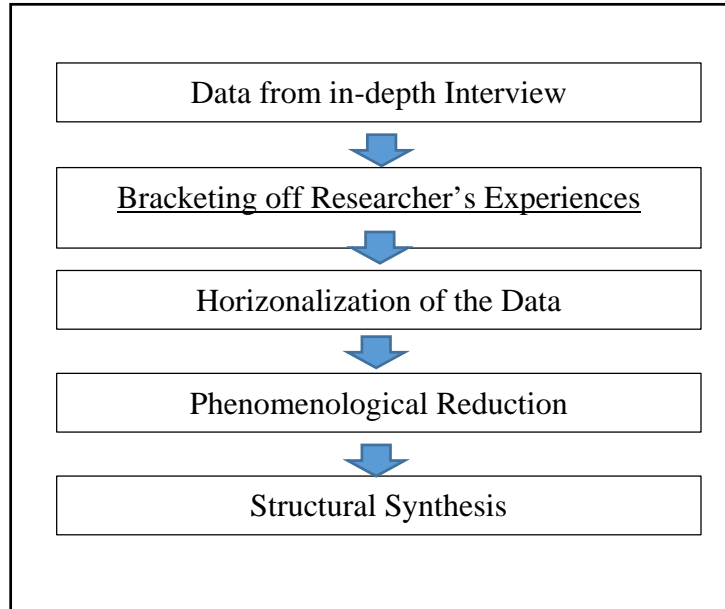
Phenomenology: In-depth Interview

While focusing on data collection procedures, the most frequently used data collection method in phenomenology is the in-depth interview (Marshall & Rossman, 2006); (P Wimpenny, 2000). This in-depth interviewing for phenomenology, the so-called phenomenological interviewing (Marshall & Rossman, 2006), requires the researcher to set aside her personal experiences (Creswell 2007: (Marshall & Rossman, 2006) “to adopt a detached position where prior assumptions can be suspended (P Wimpenny, 2000).” It is an important additional step of phenomenology research to adhere to the general data collection procedure above.

Although this additional step of collecting and analyzing data is emphasized in phenomenology, the number of interviewee and data from them are not strictly fixed. While it might be true that more interviews might make building a ‘structural description’ easier, interviewing in detail a few individuals who have experienced the phenomenon might suffice to access the essence of the phenomenon (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). Although there is no theoretical saturation like grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin 1998), in-depth interviewing could be continued to get “the general structural description, which provides an accurate portrait of the common features and structural connections that are manifest in the examples collected (Creswell, 2007:215). After in-depth interviewing with individuals, a data collection strategy following the general procedures of qualitative data collection is conducted

to describe the individual's essential past and present experience with the phenomenon (Seidman, 2012).

Figure 12 Data Collection Strategy for Phenomenology



(Creswell, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2011)
2006)

Selection of Participants

The phenomenology method usually adopts a fairly homogeneous sample (Smith 2015). According to Hycner (1999: 156) “the phenomenon dictates the method (not vice-versa) including even the type of participants.” To find a homogeneous sample, this study adopts purposive sampling, which is suited for an idiographic mode of inquiry as opposed to the nomothetic approach (Smith 2015), and also is said to be “the most important kind of non-probability sampling to identify the primary participants (Welman and Kruger 1999 cited in Groenewald 2004: 8).” These primary participants were selected based on my judgements and the purpose of the research (Babbie, 1995; Greig & Taylor, 1999; Schwandt, 1997 cited by

Groenewald 2004) for those who “have had experiences relating to the phenomenon to be researched” (Kruger, 1988 p. 150).

Regarding the purpose of the research, the primary participants I was looking for were the local people who were getting involved in anti-naval base movements (not activists coming in the community to help them) and living in their community (village) for almost their entire life. After a visit to the community to identify the participants in 2012, I concluded that the targeted participants should be the people working for the community council since the council has led the anti-naval base from the beginning and due to the fact that they were selected by a vote from the whole community. The council members not only have a responsibility to hold and facilitate community meetings every month but also to act as a bridge between the government and the local people. This can take the form of helping to educate the local people of new rules implemented by the government that the local people should follow such as new recycling programs; and conversely the local people can make a proposal to the government for any projects in their community via community meetings.

My second visit to the village and the community center was in 2013-14, and I was able to meet the current community leader. He introduced me to a previous vice community leader who is one of the primary participants. Based on the purposive sampling method of selecting people who were actively involved in the movement, snowballing sampling was used for the practical purpose of asking one informant or participant to recommend others for interviews. In doing so, I could manage to interview eight people meeting these conditions above. Creswell(1998: 66) recommends “long interviews with up to 10 people” for a phenomenological study.

These interviewees are the primary unit of analysis (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000), with their 'informed consent' (Bailey, 1996, p. 11; Arksey & Knight, 1999; Street, 1998). Each interview was held in the place where the interviewee felt comfortable; the face-to-face interviews consisted of both open-ended and semi-structured questions. The interviews were then translated and transcribed. Data-collection interviews continued until the topic was exhausted or saturated; that is when interviewees (subjects or informants) introduced no new perspectives on the topic (Groenewald 2004).

Conducting Interview and Early Analysis Strategies

Interviews were conducted in Korean, but the final coding and analysis was done in English. Initial coding of each interview transcript was done in Korean due to the fact that both myself as a researcher, and the interviewees are native Koreans; to better understand the case phenomenologically by accessing people's own ideas in their own language. Although Korean was used in the process of reflecting and checking codes and themes, the initial codes were subsequently substituted with English. The data was analyzed by the process of IPA, Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis (which will be explained below), and transcribing and coding were done by using MAXQDA program in manual mode.

Transcription was completed for every part of the recorded interview. Each interview was transcribed and analyzed sentence by sentence; identifying the represented code from each sentence which could be the term excerpted from the interview transcription directly or the terms from the interview that could cover the

main point (meaning) of a certain paragraph or a sentence(s). These processes were repeated to clarify the codes that could reveal their connection to primary sources. These various codes were then analyzed to determine their relevance to each other and were marked once relevant items were found. These items were then spread out and restructured in order to find common themes. These themes were represented by extracts from the original text, but as mentioned above these can represent core meanings of the sentence regarding to what Smith et al. (1999:226) wrote: “other factors, including the richness of the particular passages which highlight the themes, and how the theme helps illuminate other aspects of the account, are also taken into account’ (Smith et al., 1999, p. 226).

These emerging themes were then grouped into associated clusters. During these analytic procedures, the transcriptions were repeatedly re-examined with constant reflection to ensure the representativeness of the codes to the verbatim transcripts. Each interview transcription was analyzed with this process. After finishing the individual analysis of each interview transcription, each group of associated clusters from each individual interview was compared with all other interviews, and rearranged as sub-themes with higher order categories (Knight, Wykes, and Hayward 2003).

The next step was to explore connections within and between these conceptual groups in order to begin to generate an explanation. Smith et al. (1999) suggested that this process can be facilitated by borrowing techniques from another qualitative research framework, known as grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This approach encourages researchers to link structure with process by focusing on

themes that represent underlying conditions, key phenomena, key actions and interactions and their consequences. Memos and diagrams can be used to explore the relationships between themes in this way.

Data Analysis Strategies

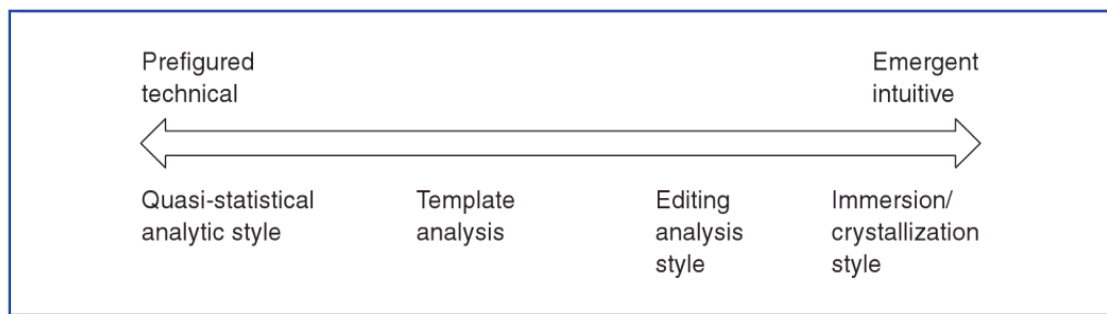
Thematic Analysis / Emerged Themes Analysis/ Discursive Analysis

After choosing data collection methods, detailed procedures for analyzing the data will be conducted. The general steps of data analysis are explained above as organizing data, coding, finding emergent categories and themes, and finding various ways of understanding and presenting the findings(Creswell, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

During this process, it is important to note the different ways of identifying the emergent categories from the transcribed data since identifying emerging themes is particularly linked with the validation of the research. A continuum of analysis strategies suggested by Crabtree & Miller (1999), ranging from prefigured technical to emergent intuitive, shows the different strategies of data analysis depending on the stances of researchers and research methods (see Figure 10).

For in-depth interview data analysis in this research, immersion strategies and emergent intuitive end, “categories are not prefigured and which rely heavily on the researcher’s intuitive and interpretive capacities (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).” Semi-structural interview or content analysis based on a case study method are close to template analysis according to the definition: template strategies have existing code sets which could be revised while data is analyzed (Crabtree & Miller, 1999; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).¹⁶ The existing codes sets for this research were supplemented by the indicators from Environmental Justice Framework (Appendix IV: Table A4), which can be used as selected open and axial codes anticipated to emerge during the open coding process.

Figure 13. A Continuum of Analysis Strategies



Source from Crabtree and Miller(1992, 17-20) cited in Marshall and Rossman (2011: p209)

¹⁶ “At the extreme left end of their continuum are technical, scientific, and standardized strategies (in which the researcher has assumed an objectivist stance relative to the inquiry and has stipulated the categories in advance.) At the other end are ‘immersion strategies’, in which categories are not prefigured and which rely heavily on the researcher's intuitive and interpretive capacities. What they call 'template' and 'editing' analysis strategies stand along the continuum, with the template process more prefigured and stipulate than the editing processes. ... Template strategies can begin with the sets of codes...but they may undergo revision as the analysis proceeds. Editing strategies are less prefigured ... searching for segments of text to generate and illustrate categories of meaning (p208)”

After tracing emergent themes, even though they might have shifted while developing an understanding about the research topics (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973: cited in Marshall & Rossman, 2006), the next step requires interpreting these themes, since the way to present the data is a bit different between phenomenology and case study. Phenomenology focuses on textual and structural descriptions to reveal the essences of people's experiences, whereas case study interprets these categories in a more direct way and tries to generalize the case overall (Creswell, 2007). Different methods' data analysis procedures are explained followed by Creswell's "Data Analysis Spiral" (2007). It is important to note that the data analysis process is evolving in the field, meaning it forms in a more spiral approach rather than a fixed linear one (Creswell, 2007).

Based on emerged codes from the interviews, I drew upon environmental indicators from environmental justice framework (US EPA 2016) to clarify and summarize the multilayers of people's experiences of environmental aspects at play. EPA documents said that these environmental indicators can be involved with different scales for two different purposes of screening and refining assessments. In this study, while focusing on local and personal scales, these indicators are not for any assessment purposes but more about describing why this case can be an environmental injustice case. This study's purpose is not about examining numeric data of environmental impacts on the livelihoods around the naval base area not only because it is relatively unclear due to the fact that the construction was just finished (2016), but also because the purpose of this study was to show local people's experiences.

Phenomenology Analysis & Interpretive Phenomenology Data Analysis

(IPA)

For this study, the analysis of data obtained from interviews will follow the data analysis method explained above with the basic approach of the relatively newly introduced Interpretive Phenomenology data Analysis (IPA) (Smith et al 2015). The process of analyzing data is open to evolved phenomenology of practices as Manen (2014) states that ‘phenomenology of practice’ is emphasizing its intent and constantly “tries to place oneself in the open, to learn from the future as it unfolds in the works of present and merging phenomenological scholars... (Manen 2014: 213).”

Although the practice of analyzing phenomenology data is open to change, it is challenging to adopt IPA as a way of analyzing data to understand the phenomena for this study since there are no studies that adopt IPA in political ecology or environmental justice (its emphasized term of idiography refers to the study of individual persons in psychology). But it is beneficial when considering the purpose of this study about a specific situation. As Larkin, et al (2006) pointed out, IPA studies are “concentrating on specific individuals, dealing with specific situations or events in their lives” which are fitted into the purpose of study. While understanding participants’ experiences in a particular event is one goal, the other main goals of IPA are to construct these experiences with understanding of participants and researchers, and “to posit the initial analysis of description into a wider social, cultural and theoretical context (Smith and Osborn, 2003, cited in Larkin et al. 2006: p 104).”

Therefore, it is said that “the purpose of IPA is to attempt as far as possible to gain an insider perspective of the phenomenon being studied, whilst acknowledging

that the research is the primary analytical instrument(Fade 2004: 648). ” However, this is somewhat conflicted with traditional phenomenology analysis since it focuses on the involvement of researchers to understand the participants experiences’ as an instrument, while traditional approaches are more focused on bracketing out researchers’ experiences (See figure 8). Due to the involvement of researcher’s interpretation, IPA has contradictory approaches to traditional phenomenology, however Heidegger’s understanding of phenomenology makes Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis as a part of phenomenology. In Heidegger’s approach to phenomenology, the central goal of phenomenology is to show the participants as themselves with their own terms to reveal the connection of the subjects and the event by avoiding any imposition of possible preconceived set of assumptions and expectations (Larkin, Watts, and Clifton 2006).

Another benefit of having IPA as an analysis approach for this study is that Phenomenology itself is rare in the field of Political Ecology, Environmental Justice and Human Geography in general, so “using a recognized framework like IPA can be helpful as long as readers understand what the framework entails (Fade 2004: 647).” This is also considering the difficulties of qualitative research techniques that requires full explanations of philosophical grounds and data analysis steps. Also as pointed above, phenomenological thought has been developed in a variety of different ways (Fade 2004: 648) and aims to be open to newer thoughts and interpretations (Manen 2014).

Researcher Recognizes Her Role

Traditional phenomenological analysis emphasizes bracketing off the researchers' personal perceptions and experiences, while IPA utilizes the aspect of the 'interpretation' of a researcher to overcome the limitation of the process of bracketing off the researcher's own experiences. Considering the nature of social science, of which phenomenology can be a part, it is difficult to detach the findings from the researcher and what the researcher is researching. Therefore, this study attempts to bracket out my experiences with IPA and the traditional phenomenology method by considering the intertwined relation between the researcher and what they research, which is strongly connected to the findings. Berg and Smith (1988) said "findings are powerfully influenced by the relationship between the researcher and the researched" (p21).

As the researcher in this study, I am aware of personal qualities that could affect how I view data or how I proceed to collect data. This awareness can be a part of bracketing out my experiences but, at the same time, the findings or collected interview data cannot be separated from my points of view. My most obvious intrinsic subjectivity that could affect the interpretation of the data is the fact that I was born in South Korea and am studying in the United States. I am also from the city of Busan, on the mainland, and the study site is Jeju Island. This personal history has had an impact on building rapport with participants as they see me as both an insider and an outsider, which influenced data collection. With my backgrounds of being both an insider and outsider, I was exposed enough to know the subject matter but not to the point where I would develop a certain position to the issue. Due to my personal

history and status, I am able to see this subject matter taking place on multiple scales from both inside and outside at the same time.

These personal qualities as a researcher can be both my limitations and strengths. Both my limitations and strengths allow me to collect and analyze data. By accepting my limitations and strengths, in this study I can attain the goal of suspending "past knowledge and experience to understand a phenomenon at a deeper level" (Anderson and Spencer, 2002, p1341). My personal qualities are shown again below in the description of the process of recruiting participants and building rapport with them. How the participants perceived me, and not just how my personal qualities are connected to the findings, cannot be separated from the findings, as described above (Berg and Smith, 1988). Understanding how participants perceived me as an interviewer will also be described to show the participants' perspectives of me. What I found from the participants can be influenced by how the participants perceived me. Therefore, in the subsequent parts of this chapter, there will be information on the participants and the procedures used in building rapport with them, as well as my observation notes about this process. Additional information such as descriptions of the village and observation notes will be included.

Participants

This is a table of participants' demographic information for this phenomenology study.

Table 2. Participants Information for open-ended interview

No	Pseudonym	AGE GROUP	Gender	Any positions in the villages (ever)
1	Yun_K	50s	M	Y
2	Yun_Hyo	70s	M	Y
3	Chon_W	50s	F	N
4	Chon	60s	M	Y
5	Cho	70s	M	N
6	Ko	50s	M	N
7	Kim	70s	M	Y_4-3
8	Yun Tak	60s	M	N

Table 3. Focus Group Participants

No	Pseudonym	AGE GROUP	Gender	Any positions in the villages (ever)
9	Ko_il	50s	M	Y
10	Mi	40s	F	N
11	Kon	30s	M	N
12	Park_Me	40s	M	N
13	Mal	40s	F	N

All names are fictitious for reasons of confidentiality. Since the community is small and most residents live there for their entire lives, it is easy to identify the participants based on their occupations and their experiences of serving on the

community council. While having the participants' basic information in the demographic table above, their experiences of being in any notable positions needs to be included. Since their experiences while holding community positions shows their knowledge about the community, their experiences of being in these positions could influence and change their perceptions while participating in the anti-naval base activities. In addition to this general information above, because most participants were born and lived in this village their entire lives, the length of time in the community for the participants in the focus group was not included since there were some activists involved. Due to the nature of the close-knit community before the naval base construction, the participants' specific ages were also substituted with approximate age ranges in order to prevent identification of individuals within the community.

Building Rapport

Building rapport with participants is not an easy task. Their participation in the anti-naval base movement has been published in various newspaper articles and on news programs so that the participants were tired to meet new people to interview with. At the beginning of their activities, they thought they could stop the building of the naval base by drawing attention to their cause. They were willing to be interviewed by journalists because they thought it would result in stopping construction. In the early days of the protests, various news agencies reported on their actions. But their efforts had no impact on the construction of the naval base, and as a result they have begun to feel helpless and have grown reluctant to agree to interview

requests. According to my observations and diary notes, when I tried to do initial interviews with most people, I found the process to be exhausting because of 1) their distrust of scholars and journalists coming to Jeju, 2) their reluctance to participate in any anti-base related activities since it has been 8 years, and 3) their general frustration by their failure to stop the construction.

There are obvious differences in their attitudes between my two visits. During my first visit in 2013, the community center was full of people with lots of energy. Some came to me first and tried to say something before I even asked them anything. But during my second visit a year later, there was no one in the community center and some local people looked at me suspiciously. Between my two visits, things had changed, including how the protestors were often blamed of being anti-nationalists and were even called ‘commies’ (who is aligned with North Korea). One participant even mentioned his/her hurtful experiences.

“Everything we are trying to do is interpreted as a political action. We just do not want a military facility in our community without the consents from the community people. I feel scared and hurt by hearing any condemning words.” (#4212, 23 Dec 2014)

In this climate, it was not easy to contact and get the people to agree to be interviewed. So I decided to stay in this village, spending time in front of a tent set up by the community people and activists who continued to oppose the construction. While I spent my time there, one activist who had been in Gangjeong for more than three years introduced me to community people highly involved in this anti naval base movement.

Every interview started with an explanation of the consent form and my introduction: who I am, what I am studying, where I come from, and why I do this.

Because of the general impression of being interviewed, as explained above, and their distrust of people from mainland Korea due to past incidents, building rapport took lots of effort and time. Some participants asked me whether I was a citizen of the U.S. or not. For them, I was an outsider who came from the U.S., researching people's ideas with the perspectives of the U.S. governmental entities which are close to the Korean government they have fought against. After telling them that I was studying in the U.S. and was born in Korea, and emphasizing to them that I had come to Gangjeong village on more than one occasion, they could be open to the point of some inclusiveness. Because I visited the community three times and spent time in cold weather in front of the tent of their anti-base movement, some of them started to recognize me. All of this definitely helped to build a better rapport between myself and the participants. One participant even explained his discomfort with other visitors (generally journalists or a few scholars) who came for data and left without helping them with anything.

“I hate the type of people like you, who come to our community to achieve their own goals like filling the blanks in their newspapers and just leave. (# 70134, 12 Jan 15)”

I interpreted this comment as a sign of an open mind toward me because his/her attitude after this comment was so nice, answering more than what I asked but also trying to share his/her experiences, and providing various examples as well as historical knowledge that I could not have learned in such depth from other people. This response also told me the reason for the hatred toward people outside of their community, which I interpreted as evidence of building a better rapport. In addition to telling them that I had previously visited three times and providing other reasons I

described above for building rapport to this level, I also needed to tell participants of the possible ways my study could contribute to other similar cases of local peoples struggling with environmental problems caused by unfair treatment by the government, and how much I cared about this issue.

The difficulties of building a rapport with participants to assure them that I was not a complete stranger were particularly important and significant in this subject area, because of both their reluctance to speak to outsiders and because of the historical background of the situation. The most relevant historical incident related to their strong community ties is the 4-3 incident as described in the background, chapter 2. Participants in the current protest have direct and indirect stories related to the 4-3 incident, such as stories about fathers who were killed by the police or fled to avoid getting killed (Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation 2016). This oppressive experience that most participants endured from the central government which came from outside of Jeju led to stronger apprehension toward people from outside of Jeju Island. The undeniable fear toward the governmental entities persisted in participants, so that many were reluctant to tell their stories to a person like me who seemed to randomly come to their area to know the issue. When analyzing the data collected for this study, themes related to 4-3 incident kept emerging while analyzing the data. This will be explained further in the analysis section.

After struggling with initial difficulties to build a rapport, most participants I interviewed asked whether I had more questions at the end of our interviews. Interviewees were trying to participate in interviews so that I, as a researcher, could observe and understand the phenomenon at various layers and perspectives.

Limitations and Validation

To validate the findings, this study presents triangulation, consensual validation, clarifying researcher bias, rich and thick description (Creswell, 2007) and limitations of qualitative methods. Validations in qualitative methods need more specific strategies due to the different philosophical grounds mentioned in the beginning of this paper. While exploring methods of bolstering validation, the quality of the research itself can be improved.

In triangulation, this research uses various data sources with diverse qualitative methods to collect data (Ely et al., 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Merriam, 1988; Davies, 2007; Creswell, 2007). In this study, adopting interviews, content analysis on documents, and observation achieved validation through triangulation. In addition to these various data sources, this research mainly focused on the in-depth interview data for the purpose of phenomenology. While Greene (1993) focused the analysis of data from different sources, this research analyzed the data from each in-depth interview and offered another way to triangulate the data by describing the phenomenon through the consistent results produced by the data with various analysis strategies. This research study particularly has confidence in the use of multiple data sources including a good number of in-depth interviews due to the fact that using the phenomenology approach to understand the case study together will allow each to support and analyze the other.

In addition to triangulation as one of the main strategies for validation, this study used vigorous peer review or debriefing processes. Since the data gathered from the field are interpreted by researchers, review by similar groups of people is needed

to reach a certain level of saturation. These similar groups of people are referred to as the peer debriefers (Creswell, 2012) who need to check the interrater reliability and constantly check the research process. For this purpose, this study will be reviewed by other scholarly individuals (committee members and colleagues) and by research participants for cross-checking the data (member checking).

One more important aspect for a better validation is the statement of personal bias as a researcher. This research exclusively relies on my research skills and observations, which may limit the range of this research. However, using various data sources, newspaper articles, government documents, other academic literature, alternate research methods, focus groups, and individual semi-structured interviews may help to mitigate the limitations that a single researcher would encounter; combining all of these components contributes to the validation of results through triangulation for this study. While comparing these different sources is a way of triangulation, the consistency in interview data can also contribute to triangulation. For this consistency in interview data, thick and rich description is needed to help mitigate the possible personal bias by “allowing readers to make decisions regarding transferability (Creswell, 2007:209)” through detailed description of settings and participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marriam, 1988; Creswell, 2007).

Overall, reliability or validity might not be affirmed, given the qualitative method’s potential bias. Still, when considered in total, full explanations of the data analysis need to be scrutinized (Mays, 1995). All the data from various sources will be repeatedly analyzed and confirmed by the interviewees to check the overall validity of the papers.

Chapter 5. Overall Findings and Finding 1: Environmental Indicators

Introduction for Overall Findings

The traditional process of phenomenology analysis requires a heavy description of each participation experience. The analysis then develops “a composite description of the meanings and essences of these experiences (Manen 2016; Moustakas 1994), which is called textural-structural descriptions, to represent the group as a whole. Rather than taking in-depth textural–structural descriptions as used for traditional phenomenology approach, this study adopts IPA, Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis, strategies that focus on each individual’s detailed experiences to be quoted to support the essences of the experiences. These multi-dimensional examples can become the essences or themes of experiences. These themes are selectively chosen not just based on their prevalence within the data but also their representativeness of the research questions and theories that this study is focusing on.

There are three super-ordinate themes for this study: 1) the environmental knowledge, 2) governmental responses and 3) the expanded scale in experiences and knowledge. These super-ordinate themes emerge from the expression of the respondents' newly learnt knowledge through their experiences of participating in the anti-base movement. Each super-ordinate theme has three master themes. And these master themes have two to three sub-categories respectively.

The overview of super-ordinate themes and master themes is shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Overall Themes ¹⁷

Super-Ordinate Theme	#	Master Themes	#	Sub-categories themes	#
Knowledge of Environment	103	Knowledge of Physical Environment	65	Water resources – fresh water, sea water	27
				Rare Species and Protected zone	33
				Unsuitability of Location	41
		Environmental Impact Assessment	53	Suspensions of the Processes	21
				Compared with their Knowledges	56
		Appreciation of Environment	18	N/A	
				Increased Attachment to the Local Environment	18
Governmental Responses	165	Marginalization	112	from Decision-making Process	76
				Marginalization within the Community	78
				Learning Process from Being Marginalized	31
		Objectification	87	Disparities between the Government and the Local	52
				Disparities among the Community People	39
		Governmental Coercion Response to the Anti-Naval Movement	98	N/A	
				Interruption to the Community Meeting by the Government	60
Expanded Experiences and Knowledge	109	Comparative Approaches	62	Various Governmental Tactics and Enforcement Actions	41
				Recurring Memory of the 4-3 incident (time scale)	39
				Geopolitical Traits of Jeju	21
		Scale-up	78	Other National and International Cases	11
				International Scale Involvement: the U.S.	36
				International NGOs	29
		Redefine the Conventional Thoughts	21	International Relation	19
Revisit the Concept of Development	11				
Revisit the Relation between the State and the Citizens	10				

The first super-ordinate theme is about the participants' knowledge of their local environment. The participants have had a deep understanding of the ecosystem around their community even before the construction, but this environmental knowledge became even deeper and more diversified by their efforts to stop the construction, such as educating themselves about the legal protection zones and species that they had not known about before this event. Their increased knowledge

¹⁷ See appendix v. data coding strategy and the different format of overall findings

even expanded enough to allow them to criticize the current environmental impact assessment procedures by the government, whose results were not compatible with what they have known about their own environment. These experiences served to change their notion of their environment. Therefore three master themes under this super-ordinate theme of knowledge of environment are their knowledge of the physical environment, environmental impact assessment and their appreciation of the environment. Again each master theme has 2-3 sub-categories to support these master themes. These master themes and sub-categories under this super-ordinate theme are directly related to the Environmental justice discourse.

The second super-ordinate theme, governmental response, has three master themes,: marginalization, objectification and the coercive government response. These three themes are separated considering their frequency and significance, but they do overlap to a certain extent because participants' experiences cannot be completely separated from each other. Among these master themes under 'governmental response,' 'marginalization' is significant enough to have a separate super-ordinate theme since there are abundant codes categorized into marginalization in every interview. But much of the marginalization that the participants experienced (as a master theme) are related to governmental response (super-ordinate theme) along with the complicated system of marginalization within the community. Another master theme under governmental responses, 'objectification' from the government, highly links to marginalization of the local people too. This theme of objectification resulted in the disparities in the community, which will be discussed in Chapter 8. The third master theme of coercive governmental responses is the harsh treatment of

the local people who participated in the anti-naval base movement. This third master theme is consisting of the details of participants' experiences which supplements the first two main themes of the super-ordinate theme(government response) as a phenomenon in this case. It is important to note that governmental responses are analyzed by Environmental Justice Indicators and discourses in addition to environmental knowledge(1st super-ordinate theme) since they are both main elements included in the EPA's guide for analyzing environmental injustice cases (US EPA 2016).

The last super-ordinate theme is about experiences that expand the perception of scales of the local people (focusing on the concept of scales: see Figure 7 of jurisdictional, spatial, institutional, temporal, management and network in Chapter 4). From their overall learning experiences from confronting the government and its strategies, the participants expanded their understanding of the case in relation to bigger political scales as well as their historical experiences of 4-3 incident. There are again three master themes under this super-ordinate theme including their comparative approaches, scaled up anti-naval base activities at the international level with a deeper understanding of the international context of the military base, and lastly their redefining process of their original ideas about development and environment through these experiences. This super-ordinate theme shows the necessity of the concept of Scale to the case as well as the Political Ecology framework. The last theme about scales adopted more content analysis of newspapers and government documents to examine the differences in perceptions.

On top of these three super-ordinate themes, a significant theme that covers all of these themes is various participants' emotions and their changes. Even though this theme of emotion is not a separate super-ordinate theme, these feelings are embedded in every theme and are significantly related to the locals' experiences of participating in the anti-naval base movement. Many phenomenology studies follow the participants' feelings to track their experiences so that this study focuses on participants' feelings under the theme of governmental response since their feelings are highly relevant to the governmental response. Moreover, people's emotional change is also relevant to temporal scale in some ways which will be discussed both in chapter 8 and 9 with an engagement of the discourse of political ecology. While the theoretical discourses' focus depends on the different findings, Political Ecology and Environmental Justice are not separable in different chapters but keep recurring as methods and frameworks to understand the case from the different perspective either from the local people's perspectives or other governmental entities.

More detailed analysis of each super-ordinate theme and their master themes are analyzed in the following chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9. These emergent themes are the main findings of the overall analysis, but the presentation of these findings do not necessarily follow the sequence shown in the table. In the following section (chapter6), I will start to focus on what they had known before the construction started, followed by participants' expanded knowledge about their environment from their experiences of observing environmental consequences. Some knowledge including water resources was not new to most participants considering the numerous farming areas in the village, however, the laws protecting the ecosystem including

rare species in their community was new to most of them. This chapter below, therefore, will explore how much people have been acknowledging their environment, how they have expanded their understanding of their surroundings, and how they have used their knowledge as a tool for their movement to stop the naval base.

Introduction for Finding 1. Environmental Knowledge

This chapter focus on the local environment and the participants' significantly expanded knowledge regarding their local environment due to their participation in the anti-naval base movement. These findings are analyzed by the environmental indicators from environmental justice (EPA) as well as the discourse of Environmental Justice.

At first, this chapter will present the unique traits of the local environment in Gangjeong village, focusing on local people's knowledge that was supplemented by other media and studies, and then how different scaled entities recognized the value of the unique ecosystem in this region under threat from the naval base construction. This study then described the naval base location situation and the limitations and issues with the environmental impact assessment done by the government. The focus of this chapter is the local people's knowledge of their environment and their experiences during the construction process, and their changed perception towards the local environment and the concept of development, which is further discussed in Chapter 9.

This chapter, therefore, will consist of the existing arguments and limitations with the knowledge of the local people about their environment. In the conclusion of this chapter, this study will discuss the consequences of disregarding the local people's knowledge of the local environment, and how EIA process and local people's experience of that can formulate this case as an environmental injustice case.

Environmental Condition before the Construction

The local people are proud of the abundant fresh water in their community, which is rare in Jeju Island (*Come on do not cry gureom non-crackers* 2011). While this freshwater resource kept being emphasized by the participants in this study, it is regarded as common knowledge that this region has a relatively abundant availability of spring water compared to any other village on Jeju Island. This knowledge is confirmed by the Jeju Water Information Management System (run by the Jeju government), which shows that the amount of spring water in Gangjeong is the second largest in Jeju Island overall (Jeju Water). Not just the availability of fresh water but also the cleanness of it has a reputation that can be supported by the existing drinking water conservation zone in Gangjeong Village. These drinking water reserves supply water to many surrounding areas in the southern region of Jeju Island (JWIMS, Jeju government website). The water reserves are also protected from any recreational activities as a Water Conservation Zone. (JWIMS, Jeju government website)

With abundant clean fresh water resources in this region, the percentage of locals who farm for a living in this village is higher than those who fish (Lee 2008). Most interviewees for this study practiced farming, except a couple (see table 5 for interviewees' info). Whether they are engaged in farming or not, every interviewee acknowledged the importance of fresh water and had in-depth knowledge about fresh water and its system with various experiences. For example, one participant tried to

hold an event to advertise their clear stream in which sweet fish come back for spawning.

“I think that water in our village is so clean so I like to show it to other people. But just water itself is not enough, so I started a project of preserving sweet fish in the stream in our village. Then held a festival of sweet fish to attract tourists. Lots of Japanese tourists came. We have less than 100 members in this environmental civic group in the village, and we did that without getting any help from the government (#1079, 17 Dec 2014)”

This statement is confirmed by one newspaper article, and this article (Kang, “Seoquipo Gangjeong Sweetfish Festival”) was the only newspaper article about this village before the issues about the naval base started (since then every article related to this village is about the naval base).

Because of the rare spring water resources in Gangjeong village, the connected ecosystem is also rare including an estuary and a rock beach wetland (“Gangjeong is surrounding by various protected zones.” 2007). This unique ecosystem raised its importance so that different governmental institutions (Cultural Heritage Administration, Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, or Jeju regional government) protected these areas with various protection zones (See the table A2). The surrounding ecosystem of Gangjeong village was also assigned as the buffer zone of UNESCO’s Biosphere Reserve, with UNESCO recommending these areas being used only for academic purposes and environmental education rather than any development facilities or economic activities (UNESCO). Along with this Biosphere Reserve (2002), Jeju Island is a World Heritage (2006) and Geopark (2010) by UNESCO.

The oceanic environment around Jeju Island, especially Seogwipo area(Southern part of Jeju including Gangjeong village area), is also known for its biodiversity. It is because Jeju Island is located in a temperate zone sea area while being influenced by Tsushima, the branch of Kuroshio warm Current so that it is not difficult to find subtropical and tropical organisms (Takikawa, Yoon, and Cho 2005). These conditions have developed coral reef habitats for tropical fishes and other aquatic organisms. These coral reef habitats are on the vertical bluff where they are mixed with various encrusting animals, which provides a unique environment for endangered species animals.

These rare ecosystems including the estuary and in the adjacent sea to Gangjeong are not recognized by the local people as much as the spring water system, since freshwater is more directly related to their daily lives, particularly for the farming practices. Even so, a certain number of people acknowledged how unique their local environment was and showed their appreciation by forming a small local environmental protection group within the community. Their activities included cleaning the stream, the ocean fronts and investigating coral habitats. (interview #1012). In 1996, the central government awarded this effort by naming this village as the clean community. One interviewee working for this environmental group elaborated on what they have done and how the value of the environment in their community become more acknowledged by different entities.

“We (the community environmental group) have been cleaning the stream which is rare in Jeju. We lead a movement of protecting sweet fish, eels and crabs, such as making space for them to nest their eggs. [...] Or even clean the

trash in our community and watch over any possible run-off of waste water since 1996 [#010141, 121315].”

“Before the construction, one professor from E university came here for diving for five years and said that the environment and ecosystem in here are so unique in Korea, so (s)he helped to establish the national heritage zone with the cultural heritage administration [#01148, 121315].”

The pride of having a clean environment in their community became one of the main arguments for the local people to confront the decision of the naval base location. When the naval base location was announced as Gangjeong, the local people started to question about the process of the environmental impact assessment done by the Navy. With these various appreciations to the local environment from different political entities and people, it was hard to understand for the local people how their village which has been appreciated for its natural values could be selected to begin with. As Shim (2010) pointed out, the endangered environment is the major discourse for the local people in conflict with the government.

Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Process and Limitations

Environmental Impact Assessments were conducted from 2007 to 2009 by the government (the Korean Navy), which include three major steps: Pre-Environmental Appraisal(Pre-EA), a joint investigation of impacts on the ecosystem, and Agreement of Environmental Impact Assessment Results (See the table 5 below).

Table 5 Environmental Impact Assessment Process

1. Preliminary environmental investigation	
Aug 2007- Aug 2008	Field work and advanced environmental assessment
Apr 2008	Public hearing about The 1 st draft of Pre EIA
June 2008- Aug 2008	Modification of Pre-EA
Oct 2008	Agreement of Pre-EA
2. Joint investigation of impacts on ecosystem	
Jan 14, 2009	Advisory meeting for Joint Investigators: deciding on the institutions of investigation, forming the environmental assessment plans
Feb 9-25, 2009	Process of investigation on ecosystem
Mar 26, 2009	Held a briefing session of the result of this Joint investigation
3. Agreement of Environmental Impact Assessment Results	
Apr 2009:	Submitted the first draft of completed EIA reports to Jeju Regional government
June 2009	Held a Public Hearing of the results
July- Sep 2009	Agreement of final version of EIA
Sep 2009	1. Deliberated by the Deliberation Committees of Jeju Environmental Impact Assessment 2. The content of agreement about environmental impact assessment of Jeju Naval Base: Bill No. 1132
Dec 2009	Approval of Jeju Special Provincial Assembly

In 2008, the Navy investigated the possible environmental impacts and the potential long-term effects that could result from the process of building the naval base. After overall EIA procedures were done, the bill (the content of agreement about environmental impact assessment of Jeju Naval Base: Bill No. 1132) based on the results of EIA, which seeks to minimize any possible environmental impacts by these facilities, was approved by the Jeju regional court (Jeju Special Provincial Assembly) in 2009. According to this bill, environmental impact assessments(EIAs) were conducted in 10 different categories and suggested methods to prevent these impacts including the atmosphere, water quality, marine environment (animals,

vegetation, water quality, and ocean floor), land use, soil, landscape change, impacts on animals- vegetation, waste management, noise- vibration from the construction, and changes in natural views.

The overall EIA process should have followed the legal procedures and accepted any requests from the local people for additional investigations such as the water temperature rising period investigation (Korean Ministry of Environment). This was reflected in the participants arguments that there were not enough chances for them to request further investigation(will be discussed more below). Also the government entities, including the Department of Environment and Jeju regional government, stated that Gangjeong was the first selection of three other candidates based on the preliminary environmental investigation results. This indicated that the governmental entities concluded that Gangjeong was one of the best options when considering the possible environmental consequences (Korean Ministry of Environment, EIASS ME20130080).

Main Issues of EIA on the naval base site

One of the issues of the EIA for the naval base construction was that the Department of Defense approved the construction before the EIA proceeded (Y. Lee et al. 2012). In other words, EIA had not proceeded in the required steps properly. It was possible that there was a draft of the EIA even before the Preliminary EIA due to the change in the project name from *Jeju Naval Base* to the *Jeju Civilian Military Complex Port* in 2008 after confronting the local people's disagreement. With these

grounds of having a draft EIA before the name change, the Supreme Court approved that it is not illegal to do EIA before the process of construction approval.

Another major problem is the different results of environmental impact assessments produced by different institutions. The navy and the government argued that UNESCO designated areas are far enough from the construction site (2 km away) and that Gurumbi was not a rare ecosystem since it could be found elsewhere on Jeju Island. However, the local people and environmental activists argued the construction site and the rare ecosystems around Bum Sum (island) could not be separated from each other, and Gurumbi was unique as a spacious wet-rock land with its endangered species habitats (Kim 2011, Bae 2012). Concern over the environmental degradation continued with the local people's confrontation with the government which escalated with a lawsuit against the government as a result of the government lifting two environmental protection laws in this area (Appendix II: Table A2).

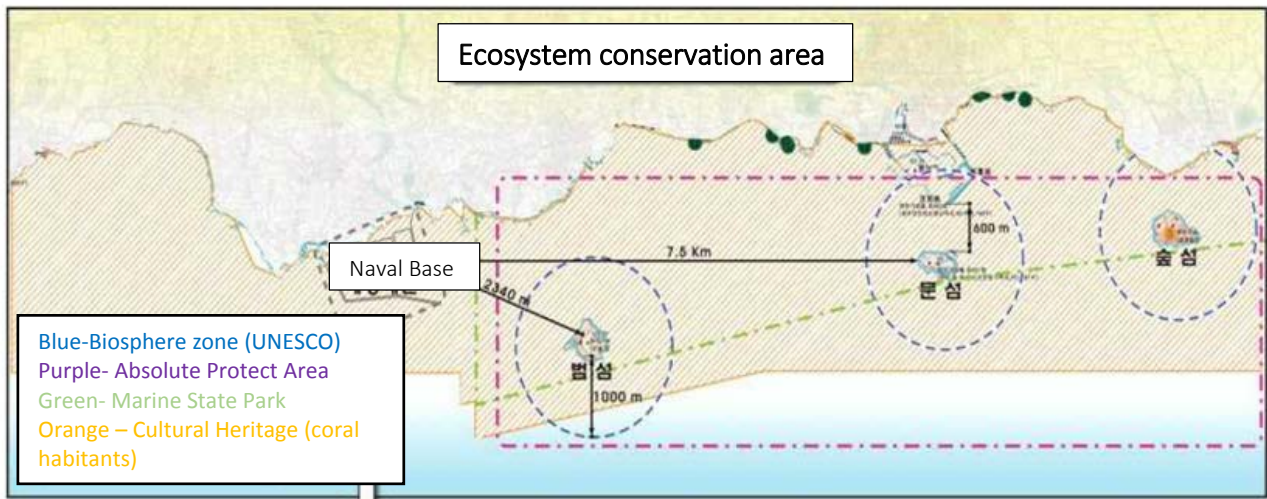
Other problems that the local people and NGOs pointed out are the confidentiality of the results of the EIA (Green Korea, 2012), as discussed earlier, and the short period of time within which the EIA was completed in Gangjeong village. The investigation of environmental impacts was done within 3 months, which is a relatively short period of time for the large scale of this construction project. National level construction projects typically require more than 1 year of site investigation about the possible impacts on the site and neighboring regions.

This exceptionally short period of time for EIA completion for the naval base can be explained by the evaluation process of the possible locations for the naval

base. Before the preliminary environmental investigation concluded Gangjeong as the best location in 2007 (Korea Ministry of Environment), the initial evaluation of the naval base location between 1999 –2001 that evaluated other factors such as the harbor environment and surrounding areas did not include Gangjeong. Gangjeong was considered as a possible location just two months before the governor of Jeju decided to have a naval base in 2007 (People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy). This explains the short period of preliminary environment investigation for three months.

Along with these procedural problems with the EIA, the actual possible environmental problems are the absolute preservation area and UNESCO biosphere zone areas. The Navy cited the endangered species’ displacement from the construction area, the findings that there was no disturbance of soft coral habitats close to the navigation path toward the port (Naval base), and the plans to minimize dust, water pollution, and noise created during the construction in Gangjeong Village. But in 2012, a co-investigation among the Green Peace East Asian branch, Green Korea (environmental NGO in South Korea), Citizens' Institute for Environmental Studies, and Congressperson Jang, Hana disputed these environmental impact assessment results, including the influences of the construction and future impacts of the navigation route on the coral habitants due to the absolute distances between these two (see figure 11 below; Appendix II- table A2), and how to move the endangered species to other places.

Figure 14 Ecosystem Conservation Area around Gangjeong Village



(Cited: People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy)

However, actual environmental impacts are hard to assess completely during the stage of naval base construction, in addition to the long-term impacts on the ecosystem, especially considering the conflicted interests among the government and local people/ NGOs. The local people had complaints about possible loopholes and shortcomings of the government (including the Korean Navy) investigation, but any actual environmental impacts could not be confirmed at this stage.

Even though the long-term environmental consequences are difficult to evaluate at this stage, the local people who disagreed with the naval base construction disputed this conclusion, especially when the preliminary environmental investigation results became confidential to the public. This raised questions among the local people with the procedures of EIA overall in terms of its method, the categories for the assessment, and the actual process of the public hearing and opportunities for participation. Therefore, while the legality of the EIA process has been proved (Jung

2013), as mentioned in the beginning of this section, it is still disputable since no actual environmental protection can be expected (Song 2012). Based on the current EIA system with many loopholes explained above, the actual environmental impacts cannot be avoided (see below). If the process of the environmental impact assessment took every step required by the EIA related laws properly, it is unavoidable to ignore the environmental impacts that the local people have actually experienced. These impacts that have not been addressed indicate a certain level of doubt in the process of EIA for this case and in the current environmental protection laws in Korea.

Local people's experiences and knowledge

Similar to other cases with issues related to the construction of various facilities, environmental problems from building the naval base have been the main argument against the base for the local people in Gangjeong. Having this similarity, the new naval base in Jeju was seen as a typical NIMBY(Not-In-My-Backyard) case from those entities outside the community who saw the local people in Gangjeong as a group of people considering their own interests. However, this naval base case needs to have more precise approaches to its possible environmental impacts because it is about the military base involving various political actors, and these actors recognized the unique environmental value of Jeju Island before the construction of the military base. In this situation, the local knowledge of the environment was neglected in order to effectively exclude the voices of the people living in the affected areas.

As a national scale project, there were environmental impact assessments (EIA) conducted on the naval base project by the Navy as presented above. However, the possible environmental consequences found differed from what the local people experienced as well as other impact assessments completed by environmental NGOs. This chapter will articulate the environmental consequences that the local people experienced versus how different actors interpreted the possible environmental impacts. This examination of environmental impacts will illustrate the gaps between the views toward the local environment between the local people living there and the government from the outside. While focusing on the local people, this study will also describe further in this chapter about the learning experiences of the local people

about their own environment and their increased understanding of the concept of development that the Navy kept emphasizing to persuade them.

Actual environmental degradation experiences

Fresh water contamination

While analyzing the data, the importance of freshwater was indicated as it was the most repeated topic with various levels' knowledge. Even though the level of knowledge about freshwater and the freshwater system was varied among the participants, spring water is connected to their lives directly, so their appreciation toward fresh water was consistent and there was a consensus to protect spring water and its sources within the village. In this circumstance, any potential environmental impacts on the freshwater system resulting from the construction (one of the environmental indicators for environmental justice case – see Table 3 below; Table A4 in Appendix IV) was one of the most concerning environmental consequences that interviewees worried about. This concern led them to build their own discourse about the local environment when they participated in the movement.

“We have spring waters which we really need to protect. This village, Gangjeong, lives on this water [highly dependent on this freshwater for any economic activities]. If you developed around the spring water resource, what will you do? Nothing left. (#1065, 15 Dec 2014).”

The local people used words related to environmental protection (disappearance, protected zone, ecosystem, spring water, sweet fish) when they explained the naval base issue, and fresh water was consistently repeated in most interviews when the topic came to environmental problems. This finding was also

shown in Shim's (2012) work using semantic network analysis that also pointed out that the main discourse of local people to the naval base case was environmental protection. In addition to general concerns about the environment, the participants already had in-depth knowledge about freshwater, and their concerns were proved by observing the environmental consequences in the fresh water system in their village.

Interviewees had experienced a weird smell in the spring water or a sudden halt of spring water in the spring water ponds and wells after the construction started. They first noticed the lack of spring water in the wells that used to be full.

“There used to be lots of water spurting out from the ground after summer but there is nothing anymore. [#4106, Dec 26 2014]”

“There is something weird in the ground water and I am not sure it is caused by the construction. And there was always plenty of water coming out but not anymore. I am guessing that there is something happening in the waterways (underwater system), but I don't know. It is hard for a human-being to know the natural world and its system completely [#4004, Dec 24 2014].”

Some of them experienced a sudden water flow followed by a stop of flow from that water source.

“I cannot be sure about what's happening with the spring water and it is hard to confirm, but there is a certain change in the ground water and water reserves. I've heard of tons of water suddenly spurting out like a bomb. Salt water from the sea is coming out of there now. The water is supposed to be Kangjeong stream water, and all the water in the reserves came out at once and it is now dry. [#2034, Dec 13 2014]”

Adding to people's experiences of dried freshwater sources, some experienced environmental contamination in fresh water including a weird smell and finding unnatural substances in the water.

“There is noise and dust by the construction as well as contamination of spring water. But the government argued that there is no clear connection between water contamination and construction. But we saw oil from the spring water. Really. I have no idea how oil permeated the water. My guess, I am not sure whether it is correct or not, is that a region called Tongmun in our village which has spring water coming out from the ground when it is raining, is connected to Jungduck where the construction is on-going. The distance between these two is about 500 meters (0.3 miles). When the workers in the construction site bomb something (to destroy rock or whatever), we can hear boom-boom sounds from the ground in our village. Old people in the village said that there are weeping sounds every night since the construction has started. These are, I think, connected. Spring water is about ground water coming out from the ground that is flowing under the ground and permeating from somewhere. So I feel like there is something [#1053, Dec 26 2014].”

What participants experienced in relation to environmental impacts on fresh water based on their local knowledge has raised a question about the government's environmental impact assessment. As interviewees mentioned, it is unclear whether the construction is linked to contamination of spring water or not; but their experiences with the spring water certainly showed changes in their environment, which led to their uncertainty and unaccountability to the government. Local environmental knowledge, especially about fresh water, was never considered in the environmental impact assessment by the government, which asserted that there would be no influence on the water system (Jung 2013).

“We submitted our written opinions to the government based on local people's knowledge and our own investigation about environmental impacts. But they (the government) never considered it [#1037, 23 Dec 2014].”

Therefore, the local people's concerns with any environmental impacts on fresh water could not be resolved. The inconsistencies in environmental impacts between what participants experienced and what the government reported confused participants more and became an engine to boost their motivation to stop the naval base construction.

While their spring water knowledge and experiences led the participants to raise a question about the naval base location's suitability and the process of the environmental impact assessment, the following knowledge of seashore areas and environmental protection laws confirmed their suspicions.

Protecting ecological zone in the ocean area

Before the construction, participants had environmental knowledge of both the freshwater system and seashore areas to the extent of their daily lives. However, , their environmental knowledge in each area expanded in new ways after the start of construction and how participants used their newly learned knowledge was different between the freshwater system and seashore areas. While the observation of environmental problems in the freshwater system raised questions about the environmental impact assessment done by the navy, what the participants newly learned about seashore areas and the legal bonding protected zones in existence confirmed the limitations of the government's environmental impact assessments and spurred them to strengthen their anti-naval movement.

While the new knowledge of seashore protected areas by various laws led the locals to suggest a new direction for their anti-base movement, participants' existing knowledge about various physical characteristics of seashore areas had already raised concerns of possible problems related to naval base construction and the suitability of the location. In short, there are two parts where the participants expanded their knowledge about the seashore areas: 1) physical characteristics of the seashore area that led to questions about the suitability of the location of the military base; 2) the legally protected zone.

Initially, participants gained new environmental knowledge related to environmental protection areas in the coastal area near their village while participating in the anti-naval base movement. Two interviewees acknowledged that they acquired their knowledge about coastal environmental protection areas in this manner:

“We didn’t know that there was a natural preservation area or any kind of legally protected area near our village. We got to know this when they (it) [the government] announced that they were lifting the ban on building in the conservation areas near our village so that the naval base could be constructed there. If we knew about the area protected by the laws before the construction, we could have fought the government’s decision differently. [#5020, 16 Jan 2015] ”

“At first [before we knew about legally protected preservation areas], we simply wondered how they decided to build that military facility in such a beautiful environment. And yes the beauty of our [local people’s] surroundings could be attributed to the existence of legally protected conservation areas near this village. [#3045, 23 Dec 2014]”

As one participant said, the local people were well aware of the exceptional beauty of their environment without knowing about the environmental protection zones near their village.

After the participants learned about the laws protecting the coastal areas near their village, they subsequently learned that there were rare coral habitats in the protected area. One interviewee mentioned learning about these soft coral habitats and how the naval base construction could have an impact on them:

“When I was a village leader, myself and one professor from the department of environment in E university held a conference together. And that professor explained that the coral habitats were going to be completely destroyed during the construction period because of dust or floating materials from the construction site. Coral usually open their arms to eat plankton moved by tidal waves, but once they build the seawalls (breakwater) and stop the tidal movement, then corals cannot survive. [#4036, 13 Dec 2014] ”

These existing protected zones near their village made some participants think about the possible existence of other rare species. One participant thought the preservation laws protected not just the beauty of the seashore area, but also the rare species of wildlife living there. So one participant attempted to identify rare animals and plants that were protected under the preservation laws that would be endangered by the construction of the naval base.

“[...]That picture of *Chiromantes dehaani* (a protected species of crab) my friend took... we searched on the internet to find out what it was and it turned out that it is protected by law. So we thought that we can fight against the naval construction with this information and we contacted the Korean Federation for Environmental Movements (KFEM) [#6028, 13 Jan 2015].”

After finding these rare species in addition to learning about the existing environmental protection laws for the coastal areas, the participants thought that they could use this environmental knowledge in their anti-naval base rhetoric. One interviewee said that the navy violated the environmental protection laws to build the naval base, so this finding provided a new opportunity for the naval base opponents to challenge the base construction. They also learned that the government lifted the absolute protection zone law around this area in order to get the approval of construction, so the local people filed a petition with the Supreme Court to have this approval invalidated.

However, their petition to stop the construction by appealing the process of lifting the law protecting the conservation zone was dismissed. The court justified its decision to lift the ban on construction in the legally protected preservation area by contending that the environmental value in the area was not significantly important enough to halt the construction. In addition, to handle the protected species, the navy tried to move them to new habitats. But the way that the navy treated these species was inappropriate from the local people's knowledge and perspective.

“In Gurumbi, there are lots of animals and plants. Funny thing is that the crab is protected by law so what they (the navy) did was to catch them with fish pots. Well... they tried to transfer them to other places but they used fish pots so lots of crabs died. That fish pot is only used for catching octopus or something. They pretended to transfer them and didn't actually do that..... I found many of them dried up and dead [#6027, 14 Jan 2015].”

While the knowledge and awareness of these legally protected zones and species was new to the participants, the participants were already aware of the

unsuitability of the location due to the geographical features in that region and the risks of building the naval base right by the ocean (Hwang 2012). Most participants pointed out the frequency of typhoons in this region, as well as the strong tidal impacts from these storms.

“The thing that makes me worried the most is that, whether it is a naval base or not, it would be good if it works well but I highly doubt it. The region where it is being built is a gateway for typhoons, so geographically speaking it is not the right location for that kind of facility. And the water speed is pretty high too. So without even being concerned about soft coral habitats, it cannot function as a port. Then who will be responsible for that [any possible problems in the naval base, deteriorated environment]? [#10028: 17 Jan 2015]”

“There is a rock formation called JungDuck. Next to that rock area there are some areas having lower waves so that people in the village can even farm pretty close to the sea. But in our village, Gangjeong, we cannot farm close to the sea at all because the waves are too high and strong. So when rain comes, everything would be swept away. They are building the military facility in that difficult area. If you ask local people in our village whether that facility is fine or not, I am sure that 100 % local people would say no even if they agreed with the naval base. [#1035, 23 Dec 2014]”

These concerns about strong waves and winds were validated during the process of construction. Strong winds knocked down wave barriers (caissons) more than once, as reported both in newspaper articles (see the picture below: figure 12) and by interviewees.

Figure 15. Unsuitability of the Location: the impacts by Typhoon



(source: Jeju Sori)

“..... Not in here. Really. There are some other villages having bays next to us and they are even closer to military airports nearby like Alddreu Airfield and Jungsung Airfield. Here, we have strong tidal waves that directly hit right there. By now how much money have they lost to tidal waves? There were nine caisson breakwater barriers destroyed by the strong tsunami-like waves, including recently two more of them (see Figure 12 above). The sea waves in front of our village are really strong. They were destroyed not even when typhoon was around during the summer. I don't know what will happen this coming summer. The navy said that they have advanced technology so there would be no concerns, but even breakwaters (caisson breakwater) fell down, so who knows what will happen later? [#1041, 23 Dec 2014]”

This overall environmental knowledge acquired pre- and post- construction made participants question how the government made the decision to build a naval

base at this location. Based on their environmental knowledge about freshwater resources and the physical environment in seashore areas as well as the legal bonding protected area, the participants started to have doubts about the environmental impact assessment done by the government. One interviewee acknowledged the limitation of the environmental impact assessment:

“The government is assessing the suitability of the environment while sitting at a desk so they don't know the actual conditions. Think about it. Caissons are destroyed by torrent phenomenon in the sea. One of them is gone, and not by a typhoon even. When I was young and fishing over there, the waves were coming like a tsunami. So often in there that people are dead due to a sudden wave coming like that. That area can be very dangerous. Simply put, when a typhoon is coming, the national weather guys come here to report about typhoons because the typhoon is the strongest here so they can capture the waves and winds on camera well. [#6021, 8 January 2015]”

An environmental impact assessment that does not take local knowledge into consideration indicates an environmental injustice case that violates social indicators (see Table 3 below; Table A4 in Appendix IV). This leads to a number of contentious discussions about the actual legal force of environmental laws and environmental impact assessments (e.g. Song 2012, Jung 2013).

Appreciation of Environmental Value

Appreciation for nature among participants is not a sudden thing caused by the naval base construction. Even before the construction issues, some participants had already participated in environmental protection activities, and most of them were sensitive about various environmental changes. New environmental knowledge from their experiences led participants to figure out the flaws of the naval base site selection. Most participants were knowledgeable enough to point out possible limitations of building big facilities in the ocean front as well as the possible water contamination by deteriorating the bed rock area (Gurumbi) as discussed above.

This environmental knowledge could be established since their main economic activities are highly reliant on natural resources around the village. Also from their experiences with various natural disasters like typhoons, droughts or even small tsunamis, participants believed that the environment was not something that they could control but that they would have to obey and preserve (see the interview below). Almost every participant mentioned that they could not fully know nature so they needed to appreciate the natural world. One participant mentioned his feeling about sacred nature.

“How would we know about the nature as a human being who has limited experiences and life expanse? [#4167, 26 Dec 2014]”

The basic attitude to the natural world is close to a theological approach that admits their limited understanding about environment. This humble attitude towards nature with a growing knowledge about their local environment resulted in every

participant expressing their concerns about the consequences of naval base construction. One participant mentioned unexpected environmental consequences of the naval base even though he learned a lot from his experiences.

“No one knows what could really happen after the construction. [#7023, 10 Jan 2015]”

This comment reflects a part of the criticism of the environmental impact assessment reports, and the government reporting no significant environmental impacts on the surrounding regions of the naval base site. Even so, these participants acknowledged the complex natural system, so that their underlying attitude towards nature was close to humble submission to that of religion. Jeju people believe that even trees and bushes have their own life rights, so they have tried to keep the nature as it is and tried to assimilate the human life style into nature and their own environment (Yun, 2016: 15). They (Jeju people) have a sense of awe with nature and believe that all living creatures have spirits with transcendental power (Yun, 2016). Based on their knowledge of local environment passed down through generations and the general awe toward nature from their experiences, participants’ worries about the environmental consequences of the naval base are not surprising, and their worries cannot be separated from their knowledge and experiences, which bolstered each other as the participants engaged in the anti-naval base movement.

Combining participants’ basic attitude towards nature and their learning processes about the local environment through their experiences with the anti-naval base movement enhanced their attachment to the local environment even further. The

attachment to nature became even stronger after their realization of changes in the local environment and the existence of protected zones around their village. Experiencing a halt in spring water by bombing rock beds around the construction areas (“the places, where spring water is spurting out after every summer, has no water coming out anymore” #4204, 23 Dec 2014) and observing the poor management of rare species by the government (“to transfer the rare species of crabs, the navy used fish pots which are used for catching octopus or fish, and so there were lots of precious crabs that dried to death” #6027, 14 Jan 2015) made the participants reconsider the importance of the clean environment as well as encouraged them to learn more about actual protection practices such as legal bonding protected areas. During this learning process, their attachments to the local environment became stronger, including one participant who expressed his strong attachment to the local environment by taking pictures of the surrounding areas.

“My experience can be spiritual. When I went to the area where the naval base is building now, flowers and rocks and waves talked to me or whispered to me sadly. So I couldn't resist but to take pictures of them; at least like 4-5000. When I got back home and checked the pictures I took, I could feel that they talked to me saying like ‘let me in your pictures too.’I have never learned how to take a picture... I wished that these pictures could be shown in public 50 years later after I die (as a historical record). But when I saw these pictures I felt like they told me that they needed to present themselves, that we are alive and need to let the world know about this. [#8030, Jan 10 2015]”

The participants’ attitude towards the environment including this spiritual connection above showed that their appreciation of nature is not based on its benefits

but more about the ecological value itself, as one of the definitions suggested in the Environmental Justice discourse (Schlosberg 2004, See chapter 3).

Summary and Analysis

- Environmental Justice Indicators in this case study

The results show the local people's in-depth knowledge of their local environment and their learning process encouraged by the naval base construction. Even though there were various levels of environmental knowledge among the participants, a certain level of environmental knowledge was common and transferred as a part of their culture and tradition which are highly specialized to the geographical location of Jeju. Their way of living which is highly dependent on the environment, water and climate also have influenced their understanding of their environment and nature. The local environment was appreciated by different political entities from the central government to the international entities like UNESCO, but when the location for the naval base was selected at the national scale with a military purpose, the value of the environment and the local people's knowledge were ignored and minimized in various ways.

During the process of the Environmental Impact Assessment, no local knowledge was reflected sufficiently for the participants. More importantly, even though governmental entities(the Department of Environment and the Navy) argued that the procedures of EIA met the legal requirements, the participants argued the illegality of EIA itself for its procedural problems discussed earlier as well as its enforcement for this case based on their knowledge and observation. This doubt

became clearer when the participants in this study presented their experiences with environmental problems after the construction started. Also, no one was immediately responsible for the actual environmental problems caused during the construction since EIA indicated that there are no significant problems (Korean Ministry of Environment). But what the local people experienced was different from what EIA results show.

This practice of disregarding the local people's knowledge and participation in the process of EIA violates social indicators in Environmental Justice Indicators. Song (2012) pointed out how EIA can limit the boundary of environmental impact on the local people. For the case of Gangjeong village, the majority of works about environmental justice do not concern "the natural world outside of human impacts (Schlosberg 2009: 6) " (e.g. EPA EJ framework), but the discourses of environmental justice expanded its definition by bridging environmental justice with ecological justice. Similarly, the appreciation of the natural world itself became the main elements among the participants too.

This study used the environmental indicators from Environmental Justice Framework suggested by EPA to clarify participants' experiences and knowledge about the environmental changes caused by the naval base construction, which have been ignored by the governmental EIA process. Based on emerged codes from the interviews, I drew upon environmental indicators from the environmental justice framework (US EPA 2016) to clarify and summarize the multilayers of people's experiences of environmental aspects at play. EPA documents show that these environmental indicators can be involved with different scales for two different

purposes of screening and refining assessments. In this study, while focusing on local and personal scales, participants have been aware of their local environment to the point where they could even evaluate the flaws of the location for the naval base. This expanded knowledge was further accompanied with the growth of the relevant concept of 'development' while they engaged in the anti-base movement. These processes experienced by the participants and what they learned about their environment are coded environmental aspects.

Even though there were different opinions of how to draw the boundary of affected ecologically vulnerable areas between the government and the local people, both agreed on the possible impacts on rare species and coral habitats even though the government argued that it was possible to transfer rare species to other regions and that soft coral was not that unique (Kim 2011). Although the government did not include the local-led environmental impact assessment, including the distance of the naval base to drinking water sources, when taking into consideration participants' experiences, including changes in spring water, rare species and their habitat existence, and the locals' knowledge of environment overall, including existing law to prevent any development project for more than a decade, the collective data points to an environmental injustice case with various Environmental Indicators.

When focusing on the Environmental Indicators of Environment Justice Frames, there are the following subcategories: (1) sources of stress; (2) potential exposure to stress; (3) environmental conditions resulting from stress; and (4) environmental vulnerability. These subcategories are not completely separated when analyzing data for this study, which include the main themes as people's experience

of environmental problems and the learning process of environmental knowledge. While these participants' experiences and knowledge about the overall hydrologic process around this area can be categorized under environmental condition (see page 39 of US EPA document), some of their experiences also can be placed under the environmental vulnerability category (hydromorphic figures¹⁸) along with their newly learned information about soft corals and protected areas.

Another sub-category of environmental indicator, the source of environmental stress, was expressed in interviewees' experiences with consistent noise and changes in spring water such as a weird smell and a sudden halt of flow, which they speculated was caused from the construction of the naval base. Compared to the relatively clear environmental stress from the naval base construction, it is unclear that potential exposure to this stress (the second sub-category of environmental indicator) has had an impact, not only because the construction just finished (September, 2016), but also because people's experiences of current and past environmental conditions does not necessarily show the potential influences on them and the environment. This does not necessarily indicate that this case is not an environmental injustice case by considering the flexibility of how EPA defined it. These categories suggest a guideline for the possible environmental injustice case, and are not determining whether it is.

¹⁸ A community's drinking water is one potential pathway of exposure to environmental contaminants. Some sources of drinking water are more vulnerable to contamination than others. If a community uses a ground-water aquifer for its drinking-water source, indicators of the vulnerability of the aquifer to contamination would be useful to evaluate. If surface-water bodies are present, an additional potential exposure pathway is the consumption of fish caught in those surface waters, either recreationally or by subsistence fishers

However, along with social and economic indicators that will be discussed in the following chapters, the indicators of environmental condition that the participants experienced shows that this case is an environmental injustice case. In this case study, environmental condition, environmental vulnerability and some possible information about source of stress are adopted to explain the environmental injustice situation through people's experiences and learning processes discussed above. Not only environmental indicators but social and economic indicators are also combined in the data, which will be discussed in upcoming chapters, to confirm the case as an environmental injustice situation.

Chapter 6. Finding 2: Participation and Marginalization

Introduction

In the previous chapter, this study discussed different perspectives among the different entities, including the local people and the governmental entities, and the gap between these actors revealed by the environmental consequences of the naval base construction. This chapter focuses more on the participants' experiences and interpretation of the case. The significant amount of data represents the theme of the overall experience of participants' involvement in the anti-naval base movement during the construction process and government actions in response. As a result, the theme of the governmental response most closely related to the local people's experience is unjust procedural process from the government. This led to the local people's participation in the anti-naval base movement which further resulted in various governmental responses.

The super-ordinate theme of governmental responses that participants' experienced has three main themes (see the table 4), and this chapter will focus on the first main theme of marginalization. Every participant experienced various forms of marginalization from the government and within the community, but the majority of marginalization processes that the participants experienced were from the government. Participants' experience of marginalization includes their limited chance to participate in the decision-making process, the harsh governmental response to participants that echoes the strong stigma from a history of marginalization on Jeju (will be discussed in chapter 7), and discouragement of appealing their knowledge to

the government. Marginalization by the government is the main phenomenon emerging from the recurring data of participant experiences.

This main theme of marginalization is categorized into 1) Marginalization from decision-making process; 2) Marginalization within the community; and 3) Learning process from being marginalized (see the table 4). These sub-categories will be analyzed through the time frame of the naval base issue in this chapter, with the phenomenon of being marginalized from the government informing the different stages of people's experiences of marginalization, particularly with a consideration of the escalating governmental responses as time passed. By following the timeline of the issue, marginalization will be shown as evolving through different stages: 1) how the local people have been excluded from the government-led process; 2) the participants' learning process from being marginalized; and 3) aggravated governmental reactions to anti-naval base movement.

As the participants experienced different stages of marginalization, the main emotion felt within each stage also changed to reflect each stage. These emotional expressions were consistent among the participants in each stage throughout the process of the naval base construction. Analyzing emotions are an important part of this phenomenology study, as they reveal the most contentious moments that interviewees were experiencing with the government and other people in the community during the construction process¹⁹. The main emotional transitions

¹⁹ Tracing participants' emotions in phenomenology became one important aspect for understanding participants' perspectives regarding their experiences. Taking into account Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis approaches to the emotions where "emotion experiences are often world-focused rather than self-focused (Eatough and Smith 2006 : 485)," and these emergent themes of feeling and emotions of the participants give in-depth understanding of transitional perspectives of

experienced by the participants illustrates the different stages of marginalization experienced by the local people. Thus while focusing on the main themes and sub-categories above, more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of the case will be described.

The phenomenological descriptions of the participants' emotional transitions and experiences of being marginalized are discussed based on environmental justice indicators. While focusing on multiple social indicators under the environmental justice frame, the government's improper response to this case indicates its violation of environmental justice. By using the frame of environmental justice, this study can suggest a way to understand and gauge the response from the government and the response of the community. In addition, studying the link between this social indicator and people's experiences with the naval base construction process demonstrates this situation as a case of environmental injustice and further demonstrates the possibilities of the extended application of the environmental justice frame.

the participants that are directed outwards towards the world from their own community to the central government, and indirectly towards international entities. "Emotion experience is best characterized as a perception of a meaningful world that is filled with calls for action (Frijda 2005 p. 474)." In other words, by capturing emotional change in participants, this study could observe their evolving perceptions and understanding about the government and scale with their own words. Also while emotions changed over time, the important themes related to political ecology and environmental justice naturally concurred.

Excluded from Decision-Making Process:

- Marginalization under social indicators of Environmental Justice

The beginning of the participants' experiences with being marginalized was during the decision making processes. The decision making process to decide the location of the naval base was an especially tangible marginalizing experience for the participants. There were no official hearings or pre-meetings for the majority of local people to learn about the decision to build a project of national or even international scale in their village. Every participant repeatedly mentioned about how shocked they were when they learned, from the media conference held at the community center, that there was to be a new naval base in their village. They overheard that it might be built in other villages in Jeju before but never heard that their village was one of the proposed sites. In this situation, it was not just a surprise but more like a shock to them. One excerpt of an interview that shows marginalization of the local people also shows their feeling about the sudden news about the naval base.

“I didn't even get notified when the decision was made [in the community council]. It was my first time to hear about the decision of the naval base location when there was a press conference. And since then village people have started to go against that idea. Since then! Before the press meeting (conference), most people didn't know that at all. How would we know that? [#2030, 16 Dec 2014]”

The participants also reported that they wondered what was happening when they observed lots of journalists from the newspapers and reporters from major TV channels gathering in their small village. During the media conference, the former village leader, Yun, announced that he was pleased to have a naval base in their village with a majority agreement of the local people. None of the participants had heard about the base previously, and thus they questioned who Yun referred to as “the

majority” of local people. The initial reactions from this sudden news were surprise and questions. They wondered who was involved in the overall decision-making process, who led the process, and why their village was selected.

Then they started to feel confused as to how it happened in a way that no one had ever heard about it. It was not easy for them to understand the situation so the feeling of confusion persisted for a while until they started to understand the possible significant impact having a military base in their community could have on their lives. After learning this news, participants started to look for the causes of this whole event. They tried to understand what was happening, who was leading the process and for what purposes.

Here are one interviewee’s comments about his understanding of the problems of this initial decision-making process:

“My problem with this naval base construction is that it was too unilateral by the government from the beginning. It is a national project, but only Yun, the former community leader, and about 60 Haenyeo(s) (female divers) persuaded by him (...) were in the meeting for deciding whether our village was going to have a naval base or not. According to the meeting notes on that day, there was only one person who disagreed, and there was no chance for him to speak up because everyone else who was invited to the meeting was in favor of the naval base. And when I looked at what the person presented in that meeting, everything he said was completely identical with the information that was on the navy website. Like that unilateral approach [...] the fundamental problem the local people have is that there is no agreement among the local community. Only a few people were involved in the decision.[#3016, 3 Jan 2015]”

According to this interview, this participant noted the limitations of having a village meeting with only a small number of local people in attendance, a meeting that was sanctioned by the government without any consideration for its legitimacy. To this interviewee, this showed that the government was involved in the

marginalization process. Based on his process of understanding, the process of making this huge decision, he concluded that there was collusion between the former village leader and the government. In this sense, the marginalization was an intentional act that allowed for the construction to proceed.

When the locals experienced the feeling of being isolated from the decision-making process, their feeling of confusion changed into that of anger. Without any proper inclusion in the decision-making process for the sizable national project, they felt completely marginalized which manifested itself as anger toward the navy and the Korean government. There are no direct emotional expressions of confusion from the participants like “I am confused” or something similar unlike the outward expression of their surprise, but their expressions like “don’t understand”, “can you imagine”, “why did the naval base need to be here”, revealed their confusion in the marginalized process. This indirect expression of confusion was never solved until there were clearer answers for the reasons of how this issue started and developed. But even after learning about other community people who agreed to the naval base construction and their relations with the government, the participants’ confusion and surprise remained and even increased as they acknowledged how they were marginalized. Their confusion, therefore, compelled them to participate in the anti-naval base movement to be recognized by the government.

These peoples’ experience of exclusion from participation in this significant decision-making meeting is a part of the government’s response actions, as a part of social indicators of Environmental Justice. Interviewees consistently insisted that no one knew about the meeting and the decision. Considering the fact that participants in

this study were regularly active in the community council or participated in community activities through different social gatherings in the community, it is not difficult to assume that other villagers had even fewer chances to be exposed to this decision-making process. This is a marginalized process against the majority of local people by a few people who were in power, allegedly with bigger power entities, in this case, the government.

Government's violent response to the Local People

The local people's exclusion from the decision-making process initiated the phenomenon of marginalization in the community, then the subsequent worsening levels of negative reactions from the government to the local people's participation confirmed this phenomenon. The participants have felt frustrated by the government throughout all steps of appealing to the government, including the refused acceptance of the results of the official vote on the naval base project with the majority of the local people, being ignored in their request for the official documents related to the naval base project, and experiencing various tactics from the government toward their participation in anti-naval activities.

Some of the interviewees actively participated in movements against the naval base because they thought that they could stop the process with a proper appeal to the government. Since the majority of local people did not even know about the decision, they thought this majority, including participants, could make the government reconsider the decision if the government knew the majority opinion of the local people. Even though the participants were shocked and confused in the

beginning, they did not feel discouraged since they thought that they could stop the process. Two different participants explained how simply they thought and how positive they were at the beginning of their activities against the naval base.

“Just about 20 people gathered and made a naval base disagreement task force (anti-naval base board) at first including me. Our only purpose was to make sure the other community people knew about this issue, no more than that. So we printed out flyers about the naval base and started to distribute them to villagers in our community. [#0157, 22 Dec 2014]”

“.... I really think that people agreeing to the naval base didn’t know the problems and consequences of a naval base. If they really knew what would be happening, they would have disagreed about the naval base. That is why we are focusing on spreading the information about the naval base. [#2066, 28 Dec 2014]”

“I looked up the record of how the whole conversation of the naval base started. One day, all Haenyeo went to sea to do their job, and the previous community leader waited for them and told them that there would be a naval base in our village and a good compensation will be rewarded. And one guy named Cho said we agreed on having the naval base but later on we can cancel if we don’t like it. I started to make a group of people who disagreed with the naval base and showed them there are lots of people who don’t agree with the idea of a naval base. Then I wanted to toss out things to the community council, and they would take care of that, but no one really tried to show their will to do something, so I ended up creating the “stop the naval base” movement. [#2064, 28 Dec 2014]”

These two participants supported holding another official community meeting with the majority of local people to reorganize the community council and called for a vote for the community leader. They believed that the decision of having the naval base did not represent the overall villagers’ opinions and that the naval base’s presence would conflict with the community’s interests as described above. In this process, Yun, the former community leader and the leading supporter of bringing the naval base to the village, was fired from the rearranged community council. A

group of people including two participants of the study asked for an official vote for the community leader in 2007. As a result of voting for the new community leader, one participant, Kim (pseudonym) for this study was chosen, and he became responsible for leading and organizing the anti-naval base movement.

After selecting a new community leader and rearranging the community council members, the local people(including two participants in this study) held an official community vote on a final decision for having the naval base, which was open to everyone in the community unlike the first community meeting about the naval base, which only included Yun(the former village leader) and around 80 community people before the decision for the location was announced. Participants of this study were confident and positive about the result of this vote. And the results showed that the majority of people in Gangjeong did not want to have a naval base. One participant expressed his emotion subtly when they held the official vote.

“I knew that no one liked to have the naval base if they knew what would really happen after the construction. But if the majority of people agree to the naval base with a proper democratic decision-making process, we are ready to accept the result. [#3134, 28 Dec 2014]”

According to Kim (pseudonym), the community leader, he was open to having the naval base if the majority of community people agreed to it while understanding the possible consequences (#02131).

But the government reacted negatively to the community’s decision to hold another meeting to vote on the naval base according to the participants. Proponents for the naval base also acted more aggressively at this meeting. One participant described the meeting as being “some TV show type of drama”:

“When we finally had our first community meeting, there were tons of police cars surrounding Yun's place. Probably they had some kinds of discussion, and something was going on over there. [#3123, 28 December 2014]”

“As soon as the meeting started ahead of the official voting, a proponent of the naval base started to talk about their arguments in support of the base. We, the people who disagreed with this issue, stopped him from talking. So then the Haenyeo all stood up and started to shout and mess up the community center. They destroyed the voting booth and took the voting box and ran away. It was a real mess. Some kind of TV show really. [#3122, 28 December 2014]”

“.....the government waited for us to do some violent actions [against proponents' actions] so that they could arrest us. There were tons of police cars around this village. All are set up [for us to do something illegal so that the police can arrest us]. We knew that. If we responded to proponents' interference for the vote, the police would have arrested all of us. This is not a biased comment. Because there was obvious evidence of this, like when one of the community members called the police for the mess that the proponents created but no police cars came to help us. Well, of course, no surprise. There were already police cars in here not to protect us but to attack us. [#3125, 28 December 2014]”

Even with these difficulties, the official vote results showed that most community people opposed the naval base. Citing this result, the new leader and the new community council members (which included a few of the participants for this study) sent an official letter to the government asking it to reconsider building the naval base in their village. But this appeal was not considered by the government. In addition to the official letter being ignored by the government, the participants also mentioned that there were no official governmental documents sent to the community to explain how Gangjeong was selected, and no information on who sent a request to have the naval base, which the government argued had been sent by villagers.

“So we requested a copy of a government report that explained why the village was chosen for the naval base site. And the document [that we got from the government] did not indicate that the local people requested the naval base from the beginning [unlike what the government said in the media conference]. [In other words] when we requested for the evidence [of the

villagers asked for having the naval base in Gangjeong], they [the navy changed their words and] said that the naval base construction was not started by the local's requests but by Jeju Governor Kim from Jeju government. [On the letter that the central government sent to us] Governor Kim asked for the naval base in Jeju based on overall Jeju public opinion survey. Now they changed their words like that since they were in a corner. No evidence or grounds for us. [#1050, 26, December, 2014]"

"No official document was sent to our community, like the document mentioning how Gangjeong village requested the naval base to be built in our community and how the decision has been made. I don't understand how this can be possible. For example, another potential village named Wimi 1 Li got an official letter from the Navy on March 22, 2007, I can recall the letter saying Wimi was one of the options for the naval base so the Navy would like to research the zoning for the construction sites and to study the potential problems of the process. But there was nothing for our Gangjeong village. There are no legal grounds for proceeding with this construction. [#1047, 14 December 2014]"

Even though this official document sent to Wimi is not accessible to the public, there is a newspaper article about the Navy's new plan to have the naval base in Jeju and the potential location for that is Wimi (Jejusori, Kim 2006). Participants believed that their appeals to the government would work with the vote result since these were official procedures even though there were very suspicious things that happened during the voting time. However, they had to accept that the government did not consider or recognize this voting result. Not only was the vote result ignored, but the government also ignored an official request from the community council to clarify the procedure of site selection which was supposed to be done before the decision had been made, especially for any national scale construction led by the government. Another request for a simple copy of an official document asking for local people's cooperation for the construction, which is supposed to be sent to the community center, was also denied. By accumulating these experiences of being

ignored by the government, participants expressed their feeling of being marginalized as a mixture of frustration and anger.

“..... No official letter is coming to the community [for deciding the location in the beginning] Is it difficult to understand? You can tell how horrified they are! How dare they [the government] look down at us [the local people]! [#0151, 27 December 2014]”

Because there was no other official way to appeal the government’s decision except sending official requests, which were ignored by the government, many local people started demonstrating on the road to voice their anger and frustration especially as the construction started.

“Our community council sent our official written statements to the government many times and requested for official documents to prove their decision, but nothing is working at all. The only time they (the government) regarded us was when we went after the construction and showed something like fighting against them. [#0174, 27 December 2014]”

While the participants were getting into more protests, the government adopted various tactics to stop these protests. What participants experienced the most among these tactics was paying fines for “obstruction of justice” as a result of their protests. One participant explained how he ended up paying a fine for his acts of civil disobedience.

“At the beginning of the anti-naval base movement, I fought a lot with policemen and appealed my points to the government workers a bit aggressively. These things were recorded on CCTV, and I was accused of arguing with police officers. At first, I was not under indictment but needed to pay fine about 750 dollars. But the problem is that I didn't do anything violently at all, I just gestured at them and did not even touch their bodies. They charged me with violence for that. So I had to pay another 700 dollars, but I appealed to the court and paid 500 dollars in the end. [#50930, February 2, 2015]”

Some participants experienced more severe legal consequences than fines.

Another participant reported that this was the case for his activities.

“I still have one more trial to go. I was accused of obstruction of justice (interference with a public official in the exercise of his duty). There was another trial which resulted in 1 year of probation. That trial even went to the Supreme Court, which resulted in my one year of probation. At first, I was sentenced to 1-year probation and five months in-prison. [02018, January 5, 2015]”

Some people were imprisoned for being violent against the policemen. But as one participant noted, one guy who went to prison was more than 80 years old and did not do anything but just stand with the others.

“There is an old man named XXX, who is like 80 years old. I saw him just standing with other people, but he was charged with taking violent actions against policemen and ended up being in prison for three months. Think about it, that old man can do that? [99125, January 25, 2015]”

These various governmental tactics and enforcement actions scared the local people from participating in the anti-naval base movement. All participants expressed how scared they were and how they had been treated by the government. What made people more scared about their participation was not just current punishments like fines, but rumors about the possible impacts on their children, such as future job prospects. This rumor sounded realistic to the participants, based on their experiences of the 4-3 incident (or so-called Jeju Uprising), which was mentioned in the background and is discussed more later in this study. Two participants expressed their concerns about the possible impacts on their kids if they participated in the movement, and how these concerns limited their participation.

“There are some people who threatened us by saying that there is ‘guilt of association’ underground. So my participating in the anti-naval movement can cause my son trouble. ... It might make sense. [5493, January 13, 2015]”

“There are lots of people judging us for our political actions. They blackmailed us like by suggesting our children cannot get a job. There is no such thing as ‘guilt of association’ anymore, but to be governmental workers.... [parents actions may impact a child’s ability to have or keep a government job]. At first, I was just agreeing and following the lead of the community council, which had convinced villagers to oppose the naval base. While following the lead of the community council, I’ve heard about lots of instances of blackmail from proponents and the governmental officers. They even liked to put us as a group having political purposes with a specific communist ideology. [#40113, 19 December, 2014].”

As one participant mentioned above, most participants did not expect that their appeal to the government would result in these strong threatening actions from the government. They simply thought that they needed to appeal to the government since there were no proper decision-making processes that considered their opinions. Participants repeatedly mentioned that they assumed the government would give other options or some proper explanations if they let the government know about the opinion of most of the villagers (Interview 1, 3, 5). But after experiencing the government’s negative reaction to their actions, the participants felt completely marginalized by the government. Two participants expressed their frustrations of being ignored by the government:

“We feel helpless. I mean we, the people who disagree with the naval base. Because the government already has a deep connection with a few community people [who supported the naval base] strongly. So it is not fair game for us. But we needed to argue with them and make them understand our arguments peacefully [while these proponents or the governmental people treated them harsh]. [#03061, 10 December 2014]”

“We did not know that this appeal process [the anti-naval base movement] would last this long. We thought that it was our job to let the government know that there are lots of people who disagree with the naval base. The start of this was small. (...) It is not a fair thing for us, and I learned that I shouldn’t have been involved in this kind of thing. After this, I taught my children that it is better not to be against the government even though you are

right. This is what I learned from this experience. [#31161, 11 December 2014]”

This experience was also a learning experience for the local people that confirmed their doubt of the government due to being forced to diversify their means of appealing to the government as a result of the overall injustice of being increasingly marginalized in their efforts (more in Chapter9). Moreover, this marginalization made the participants more concerned about the possible consequences and left no trust in the government. One participant made a remorseful comment about his (her) distrust of the government after experiencing the government’s response.

“From my perspective, the politicians [the government] deceived the local people about the purpose of the naval base. [#61701, 18 January, 2015]”

Summary

The local people’s experience of being marginalized demonstrated that this case was an environmental injustice case. The systemic marginalization of the local people residing near the site for constructing the military base is against the procedural justice measures outlined under the Environmental Justice discourse particularly in violation of the main components of social indicators in the Environmental Justice Framework (EPA). During the process of deciding the naval base location, there were no governmental actions providing information to the local people, no proper interaction between the community and the governing agencies, and no access to the information in the decision-making process for the local people.

When considering the key component ‘educating the community on the issues at hand’ (EPA P30: under ‘government response actions’ under social indicator of EJ framework), the government not only failed to meet this requirement but also responded to the local people’s efforts to educate themselves and try to communicate with the government by increasingly marginalizing the local people. The government’s many forms of marginalization included the violation of local people’s right to be involved in the decision-making process, no official letters from the government to the community council, no consideration of community voting results, and the violent responses to the local people’s participation in their movement to appeal to the government, as discussed above.

This chapter, therefore, analyzed the participants’ experiences from the beginning of the naval base construction process from the decision-making process to their participation in the demonstrations against the government due to its unjust process. Their experience of being involved in this issue is both a result of the causes and the consequences of how the government treated the local people. Thus, this chapter examined the relationship between the local people in this community and the government from the local people’s perspectives.

While focusing on the relation between the government and the local people, the local people were forced to be in the invisible spot by the various forms of marginalization. The majority of local people were excluded from the decision-making process which became the main reason for the local people participating in the movement to appeal to the government. Then in return, the participants experienced different levels of negative governmental responses, which became

harsher when their voices toward the government became louder. Systemically being forced into the invisible position through increased extensive negative responses from marginalizing the decision-making to both direct and indirect threats towards them, the participants shared their common feelings of deep frustration and seemingly being compliant to the government.

The participants' feelings are summarized as growing negative emotions to the government that started from surprise and confusion to frustration and discouragement. The sequence of marginalization is shown from the participants' transitioning emotions with each new form of marginalization. Starting with the confusion about the sudden announcement of having the naval base in their village, they were frustrated, angry and discouraged by how the government responded to their appeals. They then felt fear from the government about any consequences from their activities. These emerged by following the timeline from the decision-making process to the start of the anti-naval base movement. In other words, these sequences of emotions followed their involvement in the movement to stop the naval base and were occasionally expressed during interviews of all of the participants.

This transition of feeling is attached to the acknowledgment of the relation between the government and the local people who can be marginalized by the government anytime when the government needs. This is linked to their long experiences of being objectified from the outside (people from the mainland) and the government (chapter 8) on top of the modern autocratic state in South Korea during 1960s-70s. While South Korea has a short history as a democracy, this unilateral

relation between the government and the people makes the local people easily doubt the democratic system at the country level.

The marginalization of the local people has been persistent and prevailing during the overall process of the naval base issue and became the overarching phenomenon in this community. This phenomenon in the community is based on the political injustice process within an environmental injustice situation. Additional description of the phenomenon was examined by tracking the changing emotions of participants. While this chapter discussed the actual common experiences of the participants with the government under the theme of marginalization, further analysis of this relationship based on the perspective of scale will be discussed next in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7. Finding 3: Social Indicators with the Concept of Scale

Introduction

The marginalized local people's experiences above are mainly about the interaction between the local people and the local government during the national scale project. The actual subjects who acted to marginalize the local people in the community were the local governmental entities including the local police officers from Seogwipo city, Jeju or the governmental workers from the city hall. However, the main actor who made the decision to marginalize the local people from the decision-making process and directed the local government to confront the local people, is the national government and its decision-makers including the Korean Navy, as stated earlier.

For that reason, even though the forms of marginalization seemed to be constrained to various political scales and various directions, marginalization from the national government to the local people in Gangjeong village was the most common phenomenon that the local people experienced. In this process of being marginalized from the national government like the decision-making process and related political actions, this small community, Gangjeong, became more marginalized from the rest of the country for the large-scale benefits of national security. Thus any actions that the local people did to stop the naval base construction such as requesting for the official letter granting construction rights or asking for the more precise environmental impact assessment in the previous chapters was interpreted as selfish NIMBY oriented actions. In this interpretation from the national

government and many citizens throughout the rest of Korea, the objectification of the local people in Gangjeong is reinforced by a long history of being objectified by the mainland Korea to Jeju.

The history of Jeju is an accumulation of being objectified from outside of the Island, particularly from the national government of which the 4-3 incident is the most infamous example. Many people in Jeju were killed by the government due to being labeled as communists without any fact-checking. In this chapter, the history of being objectified from the government, which culminated in the 4-3 incident, which was compared to the local people's current experiences with the naval base construction. The analytic scope will be widened to the bigger time scale from this comparison. By reflecting on their history of being marginalized, the main emotion among the participants toward the government is now close to fear.

Objectification in this study is about how the local people in Gangjeong are being objectified from the outside (especially the government, the people from the mainland), and not as a part of it, through 'othering.'²⁰ This objectification made it easier for the government to marginalize the local people. While analyzing data of both interviews and other contents in phenomenological approach, the government is not the only actor that objectified the local people. Objectification was done in various ways especially within the community– the former village leader, Yun, objectified the participants on behalf of the government. In the other direction, a

²⁰ 'Othering' refers to objectifying local people in Jeju as different from the "normal" citizens mainly in the mainland Korea, in a manner that renders them inferior. Throughout the study, the participants expressed their experiences of being acknowledged by the mainland people in a culturally inferior way historically, such as locals eating weird food in Jeju [#1_1912].

couple of participants (opponents) objectified the proponents of the naval base (female divers and Yun) by putting them into a more separate group due to what they have done for the base (interfering the community official voting) that resulted in a significant disparity within the community.

In this chapter, Yun's perspectives with secondary data, newspaper interviews, and how his views can be representative of the arguments that the government made will be analyzed. The analysis will then focus on the participants' views toward Yun and other individuals in the community which involved their way of objectifying a group of people within the community. Therefore, the process of marginalization cannot be separated from the objectification of the local people.

Comparison with historical event

Expanded Time Scale

The local people's experiences of being marginalized from the government (discussed in chapter 7) reminded them of their relationship with the government in the past. When the governmental responses were getting harsher, the participants compared this case to the historical incident (4-3) when their families were killed by the government (see chapter 3-4 about 4-3 incident). The tactics that the government adopted to isolate the participants, and the way that the government treated the local people was not very different from 4-3. These resemblances that the local people felt were confirmed not only by the severe governmental reactions but also by the concerns from their families who experienced 4-3 in the past.

For participants, there were no other ways to stop the construction since they were frustrated by the official procedures already, such as not redoing the vote, sending the official letters, and even trying to request an investigation of the process. After being ignored by the government, the participants tried to stop the construction itself by obstructing the truck drivers getting into the construction sites and so forth (Kang, 2010). The government reacted to these actions by imprisoning some people with charges of violence against the police or charging fines due to stopping the traffic flow.

These governmental responses scared the participants off, and this fear continued to grow by hearing their family members' concerns about their activities. One participant reported how much her family hated them to engage in any movement against the government.

“My father-in-law hated my husband participating in this anti-naval base movement so much. [#0429, Dec 27, 2014]”

This participant kept explaining the possible reasoning of why her father-in-law hated them to be involved with the anti-naval base group. She said that:

“His father witnessed the death of his father [grandfather to the participant] [by the police] when he was 15 years old.... so of course his father disagreed with his son's participation [in anti-naval base movement] against the government. [#0174, Dec 29, 2014]”

Based on the history of the government-led massacres, these concerns are legitimate. As the participants experienced the government's harsh responses, they felt like they were returning to the 1950's when coercive governmental threats were a reality. Another participant directly mentioned this feeling about the government reflecting on the 4-3 incident.

“That is because they have experienced oppression from the government through the 4-3 incident so that the basic feeling toward the government is fear. [#4215, Dec 30, 2014]”

Based on interviews and existing studies (see Bae 2012), it is undeniable that this government-led process and these unfair treatments to the interviewees enhanced the participants’ fear toward the government. While the prolonged distrust toward the government had disappeared during recent history through the process of fighting for democracy in South Korea, the ‘coercive’ unilateral governmental approach to their anti-naval base movement easily made the participants recall the 4-3 incident, which has remained as a trauma within the community.

These direct or indirect memories remained with the majority of community people, particularly including participants who actively engaged in the movement against the government project. Many participants kept repeating how their experiences from this anti naval base movement made them think of how they felt about 4-3 incident. Every participant directly mentioned his/her frightened feeling toward the government while (s)he engaged in the movement.

“When I think about what happened when I was actively participating in the anti-naval base movement, it was so scary and full of hair raising experiences. (...) [#2027, 26 Dec 2014]”

“Strangely enough that I have to mention things that happened in the 4-3 incidents. Due to 4-3, there are lots of dead people including my grandfather. So it is scary. I meant the military or the government to me is scary. [#10058, 15 Jan 2015]”.

Another participant added his/her thought after experiencing the governmental responses about why old people in the town had a certain habit.

“Now I understand why my grandmother and my mom or even other elders have a habit that they don't end the sentence fully when they say something. It is pretty common that many people in here don't finish their words completely but always equivocate because at that time [4-3 incident] when they spoke something too clearly it was easy to get killed. [#4215, 28 December 2014]”

Most participants in this study mentioned that they felt similarities between 4-3 incident and this naval base controversy particularly regarding how the government treated them. Even though the government offered compensation to certain numbers of people this time, the basic approach of the government to the local people was not changed that much from the 4-3 incident. Not just 4-3 incident, another national scale project called ‘New Community Movement,’ which was held in overall South Korea in the 1970s for the better living environment through building new roads or buildings, also pushed the local people accept some specific projects, and in return, sacrifice something for the national scale benefit. One participant pointed out that they had no choice but to follow what the government said during this ‘New Community Movement’ in 70s’ and that they had to give up their cultural heritage in the village to build the road.

“When the state (the county) wanted something, like when ‘New Community Movement’ did, they did it like, ‘ok we (the government) will build the roads so give up your ownership of the lands to do that.’ There was even no compensation. [...] There was an old castle (palace) in our village and of course there were walls for that building. When ‘New Community Movement’ was pushed by the government, so we needed to take the stones out of these walls so that the government built a road by using these stones that we provided for free. It was mandatory. Each household was assigned for a certain amount of stone. So when I was young, I went to that old castle and took the stone out and put into the place where it will be a road. [#4950, 10 December 14]”

With different reasons like for repelling commies (4-3 incident), for making the better living environment(New Community Movement) and for the increased military strength and economic development (the Naval Base construction), the government has marginalized the local people without any consideration of their opinions and a proper – justice process. In this context, when some of the interviewees participated in the anti-naval base movement and confronted harsh governmental responses, their aggregated fear to the government directly brought their thoughts to the historical incident of 4-3 when many local people were killed.

“I feel that these are exactly the same things that happened in the 4-3 incident. [...] Well for the 4-3 incident, it was cruel since people were killed, but this time people got mentally killed [#63945, 03 January 2015].”

“I am sure there are not many people who like to have a naval base in our community. But they are just quiet since they know what happened during 4-3 incident. They don't want to be against the government. Too many scars from that. That's why many people in our community cannot speak up against the naval base, but in our mind, we all disagree [#54291, 15 January 2015].”

The tactics that the government used to stop the people's engagement in anti-naval base activities did not just remind them of the historical governmental suppression of the 4-3 incident, but also made them even angrier about the government and even on a bigger scale against the U.S. Some of the participants expressed their anger toward the U.S. which they thought their government simply followed so that they were even more marginalized.

“I hate the U.S. They caused all these things. The U.S. is needed to be demolished first, there must be pressure from the U.S. [to the South Korea government]. [...] This Naval Base is not for our security but the U.S. security or whatever for sure [#54207, 15 Dec 2014]. ”

“I heard that there are lots of perverts in the U.S. military bases. Then the only things that Gangjeong will have are bars with only women or even men [#7252, 4 Jan 2015].”

Having traumas in mind, another tactic that the government and the people who agreed with the government used was labeling the participants as ‘commies’. That touched the core of the participants’ fear since the huge casualties during the 4-3 incident were the consequence of the Cold-War, where people were prosecuted if they were suspected as communists from North Korea. Participants’ fear, which stems from their underlying distrust of the government due to what they learned from the 4-3 incident, is exacerbated by these political tactics. One participant pointed out their concerns of being labeled as a group of people having certain political purposes that especially support the North Korean regime.

“It is so heartbreaking that they (the government) see us ideologically this way. I have no intention for any political purposes. We are just farmers doing farming jobs and then thought that it is not the right thing, so we came out to appeal to the government. But people denounced us with an ideological yardstick. [#4112, 27, Dec, 2014]”

“One politician comments of calling the community people as commies hurt the overall community people tremendously [...] The National Assembly member Kim’s careless comment especially hurt Jeju people who have fear and the memory of sadness from 4-3. [...] 60 year ago, lots of people got killed by being labeled as commies, and these spirits are still around, and he needs to know that the history of horror is being repeated in here (Kang, 2011, “Asking for Kim to resign for his comment”)

This tactic of labeling people as ‘leftist’ or ‘commies’ who disagreed with the government regime gained its popularity relatively recently again, as it has been effectively used to control the people in Korean history after the Korean War (D. Kim 2009). By using this tactic, it is easier to marginalize the locals and to disregard their

opinions and knowledge. These tactics enhanced the fear that the people have about the government and caused them to censor themselves and suppress their urge to act against the government. One participant even worried about me, a researcher, who was studying about this issue.

“I don't know who you [referring me: the researcher] are and what you are doing in here, but you can be kicked out from this country by doing this [researching about us]. This country often put the people into the corner by calling them as ‘Pro-North Korean’²¹ ‘Leftist Pro-North Korean.’ I don't know when this kind of thing [labeling people as Pro North Korean] happened, but it is pretty recent. But it is such an easy thing for the government. If there is a person who seems not to agree with what they said, and do not seem that loyal to the government, then they just call them ‘Leftist Pro-Korean.’ [...] Same with the 4-3 incident. [#6038, 20, January, 2014]”

This ‘labeling’ strategy resulted in unexpected worries for the participants.

During the 4-3 incident, not only the people who were suspected as ‘commies’ were prosecuted but also their relatives were killed for possible complicity. These inherited memories about the 4-3 incident impacted the participants in other ways like any possible adverse impact on their children, which scared participants the most. This so-called ‘guilt by association’ made the participants feel worried about any further consequences on their lives and their children’s lives by their activities against the government. And there was a rumor among the people that their participation could result in negative influences on their children. One participant mentioned that he

²¹ Pro-North Korean is called ‘Jongbuk(중북)’ in Korean: this term was coined in 2001 in the process of merging the Socialist Party into the Democratic Labor Party, but the head of the Socialist Party denied to do so for the reason that some people in the Democratic Labor Party prioritized the Korean Worker's Party's (North Korea) international policies. He said that these people were a group of ‘Jongbuk (meaning pro-North Korean)’ and that's the reason why he would not join this party (“Not Join to the Jongbuk Party,” Dec 21, 2001). Since then, this term has been widely spread throughout South Korea. Therefore the meaning is “Pro-North Korean”, which is different from ‘Commies’ or ‘Communist’ but participants in this study use them interchangeably.

could not stop thinking of the possibility that his son might get pressured to retire from his job in the government.

“It is a weird coincidence, but my son quit his job in a governmental office position (he named it but rather not to say in here due to the personal confidentiality) all of a sudden without a proper reason. So I was wondering whether there is any connection or he was forced to leave due to my actions against the naval base. I was so worried and concerned. His job was so good so that there was no reason for him to leave. He said that he has health issues and that is the reason, but I am still wondering whether my participation in the anti-naval base movement is relevant or not [#05096, 14, December 2014].”

Another participant also clearly pointed out the name of ‘guilt by association’ as expressing his (her) worries about their children.

“[Q: Are you saying that there are many people labeling you as some ideological thing?] Yes, they (agreed people) threatened me saying like your children cannot get a job. There is no 'guilt by association' anymore, but still in South Korea, especially for any governmental position, it might be ... [impact on the governmental job positions]. Worried a lot about everything. [...] Everything is about ideology. [#4213, Dec 26, 2014]”

This method of labeling is the most strategically significant way of objectifying the local people – using the marginalized experiences, touching the trauma from the government – the distance between the government and the local became even bigger while Yun and other supporters used the same discourse that the government adopted and objectified the opponents to persuade them into being supporters. This way of labeling worked significantly well under President Park before her deportation since her father, President Park (or General Park) was famous for squishing democratic movements with this strategy.

With these tremendous threats to their activities, their will to participate in the movement against the government became weaker, although the perception of the government became more negative. After activists had arrived to help their movement

in late 2012, some participants started to leave the movement to the activists and changed their roles to support them. Participants experienced the harsh governmental response too much and were scared enough. They also had to go back to their normal lives, as they had abandoned their work to stop the naval base for years.

“I am not participating in that anymore. I have to work, farming, to feed my three kids. I couldn’t work for almost five years from 2007 till 2012, can't even go home by doing this [participating the anti-naval base movement]. [#1029, 15 Dec 2014]”

“This [specific thing] farming needs lots of labor, so we as a couple had to work together to keep it up. It was really difficult for one of us to manage it while the other participated in the movement. I didn’t expect that this would last this long [#3165, 26 Dec 2014]”

Even though most participants were not actively engaged in the anti-base movement as much as people working for the community council, they occasionally participated in some community council oriented activities led by the elected community leaders (there were three community leaders after firing the former leader, Yun, for his alleged ties to the government) and activists. But there was a significant amount of fines given to them by the government; the construction companies sued the community people for suspending the construction of the base with their movement. There were also other legal pressures like probation and trials by the government that the participants had to take care of. Two participants mentioned specifically about their fine and trials.

“I had to pay about 2000 US dollars (200,000 Korean won) for a parking violation..... I asked my son who is a policeman how come a parking violation could cost that much. Usually, it must be like 30 or 40 dollars. He said that the legal ground for that was using them as a weapon. Using my car as a weapon. So the fine cost that much. [#72728, 27 December 2014]”

“This one activist close to me spent one year in jail for participating in this anti-naval base movement. The one who has white hair [really old] spent three months in there too. [#5511, 10 December 2014]”

This legal pressure evolved as the navy, and the government asked the right to indemnity by the community council of Gangjeong in 2016 for a significant amount (34millions Korean won, approximately about 300millions US dollars) for the interference of the construction (Hur, 2016). The participants have been suffering from not only emotional threats rooted in the 4-3 incident experiences but also these financial and economic penalties. With this governmental pressure, the local people became more marginalized, and it became easier for them to hide their emotions.

In comparing this anti-naval base movement and 4-3 incident, the participants came up with the idea of constructing a memorial park at the naval base site to remember the victims and appreciate “peace” from that incident. The meaning of ‘peace’ for the participants is significant from what they experienced with the 4-3 incident, and they understood the international tension that was raised by building a naval base, so building a park instead of the military base could be a symbol to celebrate ‘peace.’ This idea became the main argument for the participants when they appealed to the government after the construction started (Kim, 2011).

Objectification and Disparities

Consequences and Reasons of Marginalization

The resemblances between the 4-3 incident and the naval base issue that the participants felt are based on their long experiences of being objectified from the government and those outside of Jeju Island. As discussed earlier in Chapter 3, Jeju has been a destination for the people in the mainland for the certain purposes²², and the distance between people in Jeju and the mainland is strengthened by their unique culture and dialect, which are interpreted by the outsiders as exotic like ‘Jeju is different from other places in Korea and feels like somewhere not in South Korea.’ This perspective from outside put the local people in Jeju into the greater spot of being observed and objectified (Lee, 2009).

Thus, when the participants experienced various forms of marginalization from the government, it was not difficult for the participants to be reminded of the more than fifty years old government-led massacre (4-3) in their community. The widespread massacre from the government all over Jeju was possible by the fact that Jeju was far away from Seoul, the capital city, and the government saw them as a group who were different from other civilians, through the objectification. During 4-3 incident, the local people were labeled as commies (will be discussed further below), while in this case, the local people have been objectified from the government as a group of people who are less developed and needed to be educated.

²² As discussed in Chapter 3, Jeju is the famous honeymoon destinations in these times; historically, prisoners were sent to Jeju in Chosun Dynasty.

The specific ways that the local people have been treated by the government has changed from 4-3 incident to this case, but the underlying assumption of the government towards the local people still persists in the same way. This perspective is well presented by the newspaper interview with Yun, the former community leader who first introduced the idea of a naval base in the community. The arguments that Yun made are not different from what the government insisted (see Chapter 3: the Navy's argument). One study suggested that Yun took the typical discourse form of being an outsider by identifying himself as a representative of the government/navy (Bae, 2012). Identifying himself as an authority for national security, he objectified other community people who needed to be educated.

According to him, the construction would be beneficial to the community economically and also be beneficial to national security (Choi, Chosun Ilbo). This is similar to what the government argued, particularly aiming at the people outside of Jeju Island who are not affected from the construction directly. Yun objectified the opponents to the naval base as people who do not think about the national security or community development and do not know that much about the naval base.

Interviews conducted with Yun and newspaper articles about his essay were reported in the Chosun Ilbo newspaper, known for its conservative views, in April 25, 2012, and January 9, 2012. These interviews articulated his views about the naval base and why he initiated this project. According to him, Gangjeong village was less developed by citing its lack of paved roads, and so this project was essential for community development. The community needed to forsake its environmental values to compensate for these infrastructure needs. He also mentioned that everywhere in

Jeju is beautiful, with nothing really special in Gangjeong, so better to develop it rather than preserving the local environment for the benefit of their community (Yun, Chosun Ilbo).

On top of these arguments, he asserted that he pushed this construction for the greater benefits to the overall community. He believed that the local people would appreciate his decision of having the naval base in Gangjeong later. His perceptions of the local people participating in the anti-naval base movement were identical to the government, believing that the local people mostly agreed with the naval base, but due to anti-government individuals, were spurred to get involved with this movement. He added in this interview saying that local people had all been influenced by activists coming from outside. He commented:

“The people did not flip over to the anti-naval base side at first, but when other activists came here, lots of local people went in that direction. I don't know how the activists educated the local people. Even the old illiterate women know the laws well now. (Yun, January 9, 2012, Chosun Ilbo)”

This shows his objectivity toward the local people, by labeling them as unable to develop their own ideas and instead being influenced by outsiders. His comments are highly focused on the community people following ‘professional’ activists and the problems that they created, as well as the local people who just simply followed these outsiders. Yun could successfully maintain his distance from the other local people who disagreed with the naval base by putting the ‘professional activists’ in between while emphasizing national security.

“I am even thinking that the activists who are educating the local people [in my community] are coming from North Korea (Yun, January 9, 2012, Chosun Ilbo)”

He also claims that the opponents of the naval base do not think about benefits but instead simply follow whatever the people coming from outside want.

“... At first, everyone who is well-off in our community complimented me that I did a great job for the community by treating me to a drink even and saying that the naval base could shorten the community development that would have taken 100 years. But all of a sudden one day, they turned me around and condemned me (Yun, January 9, 2012, Chosun Ilbo)”

His complaints were that the opponents for the naval base were working for the activists by borrowing activists’ strategies and knowledge. Without the influences of activists from outside, he claimed that most local people would follow his decision of having the naval base. But the participants learned possible impacts of the naval base from their own experiences and analysis (like chapter6), and from their knowledge, community people including the participants, acknowledged the necessity of stopping the process of constructing the naval base for their community. The participants also thought that Yun was the one who was being influenced from the outside, especially from the government by observing his same arguments that the government used.

Bae (2012) also pointed out that there was an allegation against the former village leader, Yun, and the central government by focusing on the meeting logs in the community center. The participants also believed that there was a connection between Yun and the government. The suspicions of the connection between the government and Yun appeared to be proved by the sudden change in his attitudes to the official community meeting for the reconsideration of the decision for the naval base. One participant described what happened right before the media conference when he tried to hold another official community meeting to finalize the issue.

“When Yun was still in the community leader position, other community people including me all got together and discussed the decision that was just released to the public. In that meeting, Yun and other people said that they were ok to have another official community meeting to reconsider the issue. Then, 2 hours after that meeting, I got a call from Yun; he said that the decision that we made at the meeting wouldn’t work, and hung up. My guess is that the government pushed him not to have any additional meetings. [#301021, 12 December 2014]”

Yun, of course, denied any possible compensation that he received from the government or any allegations of collaboration between him and the government (Choi, Chosun). However, similar to the connection of Yun and the government, there were suspicions about connections between other proponents of the naval base construction like *Haenyeo* (female divers), who were messing up the voting place, and the government. (“*They took the voting box and ran away. This was a total mess.* #211345”). The repeated themes related to Yun and other naval base supporters in the community are the connection to the government, compensation or money, and poverty. The participants concluded that these people received money from the government, particularly considering the economic status of these people in the community.

“The people who agreed with [having a base] needed the prompt financial supports, I think. Maybe it is politically incorrect to say this, but the people supporting the base are relatively poor in our village. Only money made them go in that direction. [#60038, 12 January 2015]”

The basic assumptions toward *Haenyeo* among the participants are that they are uneducated, perform labor intensive work and are relatively poorer in their community so their aggressive actions toward the voting site (taking the voting box

and running away to prevent the official community decision on the naval base) are even understandable.

The participants' objectification of the supporters was particularly applied to the female divers, *Haenyeo*, who were the main supporters of the naval base from the beginning and who were to be compensated by the government the most ((Yun, January 9, 2012, Chosun Ilbo). The average age for *haenyeo*²³ is more than 60 years old, and their practices of diving to get shellfish for a living is not easy. At their age, one big payout would be a lot more beneficial than the endless labor that they have to endure to earn income. And most of them in this community are relatively poorer than other community people so their readiness to accept the government's compensation offer can be understood, according to participants. One participant mentioned why most of *haenyeo* felt they had no choice but to support the naval base.

“It is ironic to think that *haenyeo* is the main group of people to support the naval base. The main reason that other villages in Jeju did not have naval bases was that the *haenyeo* in these villages were strongly opposed to them. (...) There were lots of rumors about how much the compensation could have been. (...) And the Navy also persuaded *haenyeo* by saying that it is impossible to dive near *Gurumbi* (the big rock formation where the navy base was to be built) since it is too deep and has strong waves anyways. And the Navy told them that if they build the breakwater near *Gurumbi*, more shellfish can live with it and they (the navy) will allow these female divers to do their job over that breakwater once a month. [#6090, 16 January 2015]”

This is involved with their way of objectifying the supporters and Yun and the process in the other ways. These multiple forms of objectification among the

²³ Jeju Haenyeo: “a community of women diving 10 m under the sea to gather shellfish for a living without the help of oxygen masks. They dive up to 7 hours a day, 90 days of the year holding their breath for just one minute for every dive” (UNESCO). This culture of Jeju Haenyeo is inscribed in 2016 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO.

people in the community created more misunderstandings, which resulted in the end, in the serious conflicts among the community people.

The participants particularly encountered serious opposition from fellow community members who they had formerly had close relations with. Some of them were close friends of the participants, and their disappointment with the people with whom they had grown up together was a shock. One participant reported how much he was shocked to discover his friend had hidden his agreement to the naval base without telling him anything.

“I was really shocked - there is one person from my previous church who actively engaged in proposing the naval base to the government at first. He and I went to the same school and at the same age (and same church so really close to each other). But when he was engaged at first as one of the main persons to initiate the proposal to have a naval base, he never told my wife and me anything. Our relationship is so close, so there was no space to keep something that big a secret, but he did. [#31053, 7 January 2015]”

He felt disappointed and betrayed by his close friend who had kept a secret from him to promote this naval base plan. The feeling became worse when the participant engaged in the anti-naval base movement.

“We walked for six nights seven days to get signatures from the Jeju residents to appeal to the government that we don't understand the decision that they made. (...) It was a really hot summer, and we walked 30-40 kilometers every day. No matter whether we agreed or disagreed on that issue, I expected him to just buy me a bottle of water as friends we used to be and as a person who believed in the same religion and went to the same church and school. [But he did not do any of them]. I felt completely betrayed from his attitudes. [#31054, 7 January 2015]”

This unexpected disparity among community members continued to the point where the participants were discouraged from engaging in further activities. Not only did they have that reaction from these close friends, but serious confrontations with family members were also experienced. Many families in the community were

shattered by the different opinions of family members about the naval base (Bae 2012). One participant said that this changed his relationship with his youngest brother who was close to him.

“His [his brother] job is about construction, so he thought that this naval base construction would be good for him, so he agreed to the naval base. That made us fight each other [since this participant disagreed] so much and completely cut off. [...] I have no idea what he [his brother] is doing anymore. [...] It is not only for our family. Too many things happened like some people experienced their brother threatening them to kill or something. [#17576, 30 December, 2014)”

While confronting these various disagreements from close friends and families in addition to the harsh governmental responses, participants who engaged in the activities became even more frustrated and discouraged. They were simply thinking that the decision had been made in a weird way and they were trying to keep their community as it was, which evolved into a social movement (“We did not know that it became this big. We simply thought that the decision was illegally made so we could fix the problem as usual (#3162, Dec 31, 14))”. But then they dealt with lots of confrontations from the government and people close to them who were influenced by the government, and the participants realized and acknowledged that they were involved in a more complex case with greater entities at various scales. Their voices were unheard on a bigger scale, leading to their frustration and discouragement, which then became anger.

Summary

In sum, this analysis examined how Jeju Island has historically experienced different forms of objectification, and how the objectification in this case was contained within the community, which led to the complex dynamics of marginalization within the community and the resulting disparities among the people who used to have strong social bonds. This disparity changed the overall culture in this community, along with leaving a significant amount of stress and distrust in each other. Therefore the participants had to confront not only the government but also their families and friends in their community.

This chapter focused more on the local scale by examining what happened within the community in combination with an expanded time scale. While the previous chapter was about the details of marginalization from the government to the local people, this chapter discussed the underlying causes of marginalization and its consequences in the community, manifested as disparities among the community people. This study then went back to the participants' emotional changes that were attached to their understanding of the historical tragedy in the community, the 4-3 incident. Therefore, in this chapter, the discussion was further developed from the previous chapter by examining why and how the local people developed their perception to the government with a consideration of the expanded time scale. This expanded time scale supplemented the current perspectives of the locals towards the government from their long experience of being objectified.

The marginalization of the local people in this community is largely due to the objectification from the government, which cannot be separated from the context

of the historical incident, and necessitates the adoption of the concept of time scale. The local people's prolonged experiences of being objectified from outside the community makes the participants feel fear towards the government. At the same time, the participants also admitted that they objectified proponents by interpreting them as a people who need money and do not care about the community. These participants' objectification is not necessarily involved with marginalization, but sufficient enough to create a huge disparity among the community people who agreed and disagreed.

These findings indicated the violation of the social indicators under the environmental justice frame (Appendix III: Table A4) regarding government response actions and community participation. Even though what the government argued about ensuring the local participation in the overall naval base construction(see chapter 3) was true, the finding in this chapter shows that there was limited participation from certain people on behalf of the government and that most of the community people were ignored by the government during the entire process of the naval base construction. Unlike the perspectives from the government, what the local people experienced and learned revealed this case as an environmental injustice case. And this environmental injustice case needed to adopt the use of different scales including time and political scales in order to fully understand the phenomenon occurring in this community.

Chapter 8. Finding 4: Local People's Expanded Understanding

Introduction

While focusing on the Gangjeong community and the problems that the local people experienced during the construction of the naval base, the possible consequences and effects of the construction of the military base on the community seemed to be difficult for this study to examine. However, by observing and accessing the transition of the participants' thoughts and perspectives which have been influenced by their participation in the anti-naval base movement, the direction that local people are heading toward is revealed. Based on their learning processes from the accumulated experiences of the naval base construction, the local people expanded their understanding to the case and its relation with the larger geopolitical scales, and as a result scaled up their knowledge to examine the concept of development.

While the expanded time scale toward the past was discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on the local people's understanding of expanded geopolitical scales. In other words, the local people have acknowledged that international relations need to be considered to better understand their situation. For the local people who have been struggling with the effects of larger political scale conflicts like the Korean War, their sense of other countries' reactions to this military base is sensitive enough to question the possible consequences of having in the base located on Jeju Island. Whereas the navy emphasized the necessity of the new additional military base to strengthen South Korea's defenses against increased

military powers in surrounding countries, including North Korea as well as China and Japan. The local people were also concerned about the U.S. role in this project, due to their experiences with the 4-3 incident that happened while the U.S. controlled South Korea as the United States Army Military Government, and the close relationship between the U.S. and South Korea and their historical collaboration in military strategies against North Korea (see Appendix IV).

Their concerns of the role of the U.S. military with this naval base and the implications of international relations with other neighboring countries instigated the participants to further develop their conventional knowledge of international relations, peace, and the concept of development. Particularly, the economic development suggested by the government is a convenient way to persuade the local people, who live in rural area having lack of infrastructure and income sources. However, the participants could separate their ways of development from the typical development projects that the government suggested, such as the naval base construction. This will be discussed further in this chapter.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the participants' understanding of the roles of the U.S. in South Korea. In order to better understand the political complexities of the situation created by constructing a naval base, this section explores these complexities by considering various perspectives reported in the media from the local people, the government and international entities. Finally, this chapter will focus on the local people more in-depth by tracing their transitional understanding of the concept of development.

Entities – new larger scaled entity (US)/ government

As explained in the historical background chapter, the U.S. has had significant roles in the modern history of South Korea since the Korean War, and its roles are persistent on the Korean peninsula due to the unique position that North Korea has internationally. U.S. military bases are spread out all around the world²⁴, including South Korea, which has one of the largest numbers of U.S. military personnel within its borders. However, the U.S. involvement is subtle in this case of the naval base especially since the government publicly stated that the U.S. did not participate in any decision-making process of having the naval base in Jeju.

Even though the public statement from the navy denied that there was the possible involvement of U.S. military strategies, there were some newspapers and U.S. government documents that implicitly showed their engagement. For example, one newspaper article (Yonhap News Agency, 2015) titled as “U.S. Navy eager to send ships to Jeju naval base” stated that “‘the U.S. Navy 7th Fleet really likes to send ships to port visit here in South Korea,’ Rear Adm. Lisa Franchetti said in a group interview following a change of command ceremony. [...] ‘Any port that we can bring our ships to, we will take advantage of that for great (navigation) liberty and great training,’ Franchetti said.”

²⁴ According to the Department of Defense (of the U.S.) (BASE STRUCTURE REPORT - FISCAL YEAR 2015 BASELINE), there are 587 bases overseas, including Antigua Barbuda(1), Aruba(1), Australia(6), Bahamas(6), Bahrain (10), Belgium(10), Bulgaria(1), Cambodia(1), Canada(2), Colombia(2), Costa Rica(1), Denmark(2), Diego Garcia(1), Djibouti(1), Egypt(3), El Salvador(1), Germany (177), Greece (7), Greenland (1), Guantanamo Bay(1), Honduras (1), Hong Kong (1), Iceland (1), Italy (50), Japan (116), Kenya(1), Kuwait(1), Netherlands(9), Netherlands Antilles (1), Norway(1), Oman(3), Peru(3), Portugal(18), Romania(4), Saint Helena(1), Singapore(2), South Korea(82), Spain(4), Turkey(16), UAE (3), UK(27).

Not only this newspaper article mentioned above about the possible deployment of U.S. naval ships to the Jeju Naval Base, but also the *ROK and the U.S. SOFA* (Status of Forces Agreement)²⁵, provides evidence that prevents the Korean navy from denying the fact that the U.S. requested the use of the naval base in Jeju. According to *ROK and the U.S. SOFA*, Wartime Operational Control (WT-OPCON) is still with the U.S. army, which means that the U.S. is the main stakeholder for military operations (rather than the Korean government), particularly during war time in the Korea penninsular. The relationship between the U.S. and South Korea is very unique, since no other country has given up their WT-OPCON to other countries. Thus, although the new naval base in Jeju would not formally be a U.S. naval base, it would in fact be highly accessible to the U.S. military.

Another reason to confirm the possibility of the Jeju naval base serving the U.S. navy for military purposes is the existing U.S. military plan covering the Pacific oceanic areas. According to the U.S. Department of Defense, Missile Defense Agency, the newly developed Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense System, which enables warships to shoot ballistic missiles, was deployed on U.S. Navy Aegis BMD Vessels and in Japan. Several sources²⁶ suggest that the new base on Jeju may support U.S. missile defense systems in East Asia such as THAAD, Terminal High Altitude Area

²⁵ Agreement under Article 4 of the Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America, Regarding Facilities and Areas and the Status of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Korea (<http://www.usfk.mil/About/SOFA/>)

²⁶ *New York Times* on August 5, 2011 (Ahn 2011), “the naval base on Jeju Island will equip South Koreans and their American allies with the capability to strike long-range ballistic missile batteries in southeast China that target Japan or Taiwan. Washington sees this base as a central pillar of its defense system in the Asia-Pacific region. China, no doubt, sees it as a new threat.

Defense, as a part of its Ballistic Missile Defense system. Because U.S. Navy vessels can access any Naval base in South Korea under SOFA, this new Jeju naval base could be a part of the U.S. missile defense system in Asia along with bases in Japan.

The strengthening of the U.S. military power in Korea through the possibility of deployment of U.S. armaments with the military installation at Jeju Naval Base close to Chinese territory poses a threat to China. With a consideration of the relationship between China and South Korea, as the biggest economic partner and a strategically important partner to deal with North Korea, the expansion of the U.S. military power in South Korea can result in the negative consequences for South Korea. For example, the hasty deployment of THAAD in Sungju in the mainland of Korea and the deployment of a U.S. warship (USS Stethem) in Jeju in 2007, and the anticipated deployment of the newly constructed U.S. warship 'USS Zumwalt (DDG 1000)' to South Korea more recently (Yeo, Korea Herald) have caused the Chinese government to retaliate economically against South Korea.

Although several official statements from the U.S. indicate that any strengthening of its military forces in South Korea are aimed at North Korea (that developed intercontinental missiles) (U.S. Dep of Defense), the Chinese government has objected to U.S. military expansion near its borders in recent years. Not only China, but Russia also threatened negative consequences against the U.S. for its expansion of military strength in the North-East Asia area. As expected, the harshest response to these U.S. military actions came from North Korea, which threatened South Korea and the U.S. with the possible war situation in East Asia (Rhee, Rodong

Simun). Therefore, the Korean government's argument of better national security for the purpose of having the naval base in Jeju is not particularly valid when considering the negative responses from neighboring countries.

The local people's learning process and experiences

The local people's suspicions about the motives behind the site selection became greater after they learned about the involvement of the different international players, especially the U.S. The participants commonly stated that there was a connection between the Korean government and the U.S., and the local people had been intentionally marginalized for the mutual benefits of the Korean Navy and the U.S. military plan. Their frustration from the governmental responses was exacerbated after the local people acknowledged the role of the U.S. military in this case. At first, the participants emphasized their knowledge of the U.S. involvement and its consequences at the national scale. The participants' concerns about the U.S. Navy's involvement in building this naval base are well presented in the interviews below:

“I am sure that there was huge pressure from the U.S. for their security rather than that for Korea. For better security [against North Korea] it is better to find a place on the West or East coastal areas of the main land [which is closer to North Korea]. [#50407, 4 January 2015]”

“My guess is that this base is not for South Korea but the U.S. naval base aimed at China. [...] The U.S. military uses this base for any possible situations, then do you think that it is possible to think of our community that can be the same as it used to be? [#02020, 12 December 2014]”

“We are not dumb. When you see the overall circumstances like U.S. bases in Okinawa, or that missile defense system development among the U.S.,

Japan, and South Korea and even including Australia. We watched the news on TV and newspapers. [So we know] that this is for the U.S. Navy, and the U.S. navy is coming here. [#16160, 14 December 2014]”

Participants understood their position and what they were fighting against. Even with the circumstantial evidence of the U.S. influence on building the naval base in Gangjeong that these participants learned about, both the Korean and U.S. governments denied that there was pressure from the U.S. But the political injustice that these participants experienced from the government through the various forms of marginalization discussed previously show that their experiences cannot be analyzed within just the local scale but also in an international context. In other words, the participants thought that they had become invisible not just for the national scale interests, but also for other countries’ benefits.

While acknowledging that their experiences of being marginalized by the government involved more than the community level, the local people actively sought a different approach to their anti-naval base movement that could be more diversified and international. In other words, as soon as the participants learned about the complicated scales involved in this case, their participation in the anti-naval base was also scaled up to cooperate with various entities on the international scale, while the beginning of conflicts remained at the local scale among the local people. This was made possible by the navy’s strategies of localization by strengthening its connection with Yun to push and proceed with the construction process while keeping the possible conflicts confined within the local community. The government emphasized the initial conflicts and issues at the local scale in the community level while the necessity of the new military base was emphasized at the national scale like for the

country. This strategy minimizes the problems on a small scale and seeks to place the burdens on the local people (Lee et al. 2014).

The Process of Evolving the Anti-Naval Base Movement

The local people's positions as residents in a rural area located far from the capital city and political power centers made them vulnerable and unable to confront the national issues involving international entities. The historical suppression of the 4-3 incident and the violation of the proper process of community participation during this naval base construction process indicate that the local people are often powerless due to being constrained to the local scale and a remote rural area. This limited capability of the local people by the geographical and historical settings were overcome by the local people's learning process. Even though the issues around constructing the new naval base was seen as a local scale problem in the beginning, the local people, including the participants, were able to expand their knowledge and perceptions related to this case from their experiences. This expanded knowledge included the involvement of various scaled political entities and their self-evaluation of their positions as residents in a remote area located far from the center of political power.

During the first two years of their efforts to stop the construction, the local people could not expand their arguments to the larger scale, and their arguments were ignored by the government (Chapter 6). However, this localized movement expanded to the regional scale once local opponents of the base marched around Jeju Island to draw attention from the Jeju people and to ask for a vote to recall the Jeju regional

governor who was to blame for the issues in their community. Despite the failure to attract enough support to redo the vote, the participants' effort to overcome the local scale, as by getting a national scale attention and making the case as a country-level issues, seemed to have succeeded.

The local people's movement to appeal to the government was publicized via media, which helped it become a national scale issue too. Two participants in this study visited the National Assembly and the Department of Defense in Korea many times to make the issues in their community more public so that they could be recognized by not only the National Assembly and larger political entities, but also by other citizens in other regions. To them, the most important thing was to publicize the case and that the violence occurring within the community was caused by the government.

This overall experience of competing at the national scale with an institution such as the government redefined the roles and positions of the participants with their cultural, historical and geographical backgrounds. By scaling themselves up to be independent actors, the local people acknowledged themselves as the main stakeholders who have to be asked by the government to proceed with any projects in their community based on the legal procedures in place. In addition, they empowered themselves to question the legality of the process more directly to legislators and to the media along with their expanded knowledge of environment (Chapter 5).

While defining themselves as an equal entity to the central government which is physically located far away from their community, the distance between these two was actively combated by the local people's efforts opposing the government and

refusing to be objectified. In addition to not just denying their remoteness (distance) from the government, the local people argued that this case was a major national scale issue that involved the overall international relations of South Korea. The participants restructured their geographical scales by shifting the center from the capital (Seoul) to their community, as well as expanding the temporal scale that linked from the current situation to the past (4-3 incident) (Chapter 7) by scaling up their knowledge scale (See Figure 8 in Chapter 3).

With the better understanding of the situation with various contexts in multiple scales, the local people started to cooperate with activists who came from other places and groups to stop the construction with various arguments and methods including the limitations in the environmental impact assessment, the decision-making process, and the effective way to appeal to the government. In this sense, Yun's complaints about the influence of 'activists' on the participants was not completely wrong, but this cooperative procedure was more reciprocal rather than a one-way influence. This small community became a place for national-level anti-government activists.

When various activists gathered, Gangjeong village became a place of engagement (Lee 2009). With the activists, the local people started to revisit the necessity of the new naval base in Jeju with the discussion of national security and international environmental values of Jeju Island. While Chinese reactions to the naval base added the arguments of the practical national interests and security, UNESCO recognition of Jeju Island linked to the expanded scale in this case. After the activists had gathered in Gangjeong, the conflicts between the government and the

local people (and activists) became even more intense. The government's strategies of minimizing the issues within the community scale failed due to the local people's struggles to confront the government. On top of this, the increasingly intense conflict between the government and the local people came to the point violating their human rights (i.e. "that woman over there fell from the cliff by the police who push her too much so that she was hospitalized for a while" #90012, Jan 21, 2015). Even with the harsher response from the government, more people joined the struggle in this village from other regions in Korea, as well as touched the main political issues of national security and international relations.

To compete with this construction involving entities from larger political scales, the local people found a way to extend their grounds by way of cooperating with other groups of people; not only from activists in Korea but also international activist groups. The participants cooperated with activists reached out to other countries' peace workers particularly in island locations with U.S. military bases like Okinawa and Taiwan (10:3- activist, one participant) to create greater cooperation to stop building military bases in these regions. In my observation notes(#6214, Jan, 2, 14), there were international groups of people including two Japanese journalists, two U.S. activists, and one Taiwanese activist who came to learn (even participated in the movement) more about Jeju Island and the participants' struggle to stop the naval base. One Japanese journalist came out of interest, especially his interests in the case of Okinawa²⁷, which has one of the most expanded U.S. naval bases in relation to its

²⁷ There are similarities between these two places, Okinawa and Jeju, as having island identity that is different history and customs from the mainland, and the existences of the U.S influences. Lee(2008) pointed out that the case of Jeju with Relocation of Marine Corps Air Station Futenma for their

territory (Kirk 2013). There were also a fair number of activists from various groups like World Assembly and Trident Ploughshares, who came to Jeju and were subsequently evicted by the government (Kim, Yonhapnews).

In addition to the visiting activists, an incident that raised awareness of the case in the international community was when the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) held a conference in Jeju in 2012. One of the major activities during the IUCN conference was the resolutions process to influence future directions in the conservation community (IUCN). The local people along with activists thought that the IUCN conference provided a good opportunity to appeal to the government about the possible environmental problems from the constructions with support from an international institution that promoted environmental values. With the grounds of the status of Jeju as a UNESCO heritage site, the local people expected a positive response from the IUCN, such as a recommendation to the government to stop the naval base construction. However, to the disappointment of the local people, the IUCN publicly accepted the credibility of the governmental environmental impact assessment results.

Even though there were continuing demonstrations in front of the conference, there was no support from IUCN or any other international institutions in this conference. Despite the lack of support from the IUCN, people from other countries shared the concerns of the local people about the intensified militarization in East

justification of constructing U.S. related military bases through the procedural justice and local development (Kang and Shunya, 2004, cited from Lee, 2009).

Asia, expanded military powers of the U.S., and raised awareness of the civil rights violations taking place through the marginalization of the local people in favor of the government's and other countries' interests. On top of this social injustice, international activists also focused on the damage to the environmental value of Jeju, which is unique enough to be protected from different political entities, as a possible grave environmental injustice.

With these values in jeopardy, and by drawing on their experiences of receiving attention nationally and internationally, the local people cooperated with activists more closely to overcome their enforced local scale. They diversified their movement through various media along with the international activists' cooperation. Community newspapers published in English periodically to reach out to possible readers around the world, and included stories about the issues surrounding the naval base, and a couple of documentary films were produced about these issues. These new directions taken by the locals in this case showed the scaled up cooperation of different marginalized peoples especially from Okinawa (Kirk 2013). There were different events in Okinawa and Jeju that invited each other to promote their own way of confronting the expanded U.S. military forces and regaining their Island identity. One participant commented about his experiences of visiting Okinawa to talk to the local people there:

“They have the same experiences with us. It was weird. I didn't know about the U.S. military bases over there [Okinawa] and I can see the consequences of it while visiting there. [#23410, 19 December 2014]”

This unexpected scaled up bonding among the marginalized people in other countries (they were planning to have another meeting in Taiwan too) shows the

different scope of 'scale' that supplements the concept of environmental justice. With this scaled up experience, the local people were exposed to a new learning process facilitated by these activists along with their own learning experiences that made them revisit their initial thoughts about development and national security.

Transitioned Perception to 'Development'

The local people's understanding of "development" changed as a result of their experiences of participating in the anti-naval base movement influenced by their interaction with activists from outside Jeju. For the local people, development, which indicates economic benefits and being well-off, is needed for the community which is economically lagging behind. This interpretation is apparent in Yun's interview about his expectations for the newly constructed naval base. Yun said that:

"The local people, including me, think that it is a crisis [that our community is falling behind economically]. In this crisis, having the naval base in the land area where no one lives can bring about various local developments that the government promised, and could be the most development in our community's history as well as contribute to the national security (Yun, 2012)."

Considering the geographically unequal distribution of wealth in South Korea, where the wealth is highly concentrated in Seoul, Jeju and other rural areas are economically depressed compared to urban areas. Therefore the government used traditional arguments about development to win local support for the naval base construction. The traditional 'development' discourse that was infused by the state into the direction of neoliberal capitalism was the main engine driving many local people to be persuaded (Lee 2007). To confront the unequally developed rural area's limitations such as the lack of jobs, public services including limited infrastructure,

and the consequential decrease in population (Yun, 2012), having this big facility seemed to be a great solution like the government argued and advertised. Within this prevailing discourse of development, the arguments that the participants (opponents of the naval base) had were limited within the existing discourse to simply pointing out that there were no significant benefits to the local people from the military base. Before the local people could differentiate the development that the government insisted on and what they wanted, they investigated other communities that had military bases.

Villagers, including this study's participants, wanted to know whether the naval base could bring economic benefits to the village that Yun, the former leader, insisted. To know actual economic consequences, some villagers, including this study's participants, accepted the Navy's offer to visit and tour other military bases in other regions of South Korea with other people who agreed to the naval base. When two interviewees of this study visited the navy bases in Jinhea and Samchuck in the mainland of South Korea, they wanted to see the actual economic influences of the military bases in these regions by talking to the villagers living in these areas, while the Navy wanted to show them how developed the military bases themselves were. One participant pointed out that villagers in the tour group who had opposing views about having a naval base in their village also had different motives for touring these naval bases:

“We went to visit these military bases together with the other local people from our community who supported the naval base. These supporters only explored inside the naval base as guided by the Navy, which seemed so clean... nicely equipped. But we are not the people who can enjoy these facilities. [#3129, 22 December 2014]”

After visiting these military bases in other regions in South Korea, the participating Gangjeong villagers were shocked and reported how a military base could badly influence the local economy and environment. The villages they visited were undeveloped and did not show many signs of economic benefit from the proximity to the military bases. As one of the touring villagers reflected after visiting one of the villages:

“I was completely shocked to see a picture (an advertising poster) on one store’s wall in that community. The picture was from the early 1970s (was not updated since then). Who can think that the military base has a good economic impact on the local economy after seeing that? [#1192 23 Dec 2014]”

By visiting other communities with military bases, participants concluded that there would be no significant economic benefits, contrary to the Navy’s insistence that there would be such benefits and even unexpected social and environmental benefits. In addition to visiting these places with military bases, participants also researched about other places that were not arranged by the Navy. Through this learning process of visiting and researching about other villages with military bases, the participants concluded that the naval base could not be beneficial in any way.

The participants then started to re-examine their community by reevaluating their local economy. Comparing other villages having naval bases to their own, the participants acknowledged that their community was relatively well off due to its various natural resources. One participant for this study who did not visit other naval bases also noted no economic benefits due to the naval base because the economic status of Gangjeong village was good:

“Our village is pretty well-off from the farming. No need to have a military base for further economic development [#11198, 16 Dec 2014].”

Other participants in this study pointed out the various income resources in Gangjeong village. Although not a financial center like other urban areas, Gangjeong has consistent income sources from different agricultural products such as mandarin oranges and flowers, fisheries and tourism industries²⁸. Although participants understood the reason why some people, especially Haenyeo, in the community supported the naval base (as discussed above), they thought that the compensation offered to these people was not economically sustainable. In particular, they were concerned about the village’s possible increased economic dependency on the military base after its construction, and how this economic dependency on the naval base would ruin the community culture and its independent economic activities. The participants were also concerned that because outsiders from the military would outnumber local people once the base was built, that the outsiders would eventually control the community’s resources and economy.

From this self-learning experience by examining other cases and thinking about the local economic system within the community, the local people could develop their notion of development to include autonomy based on their ownership of the community. With this new perception to the concept of development, their

²⁸ Gangjeong fishery products include not just fish, but also shells and seaweeds, which are even imported to Japan. I observed very small fish vendors every weekend in the main street in Gangjeong (figure 5), which one participant mentioned could even be shipped to anywhere in Korea. The Gangjeong tourism industry relies on Jeju Island’s reputation as a UNESCO Triple Crown winner, as well as the presence of one of Ole trails course, trail 7, which is famous for its scenery (Lee 2007).

attachment to their own community and environment became stronger during these participatory processes. On top of this, from their experiences of being marginalized by the government, the participants specified their way of thinking toward the concept of development; and they could separate their desire for quick economic benefits from the government-led development.

This transitioned notion of development is expanded from simply being economically well-off to the politics of ownership and control of their community and local environment. This notion of development is close to the definition used in the Political Ecology literature (see Chapter 3). This newly constructed notion about development for the local people focusing on their ownership and autonomy was changed even further by the local people's experiences of being marginalized by the government. The economic development promised by the government, associated with the state's violence towards the local people, is close to a form of exploitation of the local people's rights of ownership with compensation through possible benefits. This possible benefit, as the one participant pointed out, cannot be sustainable.

While developing their own story and expanding their understanding of the concept of development, participants have had a chance to rethink the relation between economic development and environmental conservation. Participants' attachment to the local environment was also becoming stronger due to their increased attachment to the community after learning about the consequences of a naval base as well as experiencing negative governmental responses. They started to intertwine the concept of economic development with their knowledge of the local

environment. One participant remarked on his understanding of unnecessary development:

“We don’t need anything. We were happy with the existing beautiful environment and appreciated it. But now nothing is left. [#5404, 13 Dec 2014].”

Other participants even got to the point of reconsidering the concept of development itself.

“What is development? Destroying the environment and paving the road for more efficient transportation? If it is called development, then it must contain the local people’s participation and their authority to lead the project with their wills without destroying the environment. [#1065, 21 Dec 2014]”

“They destroyed everything that is good for our village. Cannot be reversed. It is nonsense to push development by destroying the environment. [#2025, 3 Jan 2015]”

“The only thing I wanted to do is to preserve the environment as it is, as beautiful as it is, and transfer it to a younger generation. [#1165, 23 Dec 2014]”

These descriptions about development are precisely linked to the concept of sustainable development, which came out of the criticism of conventional economic development plans conducted in different developing countries (Redclift 2002). Scholars criticized the development focusing on its economic aspects without the participation of the local people and with huge impacts on the environment. In this case, while the government still emphasized economic development as a reward, the participants stepped it up further to consider its sustainability.

This section focused on participants' perceptual change and understanding of development. While their understanding of the local environment became deeper in the process of participating in the anti-naval base movement, the understanding of what development meant to them became clearer. In this sense, the theme of appreciation to local environment (see the table 4) became more closely aligned with the participants' perspective on the meaning of development.

Summary

This chapter analyzed the experience and the learning process of the local people with the perspective of different political and institutional scales, while the previous chapter focused its scope on the time scale of the continual marginalization from the government to the locals in this case. Both chapters are about the phenomenon reflected by the participants' experiences. However, this chapter examined, from the perspectives of the local people, how international entities including other countries and international institutions, became involved either directly or indirectly in this case.

After participants acknowledged the roles of the U.S. in South Korea's military strategies, they raised their marginalization experiences into the upper political scale through cooperation with international NGOs and activists. Their scaled up participation against the government was new to the local people, which led to their self-reflection about their interests related to development. The conventional discourse of development, which persisted by way of disputing the actual economic benefits in their community by the naval base, turned into a new discourse of asking the definition of development itself. On top of their understanding about the

environment (chapter 6), this revised concept of development is close to the concept of sustainable development.

This case of the military base violated the social indicator of local participants and involved other countries' military schemes which were covered up by reasoning of strengthening national security. The participants could reveal the hidden influences that led to the claimed necessity of the naval base asserted by the Navy from their learning process in the international context. To confront the Navy, the local people scaled up their anti-naval base movement by cooperating with other international communities. This case has shown that the environmental injustice case that is usually limited in a certain affected community needs the larger scale perspectives which are involved with, the newer approach to development as suggested by political ecology.

The locals were able to build their own discourse of development based on their experiences of being marginalized and objectified and through their participation from the local scale to the international scale with other entities. By forming their own interpretation of development from the learning process, the local people reexamined the conventional relationship between the economic development and environmental conservation. Therefore, the determination of this case as an environmental injustice case suggests the need for cooperation between the environmental justice discourse, the concept of scale, and the theoretical frame of political ecology. More discussion of theoretical findings based on the empirical results discussed will be further examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

This study sought to establish a new hybrid approach and method of assessing the problems related to the construction of a newly built naval base in a small community. It has done so by bridging the gap between theoretical frameworks and drawing on the strengths of political ecology, environmental justice, and the concept of scales. Coupling these frameworks with the phenomenology method sought to fully integrate and understand all the complexities of this case and gather the essence of the locals' experiences and perspectives.

This study examined and discussed each identified theme from the data, and linked them to the theories to better understand the complexities of this case in order to answer the main research question. This chapter discusses the overall findings, then summarizes the empirical findings and interpretation of this case grounded with its linkage to the theories. The implications of this study and possible ways forward to overcome the limitations of the environmental justice framework with the supplement of the concept of scale and political ecology in order to apply this case internationally will also be discussed.

Summary of Overall Findings

At first, this study concludes that the issues that occurred in Gangjeong community violates environmental justice through the perspective of political ecology. The current case studies found in the environmental injustice literature are

highly focusing on the U.S. cases with health problems from unequally distributed environment degradation depending on races and incomes (see Chapter 3). However, many environmental injustice cases are not consistent with these settings, but rather involve unequal political systems and various political, geographical and time scales with a small group of people within a small region, which is suited for the political ecology approach. Therefore, this study tested the possibility of expanding the application of environmental justice frameworks to this case by adopting the lens of political ecology and the concepts of scale.

Second, this study examines and identifies how environmental injustice occurs in the study area of Gangjeong village. The main problem in this case involves the conflicts among the actors in the different political scales, and how these involved actors, like the community people or the local and national government, have different perspectives on the geopolitical grounds for this case. The local people have been excluded from participating in the national scale construction procedures in their own village while the national scale interests have sought to minimize the cost at the local scale. These different views based on the different political scales resulted in the suppressed voices of the local people regarding the national scale project, which placed the burden of the possible consequences on the local people.

By suppressing the people's voice by excluding them from any decisions, the rare environmental traits of the local ecosystem could be ignored in exchange for the possible economic and political benefits offered. This exchange between the economic benefit with the environmental values seems to fit the typical environmental injustice case study. However, the findings in this study showed that

there are virtually no economic benefits for the local people, and subsequently they even started to reconsider the meaning of local development. Additionally, the current environmental justice framework (US EPA 2016: see Appendix IV: Table A4) has limited indicators for understanding environmental consequences involving various political and geographical scales (Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003; Robbins 2004). Therefore, this case study adopted the critical and empirical analysis of political ecology while focusing on the concept of scale to analyze the environmental injustice case in this study.

Third, while adopting the concept of scale and political ecology, the transitional phenomenon of this case can be explained by local people's experience and perception through phenomenology. What the local people experienced from their own perspectives involves environmental injustice procedures and reveals the importance of geopolitics in Jeju. By tracing the local people's change in perception during the process of the construction of the military facility in their community, the uncertainty introduced by the involvement of various political scales in this case becomes clear. Therefore, the research questions are not substantively answered one by one based on the nature of researching about the phenomenon from the people's perceptions, but rather they are answered while analyzing the interviews with these people. As a phenomenological research study, the research questions were made to be more general to allow the experiences of the participants to guide the data collection, and therefore the emergence of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007).

In sum, there are three main overall findings in this study: 1) this case is an environmental injustice case, 2) this environmental injustice case that occurred in

Gangjeong needed to be approached with the concept of scale and political ecology, 3) this case needed to use the phenomenology method to understand the phenomenon in this case in-depth.

Summary of Empirical Findings and Interpretation

From the themes that emerged through analyzing the in-depth interviews of local people, this study showed that what the government argued was implausible and how they violated environmental justice. Even though this study is not about evaluating the validation of the possible benefits and reasons that the Navy (and government) argued for (see figure 6: Functions of Naval Base in Jeju by the Navy in Chapter 2), it offered a guideline for clarifying the contested issues of this case, which is compatible with the consensus definition of environmental justice as a theoretical frame with the paradigm of political ecology and the concept of scale. This study has shown the limitations of the Navy and the governmental arguments in several ways:

- No consideration of local opinion, effectively marginalizing the majority of local people's opinions and experiences
- There was no visible local 'economic' development in other regions that had built naval bases; the local people redefined the meaning of development
- The local people received different opinions on environmental disruption from what the local people have known and experienced during the construction process; and the environmental assessment results that the local

people investigated with other environmental organizations suggested significant environmental degradation

Although the findings in chapters 6 to 9 did not explicitly analyze the claims by the Navy of improved national security due to having the naval base, the local people's knowledge indicated that there was possible increased tension with China due to the close connection between South Korea and the U.S. in terms of its military strategies. Thus the Korean government's plan of the better national security by increasing its own military power against North Korea, and the better protection of SLOC can be argued as:

- More protection in SLOC can raise more tension with China, which may require a reconsideration of South Korea's concept of national security that is highly dependent on the U.S.

While this study's goal was not about the examination of what the government argued (the benefits of the naval base), the answers for the second research question, which were analyzed throughout this study, about the contested interests among the different political actors on the issues of the naval base revealed the limitations of the Navy's arguments. This study focused on the local people's experiences which showed the contextual background of this case. By hearing the local people who had actually experienced the events which changed their lives entirely, and not focusing on the navy's plans, this study shifted the focus from the top - down approach in order to create the local discourse to better understand this case from the locals' own perspectives.

The local people's experiences from the participants' in-depth interviews and phenomenological analysis of data revealed their perceptual changes, on top of the limitations of the benefits that the government advertised above. Their perceptual changes included understanding toward the local environment, revisiting the concept of development and repositioning their relationship with the government through comparing this case to their historical experiences. By participating in the anti-naval base movement, the local people's understanding of each topic deepened and further incorporated their knowledge of the local environment and their experiences of marginalization:

- The perception to the environment: acknowledgement of the various protected zones around their community and the appreciation of the local environment enhanced by their learning experiences became one of the main rhetoric for the local people to argue with the Navy's decision to construct the military base in the rare local ecosystem.
- The perception to the government: their experiences of being marginalized made their feelings and views of the government even more negative in addition to their distrust of the government due to the historical incident of the Jeju Uprising(4-3 incident).
- The perception to the concept of development: local people could clarify the vague term of development by understanding the different elements contributing to local development, and concluded that any development that was to take place would need to go through a local based sustainable process rather than government-led development through large scale projects.

These perceptual changes are based on their marginalized experiences from the government, which is the overarching theme for this study that supports the other themes (knowledge of environment in chapter 6 and their experiences during their participation in the anti-naval base movement in chapter 8 and 9) that emerged from the data. As discussed earlier in the background (see chapter 2), Jeju local government has to follow the central government's decision, and they acted as one unit against the local people in the community. The national government, including the local government, successfully separated the anti-naval base supporters in the community from other citizens by objectifying these individuals as a small group of people putting their own interests above those of their own country, which could also be seen as working against the interests of the average South Korean citizen. Including this theme, other emerged themes discussed in chapters 6- 9 answered the sub-questions of the first research question with a great extent of detail in each chapter in terms of the lived experience of the local people as they disagreed with the naval base construction, and their changes in perception and opinion toward the environment and the government while involved in the anti-naval base movement. The application of the theories of environmental justice and the framework of political ecology answered the main research question through the descriptive approach to these three themes.

Before discussing the linkage between the theories and the findings, there is another possible theme that is not discussed separately in the findings. Even though this study has three main themes of local knowledge of environment, government responses including marginalization experiences, and their expanded knowledge (see

table 4 in Chapter 5), their emotional transitions are embedded in these themes overall which supplements and reveals the phenomenon in this case as discussed in Chapter 7. In addition, there is another theme that can cover these three: the learning experiences. This theme is too broad to sufficiently cover of the three main themes so I purposely chose not to pick this theme. But it is worth noting that all phenomenon that the local people experienced cannot be separated from their learning experiences, such as their experiences of learning about the environmental impacts, their own local environment (chapter 6), and learning about themselves and their fear of the government (chapter 7 and 8).

While learning about the local environment on top of what they had already known, the local people explored why they felt scared or pressured from the government and the Navy due to a past historical incident. These consecutive findings about themselves and their surroundings led the local people to develop their own discourse for this case. As a result, their experience of marginalization did not force them to remain in the victimized position, but instead encouraged them to develop by way of cooperation with other actors in various geographical scales, such as other regions in South Korea and even in other countries, which was discussed in chapter 9. The local people started to scale up their resistance against the larger scales' political pressures by taking a step to prevent further marginalized incidents: participatory to solidarity and environmental prevention. As seen in here, the theme of the learning process suggested the transition from their knowledge of environment to their responsive actions, which was discussed in Chapter 9.

It is important to note that sub-categories of each main theme are not completely separated from the other main themes, as suggested by the hidden learning process theme, which can cover many themes in this study. Due to the phenomenological traits of this study, the themes that emerged from the people's experiences and perceptions are more continuous rather than distinct from each other. In this vein, the theme of marginalization can be the inclusive theme for this study as its broad definition covers information distribution about environmental impacts (under the environmental knowledge theme) to the locals' feelings toward the government which was a result of their experience of being marginalized. But this does not mean that these themes are fluid and overlapped; it is more about the description of the process of reconstructing the framework from the marginal perspectives. While having the discursive focus on the interconnections of the themes, each theme shows multiple visions of the issue by keeping a strong focus on the community people who became more vulnerable and marginalized.

Theoretical Finding and Contribution to Literatures

The key arguments of this study examine the processes of environmental injustice that occurred in the process of building the naval base in Jeju. Particularly the limited consideration of the local people's opinions and the inadequate decision-making process that actively marginalized the local people articulated environmental injustice including its concept of procedural justice. Through the examination of the environmental injustice in this case, this study suggested the importance of the political ecology approach to the environmental theory discourse. The construction of

the naval base in Gangjeong has led to conflicts in various scales, ignored different visions of justice, and depended upon views of nature as needed to allow development for capital and the political purposes of the state. Inappropriate government-led decision-making processes and their intentional creation of confusion

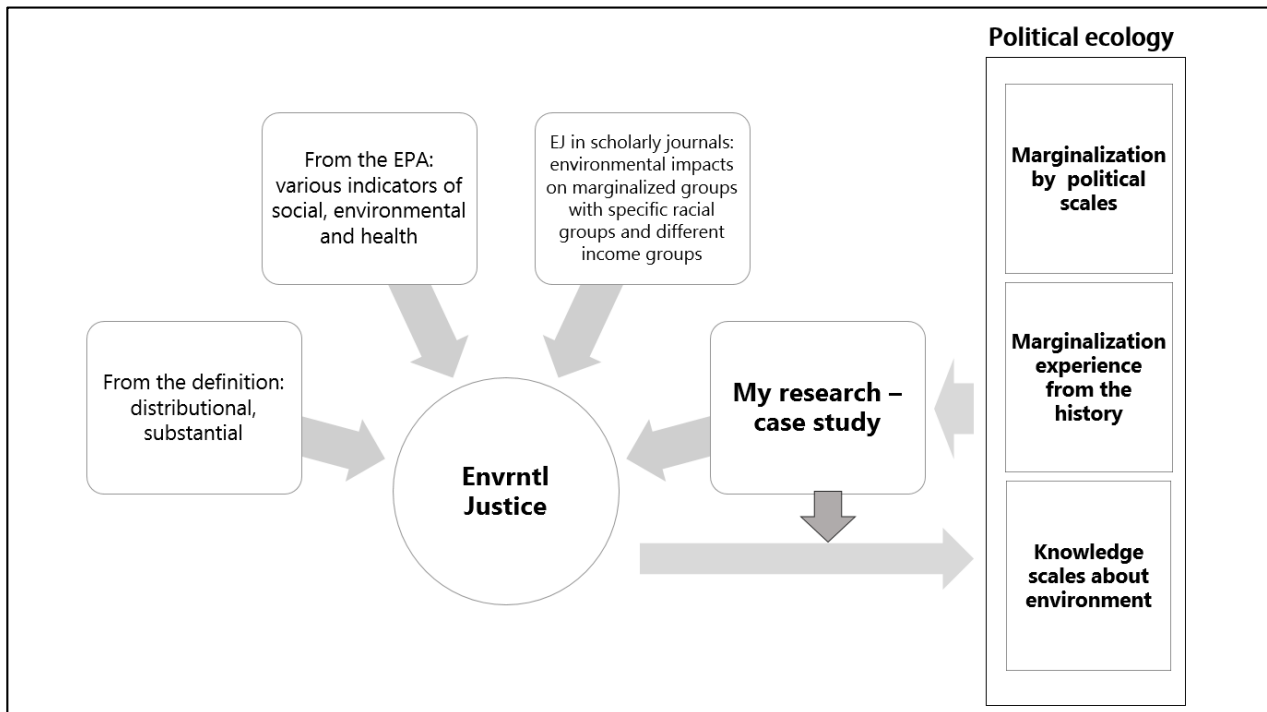


Figure 16 Contribution to Literature

across scales with their environmental assessment resulted in the marginalization of the local people's opinions, perspectives and insights of their environmental knowledge. In other words, environmental justice and the concept of scale in combination with the method of phenomenology were well suited to explain this study's findings in profound ways.

Under the umbrella of political ecology that draws the overall framework of this study about the connectivity between nature and society, Environmental Justice facilitated a better understanding about the concept of justice, while the concept of

scale revealed the complexity of social structures and perspectives that intentionally hid the subject impacting the environment in this case study. In particular, the Environmental Justice not only acted as the analytical tool to structure the themes that emerged from the data but also helped to understand the emergent themes and the interconnections between procedural injustice, distributive justice and an understanding of scale as geographic, temporal and political (see figure16 below).

This radical attempt of understanding the case with the critical approach of environmental justice and the concept of scale based on the political ecology point of view was able to explain multi-faceted phenomenon in the local community. Also by doing so, this case study could suggest an alternative approach to analyze the environmental injustice case with a different background rather than the typical cases in the U.S. which characterize environmental consequences of a socially vulnerable population mainly due to the residential location with racially minorities and lower economic status. This case study framed the concept of scale to bridge the gap between environmental justice and political ecology to expand the arena of environmental injustice cases by viewing 'nature' (environmental justice) to overcome the outsider's perspective(scale) of using the 'environment' for capital and national security(political ecology) as reflected by the dominant interests.

This study found that the local people in Gangjeong had limited political power, were excluded from the decision-making processes, combined their local knowledge of the environment and voiced their disagreement with the decision, and bore the possible negative consequences. Institutionalized policymaking by the government defined the economic benefits to target a few community people, who

were relatively poor in the community, who chose the compensation and the possible development even with possible negative environmental consequences due to their situation. What the local people, who disagreed the naval base, did was to try to understand the actual consequences in the local environment and economic development to reconcile their own approach to the issues and what the government argued. But by taking up the entire scales of the policy debates, the government marginalized the local people and their actions to engage in the debates, which restricted social equity and environmental justice.

In chapter 5 and some part of chapter 6, the inconsistency in the ecological scale that would be impacted by the construction of the naval base between the local people and the government was discussed as a violation of environmental indicators and social indicators under the environmental justice framework. The environmental knowledge of the local people and their experiences countered both the government's view of nature and science. The environment in this village in Jeju has been transformed by social and political systems: Internationally, Jeju was designated as a UNESCO preservation site for its unique ecosystem, but the IUCUN conference in Jeju released its press statements stating that the construction of the naval base and its functions would not have any environmental impacts; while locally and nationally, the local people engaged in the environmental preservation movement actively so that this village was awarded for its clean environment in 1995. These various scale involvements confused the representations of this study site as a village or as an island and effectively negated the voices and interests of the local people in that region.

The erased voice of the local people in various scales and approaches were discussed under the social indicators of the environmental justice framework. The marginalization process in this case toward the local people from the government is unique in that the targeted group is racially homogeneous with relatively high income levels in the community. The geographical locations of this community as an island, and political scale as one community, required a radical environmental justice discourse. Especially in order to encompass the discourses of the local people's experiences from the decision-making to participating in the anti-naval base movement counter to the government's choice of scale. The discussion in chapter 8 suggested the expanded approach to environmental justice discourse with the aspect of temporal scale as the governmental objectification of the local people marginalized them as a main stakeholder; and chapter 9 suggested an approach with institutional, spatial and political scale through which the local people's cooperation with different entities to confront the case involved entities from other countries.

In conclusion, theoretically this study suggests that putting any cases into the environmental justice framework needs to consider the perspective of scale and political ecology. In addition, methodologically the phenomenological approach is a necessary part of the analytical process to determine whether the case is an environmental injustice case. This case study demonstrated these necessities by showing the empirical findings from local people's experiences that shifted the focus to the local scale, which is not immediately apparent from other research approaches.

Implications and Policy Suggestions

This study weaves a story about the importance of shifting the main discourse from the traditional policy decision-makers to the local people. Like many environmental justice discourses have suggested, this study questioned the premise that the bigger political scale entities characterize the needs and problems of the local people. Redistribution of power from the government (or a state) to the socially vulnerable population in the right manner of a decision-making process is required for any scale of projects in a space where the local people have resided their entire lives.

An environmental justice process of decision-making for the naval base in this small village would: give priority to the local scales for decision-making, distribute power to those representing the natural system based on distributive environmental justice, and re-envision the socio- natural dimension in the region with historical experiences of the local people. This process would also recognize multiple forms of knowledge including the local people's experiences that are represented as the complex dimension of their relation with the local environment rather than the divided relation between the economic and ecological that the state interpreted. For the government, the decision-making process reflecting the local people's knowledge and opinions is the best way to avoid possible conflicts which end up costing more than expected such as the delayed construction that happened in this case. Therefore, the government needs to have 'conflict sensitive behavior (Haufler, 2010)' in order to 'create more peaceful societies (Haufler 2010)'.

Any decisions need to be made within the community first with their own knowledge and experiences; and these decisions need to be prioritized. This study's

participants' experiences showed the complete failure of the environmental injustice process while the local people learned about possible impacts and consequences of having the naval base and tried to make their own decision. The failure of the environmental justice process in this case study includes the objectification and marginalization of the local people's participation and the local environment, which are based on the lack of consideration of space, scale and the current societal system of capitalism, from political ecology.

Marginalized local people and environment are not particularly different from the experiences of the local people in other regions in South Korea with national projects; however, Jeju Island has a highly constructed socio-nature, due to the unique settings of Jeju with its cultural- historical experiences and its unique natural environment. The rare ecosystem has been protected by various laws in different jurisdictional scales. And accumulated cultural – historical experiences of being marginalized from the mainland by residing on an island historically has made the local people evaluate the limitations of the government-led project occurring in their community. One participant described that their cultural 'island identity' has grown from their experiences, which might be similar to feeling "otherness" from racial discrimination experiences, if there was one in Korea (#90143). These distinct characteristics in the background of this case required the collective views of the radical scope of environmental justice with the expanded concept of scales framed with political ecology. In addition, this 'island identity' became the main engine to initiate the civic 'peace' movement internationally with other island regions like Okinawa and Taiwan against the U.S. military plans.

Limitations and Future Research

This study has integrated multiple theories to explain a case that can expand the application of the current environmental justice framework. This study adopted different indicators from EPA's environmental justice framework as well as the concept of scale and Political Ecology as the main framework. Other dimensions of environmental justice consisting of the concepts of distributive and substantive justice (Schlosberg, 2004) were not explicitly elaborated when discussing the findings. The focus of this study is mainly about procedural justice since one of the main findings of this study is the marginalization process of the local people. Among the three dimensions of environmental justice (procedural, distributive, substantive justice), the substantive justice is subtly discussed in this study as the environmental impacts that the local people experienced; and the distributive justice is shown by the increased burdens on the local people in Jeju due to the remoteness of the community from the capital city.

This study takes a contextual approach to the case by focusing on the people's perceived changes from their experiences. The secondary data used in this study was mainly for the purpose of triangulating the data. For future work which would further study the naval base, a more extensive analysis of secondary resources such as newspapers and government documents could be used to create a multi-dimensional framework for investigating the distributive and substantive justice in the Jeju/Naval Base relationship. More methodological limitations and delimitations were discussed in Chapter 3.

In addition, a comparative study with other marginalization cases in other regions or countries could give another direction for this study for improved political analysis. The socio-nature perspective existing in Jeju Island makes this case distinct from other cases of marginalization that the local people experienced with national scale projects in other regions in Korea. However, there are some commonalities that the local people experienced in this naval base installation with other cases in South Korea, especially in regards to the exclusion of the local people for the militarized purposes in partnership with the U.S. government: the sudden decision made about the deployment of an advanced anti-missile system in Seongju in 2016 (CNN) and a huge conflict between the local people and the government about the new U.S. military base (Camp Humphreys) installation in Daechuri, Pyeongtaek in 2006 (Hankyoreh). These two additional cases of marginalization from the larger political scale of the government of South Korea and the U.S.A. led to the fundamental question about the role of government. The governmental oppression of the protestors and petitioners for the national scale ‘military’ benefits calling for ‘militarized peace’ that happened in these cases including this case study could fall under a process of authoritarianism.

Additionally, the historical experiences in this study were limited to the 4-3 incident (Jeju Uprising) due to the similarities in experiences of this incident to this case study about being marginalized from the upper political scale as the theme emerged, but the further study would include more context analysis on the historical geography in Jeju in general where long-term marginalized experiences have occurred as an island.

Appendices

Appendix I. General Backgrounds: Time Series and Site Maps

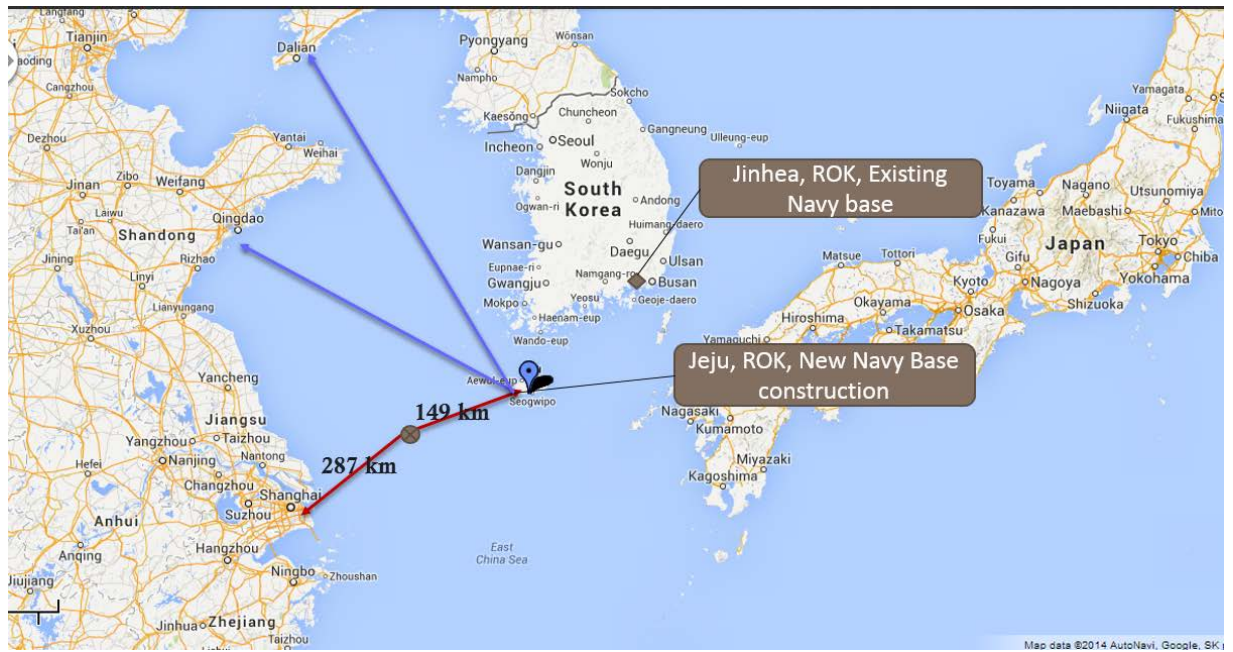
Table A1. Time series

YEAR	MONTH	MAIN EVENTS
1995		The bill for Jeju Naval base National project has been passed in a Cabinet Council(meeting)
2002		Navy Headquarters sounded Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries out on seeing accommodation availability of Naval only pier at Hwasoon
		The villagers organized the Committee to stop Hwasoon Naval Base
		The Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries postponed the plan of building a naval base in Hwasoon
2005	JAN	The government announced Jeju as “The Island of World Peace.”
		1)The Ministry of National Defense of Korea announced restarting of naval base plans 2) Special Commission on the Committee(Jeju local based) to stop Naval base
	JUN	Jeju Governor announced suspension of discussion about naval base issues for one year
2006	APR	Navy visited another village named Wimi for testing the possible designation for the naval base
	MAY-JUN	New governor(Taehwan Kim) was elected New governor and Navy agreed on “Naval base construction”
	DEC	The National Assembly of ROK assigned two billion Won(about Two Million US dollars) for the project
<u>2007</u>	<u>APR</u>	<u>The Minister of National Defense visited Jeju Island and announced the enforcement of building the naval base (04/13)</u>
		87 villagers (out of 1200) participated in the extraordinary general meeting of Gangjeong Village and agreed on building the naval base in their village. (04/26) Press conference was held by Gangjeong community(village leader) to announce their decision on designation for the naval base in Gangjeong Village and sent a proposal to the navy and government with an official letter (04/27)
	MAY	The Jeju Governor announced the decision of the naval base location and Gangjeong as the best option for the naval base (5/14)
	JUN	Ministry of National Defense notified Jeju administration of the finalized site for the naval base(6/8) In Gangjeong Village, villagers tried to call for an official vote, but some villagers who agreed to this plan disturbed the voting process.(6/19) President Roh visited Jeju Peace Forum and said that “the Island of Peace(Jeju) can be compatible with the naval base” (6/22)

	JUL	Inauguration of Pan Island Committee to stop Jeju naval base and to keep the Island of Peace
	AUG	Gangjeong Village General Meeting, The village leader who facilitated the naval base project was fired, and a new village leader was elected (8/10). The official vote in the meeting shows (announced) the invalidity of the previous vote. (725 participants: agree- 26/ disagree-680, undervote-9)(8/20)
		The Ministry of National Defense confirmed no change in the project schedules and the site for the naval base.(8/21)
2008	SEP	The government officially announced the confirmation of the naval base project.
2009	APR	The Ministry of National Defense, The Ministry of Maritime and Fishery, and Jeju Administration signed MOU of naval base construction.
	DEC	Jeju Special Self-governing Provincial Council passed a vote to lift the Absolute Preserve Coastal Area Act(along with other environmental protection laws)
2010	DEC	46 villagers, who held the press conferences for stopping the project, were arrested. The construction has begun.
2011	AUG	The five political parties of opposing the main political party's decision of the naval base chose the report of a fact-finding mission[committee] and urged for the reconsideration of the project (8/4) The physical conflicts near the fence of the construction site and the new village leader was arrested by this incidence(8/24)
	DEC	The Assembly of ROK decides to reduce the budget for the naval base construction.
2014		The expected time of the completion of the construction – Postponed
2016	SEP	The construction completion

Cite from (Kim and Lee 2011) and (Shim 2012)

Map A1. Location of Jeju Island findings



MAP A2. The maps of naval base site within Jeju. Close to Gangjeong Village: Orange Line shows the protective area



Appendix II. Environmental Regulations

Table A2. International Institutions' Regulations

Protective species / areas	Protected by(as)	Details
Korean narrow-mouthed toad(<i>Kaloula borealis</i>)	IUCN* Red List	Within village
Red Foot shore crab (<i>Sesarmops intermedius</i>)	Korean endangered wildlife	Within village
Soft coral reef	CITES**, Cultural Heritage Administration, Korean Ministry of Environment	Habitats: size of 92,640,149 m ²
Bum Island(Tiger Rock Island)	UNESCO Biosphere Zone	1.3 km (0.8 miles) away from the base, closed to the route of entry/departures from the base

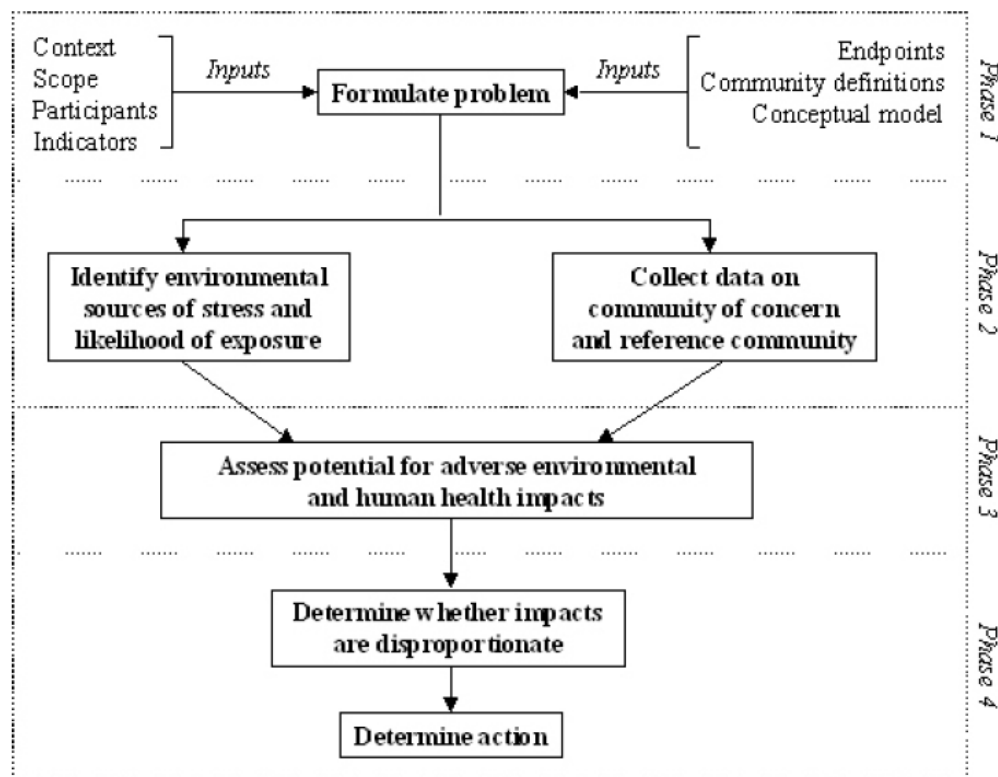
Table A3. Korean Government Regulation List

Protective region designation	Institution : which set up this	Time : From when its designation has been active	Note: explanation for restrictions/ any changes
Biosphere Zone: Moon Island, Bum Island, Sub Island	UNESCO	2002. DEC	Core protected area: Only permitted for investigation and education purpose without disturbing environment. Surrounding areas: Environmental Education, Ecosystem tourism permitted.
Cultural Heritage Protection Zone: Moon Island, Bum Island (National Monument No. 431)	Cultural Heritage Administration	2000. July	The silver magnolia: world's rarest species Japanese (black) wood pigeon: National monument The areas for reporting unrecorded rare species and traditional Korean marine life, represent Southern parts of Korea biodiversity
Cultural Heritage: Soft coral areas (National Monument No. 442)	Cultural Heritage Administration	2004.DEC	- The First National Monument as Marin Life habitat (66 special species of corals only found in area in the world. There are more than 92 species of corals from 132 corals in Korea) - The soft coral habitat is rare in the world: high academic values
Biosphere Zone: Soft coral areas	Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries	2002. Nov. 5 th	Only soft coral habitat in Korea, high density of Red soft coral
Marine provincial(state) park	Jeju Special Self-Governing Province	2006.Oct	

Absolute Preservation Areas	Jeju Special Self-Governing Province	2007.Apr (*lifted(Cancelled) on 2009, DEC)	<p>Coastal areas in Jeju Island divided into three different parts: Preservation, development, utilization</p> <p>About 40% of coastal areas in Jeju Island are designated as Absolute Preservation area: any developing plans are prohibited.</p> <p>15% of Gyeongju Village area is finalized as Absolute Preservation Area: Having The first class landscape area, The first class Ecosystem area – any forms of landfills are prohibited.</p>
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(cite from Kim 2013:103)

Exhibit 3-1: Methodology for Assessing Potential Allegations of Environmental Injustice



Environmental Justice Indicators Framework

Environmental Justice Indicators Frameworks are developed by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to examine the environmental injustice cases. The EPA suggested that the broad and encompassing nature of the definition of environmental justice and various ways to interpret each aspect of it. There is not a confirmed way to analyze an environmental injustice case, but these elements can show a rough guideline of what to focus on in the case of having unfair treatment and unequal environmental protection, and having the unequal opportunity of being involved in decisions that affect the environment and the health of a community (p24). The various elements within the suggested environmental justice framework by the EPA comprised economic, social, environmental, and health-level statuses or well-being. “Only certain Environmental Justice Indicators will be relevant for any given situation and that the overall assessment process may be affected by limitations in resources, time, and data availability (p30).”

To consider the purpose of study and research questions, this guidance is too specific and some elements are not directly related to answering the research questions. But, these broad arenas of each element can give an idea of categories of survey questions and guide analysis of the interview data. Further, these indicators of this frame can also verify the emergent categories from the data analysis. The table below shows what indicators are related to this study’s purposes.

Table A4. Applicable Indicators of this research from EJ Indicators Framework (Blue colored sections)

Environmental Indicators	Social Indicators	Economic Indicators	Health Indicators
Sources of stress placed on the community(e.g. noise)	Vulnerability to exposure	Unemployment rate	Existing health conditions(e.g. Infant mortality rate; Life expectancy at birth
Potential exposure to stressors(e.g. Proximity of regulated facilities to the majority of the community's population)	Government response actions	Income levels and distribution	Health impacts from environmental stressors(e.g. Number of illnesses attributable to chemical contaminants)
Environmental conditions resulting from stressors(e.g. Density of contaminants in biota)	Community participation	Percent of homeowners in a community or the percent of renters in a community	
Environmental vulnerability(e.g. Geomorphic features; Presence of ecologically sensitive areas)		Percent of community residents with a reliance on polluting industries for jobs and economic development	
		Reliance on natural resources for the community's economic base	

Appendix IV. The Modern History of Korea

International Geopolitical Background

The Korean peninsula is located in between China, Russia and Japan. The direct international powers' involvement with the modern governmental system started with Japan, when it occupied Korea for almost 40 years. After Korea gained its independence from Japan at the end of World War II, Korea was governed by military governments from the U.S. in the south and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in the north. Then from 1950 – 1953 there was the Korean War, which involved the U.S., the USSR, China, and the United Nations (U.N.)

Japanese Occupation of Korea

Japan occupied Korea between 1910 – 1945, a period South Koreans officially call the period of "Japanese forced occupation." In fact, Japan started interfering in Korea's domestic affairs starting in the late 1800s, during the time when Western imperialism opened up East Asia (Cumings 2005). Korea's first international treaty was actually with Japan in 1876, instead of a Western power (Cumings 2005), followed by Russia in 1885.

Russia and Japan were rival powers that tried to exert their influence in Korea during a period of political unrest in Korea under the Chosun Dynasty. In February 1904, Japan broke off diplomatic relations with Russia and attacked a Russian naval base. The resulting Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 ended with a Japanese victory and increased Japanese military and political influence in Korea, which eventually led (under Japanese coercion) to Korea entering into a Protectorate

Treaty with Japan (Kang, 1997). Before this forced treaty was concluded, however, King Kojung proclaimed the founding of the Korean Empire in October 1897 (O 1995) along with the establishment of the Independence Club, which was composed of activists opposed to Japanese dominance in Korea. But these actions could not prevent the 1910 Japan–Korea Annexation Treaty, which resulted in the Japanese officially occupying Korea until the end of World War II in 1945.

During this period, Korea suffered economically, politically and culturally under oppressive Japanese colonial rule. Laws and policies were implemented to encourage Japanese to migrate to Korea to take arable lands as well as other natural resources such as minerals, fisheries, and forests. Japan also established a police state (military police government) in Korea at the beginning of the occupation, giving every policeman the right to summarily try, convict, and execute Koreans for any reason (Myers and Peattie 1984) . To encourage cultural assimilation, Koreans had to change their names from their Korean names to Japanese names, and Korean children were not allowed to use the Korean language in school. During WWII, the exploitation of resources in Korea was increased to support the Japanese military. This exploitation included seizure of metal products from every Korean household and forced manual and sexual labor for the Japanese military brothel (Soh 2011). The number of forced laborers sent to Japan has been estimated to be about 450,000 and the number of comfort women has been estimated to be about 50,000 to 200,000 (Kuki 2013; Soh 2001).

During this period, there were various independence movements in Korea. One of the most famous of these was the March 1st independence movement in 1919.

The March 1st independence movement came about after the death of King Kojung in 1919, when activists in Seoul declared Korea's independence from Japan with the support of millions of Koreans who joined pro-independence demonstrations. This March 1st movement encouraged the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in Shanghai on April 1919. The Japanese violently suppressed this movement: 45,000 people were arrested and 7500 people were killed by Japanese police and soldiers during these year-long demonstrations (Yi 1984).

Soon after Japan's surrender to the U.S. in 1945, USSR troops entered the Korean peninsula before American troops could arrive due to Korea's proximity to the Soviet frontline against Japan in Manchuria. U.S. policy makers obtained Soviet acceptance of the 38th parallel as the dividing line between American and Soviet troops; however, the Soviets had time to help install Korean Communists in positions of authority and establish a functioning government and local communist committees in the area under their control in the north of the Korean peninsula (Buhite 1978: 441). In response to these Soviet actions, "the State Department [of the U.S.] decided on a policy -accepted by the War and Navy departments and eventually implemented- of providing greater amounts of aid for the South and involving Koreans more directly in the administration of the American zone" (Henderson 1968, Scalopino and Lee 1972 cited by Buhite 1978: 442).

Even so, Korea and the Far East were not the main focus for U.S. diplomacy at that time, which was more focused on Europe. At the request of South Korean political parties, the U.S. military government withdrew from South Korea. While doing so, "Communists marched to victory in a civil war in neighboring China, and

the Soviet-supported North Korean leader, Kim Il-sung, used that conflict as a training ground for an army” (Stueck 1997 :4). At the same time, the relationship between China and the USSR became stronger during this war (Buhite 1978). Within the U.S. Government, some voiced concerns about the increased power of communism in Asia. General MacArthur expressed criticism that “revolved around the administration’s failure to share his view that Asia, not Europe, had become the decisive theater of action in the Cold War.” He added that “ ‘This group of Europhiles’(....) just will not recognize that it is Asia which has been selected for the test of Communist power and that if all Asia falls Europe would not have a chance- either with or without American assistance.” (Gaddis 2005: 115-116)

The Korean War

The timeline of the Korean War

1945: August 15	Independence from Japan
1945-48	Military governments established in South Korea (by the US) and North Korea (by the USSR)
1948, May	Establishment of Republic of Korea(South Korea government)
1948, September	Establishment of Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)
1949, October	Establishment of People's Republic of China
1950, June 25	North Korean invasion of South Korea: start of Korean War

1953, July 27	Armistice Agreement ending the Korean War; the 38 th parallel was agreed to as the border between North and South Korea
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While the U.S. was focused elsewhere, Kim Il-sung's army invaded the South with Soviet aid and approval for the purpose of unifying the Korean peninsula under his regime. According to Stueck (1997), Kim Il-sung "achieved decisive superiority over the government forces sponsored by the U.S. and the U.N. below the 38th parallel (Stueck 1997: 4)." This unexpected move from North Korea got the full attention of the U.S.: "at the first meeting after the outbreak of the Korean War, President Truman asked the Air Force to 'prepare plans to wipe out all Soviet air bases in the Far East' (FRUS, 1950, VII: 160; also see 159)." (Jervis 1980: 572) Truman's decision to send troops to Korea was criticized for the remainder of his administration and never received formal congressional authorization.

Before this invasion by Kim Il-Sung to South Korea, the Chinese Communists had intimate and substantial relations with the USSR in 1949-1950 (Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue 1993). Despite many differing opinions on the details of the involvement of China and the USSR during the beginning of the Korean War²⁹, all sources indicated the significant influences of these two countries on the Korean War itself. And for the leader of the Chinese Communist Party(CCP), Mao Zedong, it

²⁹ "It was Mao who convinced Stalin that the U.S. would not interfere militarily if Kim attacked the South because the war would be an internal matter.' Chinese source now available differs on this problem. [...] Mao was not informed of Kim's plan during his stay in the USSR, nor did he discuss any such plan with Stalin. Two Chinese authors assert that Mao and Stalin did discuss Kim's plan but differ from the first account. 'Mao was more cautious than both Kim and Stalin,'" (Jian, p40)

was important to “make a fresh start” in international policies by questioning the Western powers (Jian 1995:30). According to this study’s new findings from recent Russian materials: “To enhance communist control of China’s state and society and to promote China’s international prestige and influence, Mao and the Beijing leadership intended to win a glorious victory in Korea by driving the Americans out of the peninsular (Jian 1995 xi).”

Chinese involvement in the initial stage of the North Korean invasion of South Korea expanded to the actual battles during the Korean War with the large-scale material assistance coming from the USSR (Stueck 1997). More recent evidence shows the increasingly direct influence of the USSR on North Korea, while the U.S. supported and influenced South Korea (Gaddis 2005), and so the war became an “ideological confrontation between authoritarian communism and liberal capitalism that often appeared to be the most striking reality in the great power contest over Korea (Stueck 1997: 8).” While China and the U.S. played the largest roles as the foreign participants (Stueck 1997), the increased scale of the war “included combatants representing twenty different governments from six continents (Stueck 1997: 3).” According to the U.S. Department of Defense, the United States suffered 33,686 battle deaths, along with 2,830 non-battle deaths, during the Korean War (U.S. Department of Defense).

With the increased pressure from both the U.S. and Western allies, and the Communists of the USSR and China, the prolonged discussion of armistice negotiations for two years (Stokesbury 1990) was signed on 27 July 1953. One of the possible drivers for this armistice was the increased discontent in the Soviet bloc

coming out of Eastern Europe (Stueck 1997); and the transitional political situation in the USSR by Stalin's death in 1953, followed by the newly elected U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower in 1952. The official name of the agreement ceasing the Korean War was "Agreement between the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, on the one hand, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's volunteers, on the other hand, concerning a military armistice in Korea."

When the Korean War ended in July 1953, Korea's political map remained virtually unchanged; as well as foreign countries' influences on the policies and economy in both Koreas, especially from the U.S. and China. These two countries were also impacted by the Korean War: this war had significant impacts on the Cold War by influencing U.S. policy (Jervis 1980); and "the Cold War in Asia entered a new stage characterized by a total confrontation between the PRC and the U.S. that would last nearly twenty years. (Jian 1995:1)"

After War Relationship between China and South Korea

Historically, Korea kept a close relation with China as a kind of 'tributary' state of China for twelve hundred years³⁰ (Stueck 1998). After the Korean War, China supported North Korea and has remained its ally ever since, whereas South

³⁰ Korea was invaded by the Mongols, the Japanese, and the Manchus from the 13th -17th centuries, but could preserve its independence as a kind of 'tributary' state of China for twelve hundred years, and was able to remain a 'hermit kingdom' by the early 19th century (Stueck 1998).

Korea kept diplomatic relations only with the Nationalist-led Republic of China in Taiwan.

However, the relationship between China and South Korea began changing in the 1980s, when Deng Xiaoping's regime started and Chinese-South Korean relations improved by way of increased economic exchange. The political relationship between the two countries remained weak at the time due to Chinese political power over North Korea characterized by communist ideology. After the Cold War ended in 1991 officially with the fall of the USSR, South Korea and China officially established diplomatic relations in 1992 (cite), and South Korea broke off diplomatic relations with Taiwan to bolster its relationship with China. As of 2013, China has been the largest foreign-trade partner for South Korea, while South Korea has been the third largest trading partner for China (Embassy of the Republic of Korea in China).

After War Relationship between the U.S. and South Korea

After the Korean War, the U.S. Army kept bases in South Korea for purposes of national security, and the South Korean government received aid from the U.S. government throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Especially after South Korea sent its troops to Vietnam during the Vietnam War, U.S. economic and military support was strengthened further. President Park JungHee had five official meetings with the U.S. under Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon in the 1960's. At one of these meetings, the Status of Forces Agreement in Korea (SOFA) was signed in 1966. SOFA has been criticized for its favorable terms for the U.S. army; SOFA allows the U.S. Army to retain criminal jurisdiction for U.S. soldiers stationed in South Korea.

In addition to having close political relations with South Korea since the Korean War, the U.S. is South Korea's second largest trading partner (after China). The U.S. and South Korea signed a Free Trade Agreement in 2012. (Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the USA)

The local Citizens' experience in the Modern History of Korea

With these international and national scale conflicts in the modern history of Korea, the stories of the struggles of local people are rarely any paid attention. How the people suffered from the historical events of the Japanese occupation and the Korean War simply summarized as the number of casualties, or even intentionally hidden by the bigger political actors.

For example, after being exploited by Japan during WWII, about a million South Korean citizens were subsequently victimized by the Korean War. This number is about 11% of the population at the time. Considering the casualties from the Korean War that is estimated from 2 million to 2.5 million, 85% of these were Korean civilians. It is one of the highest civilian casualty rates in the world war history (Korean War Fast Facts). These numbers include massacres of Korean civilians committed by the North Korean Government, South Korean Government and the U.S. Army. But these civilian massacres were not reported until the late 1990s. The most famous example of hidden ordinary people suffering during the WWII is the sex slave for the Japanese army (or called 'comfort women'). This disputable government-run brothel was systemically hidden by the Japanese government with help from the Korean government in exchange for the compensation

to the government, not to the victims. This issue is still in the process of negotiation between the two countries: Japan has argued that they have compensated enough to the government while the South Korean government has kept changing its position depending on the regime in power, but the victims have never been on the negotiation table.

The No-Gun-Ri Massacre is one of the most famous of these massacres. On July 26–29, 1950, early in the Korean War, an undetermined number of South Korean refugees were killed by a U.S. air attack and the actions of the second Battalion(7th U.S. Cavalry) at a railroad bridge near the village of No Gun Ri, 100 miles (160 km) southeast of Seoul. This story had been hidden, but an Associated Press journalist brought the story to international attention in 1999.

(“G.I.'s Tell of a U.S. Massacre in Korean War”; Williams, 2011)

After the war, the local citizens’ suffering as a result of complicated international events and influences seemed to be over. However, ideology came forward and became the main tool for the government to marginalize the citizen. This hatred of communism in South Korea started even before the Korean War and was strengthened by the dictatorship in South Korea. Anti-communism became the main ideology for the South Korean government and played a major role in South Korean governmental policies during the dictatorships of the first president, Rhee (Kim, 2000), and President Park Junghee in the 1970s. During the President Park regime, many civilians were killed and tortured after being labelled as communists for opposing the regime of Park.

Appendix V. Data Coding Strategies

The overall theme table (table 4) consists of the codes that are most frequently found from the interviews, which are coded based on the environmental justice indicators (see appendix III: Table A4) and the concept of scale (political scale and time scale). The first super-ordinate theme, “Knowledge of Environment (theme1)”, was selected by its frequency but also framing from environmental indicators from environmental justice framework. The most frequently shown codes are under “Government response (theme2)” which is one of the main social indicators from environmental justice framework. Compared to these super-ordinate themes (theme 1 and 2) that were coded by Environmental Justice Framework, theme 3 of “expanded experience and knowledge” is coded based on the concept of scale from Political Ecology to meet the purpose of this study. This theme consists of less specific sub-categories than the first two main themes due to the non-consensus definition of political ecology and the concept of scale. This theme included, therefore, the time scale, which included the 4-3 historical incident, and expanded political scales which included international government involvement.

The method for coding the interview is shown by the examples below:

For example, the interview below is coded as “water resource” under “Knowledge of Physical Environment,” which is under the super-ordinate theme of “Environmental Knowledge”

“There is something weird in the ground water and I am not sure it is caused by the construction. And there was always plenty of water coming out but not anymore. I am guessing that there is something happening in the waterways (underwater system), but I don't know. It is hard for a human-being to know the natural world and its system completely (#4004, Dec 24 2014).”

Another interview quote such as the one below is coded as “Marginalized from decision-making process” which is under “Marginalization” under “Governmental response” as the super-ordinate theme.

“I didn't even get notified when the decision was made [in the community council]. It was my first time to hear about the decision of the naval base location when there was a press conference. [...] Before the press meeting (conference), most people didn't know that at all. How would we know that? (#2030, 16 Dec 2014)”

The smaller categories of subcategories like “water resource” or “marginalized from a certain circumstance” are the minimum level of codes, but these subcategories can have more specific experiences of each of the participants. For example, the local people asserted that the government lied to them about the environmental impact assessment results so there is a code of “lies from the government” but this specific code emerged for both “various governmental tactics” under governmental coercive response, and “Environmental Impact Assessment” under environmental knowledge. In this case, this study put this in both subcategories, but the frequency of these codes is counted separately. Therefore the sum of the master themes is not necessarily equal to the number of super-ordinate themes (see the frequency of each codes and themes below).

The example of coding procedures is shown as part of MAQUDA program.

Thematic Level	Code	Theme 1	Code	Theme 2	Code	Theme 3
Super - ordinate theme	1	Knowledge of environment(103)	2	Governmental responses (165)	3	Expanded experiences and knowledge (109)
Master Themes	1-1	Knowledge of Physical environment (65)	2-1	Marginalization (112)	3-1	Comparative approaches (62)
	1-2	Environmental impact assessment (53)	2-2	Objectification (87)	3-2	Scale-up (78)
	1-3	Appreciation of environment (18)	2-3	Governmental coercion response to the anti-naval movement (98)	3-3	Redefine the conventional thoughts (21)
Sub-categories	1-1-1	Water resources – fresh water, sea water	2-1-1	Marginalized from decision-making process	3-1-1	Recurring memory of the 4-3 incident (time scale)
	1-1-2	Rare species and protected zone	2-1-2	Marginalization within the community	3-1-2	Geopolitical traits of Jeju
	1-1-3	Unsuitability of location	2-1-3	Learning process from being marginalized	3-1-3	Other national and international cases
	1-2-1	Suspensions of the processes	2-2-1	Disparities between the government and the local	3-2-1	International scale involvement: U.S.
	1-2-2	Compared with their knowledges	2-2-2	Disparities among the community people	3-2-2	International NGOs
	1-2-3	N/A	2-2-3	N/A	3-2-3	International relation
	1-3-1	Increased attachment to the local environment	2-3-1	Interruption to the community meeting by the government	3-3-1	Revisit the concept of development
	1-3-2	N/A	2-3-2	Various governmental tactics and enforcement actions	3-3-2	Revisit the relation between the state and the citizens

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