

**Governing deceleration:
The natures, times, and spaces of ecotourism in South Korea**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the governmentalities of ecotourism in South Korea in relation to the specific historical-political experience of accelerated modernisation, focussing on three selected analytical themes of nature, time, and space. It develops a theoretical framework that combines Foucauldian governmentality analysis with concepts and insights related to nature, time and space developed in more-than-human and relational geographies and cognate social sciences. Drawing on three cases of tidal flat tourism, countryside walking, and whale tourism, it first examines the assemblages and technologies of ecotourism governance. It argues that ecotourism in South Korea is characterised by a decentralised mode of governance involving an array of political actors. This mode relies less on sovereign power and more on disciplinary and biopolitical techniques. Second, it examines the ways in which political technologies relating to nature, time, and space are engaged in the governmentalities of South Korean ecotourism. The analysis centres on: understandings of nature enacted through the discourse of *saengmyeong* [life] and therapeutic experiences; a discourse of slowness enacted through a paradoxical temporal organisation of accelerated slowness; and the multiple spatial relations entangled in the geographical-historical connections of South Korean modernisation. Together, these political technologies are deployed to create an ecotourism subject who cares about the self and the environment, which differs from the prevalent South Korean positions of the disciplined worker and the practical user of nature. This thesis argues that ecotourism in South Korea serves as a new biopolitical intervention to conduct the conduct of its human participants in ways that differ from those established through accelerated modernisation. By offering one of the first social science accounts of ecotourism in South Korea, it provides novel concepts and practices for the analysis of ecotourism. These differ from the mainstream approaches that deploy a political economy framework and focus largely on examples drawn from Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would have not been possible without the generosity of the participants, who gladly shared their time and knowledge, which formed the basis of this research. I am grateful to my supervisor Jamie Lorimer for his guidance, curiosity and encouragement. He has been an inspiring role model and a good friend throughout my PhD journey. Friends and colleagues from both Oxford and KCL provided productive and friendly working environments, offering even comradely commiseration, which I cherished very much.

I thank my family who supported and bore with my frequent travels between the two countries for the past years. I specifically thank my partner, Nam Jong-Young. He has been a patient listener and a willing supporter even during the difficult times when we had to deal with poignant family matters. I wish to extend my gratitude to my Dad, Choi Jung-Kil. Growing up in an agrarian village, my Dad moved into Busan at the age of 16 to work in the heavy chemical industry. It was 1966, when the Korean accelerated modernisation had just begun. His lived experience of compressed modernisation was an invaluable source of information and inspiration, which deserves due acknowledgement.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ANT	Actor-Network Theory
B&B	Bed and Breakfast
Cetacean Directive	The Directive on the Conservation and Management of Cetacean Research
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CRI	The Cetacean Research Institute (Korea)
CTA	Community Tour Agency
DMZ	De-Militarised Zones
eNGO	environmental Non-Governmental Organisations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICR	Institute of Cetacean Research (Japan)
IFAW	International Fund for Animal Welfare
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
IWC	International Whaling Commission
JOF	Jeju Olle Foundation
JSCC	Jeungdo Slow City Council
KFEM	Korean Federation of Environmental Movements
km	kilometre
KNPS	Korean National Park Service
KNTO	Korea National Tourism Organisation
KRCC	Korea Rural Community Corporation
KRW	Korean won (1800 KRW=1 pounds)
MAFRA	Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (2008–2013)
MCST	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
ME	Ministry of the Environment
MLTMA	Ministry of Land, Transportation and Marine Affairs
MMPA	Marine Mammal Protection Act (US)
MOF	Ministry of Ocean and Fisheries
MP	Member of Parliament
MPA Centre	The Centre for Marine Protected Area
NFRDI	National Fisheries Research and Development Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SZWC	Special Zone for Whale Culture
TEC	Tidal Flat Exhibition Centre
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNWTO	World Tourism Organisation of United Nations
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

Note on Romanisation, translation, and formatting

- 1) Korean words used in-text and in the bibliography are Romanised and italicised. For key terms, Korean characters are followed by Romanisation.
- 2) Romanisation used in this thesis follows the Revised Romanisation of Korean. This is the official Korean language Romanisation system introduced by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in 2000, replacing the older McCune-Reischauer system.
- 3) Korean names consist of the surname (e.g. Park), followed by the first name (usually with one to two syllables, e.g. Ji-Seong). All Korean names are written in this order (e.g. Park Ji-Seong).
- 4) Korean nouns tend not to have a sharp distinction between singular and plural forms. These nouns (e.g. *gwan*, *saengmyeong* and *gaetbeol*) are treated as singular.
- 5) All translations are my own.
- 6) Photographs and figures are taken and produced by me, unless information regarding their sources are specifically stated.
- 7) In-text, double quotation marks are used for direct quotes taken from interviews and literatures. Single quotation marks and italics are used for emphasis.

1

Introduction

In April 2009, the government of South District of Ulsan City started to run boat trips to spot whales and dolphins along the coast of Jangsaengpo. This small former whaling town, developed by Japanese whalers in the early 20th century, became the first and only whale tourism destination in South Korea. It provides diverse tourist attractions. The highlight is the boat trip that offers an intimate encounter with the charismatic animal. An aquarium displaying four bottlenose dolphins is very popular. Whales are also enjoyed as gourmet food. Over a dozen restaurants serve whale-meat dishes to allow tourists to taste the ‘cultural tradition’. Whales here are both watched and eaten for tourism. Over 600,000 tourists from adjacent urban areas come to Jangsaengpo every year to spot and/or taste whales.

While whale tourism grew as a regional ecotourism destination, the Olle Trail, a 430km recreational trail in Jeju Island, saw a national success. Inspired by the Spanish pilgrimage trail of *Camino de Santiago*, the founding members created this trail in 2007 to provide the pleasure of walking in an idyllic rural landscape. This ordinary countryside walking has since then been developed as ‘slow walking’, through which walkers learn to slow their speed of walking, to be attentive to their bodily sensations, and to not aim to complete the whole trail. This mode of walking can be contrasted to conventional hill hiking, in which the efficient reaching of a summit and overcoming physical hardship are celebrated. It generated immediate and enthusiastic responses, producing over 300 similar trails across the country and multiplying the number of walkers. As of January 2015, the sum total of walkers since the Olle Trail’s launch has reached five million, which means, “one in ten South Koreans have walked the Olle Trail” (Byun 2015). Accelerated changes were made to spread slow walking.

These two South Korean examples offer intriguing stories about how understandings of nature, ideas of time and spatial connections are engaged to produce a particular form of ecotourism. The concurrence of whale-watching trips and whale-meat consumption confuses the purported transition from the extractive (e.g. whaling) to the non-extractive use of nature (e.g. whale-watching tourism), which is commonly associated with the rise of ecotourism practices (O'Connor *et al.* 2009; Büscher and Davidov 2014). The agrarian landscape of the Olle Trail differs from the 'wilderness' landscape that features in the prevalent academic accounts of ecotourism in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa and New Zealand (Cloke and Perkins 1998; Vivanco 2007; Fletcher 2014). Yet, it is redolent of the idea of 'rural idyll' consumed in rural tourism in European countries (Roberts and Hall 2001; Crouch 2006). An accelerated transformation to slow walking suggests a paradoxical organisation of two very different temporalities deployed in ecotourism. Both examples suggest a mode of ecotourism geography that weaves together South Korea, Japan and other Western places (e.g. Spain); this complicates a prominent account of the international geography of ecotourism in which expertise, tourists and finances travel unequally along a Global North (Euro-America) to Global South (Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia) axis (Duffy 2008; Lorimer 2010b). These instances indicate the existence of ecotourism that differs from the conventional forms and accounts, which requires earnest academic investigation.

In this thesis, I explore ecotourism in South Korea through the instances of whale tourism, countryside walking and tidal flat tourism. Ecotourism is a social phenomenon emerging in post-developmental South Korea that is entrenched in the experiences of accelerated modernisation. Discourses and practices of ecotourism have recently gained significance through diverse environmental actors – authorities of the state, environmental non-governmental organisations (eNGOs) and local residents – producing diverse ways of thinking about, and relating to, the self and the environment, as the opening examples indicate. To explore this social change, the Foucauldian analysis of governmentality is adopted. Governmentality analytics offers a useful framework to explore the emergence,

existence and change of specific regimes by examining power in operation through multiple agents and technologies (Dean 2010). To deploy a Foucauldian framework to study the operation of power in South Korean ecotourism, I specifically focus on three selected areas of government – namely nature, time and space – whose discourses and practices are employed in ecotourism to shape the behaviours of human subjects in particular ways. In doing so, this study seeks to understand what these ecotourism examples say about the changing ways in which nature, time and space are thought about and related to in post-developmental South Korea. Despite the high population of over several million tourists in ecotourism practices,¹ few investigations have yet been undertaken to understand ecotourism in Korea and wider East Asia, where distinctive political structures and cultural values are at work (Weaver 2002; Weaver and Lawton 2007). By offering one of the first social science accounts of South Korean ecotourism, this thesis contributes to addressing the East Asian gap in ecotourism studies.²

1.1. The rise of ecotourism in post-developmental South Korea

The South Korean experience of accelerated modernisation provides the historic conditions within which contemporary South Korean ecotourism emerged. South Korea (hereafter, Korea) has experienced an abridged but full-scale Western modernisation in a short time period. After the Japanese colonial occupation (1910–1945) and the Korean War (1950–1953), Korea was one of the poorest and most devastated countries in the world. In the early 1960s, under the military dictatorship of Park Chung-Hee, the country embarked on rapid industrialisation through export-oriented heavy chemical industries, while repressing labour and social welfare. Over the next three decades, the economy grew at an annual rate of 8–12% (OECD 2014). The country then encountered the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 and

¹ For example, as a way of describing the scale of ecotourism, Lee *et al.* (2013, p. 2) provide approximations of the number of annual visitors to national parks: 42.5 million in Korea, 878 million in China, 12 million in Japan, 11 million in Taiwan, and 60 million in the US.

² There is a growing body of work to identify the different cultural values at work in East Asian ecotourism through empirical examinations of the cases of Korea (Choo and Jamal 2009; Lee *et al.* 2013), Taiwan (Kerstetter *et al.* 2004; Tao *et al.* 2004) and China (Buckley *et al.* 2008; Wen and Ximing 2008).

received a 21-billion US\$ bailout from the International Monetary Fund. Since then, the Korean economy has continued to grow, with the volume of the national economy ranked at 11th in the world in 2005. Per capita gross domestic product (GDP) increased by 50 times between 1970 and 2010 (Fig 1.1). The rapid economic growth accompanied accelerated urbanisation of the country, whose urban population has increased from 27.2% in 1960 to 81.9% in 2010 (Fig 1.2).

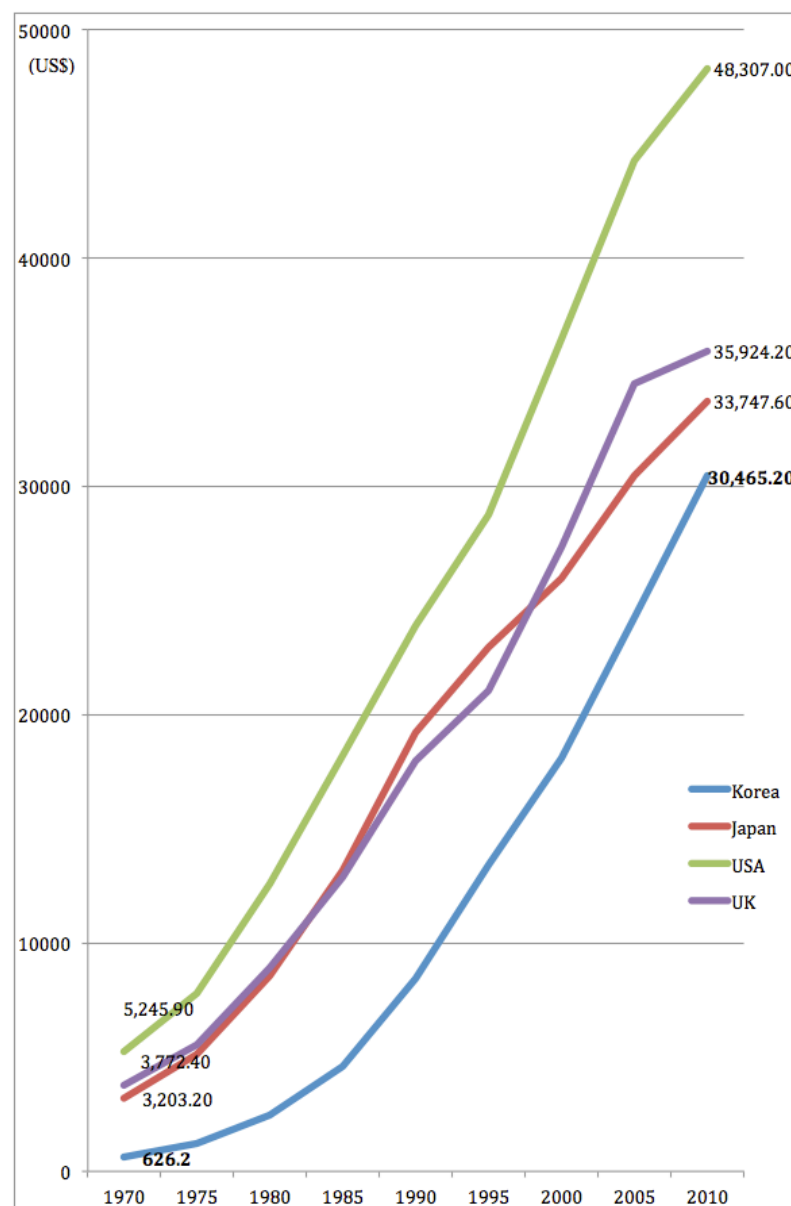


Fig 1.1. GDP per capita growth in 1970–2010 (source: OECD 2014).

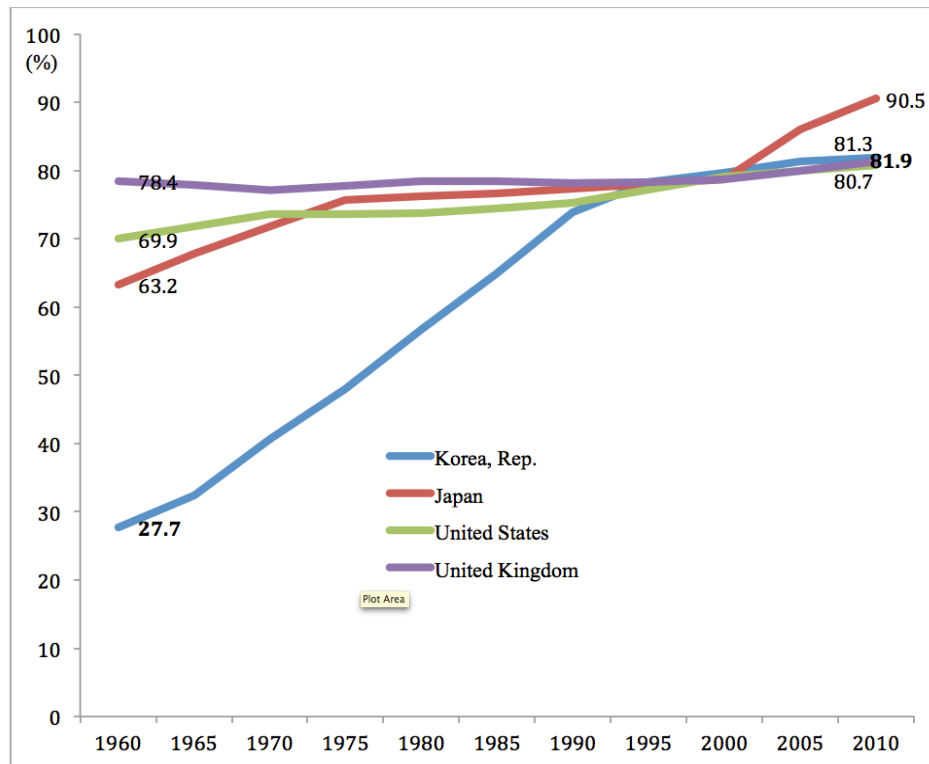


Fig 1.2. Urban population growth in 1960–2010 (source: World Bank 2014).

The rapid economic growth of Korea is often attributed to the leadership of the ‘developmental states’. According to political scientists developing ‘developmental state theory’ to explain the swift capitalist development in Korea and other East Asian countries (Johnson 1982; Amsden 1992; Evans 1995),^{3 4} the national state acts as the key driver of economic development, deploying competent elite bureaucracy and active intervention into industry (Moon and Prasad 1998; Woo-Cumings 1999). During the height of the accelerated modernisation period (from the 1960s to the 1980s), the Korean developmental state exercised comprehensive and intimate control over the market and society. An array of sovereign and disciplinary techniques of governing was deployed to produce hardworking but low-paid workers (D. Chang 2008; Y.S. Kim 2013), which included the dismissal of ‘luxury’ consumption such as passenger cars and overseas holidays (H.J. Chang 2006).

³ The developmental state theory is now applied beyond the initial Newly Industrialised Countries (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong) to China and emerging economies of Southeast Asia (Knight 2012; Johnson 1999).

⁴ This theory has received recent criticism that reveals the incessant resistance from civil society, which challenges the assumed insulation of the state from society (Boyd and Ngo 2004; H.Y. Cho 2010). This argument resonates with Knight and Ding’s (2012) critical analysis of China’s fast economic growth.

The developmental state regime has experienced massive changes in the 1990s due to the election of democratic government (since 1993) and the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997. To resolve the financial crisis, the state carried out neoliberal economic reform through privatisation (e.g. banks and state-owned firms) and deregulation of the labour market (Pirie 2007; Chy 2011). The state, at the same time, faced demands for political and social reform to resolve the deficiencies of the authoritarian developmental regime, such as serious lack of welfare, inequality and environmental problems (J. Choi 2005; Doucette 2009; Song 2009). The relationship between the state and civil society changed markedly from antagonism during the authoritarian period to strategic cooperation to realise reform-oriented initiatives (S.H. Kim 2003; D.C. Kim 2006). Many individuals and organisations of civil society found their places as policy advisors and practitioners of the reformist agenda. However, it is claimed that the leading role of the state is still retained in this post-developmental reform; for example, in neoliberal restructuring (Harvey 2005, p.72; Pirie 2005) and governance of science and technologies (Bak 2014; Hwang and Sleeboom-Faulkner 2014). In this way, the experience of accelerated modernisation has created a complex post-developmental space that is shaped by both neoliberal and progressive (e.g. welfare, environmentalism) demands, and led by both the state and non-state actors. This is the conditions within which Korean ecotourism has emerged.

During the past three decades, the concept and practice of ecotourism has gained global significance as a strategy of sustainable development (Honey 2008, also Duffy 2002). Broadly defined as “development that meets the goals of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland *et al.* 1987, p.43), the idea of sustainable development produced a set of tourism practices that is viewed as ecologically, socially and economically sustainable (Fennell 2008). Honey (2008) identifies four historical roots of the rise of ecotourism in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the US in the early 1990s. These are: the protected area initiatives of conservation organisations

(e.g. the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)); the need to reorient developmental projects of multilateral aid institutions (e.g. World Bank); the demand of developing countries for sustainable means of foreign exchange; and the need of the travel industry to tap into the growing green sentiment of tourists. Emerging from these historic conditions, ecotourism is characterised by three common principles of: nature-based, sustainably managed, and environmentally and culturally educative forms of tourism (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996; Blamey 2001; Wearing and Neil 2009). However, in practice, the definition of ecotourism remains vague, ranging from any types of nature-based tourism to strictly controlled educational tourism.

Similarly, ecotourism (in Korean: *saengtae-gwangwang*) in Korea has been developed as a means of sustainable development.⁵ Since the arrival of the concept of sustainable development through the Rio Summit in 1992, the term ‘ecotourism’ has circulated among interested professionals and was viewed as a strategy to keep “the balance of environmental protection and economic development” (Shim 1995, p.77).⁶ In 2008, the Ministry of the Environment (ME) and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) developed plans to invigorate ecotourism, raising ecotourism as one of the five objectives for the Third National Tourism Development Plan (2012–2021). Since then, ecotourism-related practices and discussions began to flourish. The ME certified 12 places as ecotourism destinations, while MCST has been running an ecotourism certification scheme since 2013. Local governments at various levels implement ecotourism initiatives by planning and operating ecotourism-related establishments (e.g. wetland visitor centres, creating trails). Ecotourism Korea, an organisation of researchers, environmental activists, and community-based tourism operators, was founded in 2012.

⁵ This analysis is based on interviews with early researchers and practitioners: including Kim Seong-II; Shim Suk-Kyung; Kang Mihee; Kang Shinkyum; and Je Jong-Kil. For the full list of interviews, see Appendix I.

⁶ The term ecotourism appeared as early as 1992 in a newsletter published by a research institute affiliated with the MCST (K.H. Lee and Byun 1992).

Several historical conditions have given a rise to ecotourism in Korea. First, there were conservation initiatives from Korean eNGOs and conservation departments of the state government (e.g. ME, Ministry of Ocean and Fisheries (MOF)). Since the early 1990s, the focus of environmental movements and policy has been diversified, ranging from pollution management to various ecological agendas including conservation (Ku 2009). Ecotourism was viewed as an effective tool of conservation that could persuade local residents to support protected area schemes by involving them as stakeholders of the enterprise occurring within protected areas. Furthermore, it was regarded as the domain of environmental education to raise environmental awareness among the general public. Ecotourism was involved in the National Biodiversity Action Plan in 1997. Members of eNGOs have organised ecotourism trips since the mid-1990s and now work as practitioners, educators, and consultants in partnership with the state and local governments.

Second, for the Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs (MAFRA) and local governments, ecotourism was viewed as a new strategy of rural tourism development. Since 1988, the MAFRA introduced and subsidised farm-based rural tourism as a way of invigorating the declining rural economy by generating additional income. This was inspired by the Japanese farm-inn model, which was originally adopted from farm-based rural tourism in European countries (Arahi 1998; Roberts and Hall 2001; Um 2004). Ecotourism was viewed as a new brand of tourism that could revitalise run-down rural tourism by offering renewed forms of tourist activities (e.g. bodily experiences) and destinations (e.g. protected areas).

Third, in relation to the need to renew rural tourism, local communities advanced as key actors, while large operators in the private-sector tourism industry remained disinterested in ecotourism. Since the majority of tourists are Korean nationals for weekend getaways, the profit generated from ecotourism is limited to accommodation options such as golf resorts

and hotels. Run by governments and the public sector, most ecotourism destinations (e.g. national parks) and establishments are accessed freely and/or at minimum charges. Instead of the tourism industry, local communities participate in ecotourism by running guesthouses, restaurants and tour agencies.

Fourth, there was growing tourists' demand for new leisure practices. Tourism in Korea started to grow in earnest in the 1990s when increased income and leisure time enabled domestic and overseas holidays.⁷ The average annual holiday taken for leisure purposes increased from 7.7 days in 1993 to over 11.94 days in 2007 (MCST 2015). Types of tourism have been diversified into heritage tourism, local festivals and nature-based tourism. Ecotourism became an avenue to develop nature-based leisure practices, adding wildlife watching (e.g. whale-watching tourism, crane-watching), recreational walking, tidal flat tourism and exclusive tours into demilitarised zones (DMZ) to traditional practices such as angling and hill hiking. National parks and nature reserves now strive to rebrand protected areas as ecotourism destinations (KNPS 2012).

Here, the need to develop the local economy through a renewed form of rural tourism intersected with the growing conservation initiative, which gave rise to ecotourism. In this regard, ecotourism is distinguished from existing rural tourism by its conservation commitment. These historical circumstances define common principles at work in Korean ecotourism. These are: environmental protection, economic development, local participation, and environmental education (Fig 1.3). These are redolent of the prevalent principles of ecotourism above, with heightened focuses on local participation and education.

The historical conditions of Korean ecotourism appear to be different from Honey's analysis, especially in terms of its national scale and the political actors involved. This defines the

⁷ Overseas travel for leisure purposes was forbidden until 1989 to secure foreign exchange (K. Cho 2005).

governing structure of Korean ecotourism in different ways from the Honey's and prominent accounts based on empirical examples of Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America (Duffy 2008). Here, the global actors – international conservation organisations, aid institutions – and the tourism industry are less significant; instead, the national governments, eNGOs and local communities come to the fore. This structure led by the public sector and local communities, suggests a different arrangement of political actors, which facilitates different operations of power in Korean ecotourism.

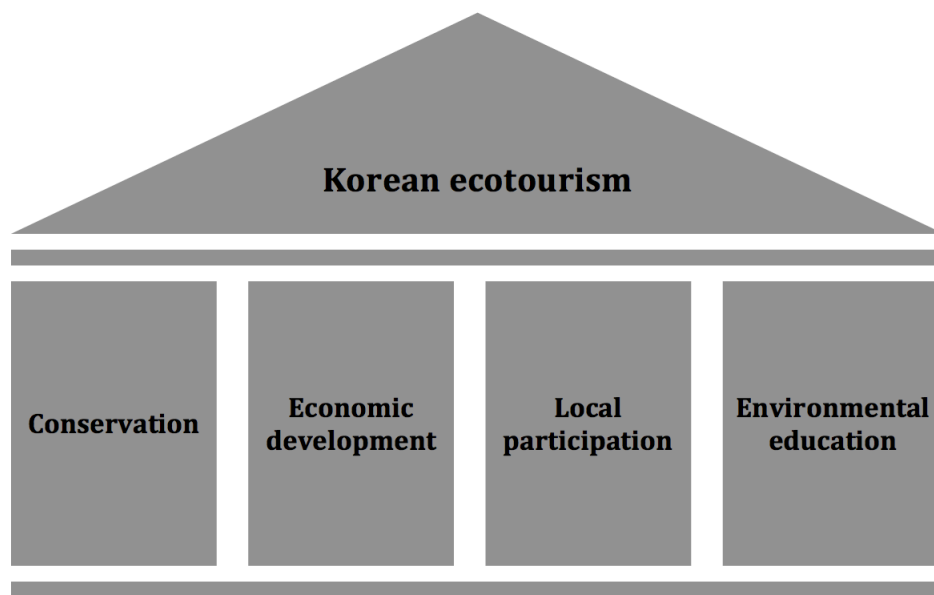


Fig 1.3. Four working principles in Korean ecotourism

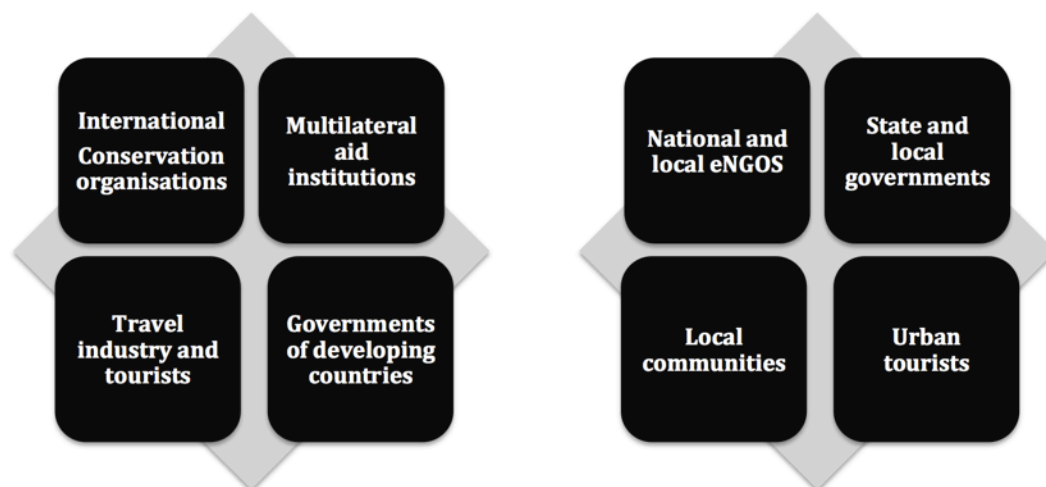


Fig 1.4. Key ecotourism actors in Honey's analysis (2008, left) and in Korean ecotourism.

1.2. A governmentality framework coupled with nature, time and space

Based on empirical examples of Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, critical studies of ecotourism tend to take a political economy framework and theorise ecotourism as ‘neoliberal conservation’ (Duffy 2002; Vivanco 2007; Duffy 2008; Duffy and Moore 2010; Neves 2010; Brockington and Duffy 2011; Büscher and Davidov 2014). As McCarthy and Prudham (2004) summarise, neoliberalism can be characterised by: a firm belief in a self-regulating market, political and ideological antagonism towards state intervention, and intimate capital-citizen relations established through partnership and collaboration. In ecotourism practice, neoliberalism is associated with decentralised governance (where the state retreats), commodification of nature, the involvement of local residents as stakeholders and creating self-empowering consumer citizens (Duffy 2008; Rutherford 2011). Political ecologists specifically problematise a specific form of ecotourism governance led by international actors and the industry. They argue that such governing structure assigns conservation to the consumption of Southern nature by Northern tourists, which exacerbates global political and economic inequalities. However, the ‘unconventional’ structure of Korean ecotourism makes the application of this established framework less useful and difficult. The market logics of commodification of nature and the local stakeholders are maintained; however, the role of the state is advanced in decentralised governance, whereas the place of the private sector and international actors are less significant. The Korean case can be an example of “actually existing neoliberalism” that Brenner and Theodore (2002) describe in their analysis of the ‘rolling-out’ state phase of neoliberalism. I will revisit this point in chapter 4 and in the conclusion of this thesis.

There is now a growing body of critical ecotourism work that takes ecotourism as “a form of governing” (Rutherford 2011, p.xi) – a biopolitical domain through which particular behaviours are shaped (West 2006; 2008; Fletcher 2009; 2014). By critically engaging with the normative dimension of ecotourism, taken as a ‘panacea’ for sustainable development and an educational tool, these authors are more interested in “how” power operates, rather than

“who” exercises it (Dean 2010, p.37). They turn to Foucault’s studies of power and governmentality (Foucault 1978; 2003; 2009; Burchell *et al.* 1991). For Foucault, power is productive of “new forms of life and ways of living” (Lorimer and Driessen 2013, p.250). He redefines ‘government’ as “the broad alignments of power, knowledge and practice” (Murdoch 2005, p.56) and ‘governmentality’ as the exercise of government through an array of intervening technologies to shape particular understandings and behaviours: “the conduct of conduct” (Gordon 1991, p.2). As such, the analytics of governmentality enables an investigator to explore social changes in modern liberal society by examining how such a society is governed through multiple agents, materials, discourses and practices.

Learning from Foucault, these authors conceptualise ecotourism as ‘a site of power’ through which particular ways of thinking about, and relating to, nature are produced, circulated and remade. They examine how narratives about nature and technologies of intervention are mobilised to produce particular subject positions in ecotourism. Drawing on examples from North American ecotourism, Rutherford (2011) argues that an array of governing techniques is deployed in ecotourism sites (e.g. natural history museums) to authorise a free-market narrative that nature can be saved through better consumption (e.g. ecotours). Ecotourism is thus deployed to transform tourists into the new subject of “consumer-citizens”. In doing so, she relates the biopolitics of ecotourism to neoliberal capitalism, arguing that ecotourism is neoliberal governmentality. Similarly, Fletcher (2014) examines white water rafting in Chile to argue that ecotourism acts as a biopolitical medium that normalises Euro-American cultural ideas of nature as wilderness and adventure.

This governmentality approach appears to be more useful for this study. As introduced, a range of actors are involved in Korean ecotourism. Not just the authorities of the state, but eNGOs also produce discourses and techniques to govern the environment (Luke 1999), while local communities and tourists have the freedom to resist. Power operates in significantly different ways from those of the authoritarian regime, where a clear distinction

between the powerful and the subjugated can be made. An interesting intellectual question to be asked here is ‘how’ power operates to bring about a social change of ecotourism.

Existing studies on ecotourism governmentality have tackled with the question of nature, relating ecotourism to the biopolitics of neoliberal capitalism (Rutherford 2011) and Euro-American cultural politics (West and Carrier 2004; Fletcher 2014). In Korean cases, these political ecology concerns can be maintained, perhaps in different degrees and different ways, such as in the DMZ tours and through the state-led decentralised governance. However, there seem to exist other elements deployed in ecotourism to shape particular behaviours – for example, the discourse of slowness. To delve into the less attended aspects of ecotourism governing, I specifically relate the governmentality of ecotourism to the Korean-specific experience of accelerated modernisation. This historical-cultural experience provided the conditions in which post-developmental social changes, such as ecotourism, emerge.

To examine the operation of power in Korean ecotourism with particular reference to the experience of accelerated modernisation, I chose to focus on three areas of intervention. These are: understandings of nature, ideas of time and spatial relations. I selected these three among other possible candidates for three reasons. First, they appear significant in post-developmental Korean society, as they are deeply entrenched in the experience of accelerated modernisation. Second, they emerged as interesting and significant during my fieldwork, as I will detail through the chapters. Finally, they are popular themes in recent human geography and the cognate social sciences. The selection of these therefore would enable this thesis to draw on recent theorisations related to nature, time and space. In so doing, it could offer a unorthodox approach to examining the governmentality of ecotourism. My hypothesis is that the governmentality of Korean ecotourism seeks ways to move away from the prevalent modes of relating to nature, time and space established in accelerated modernisation, which acts as a form of critical response to the experience of accelerated modernisation. This

renders Korean ecotourism as a biopolitical intervention to facilitate the *deceleration* of the ways in which the self and the environment are thought about and related to.

To inform how I use the three selected themes for my governmentality analysis, I briefly outline key related discourses and practices established during and after accelerated modernisation, as well as the scholarly treatment of these themes. I will detail these in the literature review of this thesis (chapter 2).

Nature

As Castree (2005, p.42) clarifies, nature is related to society both as “a concept or idea” and as “the real world of species, landforms, and bodies”. These two are not discrete but are in interaction: nature as the physical world performs to produce specific representations and ideas of nature. In ecotourism, diverse natures – as concepts – are engaged to give legitimacy to specific understandings and behaviours related to nature. Prominent ideas about nature include nature: as (non-extractive) resources (Büscher and Davidov 2014), as individual nonhumans (e.g. anthropomorphised dolphins, Bulbeck 2004) and as specific landscapes.

The compressed economic and social changes experienced in Korea resulted in a concurrence of diverse ideas about nature, manifested in competing nature-related discourses. First of all, nature is thought of as both extractive and non-extractive economic resources. Critical Korean sociologists draw attention to the idea of ‘developmentalism’ as one of the dominant nature-related discourses (M. Cho 2006; 2009; Hong 2007). Developmentalism refers to the ideology and tendency that puts economic growth first at the expense of nature. It facilitates the viewing of nature as an extractive resource that can be manipulated to enhance its capacity to generate more profit (e.g. reclamation to construct a golf resort).⁸ These authors trace its

⁸ B. Choi (1992) and Ku (1996) offer analyses of the anti-pollution movement in the 1980s and 1990s in Korea and view it as political resistance to the development-first strategies. This body of work resonates with recent accounts of pollution-related environmental struggles in China (Economy 2010; Lora-Wainwright 2013).

genealogy to the state-led development in the 1960s and 1970s. They argue that developmentalist ideas of nature are still prevalent in post-developmental society. Another but different way of thinking of nature as resources is related to the discourse of ‘sustainable development’. While maintaining the view of nature as resources, advocates of this discourse valorise less destructive environmental management, preferably in non-extractive manners. The idea of sustainable development gained significance through social changes in the 1990s, including conservation movements (Ku 2009), and underlies many Korean ecotourism practices.

The traditional environmental thought of *saengmyeong* offers an alternative way of thinking of nature outside of the resource framework. Referring to human and nonhuman life, this concept views nature as an individual life form that deserves due respect for its intrinsic value of having a life (S.H. Moon 2006; S.Y. Lee 2012). This traditional concept survived from the compressed modernisation and was re-invented as an influential environmental discourse, especially by being co-opted into conservation movements.⁹ In chapter 5, I will introduce this concept in greater detail and discuss its deployment in tidal flat tourism.

Specific landscapes are also deployed in ecotourism – for example, the wilderness landscape (Cronon 1996; Vivanco 2007). The prominent example in the selected Korean cases is seemingly related to the concept of the ‘rural idyll’, associated with the agrarian landscape that is mediated through low-intensity agriculture (Bunce 1994; Macnaghten and Urry 1998; Crouch 2006). This landscape is consumed in rural tourism in European countries, especially in the UK, and in East Asian countries, including China and Japan (Roberts and Hall 2001; Takeuchi *et al.* 2003; Crouch 2006; Choo and Jamal 2009; Su 2014).

⁹ For the history of environmentalism in Korea, see Ku (1996). For wider Asia, see Lee and So (1999). These accounts are outdated now. Elvin (2004) provides a comprehensive account of environmental history of China.

In addition to the use of nature as a discursive concept, its performative role – as the physical world – is also at work in ecotourism. Enrolled in the assemblages of ecotourism, nature performs to produce meanings of the place (Cloke and Perkins 2005). As I will discuss in chapters 5 and 6, the agency of nonhumans and the materiality of the landscape are engaged in ecotourism, affecting the ways in which nature is thought about and related to. Such more-than-human encounters are performed through specific “affective logics” (Carter and McCormack 2006), through which different bodies of humans and nonhumans are related, and generate particular bodily responses. As such, nature is governed through not just discursive but also affective means (Anderson 2012). Drawing on recent work in cultural geography that re-theorises the body and the materiality of nonhumans, I will develop an idea of *healing nature*, which is associated with the agrarian landscape and the therapeutic experience, at work in Korean ecotourism.

Time

Korean sociologist Chang Kyung-Sup (1999; 2010a; 2010b) theorises the process of Korean modernisation as “compressed modernity”. This concept refers to the compressed experience of space and time that produced multiple temporal and spatial organisations in concurrence. He argues that non-Western countries such as Korea have experienced a dual compression: Harvey’s “time-space compression”, related to the expansion of capitalism to a global space; and “era-place compression”, stemming from the advance of Western-modern cultural values into a non-Western time-space. Drawing on postcolonial studies on cultural hybridisation, Chang explains that modernisation in non-Western places accompanied a compression of discrete temporal (traditional, modern and postmodern) and spatial (indigenous and Western) constituents. In the Korean case, modern and postmodern values were poured into mostly premodern agrarian society, which resulted in a “coexistence of traditional, modern and postmodern trends, on the one hand, and of indigenous, foreign and global elements, on the other hand” (1999, p.33). He calls such a concurrence of multiple values “accidental

pluralism” and draws attention to the prevailing multiplicity in many Korean social phenomena (e.g. family relations, Chang and Song 2010).

Such temporal compression produces multiple ideas of time and temporalities (the ways in which time is understood and organised) in interaction. The Korean experience of acceleration can be epitomised in the popular phrase “three hundred years [of the West, specifically the UK] experienced over a thirty-year period” (J.K Kim 1996). The ethos of ‘catching up’ with Western industrialised countries has facilitated an overall acceleration of the work life to yield better outcomes (Y.S. Kim 2013). Such experience seems to render acceleration and fastness as a “national temporality” (Edensor 2006). Koreans work over 2,000 hours per year, making one of the countries working the longest hours among the members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, Fig 1.5).¹⁰ This means longer opening hours for the commercial sector, such as 24-hour coffee shops, supermarkets, fitness clubs and restaurants (Kreitzman 1999). As seen from the Fig 1.1 and Fig 1.2, the speed of historic economic growth and urbanisation was very fast, while the speed of the Internet, as compared to the rest of the world, is the fastest (Fig 1.6).

Perhaps as a reaction to the dominant fast rhythms, the sense of slowness has become prominent in Korean cultural and social life. For example, the popularity of ‘Slow City (*Cittaslow*)’ as a brand for local tourism development facilitates Korea to claim a total of 11 Slow Cities, the largest number among member countries outside of Europe, where this concept originated. This theme is heavily featured in two of my three cases, which I will detail in chapters 4 and 6. Although such acceleration and deceleration of time is experienced globally (Bauman 2000; Castells 2010), it may be more strongly felt in Korea due to the country’s intensive temporal compression.

¹⁰ The average annual hours worked per worker in Korea was 2,637 in 1996 when the country joined the OECD. The working hours have been gradually reduced to 2,124 in 2014, making Koreans work the third longest hours after Mexico (2,228) and Costa Rica (2,216).

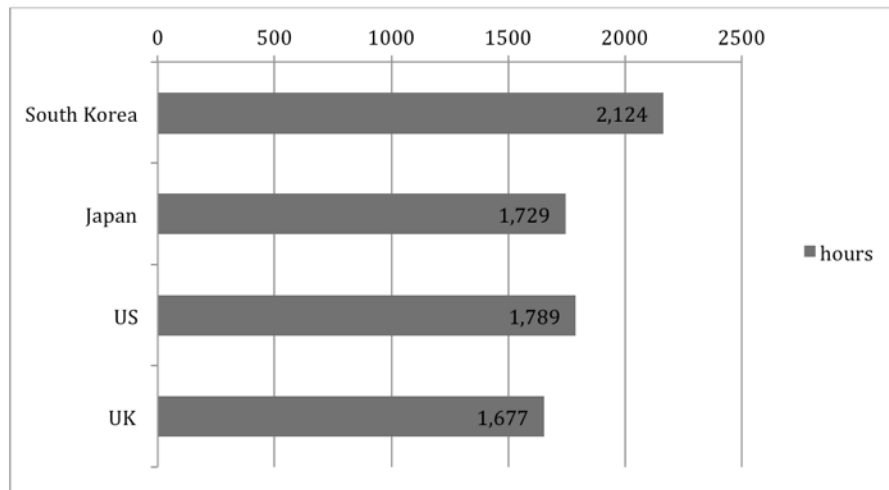


Fig 1.5. Average annual hours worked per workers (source: OECD 2014).

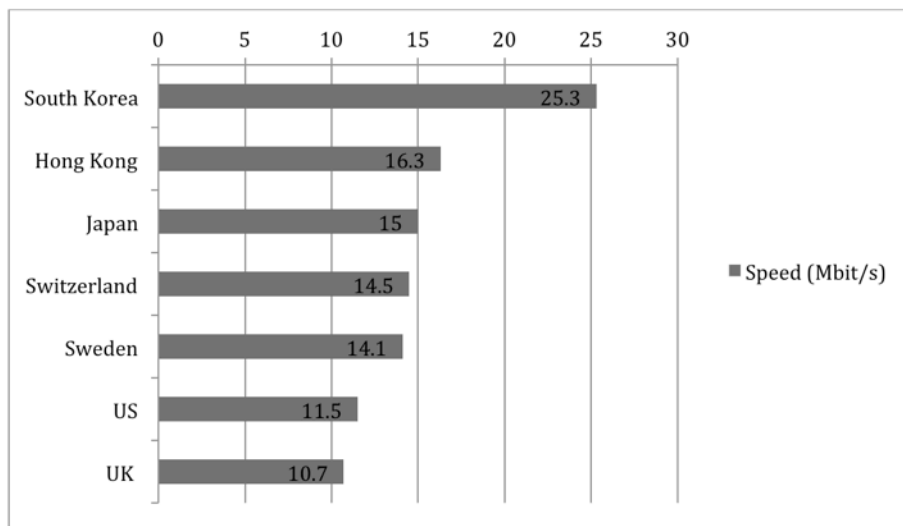


Fig 1.6. Average Internet connecting speed
(source: Akamai's the State of the Internet Report 2014).

In ecotourism and environmentalism more widely, studies on time are limited to slowness (Parkins and Craig 2006; Dickinson and Lumsdon 2010; Fullagar *et al.* 2012), temporalities of environmental hazards (Adam 1998) and the stilled experience of time in meditative practices (Thrift 2007c). The prominence of time in Korean society would make it a good place to begin to think about time and temporalities of ecotourism. For this, I draw upon recent relational analyses of time that theorise multiple, non-linear and non-dualistic understandings of the concept (May and Thrift 2003; Bissell and Fuller 2011; Edensor 2012). In doing so, I will develop a concept of *accelerated slowness* to refer to the actual

entanglement of slow and fast temporalities, exemplified in the acceleration of transformative processes to slowness.

Space

The trajectory of Korean modernisation offers a set of multilateral historical-geographical connections that link Korea, Japan and various Western nations. Korea experienced full-scale Western modernisation while engaging with the Japanese example. The Japanese mode of modern institutions – legislations, expertise and practices – was transferred to Korea along colonial links and continued economic and cultural exchange (Robinson and Shin 2001).¹¹ Political proximity with the US, established in the Korean War and continued throughout the Cold War period, has had a huge influence on Korean organisation of political, cultural and social life. With the advent of globalisation, Korean international relations have diversified to multiple Western places, through which materials, discourses and practices have travelled to the country. A few examples related to ecotourism would be: Germany (tidal flat conservation), Spain (pilgrimage walking) and Italy (Slow City).

A diversity of spatial relations enmeshed in Korean ecotourism suggests a novel international geography of ecotourism. Studies on geographical relations in ecotourism are often concerned with the flow between the North and South through prolonged colonial relations (Simpson 2004; Duffy 2008; Lorimer 2010b). However, this does not occur in Korea. By weaving together the multiple locales of Korea, Japan and the West, the Korean case might be able to tell a different story about how power operates through spaces to form a specific global-local spatial formation. To expand the analytical tools beyond political-economic exchanges, I draw on recent relational analyses of space developed in human geography and science studies, which conceptualise spatial formations as heterogeneous outcomes emerging from specific global-local interactions (Mol and Law 1994; Massey 2005; Tsing 2005; Latour

¹¹ Korean historians – for example, S. Hur (2005) – are largely critical of the theory of colonial modernity and, instead, find the impetus of Korean capitalist transformation in the immanent political-economic development of Chosun (the name for Korean Kingdom before the colonial period).

2007). In doing so, I will develop *a multiplicity perspective in ecotourism geography* to suggest a way of thinking about the international geography of ecotourism that is focused on multiple actors, modes of interactions and enactments.

To summarise, this thesis adopts a conceptual framework that combines the governmentality of ecotourism with work on nature, time and space as developed in human geography and cognate social sciences. This modified framework entails an analytical tension between Foucauldian descriptive analysis and more critical analysis of more-than-human social sciences that seek to reconfigure human-nonhuman relations. While this thesis in general maintains a descriptive analytics, I am willing to make normative evaluations where more environmental outcomes (with regard to the nonhuman world) are envisioned. Such modification of the governmentality framework follows Foucault's (1980b, p. 78) generous encouragement to treat his work only as "trails to be followed" that are open to pursue or to divert, rather than as theoretical authorities to be applied. By developing a governmentality analytics entrenched in the specificities of accelerated modernisation, the framework used in this study may be useful to study other social transformations in post-developmental countries, where similar accelerated social changes were experienced.

Taking this conceptual framework, this thesis asks how discourses and practices of nature, time and space are engaged to produce ecotourism subjects. The specific research questions are:

- 1) How is ecotourism governed in Korea?
- 2) How are time, nature and space mobilised to produce ecotourism subjects?

Specifically:

- i) What are the human-nonhuman relations associated with ecotourism governmentalities?
- ii) What are the temporalities of ecotourism governmentalities?

iii) What are the geographical connections performed through ecotourism governmentalities?

1.3. Research design

This study deploys a case study investigation combined with qualitative approaches (Yin 2009; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). It examines three specific cases that represent different types of recently emerged ecotourism practices: tidal flat tourism in Jeungdo, countryside walking in Jeju Island and whale tourism in Ulsan (Fig 1.6). Each case is selected to illustrate common but slightly different aspects of the arrangements of political actors, discourses of nature and time, as well as spatial connections of Korean ecotourism. Together, they can offer broader and deeper understandings of the selected research themes (Stake 2005). The choice of particular cases/sites is based on their significance in Korean ecotourism, as well as my nine-year experience as an environmental journalist prior to this study. I introduce and justify my selection of the cases here and will detail relevant methodologies in chapter 3 (see Table 3.1).



Fig 1.7. Locations of the three cases.

Tidal flat tourism in Jeungdo: Korean tidal flats are fertile ground for human and nonhuman ecologies. Yet, they have been intensively reclaimed for industrial and agricultural purposes ever since modern reclamation was introduced from Japan during the colonial period. Since the 1990s, there have been growing efforts to rethink tidal flats as the target of conservation. Advocates of tidal flat conservation deployed diverse environmental discourses and practices, such as the designation of protected areas and the traditional concept of *saengmyeong*. The use of tidal flats for tourism began in the late 1990s as constituents of conservation campaigns to raise environmental awareness. Tidal flat tourism has grown rapidly and is widely practised along the west coast of Korea. Tourist practices involve the educational display of tidal flat ecologies and leisure catching of small crabs and clams from the tidal flats.

From my previous work experience, I have known the historic and political importance of tidal flats in Korean conservation and ecotourism. When I started to search for suitable cases for this study, I automatically turned to the case of tidal flat tourism. To locate the most suitable site, I considered how active and influential the specific site is. From the brief preliminary research, Jeungdo appeared prominent due to its extensive media coverage. Tidal flats of Jeungdo were recently designated as protected area through several schemes, including as a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve and a Ramsar site.¹² Jeungdo was designated as a Slow City in 2007, which boosted tidal flat tourism as a partial component of the local development programme under the Slow City brand. Two tour programmes were certified as ‘model’ ecotourism activities in the first round of the Korean Ecotourism Accreditation in 2012. In addition, during my initial stage of fieldwork, several researchers and practitioners recommended Jeungdo especially for its interesting governing structure: operated by community-based governance but actually led by the local government. Jeungdo appeared to

¹² Protected wetland areas designated under the Ramsar Convention (the Convention on Wetlands of International Importance, especially as Waterfowl Habitat).

offer an excellent case, bringing questions about time (Slow City), nature (reinvention of a traditional environmental concept) and space (connections to Japan and Italy).

Countryside walking in Jeju Island: In 2012, when I was looking for cases, the Olle Trail already occupied a distinguished place in Korean ecotourism, as I mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. Hiking is not new to Koreans. It is a cheap and available means of keeping fit, a pastime of retirees and/or a heroic overcoming of physical hardships to reach the summit. However, the launching of the Olle Trail in 2007 changed the paradigm of hiking. Olle walking seemingly aims for the opposite of traditional hiking: to walk as slowly as possible and to walk without aiming to complete. This prevailing contrast suggests new ways of organising time (slowness) and relating to nature (therapeutic experiences) emerging in Korean ecotourism. Furthermore, during my initial stage of the fieldwork, Olle walking was exported to Japan. This instance made Olle walking a more interesting case to examine the geography of ecotourism, which connects Spain, the provider of the original inspiration, and Japan.

Whale tourism in Ulsan: This is the first and so far the only whale-watching tourism instance in Korea.¹³ The local government is the primary operator, running whale-watching boat trips, the whale museum and a dolphin aquarium. Over a dozen local whale-meat restaurants are also involved in the tourism enterprise. I have conducted fieldwork on the concurrence of watching and eating (and implied killing) of whales for my master's dissertation (M. Choi 2010), which enabled me to recognise the unique characteristics of Korean ecotourism that do not easily map onto the existing accounts. When I was selecting cases for this study, I instantly included this case as one that now requires deeper critical examination.

¹³ As of May 2015, the local government and the eNGOs of Jeju discuss the possibility of dolphin-watching tourism that targets native Indo-Pacific bottlenose dolphins (*Tursiops aduncus*).

Unlike the two cases above, whale tourism in Ulsan is less successful in terms of the growth of tourist numbers; yet, it is the most controversial case that attracts mounting criticism from conservationists. As such, this case can offer “opportunities to learn” (Stake 2005) by rendering invisibles as visible and the taken-for-granted as contested (Whatmore 2009). The controversy around whale tourism produces an array of environmental discourses, including species conservation, animal welfare and subsistence use of animals, for very different ends. Furthermore, diverse spatial relations connecting Korean, Japanese and Western organisations appear to offer an interesting geography of ecotourism that would bring together both pro-whaling and anti-whaling discourses and practices.

1.4. Outline of the thesis

This thesis follows a conventional thesis structure. The following chapter (**chapter 2**) offers an overview of the theoretical materials used in this thesis. It first reviews Foucauldian work on governmentality to understand ecotourism as governmentality. It then carries out a selective review of more-than-human and more-than-representational work on nature, time and space, focusing on analyses related to power and ecotourism. This review situates this thesis in post-structuralist work, including Foucauldian studies, human geography, environmental anthropology and critical tourism studies. The methodology used in this thesis is discussed in **chapter 3**. I introduce and justify my chosen strategy of inquiry, i.e. case study research combined with qualitative approaches. I then reflect on my research process, introducing an array of methods used for data collection and analysis.

The following four chapters offer analyses of empirical investigations. To engage with the first research question, **chapter 4** explores the political arrangement of Korean ecotourism by delineating the truth discourses, technologies of government, subject positions and the array of political actors engaged in the example of the governance of tidal flat tourism. I critically examine the claimed decentralised governance and reveal the prevailing leadership of the state and local authorities that is manifested in an array of sovereign and disciplinary

techniques for intervention. I then discuss the efficacy of this mode of governmentality to transform local residents into environmentally conscious citizens.

The next three chapters address my second set of research questions, which explores nature, time and space in ecotourism governmentality. While these themes are discussed throughout the chapters, they are given more weight in different chapters. Chapters 5 and 6 examine nature and time. In **chapter 5**, I continue to study the tidal flat tourism case, examining nature-related discourses and practices. I specifically focus on the ways in which the traditional concept of *saengmyeong* is deployed to shape tourists' understandings of nature and their behaviours. Attending to the recent revalorisation of this traditional environmental concept and traditional fishing, I suggest a non-linear temporality of environmentalism that mobilises elements of the past to envision future sustainability. In **chapter 6**, I focus on the Olle walking case to examine the ways in which the idea of slowness is deployed in governmentalities to transform tourists into decelerating subjects. Specifically, I analyse the affective technologies of intervention that acted upon tourists' bodies through the logic of healing. Focusing on the paradoxical acceleration of the process to slow the speed of walking and everyday life, I suggest a non-dualistic temporality of accelerated modernisation. In **chapter 7**, I examine the ways in which diverse spatial relations are formulated, transformed and stabilised in whale tourism in Jangsaengpo. In so doing, I describe how power exercises through spaces to give a rise to multiple ways of utilising whales, including watching and eating them.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion of this thesis. I summarise the research findings by responding to the research questions and consider the utility of the conceptual framework to study the governmentalities of ecotourism in relation to accelerated modernisation. I then outline three conceptual propositions generated from this thesis, which are healing nature, accelerated slowness and a multiplicity in ecotourism geography. I conclude by considering the practical implications of this thesis for Korean ecotourism practices.

2

Foucault, more-than-human nature, relational time and space

This chapter offers an overview of the conceptual resources explored and deployed in this thesis. It identifies and discusses a number of concepts used to examine empirical materials. It also identifies important gaps in the literature's theoretical development, which I hope to fill with this thesis. These conceptual resources are informed by a Foucauldian analysis of power, more-than-human geographies, and relational analysis of time and space developed in cognate disciplines such as science studies and anthropology. I begin by outlining Foucauldian work on governmentality and ecotourism in order to situate this ecotourism study within Foucauldian scholarship and to introduce its analytical directions. I then review those concepts and insights in more-than-human geographies and the wider social sciences that re-theorise nature, time, and space. Combined with Foucault, these innovative analyses provide the theoretical framework of this thesis to address the research questions.

2.1. Foucault and ecotourism

2.1.1. Power, governmentality and biopolitics

One of the most important contributions of Foucault is his analytics of power (Foucault 1978; 2003; 2009). Foucault develops the conventional understanding of power as possessed by authorities (the king, the state) and operated through repressive means. He contends that power is dispersed and productive. For him, power is distributed and circulates across multiple actors assembled in a network. He argues that power has the generative quality to produce, for example, discourses, bodies, and institutions.

Foucault's insights into power are largely based on his observations of the historical changes between the 16th and 18th centuries in Western European countries (Foucault 2009). Until the 16th century, the sovereign governed territory for his or her own interests through public

displays of power such as public executions. However, the rationality of government changed over the next two centuries with the rise of the capitalist economy, the emergence and proliferation of social bodies, and the demographic boom. Since then, the state focuses on the ‘population’ as the target and “to make a life” rather than “to take a life” as the objective of governing (Foucault 1978). To govern effectively, the state uses ‘disciplinary mechanisms’ through institutions (e.g. prisons, schools) to intervene in the capacity of individual bodies. It also deploys ‘regulatory mechanisms’ that establish certain ‘norms’ against which it identifies and corrects ‘irregularities’ so as to maintain the security of the society. These differing technologies of governing do not replace each other but co-exist in the contemporary government in the form of the “triangle” of sovereign, disciplinary and governmental mechanisms (Foucault 2009, p.107). I will offer an example of such a triad of biopower in chapter 4. From this, Foucault reads the fundamental changes in how power operates in modern society. He argues that statecraft “has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instruments” (Foucault 2009, p.108–109). Foucault contrasts this emerging mode of governing to sovereignty and sovereign power and calls it ‘governmentality’.

While the original concept is historically entrenched in the modern European context, Foucault and his interlocutors have developed governmentality for “the study of the organized practices through which we are governed and through which we govern ourselves” (Dean 2010, p.28; Burchell *et al.* 1991; Rose 1996; Legg 2005). To do this, they have redefined the term ‘government’ and related concepts. In a Foucauldian sense, *government* refers to “conduct of conduct”, which means “a form of activity aiming to shape, guide, or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (Gordon 1991, p.2–3). Government is acted upon not only others but also the self (Foucault 2000). The practices of government require specific *programmes* (e.g. ecotourism, carbon offsetting) that endeavour to transform human behaviours. They are mediated through an array of *technologies* of intervention (e.g. the withdrawal of the state, the formation of the subject). In this regard, governmentality refers to

the coherent forms of mentalities and technologies that conduct self and others in specific ways (Legg 2005, p.147).

To study governmentality, social scientists examine ‘regimes of practices’ or ‘regimes of governance’ (e.g. biodiversity conservation, local empowerment) through which government is exercised upon individuals and populations to change their actions. Foucauldian scholars have developed sets of analytics to assist such examinations (Legg 2005; Dean 2010). For example, Rabinow and Rose (2006) offer a Foucauldian analytical template that traces “truth discourses, an array of authorities, strategies for intervention, and modes of subjectification” (p.165). This thesis broadly follows such analytical recommendations.

Four aspects of governmentality analytics appear most relevant for this study. First, Foucauldian scholars conceive of the *heterogeneous assemblages* (i.e. apparatuses or *dispositifs*), rather than a single powerful state or sovereign, as the locus of government. Foucault defines *dispositif* as:

a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statement, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions (Foucault 1980a, p.194).

The assemblages of governing thus involve multiple human and nonhuman participants, including an array of authorities (all levels of government, corporations, scientists, international organisations, and environmental organisations), which produces and circulate powerful knowledge (Luke 1999; Bryant 2002; Lemos and Agrawal 2006).

Foucauldian attention to the multiple actors assembled to govern reconfigures and complicates the analysis of power relations in social phenomena. It disturbs the purported dichotomies prevalent in the theories of the state that suppose the repressive state and resisting non-state actors (Dean 2010, p.33–37). Instead, Foucauldian analysts delve into the diverse interactions between and among multiple actors, focusing on the complex and

unanticipated configurations of power. For example, as I will show in chapter 4, although diverse actors are involved in the assemblage of Korean ecotourism governance, the state acts as the most powerful actor, which leads to an interesting configuration of state-led community-based ecotourism. Such complexity requires more subtle and nuanced analyses of power than the binary ones. I revisit the concept of assemblages and subsequent political issues in section 2.4.2, where I discuss their spatial operations.

Second, among technologies of government, I am particularly interested in *the formation of the subject*, which means the transformation of individuals and population into the subjects willing to think and act in accordance with the mentalities of government. Subjectification occurs through diverse techniques devised to shape the behaviour of individuals in specific ways. One such technique of intervention is institutional arrangements that deploy participatory schemes, incentives and disruptions at the institutional level (Agrawal 2005b; Jones *et al.* 2011b). Another is what Foucault (2000) calls “technologies of the self”, which intervene in the ways in which individuals organise their own bodies, thoughts, and conduct to transform themselves. Rutherford defines this as:

the ways in which people choose to become certain kinds – often virtuous kinds – of subjects through the application of techniques for improvement (Rutherford 2007, p.298).

This definition captures two important aspects of technologies of the self. It first acts upon the “will to improve” (Li 2007) that inspires individuals to seek ways of re-forming themselves to become ‘better’ in the world. Second, it is premised on the ‘freedom’ of individuals to choose, as well as resist, the particular subjectivity among other possible options. In this sense, technologies of the self differ from sovereign techniques that impose particular subject positions, leaving no options to choose. This further adds the very ‘condition’ or the

environment, within which particular desires and actions occur, to the object of government that now requires careful crafting (Dean 2010; Anderson 2012).¹⁴

Recent work that theorises the co-constitutive roles of diverse actors in the performance of the governing assemblage complicates the process of subjectification. Foucauldian scholars such as Rabinow and Rose (2006) unsettle the distinction between the authorities (i.e. governor) and the population (i.e. the governed) and instead theorise them as “biosocial collectives”. Accordingly, they redefine the place of the (often nonhuman) subjects not just as passive participants who are subjected to biopolitical governing, but also as active co-producers who effect biosocial collectives. In so doing, technologies introduced to govern the population actually effect the whole biosocial collective, including (human) governors (Holloway *et al.* 2009). This confuses who governs (i.e. subjectifies) whom. Srinivasan (2013; 2014) identifies the actual subjectification of authoritative agents in their governing process of the (nonhuman) population and calls this “agential subjectification”. In chapter 4, I will identify a similar pattern where a group of governors become successful subjects of the governing programme they strive to implement.

Social scientists have identified several subject positions that are created from the practices of government. Rose (1996) theorises “self-propelled entrepreneurs” as ‘neoliberal subjects’ produced from neoliberal governmentality. These subjects define themselves as incomplete and strive to improve themselves to be competent in the global market. Here, neoliberal discourses such as ‘personal responsibility’ and ‘self-care’ are deployed to fill the place where ‘welfare’ of the state usually exists (Lemke 2001; Mitchell 2003). In relation to green governmentality, Agrawal (2005a; 2005b) and others identify “environmental subjects”: reflective individuals who care about the environment and are willing to restrict or restructure their own material demands for the sake of the environment (Luke 1999; Tsing 2005). One

¹⁴ “To govern, in this sense, is to structure the field of possible action, to act on our own or others’ capacities for action” (Dean 2010, p. 22).

archetype of environmental subjects, often associated with a neoliberal governmentality, is ‘consumer citizens’ who are guided to change their consumption behaviours to ‘save’ nature (Barnett *et al.* 2005; Rutherford 2011).

In the chapters to follow, I will identify several types of environmental subjects: environmental citizens, slow subjects, and nature lovers. I will especially focus on the deviances of subject positions produced from the same practice of government. For example, slow subjects in chapter 6 are diverged in terms of their different intents of slowing down the speed of walking: some are self-propelled individuals who decelerate to refresh themselves to be more productive in the fast world, while others slow down to make radical departure from the fast world. Those deviances suggest that a governmentality is not a ‘completed project’, where the anticipations of governors are realised word-for-word. Instead, it facilitates a conceiving of a governmentality as a relational achievement that comes through continuous negotiations and compromises (Howell 2004). In so doing, this thesis supports recent efforts in governmentality studies to move away from rather didactic and fixed treatments of social process and, instead, to be open to unanticipated and surprising outcomes (O'Malley *et al.* 1997; Lorimer and Driessen 2013; Dressler 2014).

One of the common criticisms of Foucault is his disinterest in the affective qualities of life (Thrift 2007b). Human geographers have addressed this gap by engaging with the embodied and material dimensions of Foucauldian interventions (Philo 2012). The *affective governance* used to formulate the subject is my third point of interest. ‘Affect’ refers to “the capacity to relate to” between bodies (Anderson 2008, p.78). Emotion and feelings are thought of as expressions of affect (McCormack 2008; Pile 2010). For the last decade, human geographers have theorised this concept to explain transpersonal intensities produced in more-than-discursive and more-than-representational modes of engagement (Dewsbury *et al.* 2002; McCormack 2003; Anderson 2014). This redefines the (human) subject as an “affective

being”, whose “paratextual forces and invisible forms” constitute the backbone of the world (Thrift 2004, p.583).

There is a growing body of work that puts together geographical work on affect and Foucauldian biopower in order to explore the affective control of life (Anderson 2004; 2012; Thrift 2004; Anderson and Adey 2012; McCormack 2012; 2015). Carter and McCormack’s (2006) concept of “affective logic” is especially useful for an examination of power that is exercised through not just discursive, but affective means as well. Affective logics refer the means that relate to diverse human and nonhuman bodies in a way to generate particular emotions and feelings, which amplifies affective intensity of intervention. In their studies of post-9/11war films, Carter and McCormack examine an array of cinematic narratives and techniques and argue that an affective logic of combat experience is deployed to generate particular geopolitical sensibility. I will discuss affective logics further in the next section (2.2.2.), where I focus on embodied human-nonhuman relations.

Taking a systemic approach, Anderson (2012) offers a four-mode typology of affective biopolitics according to their differing targets and techniques of governing. First, the disciplinary mode is acted upon the capacity of an individual body through direct controlling and/or entraining particular behaviours (e.g. work routines). Second, the biopolitical mode takes the collective as the target and governs through norms. Things that are not norms are identified as ‘the abnormal’ and conceived of as ‘threats’ that must be corrected. Third, the security mode is concerned with the pre-emption of contingency in order to maintain the security of society. Present and future emergencies become the domain of the government in which precautionary pre-emption must take place (Anderson and Adey 2012; Adey *et al.* 2015). Fourth, the environmentality mode targets the ‘condition’, i.e. environment, within which actions take place. It thus aims to create particular affective conditions in order to predetermine “how something is habitually encountered, disclosed and can be related to” (Anderson 2012, p.37).

One of the technologies of the fourth mode is to create an “affective atmosphere” (McCormack 2008; Anderson 2009). Geographers have examined the ways in which built environment (Latham and McCormack 2004; Allen 2006; Adey 2008), mundane everyday practices (Stewart 2011), and different arrangements of passengers and technologies (Bissell 2010; Ash 2013) produce a specific ‘atmosphere’ that triggers particular bodily responses. It thus facilitates and restricts the capacities of individual and collective bodies. Allen summarises the affective governing of atmosphere as:

a particular atmosphere, a specific mood, a certain feeling – that affects how we experience it and which in turn, seeks to induce certain stances which we might otherwise have chosen not to adopt (Allen 2006, p.445).

Throughout the empirical cases, we will see the exercise of both disciplinary and biopolitical biopower. I will engage with the fourth mode more explicitly in chapter 6, where I discuss affective governance through the atmosphere of slowness.

While the three aspects above are concerned with technologies of governmentality, my fourth and final aspect considers biopolitics, which can be the “content” of governmentality (Rutherford and Rutherford 2013a, p.415). Conventional approaches in social sciences to biopolitics have focused on its negative aspect, i.e. to take a life (Agamben 1998; Lemke 2011). Biopolitics is often associated with exclusion and death, by which it divides, oppresses, and removes particular groups of the population, like well-known examples of state racism such as Nazism (Foucault 2003).

However, recent work in geography and the social sciences attempt to reconsider the politics of biopower in relation to the possibility of an *affirmative mode of biopower*, i.e. to make a life (Rabinow and Rose 2006; Rose 2007; Anderson 2012; Rutherford and Rutherford 2013a; Rutherford and Rutherford 2013b). Through careful rereadings of Foucault’s original ideas on the birth of biopolitics, they argue that biopower was introduced not just to control but also to

protect the population (Foucault 1978). As Dean (2010, p.34) explains: “the central part of state governing is its health, happiness, wealth and welfare of its population”. Rabinow and Rose (2006) suggest an affirmative usage of biopolitics that nurtures “biopolitical citizenship” in order to foster a healthier life.¹⁵ Recently, Hannah (2011) extends biopolitical concern to nonhumans and proposes to redefine biopolitics as the “care of life”, specifically nonhuman participants involved in the heterogeneous assemblage of governing. Biopolitics, in this regard, can be more representative of inclusion and living, rather than exclusion and death, and could aim to produce affirmative subjects who care – in other words, make a life of the self and the environment. By examining the governmentality of ecotourism that aims to produce environmental subjects who voluntarily care about life, this thesis enters into the debate of affirmative politics. I will consider the biopolitical ramifications of Korean ecotourism in more detail in the conclusion of this thesis.

2.1.2. Governmentality, Korea, and ecotourism

The governmentality framework has been widely used in geography and the social sciences (for a review, see Rose *et al.* 2006; Rutherford 2007). It offers a powerful way to begin to think about and analyse the new forms of control over society. It thus becomes especially useful for critical examinations about emerging social changes such as neoliberalism (Lemke 2001; Dean 2010) and nation building (Scott 1998; Mitchell 2002; Legg 2008).

There is an emerging body of governmentality work in Korea that introduces the key concepts and tests its utility in understanding Korean neoliberalism (Seo 2009a; H. Lee 2010; Chin 2012; H.S. Kim 2013). While empirical applications of governmentality yet remain few, some notable studies include: the neoliberal entrepreneur subject (Seo 2009b), multicultural subjects in relation to increased immigration (Jun 2012), the biopolitics of Korean birth control (E. Cho 2012), and the biopolitical examination of suicide and depression (H.S. Kim

¹⁵ Lemke (2011) is sceptical of Rose’s (2007) claim for the use of genetic science for affirmative biopolitics.

2015).¹⁶ Although making few Foucauldian references, there are a number of studies in the disciplines of history and sociology that critically examine the formation of modern national subjects during the period of accelerated modernisation (Park and Han 1999; S.S. Moon 2008; 2010; B. Kim 2011). Those Korean authors outline the mentalities and techniques of the authoritarian state to transform “weak and lazy” premodern subjects into “hardworking, empowered, and determined”¹⁷ modern subjects through an array of sovereign rules and disciplinary norms (e.g. birth control, restrictions on overseas travelling) (K. Cho 2005; H.Y. Cho 2007). One fundamental question in Korean and wider East Asian Foucauldian scholarship could be the applicability of the governmentality framework, which is developed and entrenched in very different cultural, political, and historical contexts (S.C. Lee 2014). Efforts are being made to critically engage with, and modify, the governmentality framework to be more useful for specific empirical examinations (Katsuya *et al.* 2015),¹⁸ to which this study hopes to contribute.

In tourism scholarship, applications of governmentality and wider Foucauldian power/knowledge work so far appears rather limited (for exceptions, Newmeyer 2008; Minca 2009; Rutherford 2011; Fletcher 2014). Urry’s (2011) “the tourist gaze” is a notable and influential exception here. Drawing on Foucault’s theory of the power of gaze, Urry replaces clinicians with tourists and argues that the gaze of tourists orders and regulates what is worth seeing and how it should be viewed in tourism settings. Developing this concept, Urry and tourism scholars problematise the ‘self-evident’ authenticity of tourism and disclose the embedded power relations that govern tourist experiences (Hollinshead 1999; Wang 1999; Cheong and Miller 2000).

¹⁶ For discussions on biomedical citizenship inspired by Rose, see Bak (2014) and Hwang and Sleeboom-Faulkner (2014).

¹⁷ In Korean: “근면, 자조, 협동”

¹⁸ A collective edition of governmentality studies in Japan.

Human geographers and anthropologists extend such power-sensitive analysis to ecotourism. Employing a governmentality framework, Rutherford (2011) and others examine the ways in which ecotourism becomes the medium of government that shapes the conduct of local residents and tourists in specific ways (West and Carrier 2004; West 2008; Fletcher 2009; 2014). These authors take critical approaches to the purported sustainability claim of ecotourism and seek to reveal the underlying capitalist logic that produces particular truth claims (e.g. save nature through consumption) and subject positions (e.g. consumer-citizens). I have already outlined this body of work in the introduction to this thesis.

In this section, I sketched out the theoretical background of this thesis by outlining Foucauldian insights into power, governmentality and biopolitics. Focusing on four identified aspects of governmentality studies, I discussed several concepts and debates with which this study aims to engage. I then briefly surveyed existing work in Korean social sciences and ecotourism studies that take a governmentality approach. As I argued above and earlier in the introduction, existing work on governmentality of ecotourism is largely grounded in a political ecology framework and looks into questions of nature. In this thesis, I attempt to expand the conceptual lens to study governmentality of ecotourism by learning from more-than-human geographies, science studies and relational social sciences that are not yet much studied in relation to ecotourism. These conceptual resources bring other ways of thinking of, and relating to, nature, time and space, which can offer a non-orthodox approach to the governmentality of ecotourism. This theoretical framework thus sets the stage for the upcoming analysis of Korean ecotourism and for further studies of environmentalism that do not easily map onto an existing political ecology framework. To develop this framework, I now undertake a selective review of conceptual resources related to nature, time and space in more-than-human and relational geographies and cognate social sciences.

2.2. Nature and more-than-human geographies

Although Foucault himself was known for his disinterest in the environment (Darier 1999), there is now a rich body of Foucauldian work on “green governmentality” (Rutherford 2007). This includes empirical work on: environmental movements (Luke 1999), climate change (Oels 2005; Bäckstrand and Lövbrand 2006), carbon offsetting (Lovell *et al.* 2009; Paterson and Stripple 2010), conservation-cum-development projects (Goodman 2004; West 2006; Li 2007), biosecurity (Porter 2013), and recent work on affirmative human-animal biopolitics (Nancy and Bingham 2006; Lorimer and Driessen 2013). Jun (2014) offers a rare Korean example in her exploratory study of feral cat control that fosters an ethics of care. This body of work examines narratives and techniques employed to support or alter the beliefs and practices of individuals and populations (of humans and nonhumans). Agrawal’s (2005a; 2005b) now classic study illustrates the formation of environmental subjects who transform themselves from victims or destroyers to voluntary carers of the environment through their participation in regulatory practices. There are also counterarguments to Agrawal’s thesis, which examine the limited efficacy of governmentality in relation to site-specific cultural and social constraints (Haggerty 2007; Cepek 2011; Dressler 2014). I will add a similar example of a failed governmentality in chapter 4.

As for the green governmentality of ecotourism, I have already covered the key works (Rutherford 2011; Fletcher 2014) and need not repeat them here. This thesis seeks to develop other and supplementary ways of thinking about, and relating to, nature in the governing through ecotourism. For this, I use this section to outline less orthodox approaches to nature that draw on recent work in more-than-human geographies, science studies, and environmental anthropology. I first outline more prevalent versions of nature, mostly taken as a discursive concept, in ecotourism and then turn to less conventional approaches that uses nature as a concept and the physical world (Castree 2005).

2.2.1. Nature in ecotourism

In his study on elephant conservation, Lorimer (2010a) identifies three popular modes of relating to nonhumans,¹⁹ which render nonhumans as resources, wilderness and (sub-)humans. These ideas about nature are applicable to the ways in which nature is thought about and related to in ecotourism. Nature is viewed as non-extractive *resources* for ‘sustainable development’ that purports to support both local economies and environmental integrity (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996; Honey 2008). It is also viewed as *wilderness* to facilitate the romantic consumption of a ‘pristine’ and ‘untouched’ landscape (West and Carrier 2004; Fletcher 2014), and as *charismatic and/or anthropomorphised animals* encountered through leisure activities (Bulbeck 2004).

An additional way of viewing nature can be the *rural idyll*. Although prevalent in practices and studies of rural tourism, this idea is not yet prominently featured in ecotourism literatures,²⁰ whose conventional accounts are based on empirical studies of tropical places and those rich in biodiversity. The idea of idyllic rural life is constructed through the positive valuation of rural life, especially in contrast to urban life, as perceived qualities of “peaceful, clean and slow” are attributed to rural areas (Bell 2006, p. 151; Bunce 1994; Cloke 2003). The rural idyll has long been used for tourist consumption of the countryside, advancing a template that promotes ‘escape’ and ‘finding the past’ (Crouch 1994; 2006; Roberts and Hall 2001). Such valorisation of the rural landscape is most prominent in Western Europe, but has global resonance, including in East Asia. For example, the Korean and Japanese traditional rural landscape, which comprises rice paddies, woodlands, and human settlements (Takeuchi *et al.* 2003; D. Lee 2004), echoes their European counterparts that consist of low-intensity agriculture and farming communities.²¹ Farm-based rural experiences have been consumed in

¹⁹ Three popular modes are: modern science, romanticism and humanism (Lorimer 2010a, p. 494).

²⁰ Lane (1994) understands ecotourism as a branch of rural tourism with a heightened interest in conservation.

²¹ In terms of the diversity of the rural idyll, Bunce (1994; 2003) identifies the subtle differences between the English and the American rural idyll. Cloke and Little’s (1997) edited volume discusses the diverse elements of rurality that stay outside of the mainstream cultural idea of idyllic rural life.

rural tourism in Korea, Japan, and China (Choo and Jamal 2008; Su 2014). In chapters 4 and 5, I will discuss Slow City and the tidal flat landscape as a form of the rural idyll deployed in ecotourism.

However, these popular ideas of nature appear insufficient for this study for two related reasons. First, in addition to these ideas largely entrenched in Euro-American historical and cultural contexts, there appears a significant play of traditional environmental concepts in Korean ecotourism. Second, these ideas are built upon a dualistic worldview that supposes nature (and the rural) as removed from society (and the urban). Here, nature is viewed as pure, singular, and a fixed entity that is calculated and managed by science (Adams 2004). There is now a large body of work in human geography and science studies that theorises human-nature relations differently, without recourse to dualism. Insights and concepts developed in this less conventional scholarship might offer useful conceptual resources to study how discourses and performances of nature are deployed in Korean ecotourism to shape nature-related behaviours of tourists.

Such deployment of less conventional approaches does not mean that the popular concepts discussed above do not appear in Korean ecotourism. They do. As I will show in chapters 4 and 5, there is an enthusiasm for sustainable development that considers nature as non-extractive resources. In chapters 5 and 6, I will engage with the deployment of the idea of the rural idyll in the governmentalities of tidal flat tourism and walking. Although not picked up on in the selected cases, wilderness romanticism is also being played out in Korean ecotourism; for example, DMZ tourism (Lee *et al.* 2013) and white water rafting.²² My focus here is to offer alternative ways of theorising nature to widen the scope of, and to renew the ways in which, nature is thought of for a more fruitful empirical analysis.

²² For 'pristine nature' imaginations associated with the DMZ, see Eleana Kim (2014).

2.2.2. More-than-human approaches to nature

Inspired by Latour (1993; 2007) and Haraway (1991; 2008), cultural geographers have sought to re-theorise human-nonhuman relations, unsettling the prevalent version of a singular, essential and pure nature (Whatmore 2002; Hinchliffe 2007; Lorimer 2012). This academic endeavour can be categorised as “more-than-human” or as a “multinatural” approach (Lorimer 2012, p. 594, after Latour 2004) for its attention to the multiple trajectories of nature and the diverse ways of knowing them. Rejecting ontological dualism, these authors conceive of nature as a set of ‘relational processes’ in which heterogeneous parties perform together. Instead of science and experts, they include diverse human/nonhuman groups (civilians, indigenous people, animals) and the media (e.g. bodies, emotions, affect) to produce knowledge together. This envisions a new mode of human-nonhuman relating that seeks ways of living well together (Haraway 2008).

In so doing, more-than-human approaches offer a different way of viewing human-nonhuman relations. Here, territories and forms of nature are redefined. The cartographical boundaries that are deployed to place nature and society in discrete and purified domains are dissolved. Instead, these authors draw attention to the interconnectedness of humans and nonhumans, theorising nature as ‘socially constructed’ – both discursively (i.e. as socially constructed ideas) and materially (i.e. as socially produced materials) (Demeritt 2002). In so doing, they envision impure and hybrid forms, through figures such as the “cyborg” (Haraway 1991), which comprises humans, animals and non-living objects. In geography, more-than-human approaches facilitate a series of reconfigurations of human-nonhuman relations, focusing on their emergent and diverse engagements. Examples of this include: the entanglement of biosecurity and biodiversity in the reintroduction of wolves into the French Alps (Buller 2008); rewilding as a new mode of human-cattle biopolitics (Lorimer and Driessen 2013); and the unruly biological life of an experimental mouse (Davies 2013).

To apply and develop such learning to the analysis of human-nonhuman relations in ecotourism, I will engage with three aspects of more-than-human approaches. I first introduce the Korean traditional environmental concept of *saengmyeong*, focusing on its commonalities with more-than-human approaches. I then discuss the affective and embodied engagement of human and nonhumans, followed by considering a respectful mode of relating to nonhumans.

More-than-human entanglements and saengmyeong

The diverse strands of traditional thought appear to have a common focus on the vital force of nonhumans and nonhuman entanglements with humans (De Castro 1998; Raffles 2002; Kohn 2007; Goldman *et al.* 2011). Despite their diverging temporal (“a-modern” (Latour 1993) versus premodern) and spatial interests (labs in global centres versus remote global peripheries), more-than-human approaches and traditional environmental thought seem to have a shared commitment towards offering ways to think about human-nonhuman relations outside of the dualistic worldview. Roughly, both recognise the vitality of nonhumans – although theorised differently²³ – and extend social relations beyond humans. Such endeavours reconfigure, if not rediscover, the interconnectedness of humans and nonhumans, now described as “collectives” (Latour 2007), a “hybrid community” (Ingold 2013) and a more-than-human “entanglement” (Raffles 2002).

The Korean traditional concept of *saengmyeong* (life) is one such environmental thought. *Saengmyeong* (생명) is a Korean word that refers to: i) human and nonhuman life forms; and ii) the vital energy possessed by every life form. The *saengmyeong* concept views nonhumans as ‘*saengmyeong*’, i.e. individual life forms that constitute nature along with human *saengmyeong*. Foregrounding reciprocal relations of humans and nonhumans, it mandates moral obligation practised through mutual respect (J.H. Kim 2003). These qualities are widely observed in traditional ecological thought elsewhere (Milton 2003; Blaser 2009;

²³ While ANT theorists explain nonhuman agency as a distributed quality from relations (Whatmore 2002), premodern vital philosophies recognise the vital property such as ‘souls’ or ‘spirit’ possessed by all living beings (e.g. Buddha-nature) (Bruun and Kalland 1996; Tucker and Williams 1997).

Gombay 2014). The heightened attention to human-nonhuman interconnectedness of the *saengmyeong* concept can be related to East Asian cultural contexts such as Buddhism, Taoism and Animism, which regard nonhuman souls as not much different from those of humans (Tucker and Williams 1997; Lim 2001).

As a discursive idea about nature, this traditional concept has been rediscovered and co-opted in contemporary environmental politics. Seeking solutions to the prevailing environmental crisis, Korean environmentalists, as early as in the 1980s, resorted to this traditional concept for its potential to offer an alternative mode of relating to nonhumans, such as its imperative of mutual respect (J.H. Kim 2003; S.Y. Lee 2012). As I will illustrate in chapter 5, this concept has intersected with an array of environmentalist campaigns (e.g. tidal flat conservation) that envisioned an environmentally sustainable future. The political trajectory of this concept reveals interesting temporalities and spatialities. Co-option of a premodern concept for future-oriented environmentalism suggests a non-linear flow of time. This also disrupts the binary separation between premodern global peripheries and postmodern global centres, since the deployment of premodern thought happens in Korea, a place far from remote peripheries.

The *saengmyeong* concept seems to have commonalities with similar thought across East Asia. *Saengmyeong* is the Korean reading of the Chinese characters ‘生命’. This signifier appears in China and Taiwan (*shengming*) as well as in Japan (*seimei*), referring to interconnected human and nonhuman life forms (Bruun and Kalland 1996). However, the valences of the same term have been developed in different ways in response to specific cultural, historical and political contexts. While the Korean concept is developed as a device of governmentality to foster care for nonhumans, the Chinese equivalent is mostly concerned with the governing of human life, focused on the concept of “nurturing life” (*yangsheng*) (Farquhar and Zhang 2012). Furthermore, it also resonates with Western transcendentalist

thought, such as the bioethics of Albert Schweitzer, Thoreau and Leopold (Worster 1994), and deep ecology traditions (Naess 1973). In relation to the recent re-theorisation of ‘life’ in more-than-human geography as “the vital process that compose[s] it” (Anderson and Harrison 2012, p.12; Thrift 2007a), it is not so clear whether *saengmyeong* refers to the process or the form. Korean sociologists, such as Kim Jun (2010), re-theorise nonhuman life as a ‘process’ rather than as individual forms; however, mainstream treatment largely focuses on its ‘form’. In chapter 5, I will examine how this traditional concept is deployed in the governmentalities of tidal flat tourism, shaping specific understandings of, and behaviours related to, nature.

Embodied and affective nature

While I have so far focused on the use of nature as a discursive concept, I now consider the co-constitutive role of nature – taken as the physical world – performed in ecotourism governmentalities. More-than-human geographers have drawn attention to the body and nonhumans as useful vehicles to comprehend the relations between nature and society, and the self and the environment (H. Lorimer 2005; 2007; 2008; Thrift 2007a; Harrison and Anderson 2012). Often categorised as ‘non-representational theory’, this body of work combines the analysis of the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) with phenomenology-inspired interests in the intentional and embedded subject. These authors have focused on ‘embodied and sensuous bodies’ and the ‘materiality of nonhumans’, which are enrolled and perform embodied and affective more-than-human engagements. As such, the performative properties of nature gain significance. These include the ability to affect and to be affected (i.e. agency), and the property that affords the possibility of inviting particular (human) bodily responses based on historically established reciprocal relations (i.e. affordance (Gibson 1979)). For these geographers, the continued engagements of a sensitised body with nonhumans trigger particular bodily responses (i.e. emotions and feelings), which reconfigure “the nature of their practice and their associated ethical concerns” (Lorimer 2010b, p.318).

The epistemological significance of a sensitised body and nonhuman materiality is not new to tourism scholarship. There is a rich body of work that theorises tourism as ‘embodied performance’ within which diverse bodies of humans (Crouch and Desforges 2003), animals (Cloke and Perkins 2005) and objects (Michael 2000; Larsen 2005) perform together (Franklin and Crang 2001; Macnaghten and Urry 2001; Coleman and Crang 2002; Pons 2003). Attending to the sensitised body, these authors challenge the perceived hegemony of the visual and seeing, and diversify bodily sensations and modes of engagement (touching, doing) that produce multisensory, emotional and affective encounters. Similarly, nonhumans are reconfigured as active performers in the tourist encounter, engaging through their agencies and materialities (Cloke and Perkins 2005; Cousin *et al.* 2009).

In ecotourism studies, this body of work has largely focused on bodily engagements occurring in adventure tourism, in which “adventurous bodies”, the sublime landscape and charismatic animals perform together (Cloke and Perkins 1998; Bell and Lyall 2002; Cater and Smith 2003; Cater and Cloke 2007). In his study on volunteer tourism for elephant conservation, Lorimer (2010b) identifies three types of affective logics through which human and nonhuman bodies are related in volunteer tourism. These are: spectacle, touch and adventure. As he notes, there are other possible types of affective logics at work in other modes of human-nonhuman engagements. For example, the idyllic rural landscape is likely to perform through a different affective logic from that of the sublime landscape in adventure tourism. Given that its consumption is built upon the perceived contrast to urban life, it is possible that the embodied and affective encounters with the rural landscape are associated with peaceful experiences and feelings of being reconnected to nature.

This mode of human-nonhuman engagement is redolent of the work on therapeutic landscape experiences (Gesler 2003; Lea 2008). Cultural geographers, such as Conradson (2005), examine how specific arrangements of the self and a particular landscape generate a moment of communion with nature and therapeutic feelings. In chapter 6, I will consider a type of

affective logic that is associated with the idyllic rural landscape and therapeutic pleasure, as a way of supplementing existing work on affective logics of ecotourism.

A biopolitics of living with

Drawing on relational understandings where nonhumans are viewed as co-constitutives in the making of the specific human-nonhuman engagement, more-than-human scholars suggest a novel and normative mode of human-nonhuman relations. Haraway (2008) is prominent here in developing the “response-able” mode of relating, which engages with nonhuman differences seriously. In her account of the human-canine relationship, she suggests an ethical sensibility that is cultivated through individual commitment to nonhumans (e.g. dogs) and is practised through embodied practices of responding (e.g. offering regard in return). She uses various and overlapping terms to refer to this mode of ethical relations, including “response-ability”, “being polite”, “flourishing” and “companionship”. The response-able relations proposed here are very different from the prevalent mode of ethics, which is based on calculations and principles to draw ‘appropriate’ boundaries between humans and nonhumans (Adams 2004).

Cultural geographers have developed Haraway’s idea to re-theorise human-nonhuman relations as ‘living well together’, as described through diverse concepts such as “companionship” (Lorimer 2010a), “nonhuman friendship” (Bingham 2006), and a mode of “conviviality” (Hinchliffe and Whatmore 2006). Lorimer and Driessen (2013) relate this to a mode of nonhuman biopolitics, which they identify as “a biopolitics of living with”. They explain this as “a mode of companionship figured as dances of relations through which material bodies learn to be affected by one another” (p.251). This biopolitical intervention is grounded in and promotes interspecies ‘flourishing’, which values imminent and affective forces of nonhumans and encourages letting these qualities flourish (Lorimer and Driessen 2013, p.251). It thus proposes a hold on the anxiety of human mastery and instead suggests a

radical “letting go”.²⁴ This is in redolence with Foucault’s original ideas of biopolitics to ‘make’ a life.

There appear to be certain overlaps between this mode of relating and traditional ecological thought, including the concept of *saengmyeong*. The ethical imperative of ‘paying respect’ of the *saengmyeong* concept mandates the respectful treatment of nonhumans given their intrinsic importance for being *saengmyeong*. As I will show in more detail in chapter 5, this imperative was deployed in conservation campaigns and articulated in the discourse of “let them [nonhumans] live”, which proposes a shift in biopolitical intervention from the sovereign taking of a life to letting them live a life. This echoes Haraway’s suggestion of “being polite”, as a way of letting the immanent qualities of nonhumans flourish. In chapter 5, I will engage with the respectful mode of more-than-human relating enrolled through the deployment of the *saengmyeong* discourse in governmentalities of tidal flat tourism.

2.3. Time and relational social sciences

2.3.1. Time in ecotourism: insufficiencies

Compared to nature and space, time occupies a less prominent place in environmental social sciences. Existing social science accounts of time seemingly focus on the acceleration and compression of time-space in relation to technological advances (Thrift 1996; Bauman 2000; Castells 2010). While celebratory or ominous accounts about radically changing senses of time are not uncommon in academia, as well as in popular responses, critical approaches to time and temporalities appear rather insufficient. In the studies of environmentalism and ecotourism, existing work on time is limited to temporalities of environmental hazards (Driver and Chapman 1996; Adam 1998), the mobility of tourist transportations (Larsen 2001) and slow tourism (Dickinson and Lumsdon 2010; Fullagar *et al.* 2012). Although these authors offer valuable analyses of diverse time and temporalities deployed in more-than-

²⁴ Van Dooren raised this point in a workshop held as part of the seminar series entitled Life After the Anthropocene, Oxford University, 18/11/2014.

human practices, there still remains a gap of more power-sensitive analyses that critically examine the ways in which particular time and temporalities are circulated and configured in specific ways.

Human geography is not an exception to the general insufficiencies of time analysis in the social sciences. While space has been widely theorised and scrutinised through critical engagement with spatial power relations (Harvey 1990; Massey 2005), as I will discuss in the next section, time has so far received little attention in geographical studies of time-space. Schwanen *et al.* (2012), in this regard, point out the general lack of systemic approaches to temporal dimensions in time-space studies. Similarly, Crang (2012) specifies the disciplinary gap of temporal politics and nonhuman temporalities. There is now a growing body of geographical work that begins to consider the politics of particular temporalities (e.g. stillness, Bissell and Fuller 2011), affective rhythms and mobilities (Edensor 2012; Schwanen *et al.* 2012) and the complexity of nonhuman temporalities (Jones 2011; Brice 2014).

Drawing on this body of work, this study examines temporalities of ecotourism subjects and the ways in which such temporal governing is exercised. In so doing, it seeks to address the gap of critical time analysis in ecotourism studies. In this section, I identify and discuss useful conceptual resources from the relational analysis of time in geography and the wider social sciences. I acknowledge here the inextricable interconnectedness of time-space; nonetheless, I structure the review of time and space separately in the current and next section for analytical convenience, in order to explicitly discuss several temporal and spatial concepts that I will develop further in this thesis.

2.3.2. Relational analysis of time

Geographers and social scientists have sought to re-theorise time from a clock-bounded 'container' to 'lived experience' (Adam 1995; 2006; 2008; Macnaghten and Urry 1998; Urry 2000; May and Thrift 2003). In a conventional sense, time is often conceived as an abstract

container of the passage of time, measured by a clock. This way of thinking about time is grounded in Newtonian physics, which theorises time as an absolute, quantifiable, singular and linear entity flowing from the past to the future.

Since the late 19th century, scholars have re-theorised time less as a physical entity and more as a social one. Instead of the clock, they began to take lived experience as the primary measurement of time. This intellectual innovation drew attention to different rhythms, speeds, durations and timings across different social institutions that produce different temporal experiences (Schwanen *et al.* 2012), which gave rise to various kinds of ‘social time’. Here, time was thought to be freed from the clock and became relative and subjective entity (Adam 1995). Scientific discoveries that counter Newtonian physics, anthropological reports about different time senses in different cultures, as well as philosophical analyses of time supported the emergence of a relational understanding of time in this historical period (Urry 2000).

Bergson’s conception of time as *durée*, i.e. the duration of past, present and future, has been especially useful for scholars to move away from the prevalent understanding of time as absolute space-like units. The idea of time as a continued duration from the past redefines time as a relational entity that can be compressed and stretched, and is both concurrent and reversible. This contests the perceived linear succession of the past, present and future, and draws attention to “a constant melding” of one another (May and Thrift 2003, p.23). Taking relational understandings of multiple, emergent, and non-linear time as a backdrop, I discuss three aspects of relational time analysis most relevant to this study. I first identify various social times, consider how such diverse modes of time are disciplined, and finally discuss the ways in which they are configured in specific ways.

Heterogeneous time: clock time, instantaneous time, and slow-moving time

As May and Thrift (2003) and others argue, time is multiple – in terms of its diverse constitutive elements (Adam 2008), ways of its configuration (Schwanen *et al.* 2012), and

heterogeneous formulations of social time (May and Thrift 2003). Among heterogeneous times, I identify and discuss three of them by following Urry's (2000) categorisation of clock time, instantaneous time, and slow-moving, or glacier, time. As this section shows, they emerge in relation to, and coexist in, contemporary society, which complicates the temporal dimensions of social phenomena, such as ecotourism.

In the social sciences, industrial *clock time* is conceived as a modern invention in the 19th-century Europe and the US (Thompson 1967; Macnaghten and Urry 1998 chapter 5). Due to technological advances, clocks began to set the time of individuals and the population, replacing natural devices such as tasks (Evans-Pritchard 1969; Glennie and Thrift 2009). This new time sense was deployed by capitalism and the national state to produce a disciplined workforce for accelerated accumulation. It accompanied particular ways of viewing time as 'money' and wasting time as a moral 'sin'. The Puritan idea of 'time-thrift' gave rise to the valorisation of speed and associated values such as efficiency, profitability and competitiveness, which Max Weber identified as the key factor of the success of early capitalism (Thompson 1967).

Due to the advance in technologies in recent decades, a new time regime emerged in the post-modern period, which Urry calls *instantaneous time*. Accelerated time-space compression, especially due to the rise of virtual technologies, facilitates almost simultaneous presences of things regardless of their spatial locations. The availability of immediate responses dissolves the future into the present, which leads to the collapse of traditional understandings and organisations of time (Bauman 2000), as implicated in the concepts of "the 24-hour society" (Kreitzman 1999) and "timeless time" (Castells 2010).

These two time regimes are especially strongly felt in Korea, which experienced a condensed version of industrialisation followed by post-industrial transition to information technology society. As Korean sociologists argue, stricter time-disciplines and valorisation of efficiency

and speed were deployed and are still prevalent in contemporary Korean society (Won 2012; Y.S. Kim 2013).

Urry's third category is *glacier time*, which describes slow-moving time attuned to the speed of nature (e.g. glacier). Instead of the clock and virtual technologies, here natural temporalities inherent to the physical world are deployed to organise human lives. This sense of time is future-oriented since it envisions the places and generations that "can and will still be there in its essence in many generations' time" (Urry 2000, p.159). Urry's glacier time overlaps to a certain extent with premodern temporalities in that both are grounded in natural rhythms as the fundamental temporal basis of everyday life (O'Malley 1992). As early anthropologists argue, many pre-industrial societies are reported to attune their lives to the rhythms of natural phenomena (astronomy and weather) and the necessity of the task (Malinowski 1927; Evans-Pritchard 1969). Such premodern temporalities have received rather ambivalent receptions and are considered both as wasteful and lacking urgency, as well as more humane and ecological (Thompson 1967).

Among various articulations of slow-moving time, I will be particularly interested in 'slowness'. The imperative of going slow appears in popular campaigns and enterprises, such as the Slow Food Movement (Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010), Slow City (Mayer and Knox 2006), and slow tourism (Dickinson and Lumsdon 2010; Fullagar *et al.* 2012). Advocates such as Parkins and Craig (2006) argue that slowness is experienced through embodied epistemologies. By paying detailed attention to time, slowness stretches out the moment (Thrift 2007c, p.65) which facilitates being attentive to details and sensory bodies. Popular practices such as yoga and the Slow Food Movement thus employ embodied governing technologies such as taste (Hayes-Conroy 2010) and bodily adjustment (Lea 2009).

For advocates of slowness, the recent surge of slow living is thought of not merely as reactive responses to everyday fastness, but also as political movements to rework the capitalist

organisation of time, i.e. fast living (Parkins and Craig 2006; also Urry 2009). Similarly, Bissell and Fuller (2009; 2011) claim that “stillness”, a form of extremely slow temporality, is political resistance that creates disruption, or cessation, to the dominant temporal modalities of the everyday. Here, the prevalent ‘acceleration’, or clock and instantaneous time, is reconceived as ‘danger’ that needs to be amended through social actions (Rosa and Scheuerman 2009). In this sense, Adam (2003) links slow-moving time to a temporal articulation of reflective modernity. On the contrary, Thrift (2007c) warns that slowness is very likely to be a new domain of capitalist accumulation. In chapter 6, I will engage with embodied epistemologies and politics of slowness through the case of slow-walking tourism.

Adam and others use the existence of heterogeneous time to explain the environmental crisis. Adam (1998) attributes environmental problems to “out of sync” of social time – especially industrial clock time – and natural time. She explains that modern technologies and sciences manipulate the time of nature (e.g. the 30 years for a tree to grow) to fit the time of economy (e.g. the 30 seconds for a logger to cut down the tree). To remedy the temporal mismatches, environmentalists facilitate intertemporal interventions by summoning the future to the present (Wood 2008; Brown *et al.* 2012). Similarly, an urgent recovery of natural time, such as biological rhythms of human and nonhuman organisms (Jones 2011; Kreitzman and Foster 2011), is also demanded to deal with the environmental crisis. I will use these ideas of various times and the rise of slow-moving time in my discussion of temporal organisations related to ecotourism. In chapter 5, tidal-flat conservationists rediscover and resort to premodern past to remedy the environmental crisis with a view to securing a sustainable future. The walkers in chapter 6 strive to engage with natural rhythms to sort out the temporal mismatches between their bodily rhythms and everyday fastness.

Affective time-discipline

Our sensibilities to time and temporalities have “a capacity to do things” (Bissell and Fuller 2011, p.5) – in other words, to act and feel in particular ways, which produces “temporal

subjects” (Urry 2000, p.109). As a means of time-disciplining, social scientists have largely focused on time-controlling devices such as clocks (Glennie and Thrift 2009), calendars, diaries, as well as technologies in communications and transportation (Thrift 1996; Crang 2010), which can impose particular temporalities on the body. As I will mention in chapters 4 and 6, a shift to slow-moving time is also mediated through the changes of transportation from cars to cycles and on foot (Fullagar 2012).

The techniques of time-discipline have been largely studied in the context of clock time (Thompson 1967; Adam 1995). Capitalism and the modern state aims to produce ‘productive subjects’ through more-than-discursive practices in social institutions such as factories and schools. Particular time-related discourses, such as progress, efficiency, profitability and competitiveness, are widely deployed to establish the norm of hardworking and disciplined workers. Fordist factories mobilised an array of time-disciplining practices, such as a time recorder, bells and clocks, as well as the institutionalisation of week and labour time, designed for workers to perform faster. Such use of discursive and non-discursive means is also observed in the disciplining of slowness, as I will discuss in chapters 4 and 6.

Among a range of techniques, I am especially interested in the affective governing of time, which can be a temporal application of Foucauldian affective governance discussed earlier. It entrains “the body’s capacity to affect and to be affected [...] through a series of repeated, cyclical steps” (Anderson 2012, p.31). Here, ‘rhythm’ is used as a time-disciplining device to habituate particular temporalities. As Edensor (2006; 2010) argues, the state and capitalism produce particular rhythms (e.g. work routines, school timetables) that are reproduced through everyday habits and rituals that shape human lives.²⁵ Such habituation of particular rhythms is acted upon individual and collective bodies through tactile, habitual, and sensuous engagements. One way of exercising affective temporal governance is reorganising

²⁵ This analysis slightly diverges from Lefebvrian rhythmanalysis, which focuses on the performative role of multiple rhythms in the creation of particular space.

habituated bodily practices such as breathing (Lea 2009) and taste (Hayes-Conroy 2010). Such practices intervene in the capacity of a body to feel and act in different ways, which produces affective qualities (e.g. mindfulness, attentiveness). In chapter 6, I will be using these conceptual tools to examine the affective governance of slow walking that guides walkers to reorganise their speed of walking.

Non-dualistic temporalities

Various times and temporalities in interaction need to be ordered to produce specific time-space. May and Thrift (2003) draw our attention to the interactions of various time-related elements. They are concerned with the “negotiations of an increasingly complex coexistence of different temporalities and spatial contexts” (Parkins and Craig 2004, p.10), which gives a specific configuration of time-space. They call this temporal configuration “TimeSpace”. For them, TimeSpace is a power-laden configuration since different temporalities are tied to differing levels of power relations. Developing their power-sensitive analyses, geographers and social scientists have challenged taken-for-granted understandings of time that are often associated with dualistic (social–nature, fast–slow, linear–cyclical) and linear forms. These efforts can be summarised into three related strands.

First, recent time analyses in human geography tackle the inextricable interconnectedness of social and natural time (Jones 2011; Brice 2014). These authors contest the conventional understanding of the retreat of natural time (e.g. the biological time of plants) in the face of advancing social time (e.g. the clock time of machines). They instead argue the two are actually in consonance and/or dissonance. Such conception of natural and social time in concurrence renders TimeSpace ‘more-than-human’ practices. For example, focusing on its temporal dimension, Jones conceives of agriculture as “the hybrid mixture of rhythms and tempos and durations where nonhuman elements play active part” (2011, p.21).

Second, similarly, Edensor (2012) and others draw attention to the concurrence of tempos in opposition: fastness and slowness, acceleration and deceleration (Vannini 2014). Edensor (2012) challenges the purported dominance of the fast tempo and instead argues that the rhythms in everyday life are actually multiple. He identifies the ‘paradox’ of slow and fast pace, where slowness (e.g. leisure time) is not necessarily oppositional but actually supplemental to fastness (e.g. work time). Bissell and Fuller’s collection (2011) raises a similar point that our “mobile” world entails inherent “stillness”; in other words, stillness constitutes our mobile worlds. To expand this contradictory but compelling concurrence of slowness and fastness, I will be developing a specific configuration of ‘accelerated slowness’. By this, I refer to a paradoxical temporality where those practices designed to decelerate everyday speed (Slow City in chapter 4 and slow walking in chapter 6) are carried out in an accelerated manner due to the habituated fast rhythms.

Third, inspired by Bergson, social scientists have theorised the concurrence or “coevalness” (Massey 2005) of the past, present and future in the same present. As Cresswell (2010, p.29) summarises: “elements of the past exist in the present, just as elements of the future surround us”. This facilitates non-linear configurations of TimeSpace. To deploy different temporal discourses related to past and future is not uncommon in contemporary political campaigns, especially to build national identity (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Johnson 2001). In cultural geography, the non-linear temporalities of ‘emergency’ receive heightened attention (Anderson and Adey 2012; McCormack 2012; 2015; Adey *et al.* 2015). To govern emergency (e.g. inflation crisis), the future is brought into the present and made into a public concern that begs urgent intervention. Similarly, temporalities of environmentalism are also often invested in the future by making appeals to apocalyptic futures, sustainable futures, and future generations (Adam 1998). This non-linear framework facilitates intertemporal interventions made through urgent changes of, for example, consumption behaviours (Wood 2008).

In chapter 5, and in chapter 7 to a lesser extent, I will consider a non-linear configuration of TimeSpace that deploys the past for the future, which I call ‘ancient future’. While existing work on temporalities of environmentalism deals with future-oriented anticipatory techniques, here, I will focus on the rediscovery and valorisation of the past to secure a sustainable future.

2.4. Space of global connections

In this final section of the review, I explore the relational analysis of space. Taking Korean ecotourism as a form of globalised environmentalism, I explicitly focus on one form of spatial formations most relevant to this study – global-local. I first briefly outline the conventional approaches to global-local connections and then discuss relational analysis of space that extends Foucault’s analysis of spatial power to the space of globalised social phenomena (Murdoch 2005). In so doing, I seek to engage with the ongoing debate in studies of global connections on whether the ‘global’ (e.g. forms of ecotourism) is an overarching force or is diverse situated forms (Law 2004a; Tsing 2005; Hathaway 2013).

2.4.1. Global-local relations in ecotourism

As popular metaphors such as “flows” (Castells 2010) and global “scapes” (Appadurai 1996) suggest, globalisation is often associated with the homogenising power of global – specifically Euro-American – forms that substitute local forms, by which “[making] everything everywhere the same” (Tsing 2005, p.1). Critical geographers such as Peter Taylor, Neil Smith and Erik Swyngedouw have concerned themselves with the political issues of globalisation that restructure global-local relations. For them, globalisation is often accused of facilitating locals either to accommodate or to resist the global form. These political ecologists especially tackle the changes that have occurred to ‘scales’ through which global capitalism operates. They argue that accelerated globalisation unsettles the three-tiered scale of global, national, and local; instead, it renders a radical polarisation of the scale into the global and the local while disenfranchising the national scale (Swyngedouw 1997).

Attending to the scalar politics is not an uncommon approach for the studies of global environmentalism. It permits politicisation of local environmental struggles in the context of global political ecology. Forms of global environmentalism – for instance, conservation – are often associated with the flow and dominance of modern Euro-American discourses and practices that spread scientific methods, aesthetics of sublimity, and market-based solutions across the globe (Adams 2004; 2009). Such spatial configuration of global conservation occurs through historical-geographical connections between the North and the South along (post-) colonial links (Brockington 2002; Krüger 2005; Adams and Mulligan 2012). In the studies of ecotourism, social scientists critically engage with the polarised geographies of ecotourism, where tourists, finances, expertise and practices travel along the North–South axis (Simpson 2004; Vivanco 2007; Duffy 2008; Mowforth and Munt 2008; Lorimer 2010b), reproducing the Euro-American cultural forms of ecotourism in non-Western places (West and Carrier 2004; Weaver and Lawton 2007; Fletcher 2014). However, this bipolar spatial configuration of global ecotourism fails to explain the instances in East Asia where very different historical and cultural connections are played out (Weaver 2002; Wen and Ximing 2008; Lee *et al.* 2013). I will address this gap in chapter 7 by identifying a specific form of ecotourism geography that connects Korea, Japan and Western places.

Inspired by relational analysis of space, a group of geographers and anthropologists have challenged this prevalent approach to study global-local connections (Law 2004a; Massey 2005; Tsing 2005; Hathaway 2013). Although the analytical focus on scales is useful to reveal the political dimension of globalisation, they argue this approach is built upon rather essentialist and oppositional understandings of the global and the local that presuppose a singular globalised form of social phenomena. Instead, these authors seek to theorise globalisation as ‘relational processes’, through which diverse locally situated global forms emerge. For them, the global and the local are not fixed, but are in continuous interactions, which produces multiple and unanticipated forms of global-local configurations. This approach appears more useful for this thesis. As we will see in the chapters to follow, Korean

ecotourism does not easily map onto either accommodation of, or resistance to, the Euro-American form of ecotourism; it instead exhibits distinctive characteristics modified to local specificities. Relational analysis facilitates the conceptualisation of Korean ecotourism as a locally situated form of global environmentalism, without making unnecessary and inaccurate efforts to fit it into existing categories.

2.4.2. Relational analysis of space

Relational approaches to global-local formations are informed by three related strands of studies: relational spatial analysis in geography, spatial analysis of ANT, and recent anthropological work on global connections. I briefly outline these studies and then identify and discuss three key concepts that I will be focusing on.

Like time discussed earlier, geographers have sought to re-theorise space from ‘regional boundaries’ to ‘relations’ (Harvey 1990; Massey 1994; Thrift 1996). They reject the notion that space is a fixed, *a priori*, and exclusive container of society and culture in which practices happen. Instead, space is conceived of as a product, system, or skein of relations that cannot be separated from the people and objects residing in it. They argue that space is “relational, heterogeneous, and open” (Massey 2005, p.9), which is continuously remade through the interactions between relations, or networks, and sites. Such relational thinking gives rise to multiple and contingent configurations of space, from which natural and social worlds emerge.

Spatial analyses within ANT help social scientists think about space outside of the prevalent dichotomies of global-local, urban-rural, nature-society (Thrift 1996; Murdoch 1998; Law 2004a). ANT’s spatial conception of ‘network’ offers a heterogeneous and materialist understanding of space in which elements of the global and the local are assembled, negotiated, and stabilised. Here, proximity is measured not by metric forms, but by relationships, which facilitates a topological conception of time-space that consists of

“multiple pleats of relations stitched together” (Latham 2002, p. 131). Power exercised near and afar configures and consolidates global-local spatial formations. Social phenomenon is thus thought of as the effect of a specific configuration of social relations. Taking spatial discussion further, Mol and Law (1994) highlight the processual quality of space and encourage one to view it as “becoming” (process) rather than “being” (form), which contingently comes in various forms.

Anthropologists such as Tsing have engaged with global-local formations by challenging the prevalent assumption of the hurtling global/Northern force into local/Southern places (Tsing 2000; 2005; Weller 2006; Choy 2011; Hathaway 2013). Grounded in empirical investigations on environmental practices in Southeast and East Asia, these authors are at pains to demonstrate that the globalised form of environmentalism is a specific relational achievement of global-local interactions. Here, globalisation is conceived of as “sticky engagements” (Tsing 2005, p.5) through which actors and entities of the global and the local are engaged and exchanged, which “alters and enacts” forms of globalised social phenomena (Hathaway 2013). They are cautious to conceive of global-local formations without making recourse to the dichotomies of Western dominance or local resistance. Hathaway (2013), in this regard, encourages an understanding of globalisation as “wind” rather than “flow”, where global forms are blown, arrive, and intersect with site-specific conditions, which come in diverse situated forms.

Relational analysis of space in geography, ANT and anthropology commonly draws attention to the co-constitutive play of the global and the local, as well as the multiplicity of situated global forms. In so doing, they promote alternative understandings of the global-local formations outside of dichotomous scalar politics. To apply relational insights to empirical analysis on Korean ecotourism, I now turn to three specific conceptual tools that I will be using to examine the ways in which elements of the global and the local are assembled, configured, and produce a situated global form.

Global assemblages

Relational social scientists have sought to examine the ways in which global forms travel across spaces. Anthropologists Ong and Collier (2006; 2008) specifically draw attention to the material existence of the global. They distinguish the abstract, contextless, and universal global forms from “actual and specific” forms that are articulated in the heterogeneous assemblage of technical infrastructures, administrative apparatuses, and value regimes. They term the latter “global assemblages”. For example, in whaling (which I will further explore in chapter 7), *the global form* is articulated in *the global assemblage* that involves networks of elite bureaucrats, whalers, whale-meat sellers and buyers, techniques to catch whales, scientific calculations of the whale population, and related legislations (Blok 2013). By highlighting the coming together of various material components, they extend Foucault’s attention to material operation of power through human and nonhuman elements – which we encountered in section 2.1.1. – to the arena of global spatial change.

While Ong and Collier’s (and Foucault as well) use of the term assemblage is deployed as ‘a descriptor’ of a provisional coming together of heterogeneous elements, ANT theorists and cultural geographers have developed this term as “a concept” and “an ethos” to engage with the world (Anderson and McFarlane 2011, also Bennett 2005). Focussing on the “co-functioning” of disparate elements enrolled in the assemblage, these authors take this term as a concept that assists a process-based understanding of social phenomena. It also suggests an experimental ethos that is deliberately open to the fragility of the provisional composition and uncertain outcomes. This understanding of assemblage emphasised on “emergence, multiplicity, and indeterminacy” (Anderson and McFarlane 2011, p.124) is redolent with my discussions on power geometries and friction below.

For these authors, “things” – discourses, people, and objects that are translated into “textbooks, maps, and certain kinds of machine and tools” (Latham 2002, p.135) – are

continuously remade as they travel across global-local spaces (Latour 2007). Travelling, or “circulation”, of things entails modification, distortion, and transformation of those being carried through their incessant intersections with site-specific conditions (Latour 1999). As such, a global form – for example, ecotourism – does not necessarily produce similar effects everywhere but comes in various forms. In chapter 7, I will “follow” three things (legal devices, tourist practices and scientific methods) enrolled to the global assemblage of whale tourism (Cook 2004). In doing so, I will show interactions and negotiations of diverse elements and an unanticipated outcome of the concurrence of eating and watching of whales for tourism.

Power geometries: rethinking global-local power dynamics

Extending Foucault’s interests in the exercise of power in spatial organisation (e.g. asylums, prisons), ANT theorists explore how power operates across spaces (Murdoch 2005). As Latour (1987) illustrated in his classic study of Pasteur, actors (e.g. scientists) become powerful by first enrolling allies to build a network and, second, enabling things to travel through the network. Power is then exercised near and far through the assembled actors and entities. Focusing on a horizontal distribution of actors and entities across spaces, ANT theorists reject the scalar assumption of a globalised network. Instead, they argue that a network forms a ‘flattened landscape’ “that stretches across the landscape, connecting up sites into complex assemblages, topologies, and entanglement of power” (Jonas 2011, p.388; Latham 2002). For them, the scale concept might have epistemological convenience but does not actually exist. On this flattened ground, power does not shift between scales but operates at a ground level within a network (Marston *et al.* 2005). Here, power works through space, mobilising particular sets of network to “allow the [specific] flow of knowledge, materials, personals and so forth” (Murdoch 2005, p.12).

Non-scalar understandings of spatial power redefine the global-local power dynamics. As encountered above, the global and the local are often imagined in a hierarchical order where

‘powerful’ global actors exercise power over ‘powerless’ local ones. However, by thinking about “power without scale”, non-scalar theorists offer a radical rethinking of the global-local power dynamics (Marston *et al.* 2005). Massey (2005) argues that locals should not be viewed as “victims” but as “agents” of globalisation. She draws attention to the fact that locals voluntarily adopt global mechanisms and alter them to produce situated forms of globalisation. Massey asks us to suspend value judgment on whether locals are ‘good’ or ‘vulnerable’. Instead, she proposes to reconceive global-local dynamics as “relational construction” through which elements of the global and the local participate together.

Massey’s argument resonates with Tsing’s (2005) “confluence”, which understands the global and the local as “co-producers” of specific forms of global-local formations. For her and fellow anthropologists, globalisation is conceived of as “transnational work” (Hathaway 2013) and “ecologies of comparison” (Choy 2011) that are continuously remade through the involvement of a multitude of interested actors across national boundaries. Through their ethnographic fieldwork, these anthropologists come to recognise that locals are far from a singular actor, but are divergent actors with different identities and interests. Accordingly, “multiple logics, aims, and aspirations” (Hathaway 2013, p.6) along complex global-local networks are employed in the formation of global-local social phenomena. Such re-theorisation of the locals informs my analysis in chapter 7, where I examine how diverse local actors are enrolled to produce diverging global-local connections.

To examine space and power in globalised social phenomena, Massey’s (1994) concept of “power geometry” appears useful. Massey thinks of spatial configuration through a multitude of enrolled relations and the play of power to order them. Power geometry refers to the ways in which such chaotic relations are established and configured in specific ways. She thus conceives of spatial configuration of globalised social phenomena as the relational and contingent effect of power geometry. In so doing, Massey considers global-local formations without making recourse to scalar, essentialist understandings of the global and the local

(Latham 2002). In chapter 7, I will examine diverging sets of global-local connections and power relations which lead to differing power geometries of two situated global forms – whale conservation and scientific whaling – territorialised in Korean whale tourism.

Friction

To develop the discussions on multiple enactments of global forms, I turn to Tsing's (2005) notion of "friction". She draws attention to "awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities" (2005, p.4) that are emerging in global-local encounters. By looking into friction, she shows that global-local formation is an emergent process that may belie our aspirational anticipation. As such, she suggests a way of thinking of the globalised form of environmentalism beyond the prescribed assumptions of global dominance or local resistance. For Tsing, friction does not necessarily hinder but actually enables newly produced global environmental forms to move. She exemplifies this generative potential of friction by illustrating "productive confusion" where divergent social actors with different interests and identities come to collaborate for forest management through their "creative misunderstandings".

Analytical valorisation of friction allows analysts to pay serious attention to less familiar forms of global social phenomena, which otherwise might be disregarded as abnormalities against the prevalent forms. In chapter 7, I offer an empirical example of friction: both eating and watching whales constitute whale tourism. Unlike her productive confusion, here, friction is stabilised through the institutionalisation of multiplicity (watching, eating, catching and protecting whales), reflecting diverging power geometries at work. In so doing, I will develop the notion of 'multiplicity' as one of the ways in which friction behaves.

2.5. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed the conceptual resources for this study in four thematic sections, among the three structured in accordance with the research questions. Taken together, they offer a theoretical framework that combines Foucauldian analysis of governmentality with more-than-human, relational understandings of nature, time, and space developed in human geography and cognate social sciences. To conclude, I summarise the utility of this theoretical framework in order to examine the governmentality of ecotourism in Korea.

First, this framework allows and develops a power-sensitive analysis of ecotourism. By drawing on recent theorisation of affective governance, it facilitates more extended and nuanced examinations of power operated through more-than-discursive means. Learning from the affirmative mode of biopolitics, this framework encourages a rethinking of the biopolitics of ecotourism beyond the prevalent political ecology mode focused on exacerbated global-local inequality and the production of consumer-citizens. It implies the possibility of using ecotourism as a biopolitical domain to reconfigure human-nonhuman relations differently.

Second, this framework rejects singular, fixed, and linear understandings and is built upon alternative approaches that value heterogeneous, relational and open understandings of nature, time and space. Specifically, it is grounded in 'impure' nature, non-linear time, and emergent space. As such, this framework encourages analysts to pay keen attention to the use of non-modern environmental thoughts (chapter 5), the non-sublime, non-adventurous mode of human-nonhuman engagements (chapter 6), non-linear temporalities (chapters 4, 5 and 6) and different geographies beyond the global North-South flow (chapter 7). It thus draws analytical attention to less attended modes through which nature, time and spaces are thought about and related to in ecotourism.

Third, this framework takes ecotourism as a relational achievement of global-local interaction without necessarily making recourse to more prevalent forms. It thus encourages analysts to

be open to the unanticipated and surprising enactments of ecotourism (chapters 4 and 7). In so doing, this framework seeks to widen and deepen the ways in which nature, time and space is studied in ecotourism. Taking this theoretical framework as an analytical guide, I will examine how nature, time and space are mobilised to produce ecotourism subjects in Korea.

3

Methodology and research design

This chapter offers an overview of my methodology and research design. I first discuss the methodological paradigm of this study by connecting my theoretical framework to the strategies of inquiry that I employed. I also justify my choice of three cases and reflect on my positionality. I then report the research process that I carried out. I introduce an array of methods of data collection and strategies of analysis. Finally, I consider issues related to validity.

3.1. Foucault, a case study and qualitative approaches

This study examines diverse ways in which environmental subjects are produced by undertaking an empirical investigation of three practice-specific ecotourism cases: tidal flat tourism, walking tourism and whale tourism. It is built upon a post-structuralist framework that combines Foucauldian analysis with more-than-human and relational studies of nature, time and space. As discussed in the previous chapter, this body of work facilitates power-sensitive, heterogeneous and relational understandings of the world. Informed by this theoretical framework, I draw out three methodological underpinnings that guide the present study, which I detail below. These are: *empirically grounded investigations; relational and reflective approaches; and the pragmatic and strategic choice of methods*. These selected guidelines define my strategies of inquiry, which is comprised of: a case study; qualitative approaches; and the use of multiple cases and methods.

First, Foucault's analysis of power emerges from empirically grounded studies. To explain social changes, Foucault (1980a; 1980b) does not resort to grand ideological shifts and instead traces changes in the techniques, discourses and practices of government. He then draws attention to specific assemblages of government that are comprised of heterogeneous

materials, such as institutions, architectural forms, laws and administrative measures. By taking the regime of practice as the central unit of analysis, a Foucauldian analytics of power seeks to disclose an array of power-laden techniques at work.

Drawing on Foucault's encouragement of empirically grounded research, this study undertakes a governmentality investigation on three empirical cases. Case study research design is a common strategy to examine "complex social phenomena" (Yin 2009, p.2). It enables in-depth examinations of one or more cases tied to specific context, from which the social phenomena emerge (Stake 2005). Selection of suitable case(s) is crucial to construct validity. As case researchers advise, each case should "represent similar but subtle differences of the complex aspect of the social phenomena" (Yin 2009, p.34) so that a collection of them can permit broader and deeper understandings of the examined social phenomena.

	Key actors	Nature	Time	Spatial connections
Tidal flat tourism	State and local governments, eNGOs, Local residents	Traditional environmental concept (<i>Saengmyeong</i>)	Slow City, Rediscovery of the past	Japan, Italy, Germany
Countryside walking	The non-profit organisation, Tourists	Therapeutic landscape	Slowness, Accelerated slowness	Spain, Japan
Whale tourism	Local government, eNGOs	Conservation, Animal welfare	Re-invention of the tradition	Japan, Western organisations

Table 3.1. Key variables of the cases.

I have introduced and justified my choice of three cases in the introduction, which need no repetition here. I selected three emerging types of ecotourism practices, after considering similar and different aspects of governing assemblages, understandings of nature, senses of time and spatial connections that they offer, as summarised in Table 3.1. Their potential to offer "opportunities to learn" (Stake 2005) was also considered, especially in the selection of the whale tourism case. Although relatively less successful than the other two cases, the whale tourism case has created controversies over its simultaneous promotion of the watching

and eating of whales. By enmeshing and redistributing expertise from diverse actors engaged, controversies act as “force fields” for generative research (Whatmore 2009: 588).

Second, foregrounding relational and critical approaches, post-structuralist scholars have contested the taken-for-granted objectivity and universality of scientific knowledge production. Instead, they argue that scientific knowledge and reality more generally are socially constructed and therefore inherently partial, specific and political (Latour 1987; Haraway 1988). Drawing on Haraway’s (1988) famous contention of “situated knowledge”, feminist researchers extended such claims to develop a methodological paradigm (Rose 1997; Nightingale 2003). Moving away from the “belief” in the objectivity, universality and transparency of scientific research, they instead redefined the research process and the researcher to reflect subjectivity, partiality and the uncertainty of knowledge production. The research process is re-theorised as an interpretive and interactive process between a biographically situated researcher and the researched; the researcher is redefined from a detached and distant inquirer to a fully engaged facilitator who co-constitutes the process of knowledge production. Such methodological directions inform contemporary qualitative research approaches. Denzin and Lincoln explain:

They [qualitative research approaches] all work within relativist ontologies (multiple constructed realities) and interpretive epistemologies (the knower and known interact and shape one another) and interpretive, naturalistic methods (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p.13).

In order to “situate” the research process, feminist and qualitative researchers suggest the “reflexivity” of the individual researcher on the research process. This methodological imperative is, by no means claimed to remedy the deficit of objectivity, but is, instead, to avoid the “false neutrality and universality” that is prevalent in many modes of academic knowledge production (Rose 1997, p.306). As a way of being reflective, these authors encourage the researcher to be aware of his or her “positionality” – gender, race, class, social position and personality. Personal involvements and institutional constraints might lead the

researcher to adopt particular perspectives, which subsequently creates specific partialities in the research process.

Before setting out for fieldwork, I anticipated several aspects of my own positionality that might affect my research process. As a native Korean who has spent most of her life in Korea, I might have the advantages of a 'home' ethnographer who is familiar with the language, social and cultural contexts and geographies of the country and the selected field sites. I acknowledged that my being an urban, female graduate student from a UK university might reproduce unequal power relations between a privileged researcher and the research subjects (Rose 1997). Besides, I have had personal contacts with eNGO workers from my previous work experience as an environmental journalist, and was planning to use them to initiate my fieldwork. Therefore, I anticipated my sympathies would lie with the eNGOs and might leave me less critical of their efforts. In addition, my institutional basis in the human geography discipline in UK academia needed to be acknowledged, as it forged the theoretical focus of this research on Foucault and more-than-human geographies, which have been well received in recent UK geography scholarship. If it was conducted elsewhere, this research could have been shaped differently.

In retrospect, the positionality-related issues that I actually encountered during and after fieldwork were more complex than my anticipations. First of all, I started to realise that I am *a strange kind of home ethnographer* due to my being a Korean researcher from a British institution. This liminal status of being a Korean and non-Korean made me both an insider and an outsider. Drawing on shared ethnic-cultural backgrounds, a home ethnographer is expected to offer an insider's perspective, making subjective but easy claims for authenticity (Alexander 2004). However, the insider-outsider dynamic of a home ethnographer appears far more complex. In her study of Korean immigrants in the UK, Kim Young Jeong (2012) used her position of a home ethnographer, i.e. a Korean graduate student studying in a UK university, to offer an insider's account. At the same time, her relatively less privileged social

status within the immigrant community (e.g. young age, economic status, level of education) confused the prevalent power relations of a privileged researcher and powerless research subjects. In my study, the mismatch between my ethnic-cultural and institutional backgrounds seems to have created similar complication of the insider-outsider dynamic.

I was received by my research subjects as ‘one of us’, someone who spoke the same language and understood social and cultural backgrounds. My urban identity, at times, distanced me from my research subjects in rural areas (in Jeungdo and parts of Jeju); yet, I generally felt comfortable and enjoyed the privilege of being a Korean insider, which a non-Korean researcher might not always have. At the same time, my British institutional base made me envisage a group of English speaking academics, to whom I am likely to write and present my research findings. Due to this cross-cultural position, I kept asking myself how these situations might look to British readers who are from very different cultural backgrounds. This made me adopt an outsider’s perspective and defamiliarise home practices occasionally.

Local practitioners and residents also appeared to treat me not just as a fellow Korean but also as someone from the UK. In many senses, I was the privileged researcher who collected, if not exploited, local understandings of ecotourism, as described in critical postcolonial studies on research practices (Spivak 1988). However, I also noticed that locals made use of my position, i.e. the in-situ presence of a researcher from the UK, to bestow legitimacy on their ecotourism projects. In Jeungdo, local practitioners introduced my fieldwork to local residents as compelling evidence that their projects gained international attention as a ‘model’ example of ecotourism, which might help them convince local residents to support their projects. Once I was introduced to the Mayor of the County, who was delighted with the presence of a researcher from the UK and asked me to publicise Jeungdo to UK readers. Such instances made me to rethink the stereotype of powerless locals and instead pay attention to their active roles, played to make the best of the given opportunities at their ends, which I will discuss in detail in chapter 7.

In addition to my own positionality, institutional and ecological constraints were also played out. From the early stages of fieldwork, I noticed *the normative status of ecotourism* in Korean environmental and developmental politics. Ecotourism was received almost as a ‘panacea’ among diverse actors. To the practitioners and local residents, the purpose of any ecotourism research, including my own, was assumed to find better and quicker ways of delivering ecotourism. My critical and sometimes sceptical queries appeared to offend them and were often disregarded as premature criticism that might undermine the development of ecotourism in its infancy. This institutional atmosphere made me present myself as a sympathetic critic and confine critical discussions to conversations with a few researchers.

The celebration of ecotourism as a conservation and development panacea also occurred in the 1990s within the Euro-American tourism industry and conservation organisations that implemented ecotourism projects in Africa and Latin America (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996; Goodwin 1996; Honey 2008). However, scepticism soon followed, tackling its detrimental ecological and political-economic consequences (Duffy 2002), as I reviewed in the previous chapter. In Korea, critical approaches to ecotourism appear very rare, not just among practitioners, but also among academics as well. This could be related to the relatively short history of ecotourism, which has flourished since the mid-2000s. More importantly, the different political contexts within which ecotourism emerges might have influenced the ways in which ecotourism is thought about. Korean ecotourism is mostly led by the public sector of the state and local governments and eNGOs, with little direct involvement by the private industry and international organisations. This produces very a different political space for ecotourism from the prevalent postcolonial and political-economic concerns. I will consider the politics of Korean ecotourism further in chapter 4, where I offer an example of ecotourism governance in which diverse state and non-state actors cooperate, envisaging ecotourism as a normative solution.

The *seasonality* of tourism also affected my fieldwork. The peak season for both walking and tidal flat tourism is from July to August. I was, however, advised to avoid summer due to practicalities, such as the availability and surcharges of tourism facilities (accommodation, transportation), let alone the limited availability of practitioners for interviews. Such practical constraints facilitated me to conduct most of my ethnographic fieldwork between March and June. This might have caused a sampling bias for the tourist interviews toward those who had time and money to travel in the low season. To remedy this, I paid extra visits to each site in July to meet typical holidaymakers.

My third methodological underpinning is related to Foucault's methodological "vagueness" (Barrett 1991, p. 127. In: Rose 2012, p. 192). While focusing on empirical materials and details, Foucault remained rather reluctant to offer methodological templates, as they might become "too formulaic and reductionist" (Waitt 2010, p. 219). Foucauldian interlocutors suggest conducting Foucauldian analysis by getting on with it, i.e. 'learning by doing' in order to amplify the ability of the researcher to customise his/her research design (Waitt 2010).²⁶ Foucault (1980b) himself made a similar recommendation that encourages researchers to modify Foucauldian framework to work best for specific empirical examinations.

The Foucauldian reluctance to provide methodological templates is redolent with the methodological generosity of qualitative research approaches (Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Snape and Spencer 2013). Qualitative methods often include document analysis, interviews and participant observations (Crang 2002). Social scientists have recently expanded its scope to the affective dimension of the research practice by attending to the bodily presence of the researchers (Crang 2003; J. Lorimer 2008). As Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p.2) explain, the use of multiple qualitative methods is not systematically arranged in advance but is a

²⁶ Rose (2012) offers systemic approaches to the Foucauldian discourse analysis of visual images (especially in chapters 8 and 9).

“pragmatic, strategic and self-reflective” choice to have better understandings of the research subjects. In this regard, they describe qualitative methods as a type of “professional do-it-yourself”.

3.2. The research process

In this section, I explain my research design in a retrospective manner by reporting how the research was processed. Research design is “a plan of collecting, analysing and interpreting” empirical data (Yin 2009, p.26), which connects theoretical paradigms to practical strategies and methods for examining empirical materials. Informed by a post-structuralist theoretical framework, this study adopts a qualitative case study research design that deploys multiple cases and qualitative methods to collect and analyse data. Qualitative methods are designed to examine “the meanings [that] people bring to them [phenomena]” (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p.2), which serves the purpose of this study to explore complex social relations, meanings and feelings.

3.2.1. Methods of data collection

The selected methods of data collection include document analysis, interviews and participant observations. Using “multi-methods” allows a researcher to “collect a richer and stronger array of evidence than can be accomplished by any single method alone” (Yin 2009, p.63). I tried to explore the frontiers of qualitative methods by conducting blog research; however, my use of multiple qualitative methods relied more on “orthodox” methods (Crang 2002).

Data collection was carried out over nine months of fieldwork in Korea. I structured the fieldwork into two phases, within which I conducted: i) macro examinations (November 2012 to January 2013); and ii) site-specific examinations (February 2013 to July 2013). During the first phase, I was based in Seoul, collecting documents on ecotourism in Korea in general and interviewing researchers, civil servants, environmental activists and entrepreneurs of the

tourism industry. Since few empirical examinations on this subject have been conducted,²⁷ such exploratory research was pertinent to have an overview of Korean ecotourism concerning its histories, structures, and policy changes. During the second phase, I travelled between the three sites, conducting interviews and participant observations alongside collecting documents from site-specific institutions and individual informants.

Document analysis

A great deal of document collection was carried out during the first phase. I began the collecting process with newspaper research, using keywords (e.g. ecotourism). This procedure identified key governmental and non-governmental institutions,²⁸ from which I started to gather materials. Textual data came in great quantity and forms, including: policy papers, white papers, policy recommendations; contemporary and archival articles in newspapers and magazines; natural history and other forms of documentaries; administrative forms and legal documents; posters, leaflets, brochures, promotional film clips, websites, social media pages and online diaries; and research articles and theses. While online libraries and websites saved me time and trouble, I also visited a number of facilities, including libraries, reference rooms, institutions and visitor centres, to access the materials.

At first, I rather naively anticipated that I would be able to cover most of the materials relevant to ecotourism, given the relatively short history of Korean ecotourism as I described in the introduction to this thesis. I was able to specify and locate materials explicitly dealing with ecotourism without major difficulties. However, once the “following” (Cook 2004) started, the scope of documents rapidly extended to a wide range of relevant themes, such as

²⁷ For exceptions, see Kang (2006).

²⁸ These include: i) official governmental bodies –ME, MCST, MAFRA, Ministry of Land, Transportation and Marine Affairs (MLTMA), MOF, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, KNPS, Korea Forest Service, Korean National Tourism Organisation (KNTTO); ii) government-funded research institutions and agencies – Korea Culture and Tourism Institute, Korea National Park Research Institute, Korea Rural Community Corporations (KRCC), Korea Ocean Research and Development Institute (KORDI), National Fisheries Research and Development Institute (NFRDI), Korea Tourism Organization (KTO); iii) eNGOs – Korean Federation of Environmental Movements (KFEM), Green Korea United, Saengtae-Jipyung, Greenpeace Korea, Korean National Commission for UNESCO; and iv) ecotourism-specific institutions – Ecotourism Korea.

protected areas, rural development, and animal protection within and outside Korea. For example, as I will show in chapter 7, my tracing of Korean cetacean legislation led to piles of progress reports and resolutions published by the International Whaling Commission (IWC). I had to stop at some point. To limit the tracings, I followed the strings of key references. When I encountered new material on a new topic, I checked the references, identified the ones most cited and tracked them down. I repeated this process until I came back to the original material. This technique assisted me in covering commonly cited materials; yet, it can leave me open to the criticism of arbitrary sampling. The initial document research offered an overview of Korean ecotourism and helped me identify key actors, projects, sites and themes for interviews and participant observations.

Interviews

The interview data occupy a central place in my data collection, as they provide first-hand and sophisticated accounts beyond those written in the documents. I carried out two sets of interviews: i) with those individuals who develop and implement ecotourism projects, which I broadly categorise here as ‘professionals’; ii) and with tourists. While prevalent modes of environmental and developmental projects are concerned with local ‘insiders’ and national and global ‘outsiders’ (Agrawal 2005b; West 2006), tourism projects invite ‘tourists’ as an actor group that performs the assemblage of government together (Cheong and Miller 2000). To understand how they think and feel about ecotourism is especially important for this study, as it examines the ways in which diverse ecotourism participants are turned into environmental subjects. By generating and analysing qualitative interview data about tourists, this study adds a tourist dimension to governmentality studies of ecotourism that have so far been grounded in qualitative data gained from practitioners, local residents and self-reflective investigators (Rutherford 2011; Fletcher 2014).²⁹ This was a worthwhile but challenging

²⁹ For the use of in-depth interviews with tourists in wider tourism studies beyond the governmentality approaches, see: Simpson (2004), Cousins *et al.* (2009) and Campbell and Smith (2006).

process. I first report my interview process with professionals and then discuss the process and problems I encountered while interviewing tourists.

A total of 92 interviews were conducted with professionals (Appendix 1). Samples were selected through “purposive sampling” combined with “snowballing” techniques (Ritchie *et al.* 2013). Using the information I gathered from document research, I first identified key units – officials of the state and local governments, environmental activists, ecotourism practitioners and entrepreneurs, researchers and local residents – and the relevant gatekeepers. These initial gatekeepers connected me to other interested individuals. This process was repeated until I found the connections made a full circle and recommendations now referenced the same individuals. In so doing, I was able to cover key representative constituencies while allowing some diversity within them (Ritchie *et al.* 2013). To secure access, at the end of each interview, I asked the interviewee if he or she could telephone the persons they recommended. This tactic worked well most of the time. Still, I was refused at times and had to just turn up to ask for interviews. I managed to talk with 20 to 25 professionals for each case, i.e. 4 to 5 interviews per unit, in addition to 15 experts at the national level. This volume might not cover ‘all’, but is large enough to facilitate empirical analysis.

Interviews were carried out in a semi-structured format. I prepared a template for interview questions and modified it before each interview to suit the expertise and interests of the interviewee. Questions were asked regarding their knowledge and opinions on ecotourism in general, site-specific practices, related conservation and social concerns, and several empirical themes I picked up in relation to my research questions (e.g. Slow City, the traditional *saengmyeong* concept, the leadership of the state). However, I kept the template for reference and let the discussion flow so that I could gain new and unanticipated insights and information (Rubin and Rubin 2012). Most of the interviews occurred in the in-situ

environment of the interviewees, i.e. work places or homes (Sin 2003), in Korean.³⁰ They lasted about 50 minutes to 1.5 hours. Under their consent, interviews were audio-recorded (except those with government officials) on my smartphone. I found using a smartphone as a recorder helped interviewees be at ease, as they were familiar with the mundane presence of smartphones on the table during conversation. When not audio-recorded, I took hand-written notes and typewrote the full version right after the interviews. After each interview, whether audio-recorded or not, I wrote down five to six bullet points in my field diary as a way of recording my impressions and immediate analysis. These short notes helped me draw out questions for the next interviews and trace how my analysis was developed. In this process, I benefited pragmatically from my past journalist experience in terms of gaining access and conducting interviews.

As for tourists, I managed to talk with a total of 95 tourists, about 30 at each site, through in-depth, semi-structured and focus group interviews. While professionals were specified and approached via their social positions, tourists came as a large population. Qualitative interviewing with tourists demanded a different set of techniques to sample, access and conduct interviews (Phillimore and Goodson 2004). My original plan was to conduct a series of focus group interviews. I wanted to hear about tourists' reflections on their tourism experiences: how they think, feel and react about the discourses and practices of ecotourism. A focus group method looked most useful, as it can facilitate lively discussions through the interactions between and amongst participants (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 2011; Finch and Lewis 2013).

In Jeju, I talked with tourists at communal areas in hostels in the evenings. I stayed at 12 different hostels to have a demographic diversity in terms of sex, age and home locations. Still, it is possible that my samples are skewed towards particular individuals who opted to use affordable and popular accommodations for Olle walkers. Many walkers were travelling

³⁰ Except the one with a British volunteer working for the Jeju Olle Foundation.

alone or in pairs, and preferred to spend their evenings indoors for the next day's walk, which meant they had time to kill. They were willing to talk about their feelings and thoughts about the walking experience, occasionally touching upon their personal stories (Rubin and Rubin 2012). Some participants were eloquent speakers, putting their emotions into literary words. Often, there was an immediate and intense rapport between us. This can be related to my being a female fellow walker and my empathetic style of interviewing (Oakley 1981), but also – probably more importantly – to the reflective and confessional 'atmosphere' prevalent in Olle walking, which I will detail in chapter 6. Most of the discussions, including two focus group interviews, thus followed an in-depth format. Since participants were engaging and confident enough to disclose their feelings, there appeared no need to steer the conversation towards a focus group format. Interviews lasted one to three hours and were all audio-recorded.

However, such lively engagement did not occur in the other two cases. In both sites, tourists travel differently from the Olle walkers. While Olle walkers tended to be solitary and relaxed tourists, the typical tourists in Jeungdo (tidal flat tourism) and Ulsan (whale tourism) were family groups on weekend getaways. To identify, access and persuade them to talk was a challenge. Their preferred accommodations, mostly local guesthouses, did not have communal areas. My attempts to conduct spontaneous focus group interviews in restaurants and visitor centres turned out to be too ambitious due to reluctant adults and annoyed children. Tourists evidently did not want any interruption of their precious family time.

After a number of unsuccessful and embarrassed attempts, I had to be creative to make them talk. I carried out most of the interviews where they had no other activity except killing time, including: decks of whale-watching boats, the shade of trees and buildings, benches on the beach and washing basins. I also offered refreshments – soft drinks, ice creams and chocolates – to attract and keep them talking until the drink was finished. Interviews were inevitably short (10 to 30 minutes), recorded and in a semi-structured format. Participants

were asked similar questions to those of the Olle walkers, i.e. their opinions and feelings about the practices they had just finished. However, unlike Olle walkers, participants at both sites appeared to have limited knowledge of, and interest in, the target ecologies (tidal flats and whales) and their embodied engagements. For example, about half of the interviewees turned out to have come to Jeungdo without knowing the presence of tidal flats, let alone its protected status. They had difficulty in articulating their feelings and often resorted to clichéd expressions such as “so happy” and “so cute”. The interview data I gathered did reveal a huge gap between the perceived (by practitioners) and actual tourists. These also offered some intriguing vignettes. Still, they looked insufficient and needed supplement.

At first, I turned to tourist blogs. As an online diary on which users voluntarily disclose their experiences, feelings and emotions, blogs appeared rich and accessible materials that await urgent analysis (Hookway 2008). However, it did not take too long to realise they were not as useful as they might appear. A number of bloggers were writing about my selected practices and sites; yet, their accounts often focused on their hedonistic and self-indulging experiences, which were less relevant to my queries. At times, the information they provided was too similar to those of advertised materials, which put me in doubt about the credibility of the blog data. Tourist blogs could be useful tools for destination marketing research (Banyai and Glover 2012) but appeared less useful for this research that seeks to study complex meanings and relations. Instead, I turned to participant observations to gain non-representational data about tourists’ experiences in order to supplement the verbal data they offered to me.

Participant observations

Through careful observation of others, this method allows a researcher to understand “how the world is seen, lived and works in and through ‘real’ places, communities and people” (Cloke *et al.* 2004, p.169). For cultural geographers, it offers opportunities to use the ‘body’ of a researcher to make sense of non-representational aspects of the world (Crang 2003; Crang and Cook 2007; Laurier 2010). Tourism researchers employ this method to explore

more-than-cognitive aspects of tourists' experiences such as bodily sensations, emotions and affective relations (Wylie 2005; Cousins *et al.* 2009; Scarles 2009). Through their own bodily participation in tourist practices, these researchers produce auto-ethnographic accounts of their sensitised and emotive self-reflections and also develop intersubjective accounts by exchanging them with a wider range of tourists through other methods such as in-depth interviews.

Drawing on this body of work, my chosen strategy to conduct participant observations was "becoming a tourist" (Scarles 2009; Crang 2011). In interviews, my tourists described, and sometimes failed to describe, how they sensed and felt doing tourist activities. I wanted to know what these would be like and wished to get a sense of what lay underneath their staccato expressions. During my site-specific fieldwork, I stayed at tourist accommodations (except during the whale fieldwork) and participated in diverse tourist activities: catching crabs within the tidal flats, walking the Olle Trail alone and together with other tourists, and taking whale-watching boat trips. As Crang (2011) points out in his essay about the shifting subjectivities of an academic who conducts participatory research on tourism, I was also "an obsessively 'good' tourist" (p. 210) who read every line in the guide books, brochures and signposts, leaving no stones unturned. I took four whale-watching boat trips within a month, walked forwards and backwards, and studied panels and artefacts in museums for a suspiciously long time. Being aware of the importance of bodily sensations to produce tourists' experiences, I tried to expose my body to be fully immersed in the practices: taking my shoes off to feel the tidal flats, uncovering my ears to listen to natural sounds, and extending my eyes through the camera. I took photographs of informative signposts, landscapes as well as subtle and mundane objects along the Olle trail, such as funny-looking signposts, leaves and flowers. I also took short videos (three to four minutes) to capture moments such as small crabs emerging from their nests and singing birds. Photography was not just to keep record. The practice itself was a means of "recognising" the agency of nonhumans that became meaningful to me (Macpherson 2010). My own participation

produced a sensitised body and amplified emotions such as comfort, relaxation and guilt, especially about those tidal flat creatures being crushed underneath my feet. I recorded these feelings and emotions by scribbling several words on my smartphone on site and later rephrased them into a few sentences in my field diary.

There were epiphanies, where I suddenly realised that this is exactly what my tourist interviewees talked about – for example, when the subtle sounds of small crabs became audible to me, or when the boat was surrounded by hundreds of dolphins. When exchanging our experiences in interviews, I also gave some tourists similar epiphanic moments by being able to describe what they tried to articulate – for example, the significance of the panoramic landscape in the therapeutic experience, and the awkward feeling emerging from the concurrence of eating and watching whales. These instances helped me understand some of the non-verbal aspects of tourists' experiences and to develop intersubjective accounts. At the same time, I also started to realise such experiences are subjective and not automatically transferrable to others. For example, unlike some walkers that I interviewed, I did not have an emotional meltdown in the Olle Trail, no matter how hard I tried to have similar experiences. It made me recognise the inherent subjectivity of tourist experiences, such as walking, and participant observations more generally. My participant observations are inherently situated in my personal focus and interests (Hall 2004). I triangulated my non-representational data with textual data from the interviews and document analysis to have a broader and deeper understanding of the tourists' experiences, although I am making no claim for the objectivity and universality of my research. These became the basis of my analysis on the affective dimensions of ecotourism discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

3.2.2. Analytical strategies

Analysing qualitative case study data is not an easy task because “the techniques still have not been well defined” (Yin 2009, p.126; Crang 2005; Crang and Cook 2007). To assist this, Yin (2009) suggests four analytical strategies for case study research analysis that can be used in

any combination: theoretical propositions, developing case descriptions, using both quantitative and qualitative data and examining rival explanations. My chosen analytical strategy is to put Yin's first two – theoretical concepts and empirical materials – into 'iterative conversation'.

	Pre-fieldwork		Fieldwork		Post-fieldwork	
Research questions	Theoretical concepts	Empirical themes	Theoretical concepts	Empirical themes	Theoretical concepts	Empirical themes
Governance	Environmental-ity (Agrawal 2005b) Developmental states	State leadership		<i>Gwan</i>	Actually existing neoliberalism (Nick and Brenner 2002)	State-led community-based ecotourism
Nature	Non-modern environmental thoughts	<i>Saengmyeong</i>	Affective nature	Healing nature	Therapeutic landscape	
Time		Accelerated modernisation		Slowness	Non-linear temporalities	Accelerated slowness
Space	Global assemblages (Ong and Collier 2008)	Importance of Japan		Influences of various Western places	Friction (Tsing 2005)	Multilateral geography of Korea, Japan, and Western places

Table 3.2. An example of the analytical table in progress.

My empirical data collection was not groundless. When starting the fieldwork, I had several theoretical propositions that I gained from spending my first year of the PhD reading human geography and cognate social sciences. For field data collection, I drew a table that contained key theoretical concepts and provisional empirical themes that corresponded to my research questions³¹ (Table 3.2). During fieldwork, I made a note of repeated remarks, catch phrases and intensive emotional expressions and put them in the 'empirical themes' column of the table. For example, I was aware of the concept of environmentality and the Korean-specific strong leadership of the state before the fieldwork. Conducting field research, I noticed that many of my interviewees were using the term *gwan*, a Korean word for governmental authorities, to specify Korean environmental governance. I wrote this down in the table.

³¹ I thank Jamie Lorimer and Tim Hodgetts for this idea.

Using an analytical table helped me link empirical materials to theoretical concepts while ordering them according to the research questions. I continued to develop this table by adding, deleting and modifying the concepts and themes, which became a prompt for my analysis.

The analysis began in earnest after my return to Oxford. I came back with an external hard drive and two boxes that contained a number of books, reports, papers, brochures, interview files and transcripts, a digital field diary, and nine field notebooks. I started with digitalising my data: transcribing the interviews, synthesising field diaries and scanning key brochures and pamphlets. This process, which took two months, gave me an overview of my data and assisted in identifying key materials. While reading these, I made notes on repeated remarks, insightful comments, as well as words and terms that were related to the identified empirical themes and theoretical concepts. They acted as analytical “codes”. I read them carefully, and compared, contrasted and grouped them in new “categories”. The process of coding, sifting and categorising was not linear but an iterative procedure until they generated “more coherent and supportable final categories” (Crang 2005, p.225). Reflecting on their relevance to my research questions, I allocated the codes and categories to my four provisional analysis chapters.

While ordering my empirical materials, I continued to read the literature. Through the readings, I was able to clarify, complicate and modify the theoretical framework I constructed before the fieldwork. Rutherford’s (2011) governmentality analysis of North American ecotourism and Hathaway’s (2013) work on Chinese environmentalism were especially influential for the development of this study. They drew my attention to questions of biopolitics and global-local connections, which now became the backbone of this thesis. Emerging themes from the fieldwork, especially time-sensitive ideas, such as ‘acceleration’ and ‘slowness’, facilitated further readings on the relational analysis of time. Newly gained theoretical materials offered differentiated perspectives to view the empirical materials, which led to recoding and re-categorising.

To begin writing-up, I started with writing an empirical description of the selected case study for each analysis chapter. I carefully read the codes and categories that I allocated to each chapter to find suitable empirical stories. I wrote down several empirical accounts, such as memorable events, interesting characters, personal stories and my own encounters, that I thought were most useful in articulating the selected themes. I then connected the empirical draft to the theoretical concepts I had been developing, and then started to write an analysis draft. Writing the empirical draft facilitated the reification of relevant theoretical concepts and vice versa. I sometimes had to carry out extra empirical analysis to write the analysis draft. While repeating this iterative process for four analysis chapters, the thesis gradually started to take shape.

As such, the analysis of this study was carried out through the continued conversation between theoretical and empirical materials. This analytical strategy echoes what Philo (2000) suggests for Foucauldian data analysis: “moving between empirically grounded analytical themes and sensitizing concepts from Foucauldian work on biopower and governmentality” (In Srinivasan 2012, p.80). Specifically for this study, such analytical “moving between” is not limited to theoretical-empirical transactions but is extended to cultural transactions due to the cross-cultural nature of the research process. My position as a Korean ethnographer who writes for English speaking academic readers entailed the inevitable ‘translation’ of not just language but cultural and historical contexts as well (Twyman *et al.* 1999; Y.J. Kim 2012). I found the translation process offered analytical benefits because:

The hybrid spaces of research between the ‘home’ language and the ‘foreign’ language can open new spaces of insights, of meaning which dis-place, de-centre the researchers’ assumption that their own language is clear in its meaning (Smith 1996, p.163).

As Smith (1996) continues, translation thus can be “a positive engagement” (p.161) that challenges “the researcher’s definitions and understandings of concepts” and facilitates an exploration of “differences, tensions and conflicts” (p.165). This occurred to me as well.

Translating, or deciding not to translate, facilitated me to rethink and contemplate familiar concepts such as *saengmyeong*, which I might have otherwise paid little attention to, and formulated the main argument of chapter 5.

3.2.3. Validity and generalisation

The research findings of qualitative methods and a case study approach can leave issues related to validity and generalisation (Yin 2013). Validity refers to the effectiveness of the analytical conclusions to answer the research questions. The qualitative research process can be ambiguous and arbitrary, which leaves it open to the possibility of misinterpretation (Hoggart *et al.* 2002; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). To reduce such likelihood, qualitative and case researchers employ “triangulation” (Nightingale 2003; Stake 2005; Yin 2009). Triangulation is a methodological strategy to multiply data sources (e.g. cases) and methods in the anticipation that they lead to coherent answers to the research questions. It thus gives ‘confidence’ in the research findings, which strengthens validity.

In this study, I also used multiple cases and methods to provide triangulated analytical conclusions. On the one hand, triangulation allows identifying commonalities across different cases and methods – for example, the leadership of state and local authorities. At the same time, it clarifies subtle but interesting differences within the commonalities (Stake 2005) – for example, the use of intimate mediators affiliated with the local government in tidal flat tourism and the direct engagement of the local government in whale tourism. Together, triangulation “add[s] rigor, breadth and depth to any investigation” (Yin 2009, p.2) and offers plausible analytical conclusions.

The analytical conclusions of a case study research are particular interpretations of the selected cases. Case researchers have sought ways to generalise the research findings – in other words, the transferability of specific analytical conclusions beyond the examined cases. Instead of the conventional strategy of “statistical generalisation”, Yin (2009; 2013) suggests

“analytical generalisation” that generates theoretical propositions from the research findings, which can be more widely applicable. As Yin reminds us, the design and operation of a case study is determined by the theoretical utilities of the selected cases. Each of my cases was chosen for their usefulness to study the key concepts (i.e. nature, time and space) in environmental governmentalities. Therefore, the findings of this thesis have theoretical bearings on the studies of biopower exercised through understandings of nature, senses of time and spatial connections elsewhere. I will use my research findings to generate theoretical propositions in relation to the governmentalities of post-developmental states that experienced accelerated modernisation. The analytically generalised theoretical propositions of this thesis can be transferred beyond the three ecotourism cases to explain other similar cases in other counties as well as other similar interventions in Korea. I will detail these theoretical propositions in the conclusion of this thesis.

3.3. Conclusions

In this chapter, I explained and justified the methodology and research methods used in this thesis. I connected my theoretical framework, grounded in Foucauldian and more-than-human social sciences, to case study research taking qualitative approaches. This strategy of inquiry facilitates a power-sensitive and heterogeneous empirical investigation that uses multiple cases and multiple methods. I reported my methods employed for data collection and analysis, while discussing difficulties encountered and my efforts to address those issues. Finally, I considered the issues associated with validity and generalisation of case-specific, qualitative research findings.

So far in this thesis, I have introduced the existence of the mode of ecotourism that emerged in post-developmental states through the example of Korea. I argued the conventional postcolonial and political economy approaches to ecotourism are less useful to explain this form of ecotourism, as it is being developed in very different political, cultural and geographical contexts. Instead, I draw on recent governmentality approaches that consider

ecotourism a biopolitical domain, through which particular ways of thinking about, and relating to, the self and the environment are governed. Combining a governmentality framework with more-than-human and relational studies of nature, time and space, I develop a less orthodox approach to ecotourism, which explores the ways in which understandings of nature, senses of time and spatial relations are deployed to shape specific behaviours of ecotourism participants. To do this, I take a case study investigation that examines three ecotourism cases, deploying an array of qualitative methods. In the following four chapters, I report my analyses by discussing ecotourism governance (chapter 4), nature and time (chapters 5 and 6) and spatial connections (chapter 7).

4

Gwan

In the introduction, I outlined the significance of the state in Korean social governance during and after accelerated modernisation. I pointed out the complexity of post-developmental governance in which multiple state and non-state actors are assembled while the state still retains a leading role. This mode of governance is related to the historic concurrence of economic and social reform that the post-developmental country now confronts (D.C. Kim 2006; Song 2009). Taking the emergence of decentralised governance and the sustained significance of the state as a backdrop, I now explore the ecotourism governance of the Korean post-developmental state. In so doing, this chapter responds to my first research question and sets the stage for the analyses in the rest of the thesis that examine the ways in which the assemblages of authorities mobilise ideas of nature and time and spatial connections to shape particular behaviours.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the ways in which diverse political actors are assembled and effect on ecotourism governmentalities. I specifically focus on the place of the state and local authorities in the ecotourism governance. For this, I engage with the Foucauldian analysis of governmentality, specifically Agrawal's (2005a; 2006b) environmentality. By taking governing technologies, rather than grand ideologies, as the focus of analysis, Foucauldian analytics enables subtle and nuanced investigation of how power actually operates across diverse actors (Dean 2010). This theoretical framework appears useful for this chapter that examines the complex operation of power in a mode of ecotourism governance that is decentralised and also entrenched in historical and cultural significance of the state. I ground this examination in the empirical examples of ecotourism governance in Jeungdo. The case of Jeungdo is an indicative example of Korean ecotourism governance in that it adopts a decentralised structure but is also under the huge influence of the state and local authorities. It

is also specific in terms of the intimate and collaborative relationships among actors engaged, which differs from the apathetic relationship between the local government and civil organisations in Ulsan whale tourism, as well as from the status of the local government as an invisible financier in walking tourism in Jeju.

I first specify the sustained importance of the state and the emergence of decentralised governance in post-developmental Korea, thinking through the Korean word *gwan* [government, authorities]. I then carry out a governmentality analysis of the ecotourism governance of Jeungdo. I argue that the claimed decentralised governance is actually led by the state and local governments, which leads to unsuccessful and unanticipated modes of subjectification.

4.1. Specifying the strong state in decentralised environmental governance

In prevalent analysis of ecotourism, political ecologists have typified a mode of transnational governance that global donors (e.g. the World Bank), international conservation agencies and transnational corporations take the lead while the nation state is hollowed out (West 2006; Duffy 2008; Brockington and Duffy 2011). Local communities are also involved as one of the stakeholders who protect local natural reserves for market value (Honey 2008). Here, ecotourism governance takes a decentralised format, aligned along the polarised scale of transnational actors and local communities.

However, the place of the state in Korean ecotourism, and environmental and developmental projects more widely, is more complicated. As I discussed in chapter 1, the rapid capitalist development in Korea is often attributed to the leadership of the “developmental state” where technocrats hold a high degree of political autonomy to implement economic structuring (Johnson 1982; Amsden 1992; MacDonald *et al.* 1993). Leaders of the authoritarian state used economic development as a way of nation building, aiming for the “modernisation of the

fatherland”.³² Statecraft was extended to produce ‘modern national subjects’ through the rapid transformation of the ‘lazy and weak’ premodern population into the ‘hardworking and determined’ modern subject (S.S. Moon 2008; H.Y. Cho 2010). This involved a series of paternalistic and disciplinary interventions, including birth control, a ban on overseas travel and the normalisation of certain values such as time-thrift, filial piety and patriotism. Since the fall of the authoritarian regime in 1987, the comprehensive intervention of the state has been reduced to an extent; nonetheless, the place of the state is still significant in economic and social organisations in post-developmental Korean society (Pirie 2005; Song 2009; Hwang and Sleeboom-Faulkner 2014).

While the state holds political significance, multiple non-state actors are now involved in environmental governance. As I will explain in more detail in the next section, ecotourism in Korea is a reform-oriented initiative that aims to execute conservation and rural development differently from the prevalent mode that is often associated with large-scale construction projects and detrimental environmental consequences. For several departments of the state government concerning regional development (e.g. MAFRA, MOF) and for local governments, ecotourism is celebrated as a developmental tool to address the growing economic disparity between urban and rural areas. Local communities are empowered to take part in this developmental project as important stakeholders. For conservation-oriented departments of the state government (e.g. ME), on the other hand, ecotourism is valorised as a conservation tool: first, to maintain or expand protected areas; and second, to enhance the general public’s environmental awareness. ENGOs – mostly home grown – share such conservationist enthusiasm and participate in ecotourism projects as consultants, educators as well as practitioners. Local communities here are empowered to support, if not to practice, conservation initiatives to increase the market value of well-protected nature for ecotourism.

³² The national campaign proposed by Park Chung-Hee in the President’s annual message to the Parliament in 1966.

The involvement of the tourism industry, however, remains rather limited to local restaurants and accommodations.³³

Such historical, political and economic conditions shape the governing rationalities and structure of Korean ecotourism differently from those in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. Duffy (2008) and others conceive of ecotourism in those destinations as ‘neoliberal conservation’, as I explained in the introduction to this thesis. In Korean ecotourism, the relationship between the market, the state, and citizens appear different. Market enthusiasm is certainly played out in the valorisation of well-managed natural area for its market value and the involvement of local residents as stakeholders. However, the place occupied by transnational actors and the private sector in the prevalent mode of ecotourism is replaced with the national and regional governments. As we will see, the private sector in Korean ecotourism at the moment generates little profit and instead the state and local governments subsidise local residents to carry out ecotourism projects. The significance of ecotourism is more strongly felt as a policy tool of conservation and development, rather than as a profitable industry. As such, the state-citizen relationship in post-developmental Korea differs from the familiar theories of the “predatory state”³⁴ in Sub-Saharan nations such as Zaire (Evans 1995), and the “high-modernist authoritarian state” in Communist Russia (Scott 1998). Instead, it is more similar with those of “libertarian paternalism” in Western countries such as the UK where the paternalist state promotes particular behaviour changes through subtle and nuanced governing techniques (Jones *et al.* 2011a; 2011b).

To specify the complexity of the decentralised governance entrenched in the political significance of the state, I use the Korean word *gwan* (관), which refers to the government or

³³ This analysis is based on document materials and interviews with senior officers of the state governments, ecotourism researchers and senior managers from the tourism industry.

³⁴ The form of state that takes advantage of the statecraft for the benefits of politicians and business elites.

authorities.³⁵ It comprehensively involves all levels of national and local government, quasi-government agencies and corporations and government-affiliated institutions and organisations. I picked up this term from my fieldwork interviews with researchers and practitioners of ecotourism. They used this word to describe Korean ecotourism governance, which they characterised as “*gwan-joo-do*”, which means, ‘led by *gwan*’.³⁶ This expression of led by *gwan* implies the involvement of non-*gwan* actors, i.e. actors from civil society (eNGOs, local communities) and the private sector, which follows a decentralised format of ecotourism governance. It also implies the specific power dynamics of such governance, established and performed by the leadership of *gwan*-related actors among diverse participants. There is tension between different levels (e.g. the state and the municipal governments) and departments of governments. In the tidal flat tourism case, the County government takes the lead, maintaining alliance with conservation-oriented departments of the state government, which renders *gwan* a convenient descriptor to comprehensively refer to governmental bodies at play in ecotourism governance. In the whale tourism case, the envisioned form of ecotourism of the local council is dissonant with that of municipal government, while relevant departments of the state government have conflicting ideas about whaling. In both cases, the local government, financially and politically supported by the state government, initiates and implements ecotourism projects. In this regard, the term *gwan* can

³⁵ *Gwan* is the Korean reading of the Chinese character ‘官’. The paternalistic characteristics of *gwan* overlap with the Chinese viewing of the government as a ‘father’ figure, and perhaps more widely with the Japanese and Vietnamese instances where the same Chinese character is used. Yet, such cross-cultural analysis is beyond the scope of this examination.

³⁶ For example, Kang Shinkyum, the head of Ecotourism Research Institute of Chonnam University told me in an interview: “Don’t you think it is possible to initiate ecotourism without any involvement of *gwan*? Just by voluntary local residents? In the initial phase, we inevitably need some support from *gwan*. I don’t think *gwan*-led ecotourism is a problem. Locals have limited knowledge on what ecotourism is and how to make it happen. Here comes the intervention of *gwan*. Governments do possess needed information, human networks and finances. It is what the governments should do – to provide ‘vision’ to local residents”. Je Jong-Kil, the marine ecologist and ecotourism consultant, also offered a slightly different perspective in an interview: “They [leaders of ecotourism in Suncheon Estuary] also have taken a *gwan*-led governance. But they have sought to let the ecology flourish. The village now looks cleaner and prettier. Locals earn some money. So the project does have some elements of ecotourism [...] Nonetheless, participations of non-*gwan* actors remain limited and even orchestrated by *gwan*. Far from a fair involvement of all related parties. This is the key drawback of *gwan*-led ecotourism. The partnership between *gwan* and non-*gwan* is too weak. It runs a risk of collapse when the head of the local government changes”.

be a useful concept to specify the governing structure that is decentralised but is also led by the authorities of the government.

To examine the specific assemblage of political actors in this decentralised but led by *gwan* governance, I employ the analytics of governmentality, specifically Agrawal's (2005a; 2005b) notion of environmentality. Drawing on Foucault's concept of biopower and the technology of subject formation, Agrawal develops the concept of 'environmentality' to refer to technologies of government that create "environmental subjects" through an array of intervening strategies. He argues that successful environmental governing occurs "not by forcing people toward state-mandated goals but by turning them into accomplices" (2005b, p.217). For him, the key strategy of intervention is to engineer "participation" of the target population in regulatory mechanisms. Agrawal's work offers a number of useful concepts and insights that the present examination can draw on and develop further to understand how environmental governmentalities would work in a decentralised governance led by *gwan*. Following the analytical footsteps of Rabinow and Rose (2006), I now turn to the empirical example of Jeungdo to examine the "truth discourses, an array of authorities, strategies for intervention and modes of subjectification" (p.165).

4.2. Slow City ecotourism in Jeungdo

Jeungdo is a small island (40.03km²) off the southwest coast of Korea. It belongs to the Shinan-gun (County) and Chollanam-do (Province) administrative divisions. The population is 2,055, of which 33.4% is aged 65 years and older. About 66% (687 out of 1,035) are farming households growing rice and other crops, while 172 fishing vessels are in operation. Most farmers are also small-scale fishermen who catch seafood from tidal flats. Seaweed and sea salt farming also takes place. The Shinan County is a typical poor rural area whose gross regional domestic production (GRDP) per capita is 16.65 million Korean won (KRW), which is 62.1% of the national average (Shinan County 2014). Farmers of Jeungdo said they are

relatively well-off compared to regional neighbourhoods. Nonetheless, like other rural areas, Jeungdo is faced with an ageing population and economic difficulties.

Ecotourism began in earnest in 2009, when a set of conservation and developmental practices, which can be grouped as ‘Slow City ecotourism projects’, were put in practice. Jeungdo was strategically chosen as one of the ‘model’ ecotourism destinations by several departments of the state government and specifically by the local County government. Several rationales underpinned such decision. First, Jeungdo was an emerging tourism destination whose accessibility had been improved by the construction of a bridge completed in 2010. It is now a one hour drive away from urban areas (49.4km from Mokpo City and 78.8km from Gwangju Metropolitan City). A four-star resort hotel opened in 2006, which also acted as a magnet for holidaymakers.

Second, the tidal flats (51.8km²) surrounding the island had recently been designated as a protected area by regional (2006), national (2010) and several international conservation schemes. It became a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve in 2009 and a Ramsar Site in 2011 (Fig 4.1). These designations attracted conservationist attention to protect tidal flats from reclamation and other environmentally detrimental practices. At the same time, it drew tourists’ attention to the aesthetic and educational value of such relatively less disturbed natural areas. Hence, the designation of the protected area enhanced the attractiveness of Jeungdo for ecotourism development.

Third, the whole island was certified as a Slow City, one of the first four in Korea, in December 2007. Slow City is an international movements led by *Cittaslow* International. In 1999, inspired by the Slow Food Movement, a group of Italian politicians and community leaders founded this organisation “to enlarge the philosophy of Slow Food to local communities and to government of towns”, as stated on the website (also Mayer and Knox 2006). As of 2015, 199 small cities and towns (population less than 50,000) are certified as

Slow Cities. In Jeungdo, the owner of the salt corporation and his brother, a tourism professor, persuaded local politicians and civil servants to apply for *Cittaslow* with a view of using the certification for tourism marketing. The application was successful.³⁷

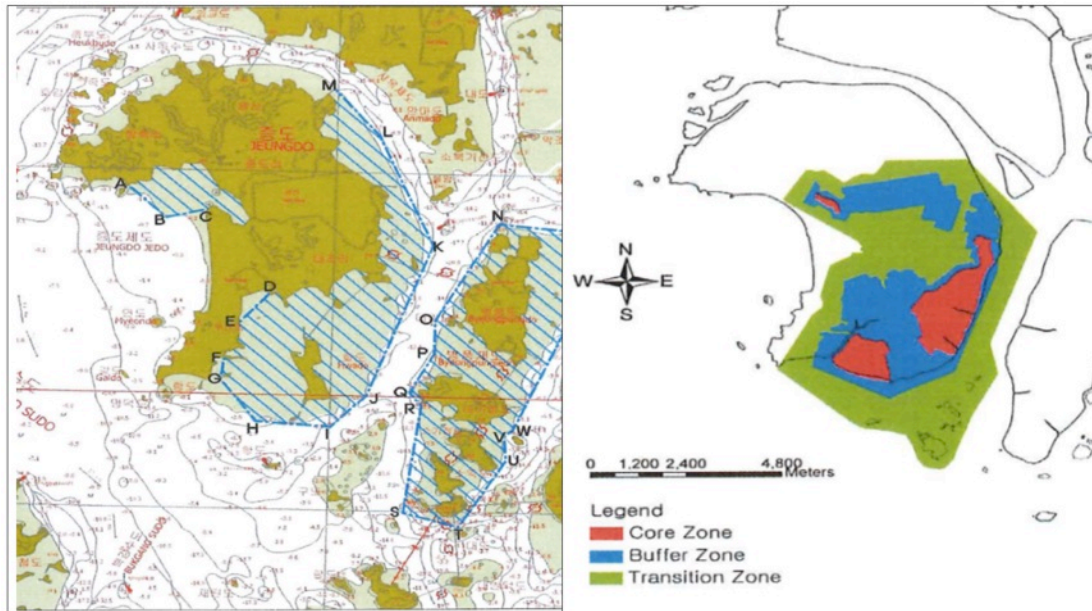


Fig 4.1. Protected areas of Jeungdo: National protected wetland and the Ramsar Site (left); UNESCO Biosphere Reserve (right, source: Shinan County).

Together, these provided convincing rationales for national and local policymakers and conservationists to support Jeungdo and to design an ecotourism model for other rural areas to follow. In April 2009, Yoo Young-Eup and his friends settled in Jeungdo to work as staff for both the Tidal Flat Exhibition Centre (TEC) and Jeungdo Slow City Council (JSCC). As a graduate from Mokpo University, Yoo Young-Eup is a charismatic figure who had been chased by the state authorities for seven years in relation to his involvement in political student movements during his presidency of Mokpo University Student Union in 1997. After gaining amnesty, he worked for the regional branch of Korean Federation of Environmental Movements (KFEM) until taking up the position of the director of the TEC and the secretary of JSCC in 2009. He was encouraged both by a senior local environmentalist (the founder of

³⁷ According to Lee Hong-Young, the chairman of JSCC, local residents did not know about this process until they heard the news from the media. This top-down procedure is in contrast to the community-based principle of *Cittaslow*.

the regional branch of KFEM)³⁸ and the Mayor of Shinan County. His past experiences provided him with a network in civil organisations across the country as well as among influential local figures.

Becoming a Slow City provided a momentum for ecotourism development in Jeungdo. The meaning of Slow City that was applied in Jeungdo appears quite different from the original concept developed in Italy. The original focus on local food has been diversified from sea salt to diverse discourses related to conservation, development and empowerment. As I elaborate in detail, Slow City in Jeungdo acts as the local brand of ecotourism to deliver sustainable development.

According to a study funded by the County government, Slow City aims:

to respect the harmony of nature and society and of human and nonhumans; to maintain local specificities and diversities; and to generate new values for local residents and tourists (Kang 2012, p.1).

Here, the stated goal of Slow City is moved away from local food and, instead, is extended to more abstract manifestations of the sustainable use of nature, local economic development and tourism development. These extended understandings of Slow City are shared among local residents, practitioners and civil servants. For examples from the interviews:

Interviewer: You are a new member of the JSCC?

Ahn: Yes. From this year.

Interviewer: What does Slow City mean to you? Seems quite different from individual to individual.

Ahn: [silence for a few seconds] Well, hmm, it certainly means *to make Jeungdo a better place to live*. I am not quite sure about the details. Well, probably bring more benefits?
(Ahn Seong-Bok, a local resident)

Slow City is not much different [from tidal flat conservation]. Slow City has three foregrounding philosophies – *to protect nature thoroughly*, to keep and pass on local cultural tradition and *to empower local residents* to undertake these. They [conservation and Slow City] are interrelated. (Yoo Young-Eup, director of the TEC)

Interviewer: You are the one who implements Slow City policies into practice. What do you think Slow City is?

³⁸ KFEM is the oldest and biggest eNGO in Korea.

Jung: [slightly grinning] Slow City can be viewed as a policy tool *to enhance the quality of life of local residents* while *leaving nature unharmed* as much as possible.

Interviewer: The quality of life?

Jung: Making changes to their lifestyle, such as organic farming, pro-environmental behaviours and putting curtains on their windows. I mean, more *environment-friendly ways of life*. The point is *local residents. To help them live a better life*.

(Jung Young-Sung, officer of department of tourism, Government of Shinan County. Emphasises are my own.)

As the above excerpts illustrate, Slow City means slightly different things to different people. For local residents, such as Ahn, it means local economic development. For practitioners such as Yoo and Jung, Slow City entails diverse discourses: protection of nature, local empowerment and community-based local development. These dispersed discourses appear to have two common concerns: *the wellbeing of local residents and the environment* – in other words, *development and conservation*. This gives a truthful and normative status to the discourse of ‘sustainable development’, which is viewed as a way of achieving the twin goal of development and conservation. Here, the term Slow City becomes a convenient container to carry diverse but overlapping understandings grounded in the discourse of sustainable development.

This interpretation of Slow City is related to the specific arrangement of the political actors of Jeungdo. For the owners of the salt corporation, Slow City initially meant producing sea salt in traditional methods.³⁹ It then was circulated and intersected with policymakers, conservationists and local residents who interpreted this ambiguous but eye-catching concept in their own terms. Their differing interpretations, however, hinged upon the shared understanding of the need for sustainable development, which marks a point of departure from the existing mode of conservation and development. For the past two decades, Korean governments invested over one hundred trillion KRW (60 billion pounds) for rural development mainly through large-scale construction projects.⁴⁰ As researchers, practitioners and local residents alike point out, the existing mode of development is criticised for

³⁹ Interview with Cho Jae Woo, the managing director of the salt company.

⁴⁰ Interview with Kang Mihee, the executive of Ecotourism Korea.

producing little improvement in rural livelihood and severe environmental degradations. As a result, there has been the need and the will among the actors engaged to execute development and conservation differently. Incorporation of Slow City with sustainable development is specific to Jeungdo, but is an idea shared more widely. The three principles of the Korean Slow City are “nature, tradition and community” as stated on the website.⁴¹ This modified interpretation, however, fails to reach individual tourists in Jeungdo, for whom the primary meaning of Slow City is associated with physically slowing down the speed. In chapter 7, I will trace a similar modification of an ecotourism-related concept through the example of whale tourism.

The regime of sustainable development, or Slow City, is governed through an array of practices. Many of these practices are related to ‘ecotourism’, broadly defined as: nature-based tourism that facilitates environmental conservation, local economic development, local participation, and environmental education, as I introduced in chapter 1. Here, ecotourism is conceived as a vehicle to empower local residents to participate in sustainable development by involving them as stakeholders. The anticipation is that tourism revenues generated from well-protected tidal flats might offer direct benefits to the local economy as well as inspire local residents to become practitioners, or at least supporters, of conservation initiatives. Since 2009, a range of practices has been introduced to involve local residents to ecotourism: these range from running guesthouses and operating a community-based tour agency to place marketing of Jeungdo as a desirable ecotourism destination.

4.3. Governmentalities of Slow City ecotourism

In this and in the following section, I detail the governing technologies of Slow City government by outlining the assemblage of political actors, strategies of intervention and the subject positions created. As I argued, Korean ecotourism governance takes the ‘decentralised’ form combined with the specific significance of the state. I first focus on the ‘decentralised’

⁴¹ <http://www.cittaslow.kr/eng/>

aspect here, and carry out a parallel examination of ‘the leadership of *gwan*’ in the next section.

4.3.1. A decentralised assemblage of political actors

When a visitor passes the bridge and arrives in Jeungdo, the road leads to the Shinan TEC (Fig 4.2). This is the visitor centre that houses exhibitions on tidal flat ecology, local livelihoods and Jeungdo Slow City development. This building is also an architectural articulation of decentralised governance. It accommodates the offices of the JSCC, the Community Tour Agency (CTA), the TEC and the Slow Gate – a tollgate at the entrance of Jeungdo, whose purpose I explain later. These four entities constitute the core of the *gwan* and non-*gwan* partnership that jointly governs Jeungdo Slow City ecotourism (Fig 4.3). Staff and members of these four institutions have direct and indirect relations with an array of political actors, including departments of the state government, local government, state-affiliated research centres, regional and national eNGOs, local private enterprises and local residents. Local residents simply call these four institutions “the Centre” (전시관) and the staff and members “Centre people” (전시관 사람들). The ‘Centre’ can be thought of as a Jeungdo version of the “Forest Council” which Agrawal (2005a) identifies as the formative structure in the “joint authority” of the state and the community.

The Centre hosts a range of local and non-local, *gwan* and non-*gwan*, and young and old participants. The JSCC, the community-based committee for Slow City development, has 22 local representatives from 11 villages, one local manager and one non-local secretary. The secretary, Yoo Young-Eup, is also the director of the TEC in which three local and six non-local young people work for tidal flat conservation. The manager of the CTA is a good friend of Yoo Young-Eup. Another non-local youth and himself work with three middle-aged local tour guides for the CTA. For the Slow Gate, two local and one non-local youth take shifts. All nine non-locals are Mokpo University graduates and connected to Yoo Young-Eup.



Fig 4.2. The Shinan TEC.

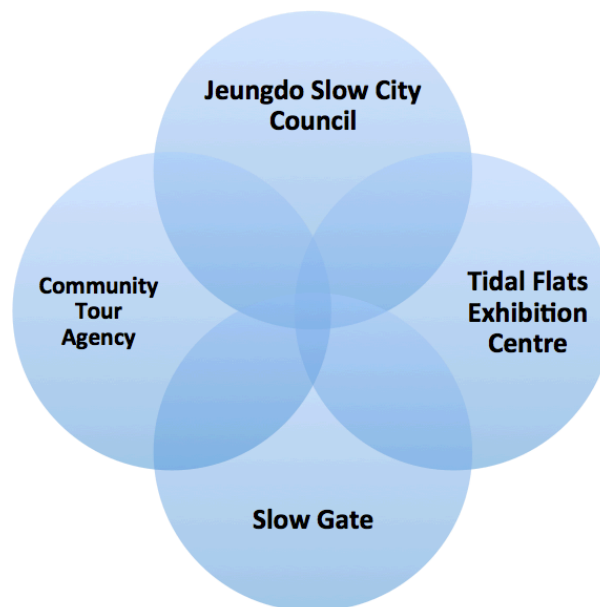


Fig 4.3. The governing assemblage of the Centre.

By working together, members from the local communities and non-local young people exercise what Agrawal calls “intimate government” (2005a, p.179). He argues that joint government reduces the physical and social distances between the governors and the

governed. Taking the community as the locus of government, community and non-community actors deploy practices and sociality, rather than forms of expertise, for intimate government. This happens in Jeungdo as well. Unlike bureaucratic officials, the Centre people engage with the local community in casual and intimate ways. When starting to work for the Centre, the first thing Yoo Young-Eup and his fellows did was to move into Jeungdo and register themselves as local residents. They have lived in Jeungdo from several months up to four years in two shared rooms in the Centre building. They have attended local gatherings, family events and have learnt complicated kinships, political relations, stories and gossip.

Local residents are delighted with the presence of these young people who voluntarily moved into Jeungdo to work with the locals. I was told that they feel “fortunate” to have such committed young people who take the lead in their community ecotourism development, which appears too challenging for the aged local residents. These personal and intimate modes of relating to local residents distinguish the Centre people from government officers who often treat local residents as instruments of policy goals. One lady in her 50s asserted to me: “they [the Centre people] put local residents first.” The feeling of intimacy and gratitude appeared to be shared widely among local residents. Some residents drop by the Centre for a chat, killing time and asking about smartphones. Generous local ladies often provide the Centre people with snacks, such as a bucket of freshly cooked clams.

4.3.2. Strategies of intervention

The Centre has introduced a range of practices that aimed to transform Jeungdo into an attractive ecotourism destination. These practices operate through diverse intervention strategies that target the ways in which local residents think and act about themselves and their environment. These strategies involve normative narratives, participatory schemes and bodily disruptions.

One of the most frequent catchphrases of Jeungdo is “slower but happier island” (느려서 더 행복한 섬). This idea is based on, and promotes, the narrative of idyllic rural life that Jeungdo is a slow and clean place where local residents maintain a simple life. Here Jeungdo is contrasted with fast, achievement-driven and polluted urban stereotypes. It is the Centre that produces such a narrative through promotional materials, signposts and policy documents. This narrative is then reproduced and circulated through local and national media that have paid heightened attention to Jeungdo for its community-based style of ecotourism development and the dramatic growth. Popular headlines of media coverage of Jeungdo are, for example: “The island of pureness”, “Three things missing in Jeungdo – pollution, diesel vehicle and tobacco” (Fig 4.4). This narrative has been authorised by a series of international certifications, which the Centre and the local government have sought to collect, including: ‘the first Slow City in Asia’, a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve, a Ramsar Site and ‘the first Korean tidal flat provincial park’. These titles are presented under the heading of “Pride of Jeungdo” in tourist maps, signposts and the wall of the TEC (Fig 4.5).



Fig 4.4. Examples of media coverage of Jeungdo. The headlines read as: “Here even time rests...wish you were in Jeungdo” (left, source: Dong-A Daily) and “The timeless island reaches its gold time” (right source: Munhwa Daily).



Fig 4.5. A signpost that lists key environmental certifications of tidal flats of Jeungdo. From the top it reads: “Tidal flats! the invaluable natural heritage; the national protected tidal flats; the Tidal Flat Provincial Park; a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve; and a Ramsar Site”.

Such narrative is an effective governing tool (West 2006, p.160–163). It normalises particular behaviours to correspond to the narratives. Here, local residents are portrayed as innocent and self-content people who have little anxiety or desire to possess and achieve more. Local senses of time, wind, taste and embodied skills are assumed to be close to nature and valorised as alternative ways of relating to nature, which I discuss in detail in chapter 5. In this sense, the CTA presents their local guides as ‘experts’ in the brochure as: “those who have lived and known every bit of the island gathered here to be friends of tourists”. Such portrayal appears to have power to regulate the ways in which local residents think and behave. I came across comments made by local residents such as: “because we live in the Slow City” and “we dare not to do that in the UNESCO protected area”.

This opens the space for the Centre to introduce a series of participatory practices that promote and circumscribe certain behaviours to conform to the narrative of ‘slower but happier island’. The first of such practices was the *minbak* (a bed and breakfast (B&B) type

of guesthouse) project in 2009. The idea was to subsidise local residents to convert their houses to accommodate guests, so that they can participate in ecotourism as stakeholders. The County government funded the 60 participating households with 10 million KRW (5,500 pounds) per households. Given that the average annual income of a farming household is 44 million KRW, this funding is quite generous. Combined with voluntary follow-up participation, as of 2014, 104 households run tourist accommodation.

Inspired by these positive responses to the guesthouse project, a set of participatory projects followed. The island was named as ‘No Synthetic Detergent Island’, ‘the Organic Farming Island’, ‘the Bicycle Island’ and ‘the Dark Sky Island’. These projects were introduced to guide the everyday behaviours of local residents in environmentally-friendly ways. To trigger initial participation, economic incentives were offered. Due to the ‘No Synthetic Detergent Island’ project, residents of Jeungdo were entitled to purchase non-synthetic detergents at discounted prices (over 40%), while the remaining cost was paid by the County government. To urge local residents to cycle more, a total of 556 bicycles were distributed to those who signed up for the bicycle scheme. Individuals paid 20% (50,000 KRW, i.e. 30 pounds) of the whole price; the County government paid the rest. Even curtains were provided to implement ‘the Dark Sky Island’ project. Each of the 100 participating households received 500,000 KRW (300 pounds) to buy curtains to cover their windows at night so that tourists can enjoy the shining stars against a darker sky.

The use of narrative and participatory practices is grounded in regulatory mechanisms that aim at the self-government of local residents to shape their behaviour to meet the norms. At the same time, disciplinary and sovereign mechanisms were also in operation (Foucault 2009, p.107). Since 2010, when the ‘Non-smoking Island project’ began, smoking inside Jeungdo has become difficult. Only one tobacco shop, almost hidden inside the semi-enclave resort hotel, sells cigarettes, while the rest of the six local shops gave up cigarette sales. To persuade tobacco shops, the County government compensated for the predicted loss of two-year sales.

For the Centre people and the leaders of the County government, the non-smoking initiative was perceived as an important component of Slow City ecotourism since it fits in with the idea of a ‘clean’ environment and the ‘slower but happier’ narrative. By making cigarette purchase difficult, smoking among the local residents as well as tourists was expected to be discouraged. Furthermore, from 2014, the County government can levy a fine of 20,000 KRW (13 pounds) as a penalty for smoking within Jeungdo. As such, bodily disruptions and punishment were introduced to shape particular behaviour changes.

4.3.3. Modes of subjectification

Targeting local residents, these projects aim to encourage residents to participate in ecotourism as guesthouse owners, to use chemical products less, to cycle more and not to smoke. The aimed version of the local resident here appears to be an empowered individual who is attentive to local ecotourism development, who can relate to his/her everyday practices and their environmental consequences, and who accordingly changes his/her own behaviours despite anticipated inconveniences. In short, the subject position aimed here is an ‘environmental citizen’. A set of practices constituting Slow City ecotourism becomes the biopolitical domain through which such behavioural changes are mediated. A conservation officer from the County government explained to me:

Tidal flats conservation does not mean putting fences around the protected area. Home sewage and fertilisers from rice paddies run into rivers, which again run toward tidal flats. *To conserve tidal flats unpolluted, each household and farmers should reduce their use of chemical products.* That’s why organic farming becomes a conservation strategy for tidal flats. [...] Foremost, to change the ways in which locals think about the environment is most crucial. We do *educate* local residents. We ask them *not just to catch seafood and to grow rice*, but also to *pick up garbage, to change to organic farming*. Our efforts are now on the right track, I think. [...] *Participation* is the key. In Jeungdo, Yoo Young-Eup did an excellent job. He made local residents participate. Since it [Slow City ecotourism initiative] brings *extra money*, local residents voluntarily take part. They set up a community-based tour agency and sell local specialties. Now local residents themselves know that this [environment-friendly lifestyle] is the way it should go.

(Jung Myeong-Suk, the general manager of the department of tidal flats and migratory birds, the government of Shinan County. My emphasis)

Here, he explains why producing pro-environmental behaviours is one of the policy goals to deliver tidal flats conservation. For conservation practitioners like Jung, strategic intervention should be made into the ways that the local residents relate to the environment. Nature so far has been thought of as the space of (extractive) production for seafood and crops. Practitioners here seek to expand this conventional mode of relating to nature and mobilise participatory schemes to bring about perceptual and behaviour changes. For example, subsidising non-synthetic products provides local residents with the opportunities to recognise the value of nature as ecosystem, in addition to viewing it as extractive resource, and to practise ‘care’ by reducing their use of chemicals. Similarly, they anticipate that the ‘extra money’ gained from ecotourism can facilitate local residents to recognise the market value of well-protected nature and accordingly turn them to relate to nature differently. In this way, the practices of Slow City ecotourism here are envisioned to act as the platform for local residents to reshape their behaviours from *practical users* to *environmental citizens* who care about nature. This is redolent of Agrawal’s discussion of subject formation as a key technology of government. His subject position of the “accomplice” (Agrawal 2005b, p.217) of state-mandated goals is similar to the subject position anticipated in the present case.

4.4. Governmentalities of *gwan*-led governance

I have so far examined governmentalities of Slow City ecotourism by identifying and discussing: i) the decentralised format of governance in which an array of political actors are engaged; ii) the use participatory practices through regulatory and disciplinary mechanisms; and iii) the formation of the subject positions of environmental citizens. This analysis by and large confirms Agrawal’s arguments about environmentality that deploys joint authorities, participatory schemes and the making of the environmental subjects. In this section, I seek to complicate the analysis above by tracing the place of the state/local government at work in this seemingly decentralised environmental governance.

4.4.1. Decentralised?

The Centre is linked to a range of organisations outside of Jeungdo: diverse departments and levels of state and local governments, eNGOs and related civil organisations, research institutions, as well as researchers (Fig 4.6). This wider network provides the Centre with finances and expertise. Here, I specifically focus on finance. Ecotourism development does require money to pay staff, develop programmes, produce signposts and brochures, build and refurbish the Centre building, as well as to subsidise the local resident to cycle and execute organic farming. The Centre is not financially self-sustaining. It is difficult to generate profit from ecotourism in Jeungdo except through guesthouses and restaurants. A limited number of tourists use fee-paying tour programmes of the CTA, while access to tourist facilities is available at a very cheap price, if not free. Funding from the state and local governments accounts for most of the required budget.

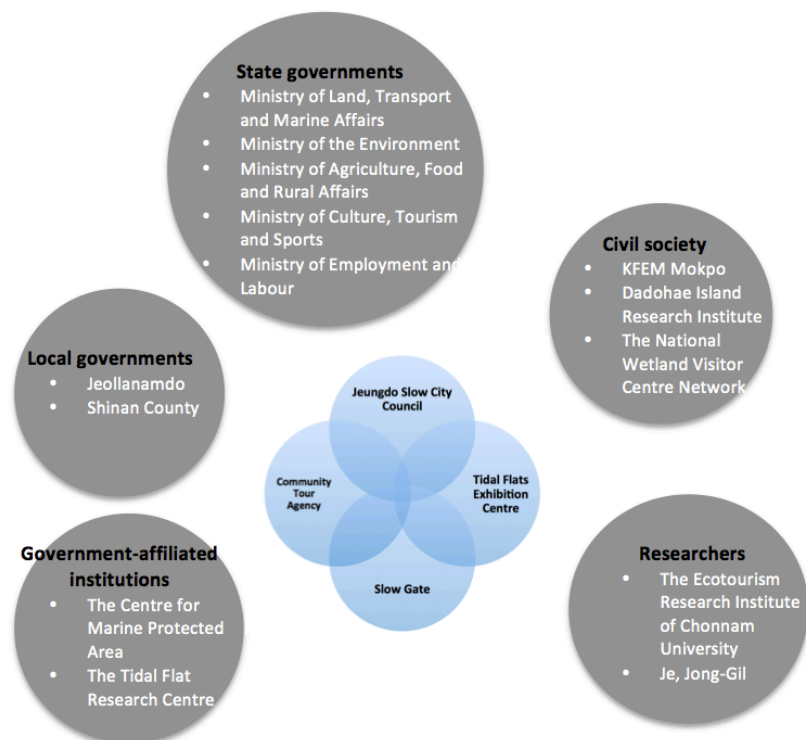


Fig 4.6. The assemblage of political actors of Slow City ecotourism in Jeungdo.

Various schemes from several departments of the state government provide the funding for ecotourism development. They include:

- 1) Funding for tourism development: approaching Slow City as a tourism marketing opportunity, the MCST provides 10 Slow Cities with 200 million KRW (120,000 pounds) every year.
- 2) Funding for rural development: the fishing village development schemes of the MAFRA and the Ministry of Land, Transportation and Marine Affairs (MLTMA) (now the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the MOF) support two villages in Jeungdo. Each village secured over five billion KRW for fishing-related tourism development (e.g. campsites construction).
- 3) Funding for conservation: Jeungdo receives 5–10 million KRW every year from the Centre for Marine Protected Area (MPA Centre) to develop ecotourism programmes for tidal flat conservation. Financed from the conservation budget of the MLTMA, the Centre building was constructed (3.7 billion KRW) and operated by the County government.
- 4) Funding for community business: the Ministry of Employment and Labour and the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy support community-based social enterprises by paying workforces and providing project-based funding. The CTA was selected for this scheme in 2010.

In addition to purpose-specific funding, the state and local governments pay the salaries of the Centre people. All five staff of the CTA are paid from the Provincial government through the social enterprise schemes of the above (see point 4). The staff of the TEC are paid from diverse conservation schemes of the Provincial and County governments. Those of the Slow Gate are directly employed by the County government. All in all, *gwan* is the primary

financier of Slow City ecotourism in Jeungdo. The prominence of the state as the primary financier of ecotourism is in a stark contrast to the conventional instances of Southern destinations, where global actors providing funding and the national state is in retreat. In these cases, financial cuts by the state on conservation budgets impel transnational conservation organisations to get involved in ecotourism governance (West and Carrier 2004).

Financial dependency on *gwan* affects the power dynamics of the decentralised governance, which involves local and non-local members affiliated with various *gwan* and non-*gwan* actors. Both local residents and the staff themselves are fully aware that these committed staff are paid by *gwan*. Combined with the close connections of the Centre people with the County Mayor, such financial dependency made the political proximity of the Centre and the County government visible, which was even more prominent in the imaginations of local residents. Both local residents and the Centre people told me that some local residents came to the Centre to file civil complaints because they believed the Centre people have the power and money to deal with those issues.

On the one hand, such actual and imaginary authorities endowed to the Centre assisted the Centre people in effectively carrying out the planned projects. At the same time, being paid by *gwan*, no matter how small their salaries are, limits the autonomy of the Centre people and binds them to *gwan*'s initiatives. There were moments of disagreement and tension – in relation to their complicated position –between the Centre people and officers of *gwan*, as well as among the Centre people themselves. As one staff told me, she came here to work for the local residents, not for the County government. To her dismay, her job involved the timely planning and implementing of *gwan*-mandated policy goals. It seemed difficult for these young people to raise their voices against *gwan*'s will. In his analysis of the Forest Council, Agrawal (2005b) argues that joint government permits a reduction of administrative workforce and budgets because many jobs are gradually replaced with community

volunteering. This does not happen in Jeungdo. By manipulating the budget, gwan is able to strengthen its political power over decentralised governance.

4.4.2. Participatory?

As I showed above, a set of participatory projects introduced by the Centre received immediate and widespread responses. Here, the process of how local residents were guided to participate needs careful examination. One way of making local residents opt to participate was using economic incentives, as I explained. Another appeared to be leaving no option but to participate.

The case of ‘the Car-Free Island project’ illustrates the latter mode of participation. At the entrance of the island, there is a tollgate named ‘Slow Gate’, which is one of four constituencies of the Centre (Fig 4.7). Since the opening of the gate in 2010, all tourists must stop and pay 1,000 KRW (60 pences per person) purported to cover the environmental costs caused by their visits. This has caused incessant disputes between tourists and toll keepers. Yet it has been running mainly due to the strong will of the Mayor, who conceives of the Slow Gate as the living epitome of the Slow City initiative. The Slow Gate is a preliminary project for the Car-Free Island project that aims to remove motor vehicles entirely from Jeungdo. As earliest as late 2015, all tourists will be expected to leave their car at the Slow Gate and to use carbon-free public transportation during their stay in Jeungdo. It is not yet clear what would happen to the approximately 650 local motor vehicles, but a level of restriction is likely to apply. The idea is to keep the number of cars to a minimum so that the clean air and tranquillity of the island are maintained. Six billion out of the total 50 billion KRW has already been spent to construct a tourist car park since 2012.



Fig 4.7. The Slow Gate.

Local residents do not disagree with the Car-Free initiative itself, as it can construct an appropriate destination image that may comply well with the ideal of the Slow City. However, its feasibility is in doubt. Jeungdo is a bit too big to cycle or walk around. The high seasonality of tourists swarming in July and August would make the operation of alternative transportation difficult. As to the potential restrictions on local motorists, residents seem to have not given this serious thought, and said, “It wouldn’t happen. How could we carry crops and equipment without cars?”. However, the Centre and officers of the County government are serious about this. They argue that increased tourists and motor vehicles cause serious environmental and aesthetic degradation to Jeungdo. Therefore, for them, regulating the number of motor vehicles is an essential step to deliver the Slow City initiative.

On the one hand, Yoo Young-Eup assures that the Car-Free project should be operated on the basis of a community-based decision so that nothing would happen unless local residents are happy with it. For this, the Centre has hosted a number of public hearings since the conception of the project in 2009. However, the timetable and budget were already fixed. Such arrangement made critical discussions difficult and was likely to lead the discussion to

focus on the practicalities to achieve the target effectively. In this regard, the purpose of these hearings seemed not just to listen to local opinions but also to deliver the vision of gwan. The distinction between ‘participation’ and ‘mobilisation’ of the local residents is slightly blurred here. This strategy differs from the use of economic incentives, where local residents still have the “freedom” to choose not to participate (Lemos and Agrawal 2006).

4.4.3. Subject made?

Incomplete subjectification

I identified the subject position that the Centre aims to produce as environmental citizens who care about the environment and conduct their behaviour accordingly. However, with regard to how local residents think about and act upon the environment, there appear to be disparities between the Centre people and the local residents themselves.

According to Agrawal, local residents come to “construct their own stories of environmental decline, forest scarcity and human threat to the continued resource use” (2005b, p.22). He argues that their participation facilitates the local people to reconfigure their perceptions and behaviours, which allows them to internalise the governmental rationalities, i.e. truth discourses. However, this was not the case in Jeungdo. When asked for their opinions about Slow City, many local residents gave me an awkward pause, then provided fragmented words such as “slowness”, “pro-environment”, “less construction”, “a slower life” and so on. This is the exact same vocabulary that appears on the brochures, in media coverage and in policy reports. It seemed difficult for them to recount the stories through the changes, if any, that occurred to their own everyday lives. Furthermore, the blueprint of ecotourism development envisioned by local residents and the Centre appears not quite the same. Put roughly, local residents prefer “more tourists” while the Centre advocates a “small number of responsible tourists”; locals demand “more funding for infrastructure development” while the Centre is sceptical about large-scale infrastructure investment. Both agree on the importance of ‘slowness’ as an effective brand for destination marketing; nonetheless, some local residents

expressed their anxiety for ‘fast’ development to rapidly catch up with urban areas, as one told me, “even running fast is not enough”.

The ‘accidental’ expansion of protected tidal flats can illustrate such disparities. In 2009, residents of Bangchuk village petitioned the MLTMA to extend the coverage of the protected area to include their neighbourhood. Conservation staff from the Centre and the County government immediately publicised this as a convincing example of the dramatic changes in local perceptions and attitudes towards tidal flats; as a result of governmentalities, local residents internalised conservation values and chose to join the conservation schemes. However, a local version of the same story was slightly different.

Interviewer: Why? What inspired you guys to demand more protected area?

Lee: Because it was left out in the first place. We fishermen don’t know much [about protected areas]. [We asked for further expansion of protected areas] *Perhaps for some benefits accompanied* [with designation of protected area]. Actually, I personally was not happy about it. But *elders claimed we should not be left out* [from the benefits]. How dare I could say no to them? Just stayed in silence.

Interviewer: Did you know this is a pretty well-known example that people of Jeungdo have become great supporters of conservation?

Lee: Is it? Had no idea [giggled].

(Lee Myung-Gap, seaweed paper farmer, deputy chairman of the JSCC. My emphasis)

According to him, what propelled their petition was pragmatic calculation that they did not want to be disadvantaged from the potential benefits that accompany conservation schemes. This differs from the explanations of the Centre, which foregrounds the dramatic perceptual changes of the local residents. This instance illustrates the complex subject positions of the local residents of Jeungdo. Residents of Bangchuk did voluntarily choose pro-environmental actions; however, their behaviour changes were not necessarily built upon the changes in their ways of viewing the environment. The above account suggests their self-interest as one of the factors influencing their pro-environmental actions.

Such uncompleted, if not failed, subjectification challenges the efficacy of participation that Agrawal’s identifies as the key strategy of subject-formation. In Jeungdo, participation is one

thing; changing their behaviour accordingly is another. I can think of two possible accounts for this rift. First, there are some grey areas between regulatory practices and everyday local life, which creates some room for local residents to act freely without being bound to the committed practices. Distributing bicycles can nudge but cannot force local residents to cycle. Removing tobacco shops cannot stop people from buying cigarettes from outside. Similarly, the designation of the protected area cannot stop them fishing within tidal flats. As I will discuss further in the next chapter, local residents are entitled to carry on fishing within protected areas. No extra restrictions are imposed, yet potential benefits (e.g. support for ecotourism development) are anticipated. For this reason, villagers of Bangchuk decided to demand further extension of the protected area. As such, participation exerts little obligation to make a commitment to change everyday behaviours. No matter how much they participate, local residents still can continue to fish, smoke and barely cycle. In so doing, they participate but are not governed.

Second, local residents are not passive, machine-like recipients of governing technologies. Instead, they are self-interested rational subjects (Haggerty 2007) who utilise the proposed regulatory practices for their best interests. For example, in 2013, the County government subsidised non-synthetic fertilisers in order to nudge local farmers to cut their use of chemical fertilisers by more than one third. Some farmers seized this scheme as a timely opportunity to switch to organic farming so as to better compete in the market. However, when regulatory practices appear not to meet their own interests, they conceive of those as “doing something good for *gwan*” but participate anyway for economic incentives. The Centre people offer such incentives as a token of gratitude for their time. Yet local residents often regard them as due payment for their labour called ‘participation’, converting participation into monetary values, such as 50,000 KRW for picking up rubbish, 30,000 KRW for attending the local committee. Again, they do participate but are not governed.

Governing of the governors

While failing to turn local residents to environmental subjects, this mode of governance seems to have produced a tangential subjectification of the ‘governors’, which transforms them into the environmental subjects they seek to create. This was especially prominent among the non-local youths of the Centre. In their 20s and early 30s, they came to Jeungdo due to their friendship with Yoo Young-Eup and one another. With little previous work experience, their initial motivations were the fun of working with like-minded friends and the self-fulfilment of doing something meaningful.

Indulging themselves in Slow City ecotourism projects for periods of several months to up to five years, some seem to have adopted ‘unanticipated’ changes in their perceptions and attitudes toward the environment. They have come to learn the ecological and cultural importance of tidal flats, which facilitated them to develop an attachment to nature. They critically reflect on their behaviours in the past and are willing to put restrictions on their own and others’ behaviours. For example, Jung Young-Jin, the senior manager of the TEC, used to play football on the tidal flats as a way of enjoying the slippery mud. He is now a firm advocate of tidal flat tourism without catching, which I will explain in detail in the next chapter, and does not spare a warning whistle when he witnesses tourists playing within tidal flats. For him, tidal flats have been reconfigured from a ‘fun playground’ to the ‘habitat’ of numerous life forms. His past fun activity is now condemned as an ignorant ‘killing’ of life. Other young people in the Centre have similar stories about how hard they tried to stop tourists from ruining the tidal flats. Their favourite is the story of Yoo Young-Eup that he was once slapped in the face by a tourist who were furious by Yoo Young-Eup’s persistent intervention from him catching crabs within tidal flats.

Such perceptual and behaviour changes occurred to the Centre people reminds of Tsing’s (2005) “nature lovers”: a group of Indonesian university students who come to care about nature through their engagement with nature-based leisure activities. Both nature lovers and the Centre people have common pathways of transformation: affective and embodied

relations with the environment and the local people; aesthetic and ecological valorisation of nature distinguished from the utilitarian approaches of the local residents; and the importance of a like-minded peer group. On the other hand, the enthusiasm of the nature lovers for adventure tourism is barely observed in the Centre people. I will engage more regarding a different mode of affective relations to nature in chapter 6, where I will specify an alternative aesthetics of the Korean ecotourism landscape.

The making of themselves as successful subjects of their intervention seems to be related to the intermediary role of the Centre people. Mediating *gwan* and local communities, people of the Centre act as the ‘conduits’ through which a set of discourses and regulatory practices are transmitted. Their job is inherently comprehensive and intimate. It involves interpretation of policy initiatives for local people to understand, persuasion of local residents to participate in regulatory practices, and practical arrangements for monitoring, workshops and local festivals. In addition, they are also offered a range of opportunities to gain expertise from workshops and training provided by *gwan*, as well as a wider network of researchers and activists. Most of them have visited either Germany or Italy on *gwan*-funded fieldtrips to learn about tidal flat conservation and Slow City tourism. Such concentration on the Centre is not unrelated to the specific structure of *gwan*-led decentralised governance. *Gwan* deploys the Centre to orchestrate diverse dispersed actors to realise the truth discourse, which enables the structural ‘immersion’ of the Centre people in the practices of intervention.

Here we can see the original target (i.e. the local population) slips out of the technologies of government, while a group of governing authorities become the subject of their own practices of intervention. This can be hinged upon recent Foucauldian discussions on the co-constitutive play of diverse actors engaged in the performance of the assemblages of government (Rabinow and Rose 2006; Holloway *et al.* 2009). These authors redefine the place of the target (e.g. local, nonhuman) population not as passive recipients, but as active performers of government. Specifically, Srinivasan’s (2013; 2014) concept of “agential

subjectification” has useful bearings to the present discussion on the governing of the governors. By this, she refers to a form of subjectification where the agent internalises the truth discourses and practices that underlay his or her practices of intervention. Srinivasan develops this concept in relation to the nonhuman biopolitics (e.g. street dog management) to explain how the practice of harm of the agents (e.g. neutering) is reconstructed as care. This concept, however, might have utility for examining wider biopolitical domains, including those in this study where agents (e.g. conservation scientists, environmental activists) come to internalise truth discourses. Here, I explained subjectification of the agents in relation to the nature of being intermediaries; however, there could be diverse discursive and affective mechanisms that could explain agential subjectification.

4.5. Accelerated Slow City

Before concluding, I consider the governmentality led by *gwan* in relation to the Korean experience of accelerated modernisation. While I argued that the governmentality of Jeungdo failed to transform the target population into environmental subjects, figures and numbers suggest Jeungdo has shown dramatic performance in conservation and rural development. The size of the protected areas of tidal flats has increased from 12.8km² in 2008 to 31.3km² in 2010, obtaining several influential international conservation certificates. The number of tourists increased from 372,730 in 2009 to over a million in 2012 (Shinan County 2012). Two tour programmes of the CTA were certified as ‘model ecotourism’ in the Korean Ecotourism Certification in 2012. Since the story of Slow City ecotourism in Jeungdo has been positively publicised, government officers and ecotourism practitioners across the country frequently visit Jeungdo and invite senior staff of the Centre to give talks. From quantified indexes and remarks on government reports, Jeungdo has made an impressive progress in sustainable development through ecotourism in a very short time.

Such ‘fast progress’ can be attributed to the leadership of *gwan* in decentralised environmental governance. As I described, leaders of the state and local governments,

affiliated with like-minded activists in the eNGOs, had a strong “will to improve” the current mode of conservation and local development. They were determined to implement an alternative mode of development and conservation through a set of ecotourism practices. The rolled-out status of *gwan* enabled the state and local governments to provide the required financial and administrative support. In addition, the five-year electoral cycle motivated local politicians, such as the County Mayor, to create visible achievements before the next election.⁴² These political leaders were thus anxious to accelerate Slow City development by mobilising large amounts of budget and administrative support. The leadership of *gwan* as the planner, financier and director provided *speed* to the project, which swiftly ‘transformed’ Jeungdo into a model ecotourism destination within a five-year period. I must acknowledge here that there are growing criticisms concerned with the top-down implementation and superficial transformation that has failed to make substantial changes to local life.⁴³

Such accelerated development led by *gwan* is not uncommon in Korean political and social life, which experienced state-led accelerated modernisation. To an extent, the governmentality of *gwan* in Jeungdo reminds me of the *Saemaul Undong* (New Community Movement) in the 1970s, a nation-wide political campaign to modernise rural areas. Led by the authoritarian state, Saemaul Undong aimed to transform ‘lazy and weak’ rural peasants into “diligent, self-helping and cooperative” modern national subjects to deliver rural development (Koh 2006). An array of biopolitical interventions was made, including restructuring of administrative bodies, material incentives, prizes and “reform in humanity”, i.e. psychological reformation (S.S. Moon 2010). Despite the claimed voluntary participation of communities, critical Korean social scientists argue that Saemaul Undong was political

⁴² In the municipal election in June 2014, a new Mayor was elected (the same political party). He continues to support the Slow City initiative with less enthusiasm.

⁴³ For example, marine sociologist Kim Jun told me in an interview: “I cannot agree more with the Slow City ecotourism vision of Jeungdo. It’s the way it should be. But their projects are just *gwan*’s ones. None of them were emerged from the community themselves. At the moment, those projects such as ‘the Bicycle Island’ or ‘the Organic Farming Island’ are to create another tourism resource. They [those projects] have little to do with local lives.”

mobilisation that appropriated people and resources towards state-mandated developmental goals (Park and Han 1999; Hwang 2011; B.H. Kim 2011).

This political campaign appears to overlap with the Slow City governmentality in terms of the technologies of government. The truth discourse of ‘rural modernisation’ in Saemaul Undong seems to have been replaced by a postmodern reformist discourse of ‘sustainable development’, while the desired modern subject of ‘hardworking national citizen’ has become the postmodern subject of the ‘environmental citizen’. I am by no means arguing that the two are identical biopolitical projects. On the contrary, they are very different in terms of their rationality and strategies of intervention. My point is that both the modern and postmodern governmentality projects reveal the significant leadership of the state. This commonality suggests the legacy, or inertia, of state leadership in contemporary environmental governance and Korean social phenomena more widely. The historically established political specificity, i.e. the state leadership, specifies the Korean form of decentralised environmental governance where the state and local authorities play a leading role.

4.6. Conclusions

In this chapter, I examined the environmental governance of Slow City ecotourism in Jeungdo. I took a modified Foucauldian framework that tailors Agrawal’s analytics of environmentality to the specific political conditions of the Korean post-developmental state. I began with specifying the decentralised governance entrenched in the historically strong leadership of the state. Then I carried out a Foucauldian analysis of the technologies of government of the Centre that mediates dispersed political actors. I argued that ecotourism governance of Jeungdo takes a decentralised format under the huge influence of the state and local authorities and mobilises more disciplinary and regulatory governing mechanisms alongside sovereign ones. This mode of governmentality fails in the subjectification of the target population but leads to an unanticipated transformation of its agents into new subjects.

In doing so, I sought to develop the concept of environmentality by considering the complex power dynamics of political actors and diverse modes of subjectification.

The analytical conclusions of this chapter may have wider implications beyond the examined case. The conceptual enquiry underlying this chapter is how to reconcile the historically established strong state leadership with the emerging mode of decentralised governance. These conditions are not unique to Jeungdo and Korean ecotourism but might have wider resonance with social phenomena in post-developmental states – for example, East Asian countries such as Japan and Taiwan, which experienced similar transitions from strong state leadership to decentralised governance. For example, Zhang and Barr (2013) challenge the monolithic portrayal of Chinese environmental governance led by the authoritarian state and draw attention to the increased engagement of grassroots eNGOs through creative strategies of intervention. They thus suggest rearrangement of power relations in Chinese environmental governance in which the state still occupies the central place. Their discussion resonates with the analysis of state-led decentralised governance examined in this chapter. Furthermore, it can be studied beyond the regional and topical boundaries – for example, the state-led national park governance in North America. By combining a governmentality framework with the significant of the state, I offered an analytical framework to examine ecotourism, focussing on the changing state-citizen relations. This can supplement to Rutherford's (2011) green governmentality framework that examines ecotourism through the lens of neoliberal capitalism.

As the first analysis chapter of this thesis, this chapter sets the general backdrop for the analyses to follow. It offered a Foucauldian analysis of a Korean ecotourism instance by identifying: the state-led but decentralised assemblage of political actors; the truth discourse of sustainable development; and the formation of the subject as the primary strategy of intervention. These characteristics are specific to the examined case but also overlap with two other cases and ecotourism in Korea more generally. While I focused on local residents in this

chapter, in the following two chapters, I will look into the subjectification of tourists. My analysis of the strategies of intervention in this chapter focused on discursive dimensions while leaving the affective life of local residents rather unattended. I will engage with affective governance in great detail with different empirical examples in chapter 6. Issues relating to nature, time and spatial connections in ecotourism are briefly mentioned in this chapter – nature as more than extractive resources, accelerated transformation to Slow City, and the site-specific enactment of the Italian concept of Slow City. These themes will be explored in a great detail in the three following chapters.

5

Saengmyeong

In previous chapters, I argued that ecotourism is a biopolitical intervention that pursues the making of an environmental subject through diverse governing technologies. In the present and following two chapters, I explore the ways in which discourses and practices of nature and time are employed in the self-government of tourists. In this chapter, I am particularly interested in the understandings of nature deployed in the governmentality of ecotourism and its temporalities. As I explained in chapters 1 and 2, there is a concurrence of premodern, modern and postmodern values and practices in Korean society due to accelerated modernisation (K.S. Chang 2010a). To illustrate the concurrence of environmental thought relating to different time frames, I introduced the Korean concept of *saengmyeong* (life), which is a traditional concept that has recently been rediscovered and co-opted into contemporary environmental practices.

In this chapter, I explore the ways in which the concept of *saengmyeong* is deployed in the governmentality of ecotourism. For this, I combine the Foucauldian analytics of biopower with understandings of nature (as a socially constructed concept) to examine how particular discourses and activities are legitimated and promoted as natural. This examination is grounded in the empirical example of tidal flat tourism in Jeungdo. Among my three cases, understandings of nature – in particular, the concept of *saengmyeong* – are most heavily featured in this example, as *saengmyeong* has been engaged with in recent tidal flat conservation movements, which I explain in detail. The other two cases are also related to the *saengmyeong* concept by different degrees: the conflict between the claimed subsistence whaling and the welfare of whales in chapter 7; and debates over the environmental destruction caused by walking trail construction in chapter 6.

I first specify the Korean environmental concept of *saengmyeong* and its place in Korean environmentalism. I then explore the ways in which human-nonhuman relations are shaped through tidal flat tourism in Jeungdo by examining tourist representations, practices and codes of conduct. Before concluding, I consider the temporalities of tidal flat tourism in which the traditional *saengmyeong* concept is deployed as a governing device.

5.1. *Saengmyeong*, environmentalism and tidal flat conservation

As I discussed in chapter 2, the notion of *saengmyeong* traditionally refers to human and nonhuman life forms and the immanent energy possessed by them. It is related to East Asian religious thought and nature philosophies (Bruun and Kalland 1996; Tucker and Williams 1997; Lim 2001; Roh 2004). Since the late 1980s, a group of Korean environmentalists, religious thinkers and environmental philosophers have re-theorised this concept as an alternative framework to understand human-nature relations. According to Choi *et al.* (1989)⁴⁴ and others, the paradigm of ‘nature as *saengmyeong*’ is contrasted with the prevalent ‘nature as a machine’ paradigm (J.H. Kim 2003; S.H. Moon 2006). These authors argue that the mechanistic framework is grounded in a dualistic separation of human and nature, foregrounding science, technology and capitalism. As the basis of modern industrialisation, they argue, this framework itself is the source of prevailing environmental and social risks.

To deal with prevailing risks, these authors resort to the traditional concept of *saengmyeong*. The paradigm of *saengmyeong*, they argue, is grounded in a non-dualistic ontology that recognises the interconnectedness of human and nonhuman beings. These authors propose an urgent paradigm shift from machine to *saengmyeong*. They especially emphasise its potential

⁴⁴ Choi *et al.*’s (1989) *Hansalim Manifesto* is considered the first key document to rediscover the value of the traditional *saengmyeong* concept in relation to contemporary environmental risks (Y.S. Lee 2012).

to reconfigure the dominant anthropocentric human-nature relationship towards the ethical imperative of ‘mutual respect’ that they find in the traditional *saengmyeong* concept.⁴⁵

This rediscovered version of the *saengmyeong* concept has been developed within, and has influenced, contemporary environmental movements. The paradigm of *saengmyeong* facilitated the diversification of environmental movements from environmental justice struggles (which fights against pollution) to eco-communities (small-scale communities that aims to develop environmentally and economically sustainable life style), organic farming and local food movements (Ku 2009; Y.S. Lee 2012). It was also employed in conservation movements, specifically the anti-reclamation movement in the late 1990s.

The controversy over tidal flat reclamation makes two powerful environmental discourses visible – developmentalism and *saengmyeong*. These two define human-nonhuman relations very differently, which I summarise in Table 5.1. As mentioned in chapter 1, during and after the period of accelerated modernisation, there was a tendency to prioritise development regardless of whether it was at the expense of nature. Critical Korean sociologists term the underpinning ideology of such a preference as “developmentalism” and associate it with state-led and large-scale construction projects that facilitate rapid industrial development (Hong 2007; M.R. Cho 2009). From a developmentalist perspective, nature is viewed as resources given to humans. This gives a rise to valorisation of science and technology as a means of resource management, and an anthropocentric attitude that one can appropriate nature for human benefits at its own expense. In this regard, developmentalism can be considered as a Korean articulation of the mechanistic modern paradigm. For conservation-oriented researchers and activists, reclamation was viewed as an articulation of

⁴⁵ An array of scholars has developed the *saengmyeong* concept by placing it in conversation with: the religious philosophies of Donghak, i.e. a Korean vernacular religion founded in the 1860s which combines Confucianism with elements of shamanism (J.H. Kim 2003); the philosophies of Ham Sok-Hon and Rhew Young-Mo, who integrated Protestantism with Taoist thoughts (K.S. Lee *et al.* 2001; J.B. Lee 2011); feminist theologies (E. Lee 2009); and scientific theories that counter Newtonian classical physics (e.g. non-equilibrium ecology, the Gaia hypothesis) (H. I. Chang 1998).

developmentalism, as it aims to convert tidal flats into extra land space to generate more profit (H.S. Cho 2004; S.G. Choi 2004).

Developmentalism		<i>Saengmyeong</i>
Resources	Ontology	Individual life forms
Science, technology and economy	Epistemology	Bodily immersion and lived knowledge
Anthropocentrism	Ethics	Mutual respect
Reclamation	Examples	Conservation

Table 5.1. A comparative schema of developmentalism and *saengmyeong*.

The *saengmyeong* discourse offers fundamentally different understandings of nature. As I explained in chapter 2 and the above, the *saengmyeong* framework underscores the inevitable interconnectedness of human and nonhumans. This concept was co-opted and developed further through anti-reclamation movements led by campaigners of eNGOs and religious leaders.⁴⁶ From the *saengmyeong* perspective, nonhumans are viewed as individual life forms (i.e. *saengmyeong*) no less precious than humans, which we know from our lived experiences and intuitions (J.H. Kim 2003). This framework reconfigured reclamation as the ‘unnecessary killing’ of *saengmyeong* and the conservation of tidal flats as ‘*sallim*’ (the letting live) of *saengmyeong* (S.G. Choi 2004). In this sense, conservation becomes a ‘respectful’ practice that follows the traditional ethical imperative of ‘paying respect’ to *saengmyeong*. Here, the *saengmyeong* framework suggests a shift in the exercise of power over nonhumans from sovereign manipulation to biopolitical nurturing of life (Hannah 2011).

By being co-opted into the conservation campaign, the *saengmyeong* concept was used as a tool of political intervention to offer alternative ways of relating to nature beyond the prevalent ones scripted in developmentalism. Developed as a counter discourse to

⁴⁶ Religious environmentalism has had significance in Korean environmental movements since 1993, when six major religious bodies formed the ‘Environmental Committee’ and announced the *Environmental Ethics Manifesto*.

developmentalism, the *saengmyeong* framework is critical to the lethal and irreversible use of nature (e.g. reclamation). However, less industrialised and less extractive practices (e.g. subsistence fishing, ecotourism) are viewed as ‘wise use’ of nature that does not undermine the integrity of the *saengmyeong* framework. Since this concept was developed through the anti-reclamation movement, non-reclamation practices are open for negotiation as long as they are viewed as relatively less destructive and respectful. In this way, the *saengmyeong* framework does not claim a premodern retreat towards the absolute absence of any commercialisation of nature. Instead, it appears closely aligned to the notion of ‘wise use’.

My enquiry is concerned with how this framework of *saengmyeong* is deployed in the governmentalities of one type of purportedly ‘wise use’ practices, i.e. tidal flat tourism. My analytical attention to the *saengmyeong* concept has two reasons. First, as I will show in more detail, the term *saengmyeong* appears in tidal flat tourism to a great extent in catchphrases and promotional materials. Second, in relation to the first reason, it is intellectual curiosity to know how this powerful environmental discourse developed through the tidal flat conservation movement affect the ways in which nature is understood in tidal flat tourism. In analysing human-nonhuman relations subjectified in tidal flat tourism, I will make references to the concepts and debates that are developed in more-than-human geography and environmental anthropology, which I reviewed in chapter 2. These include: human-nonhuman entanglements (Raffles 2002; Latour 2007), nonhuman agencies (Cloe and Perkins 2005), and an ethics of flourishing (Haraway 2008).

5.2. *Gaetbeol* tourism governance

Edging most of the western and southern coasts of the country, tidal flats are a quintessential component of Korean marine ecology. Korean tidal flats are, by and large, mud flats, providing fertile habitat for benthic organisms that feed worms, crustaceans (shrimps and crabs) and migratory birds (Ko 2001). They are also significant in rural livelihood, as more than half of the tidal flats (55.2%, 1,410km²) are used for fishing – mostly catching and

farming shellfish (NFRDI 2010). Such intensive fishery use of tidal flats is in stark contrast to the limited use of fishing (1.49%) in contemporary German tidal flats (Nehls *et al.* 2009).⁴⁷ As a way of reminding the reader of the ecological and cultural specificities of Korean tidal flats, I refer to tidal flats in this chapter as ‘*gaetbeol*’ (갯벌), after the Korean word.

A large extent of *gaetbeol* has been lost by intensive reclamation. Modern reclamation was introduced by Japan during the colonial occupation (1910–1945) and continued by the Korean government to create rice fields and industrial complexes (Ko 2001). During the past four decades (1964–2008), about one-third of Korean *gaetbeol* has been reclaimed, reducing its total extent from 3,905km² to 2,489km² (Korea Rural Community Corporation (KRCC) 1996; MOF 2014). Large-scale reclamation confronted political resistance in the late 1990s over the Saemangeum reclamation project that aimed to create 401km² land space (about two-thirds of Seoul) at an unprecedented scale. The decade-long (1996–2004) anti-reclamation movements failed to stop this project; however, they had a huge influence on Korean *gaetbeol* understandings and practices related to *gaetbeol*.⁴⁸

Coinciding with Korea’s participation in international conservation treaties, especially the Ramsar Convention in 1997, conservation of *gaetbeol* has been rapidly institutionalised. A series of legislations to protect *gaetbeol*, and wetland more widely, was introduced. These include: the Wetland Protection Act 1999, the Coastal Area Management Act 1999, and the Marine Ecology Management and Protection Act 2007. Since the first case in 2001, 12 *gaetbeol* areas (212km² out of 2,489km²) are designated as national protected wetlands (Fig 5.1), including the one in Jeungdo. Drafted by the ME in 2007, *The National Plan for Wetland Protection* states the aim of wetland policy as “conservation and management of

⁴⁷ German models of tidal flat conservation have influenced similar Korean practices. Korean-German relations were established and bolstered during the Korean anti-reclamation movements in the late 1990s through the exchange of experts, discourses, knowledge and ecotourism models. I will discuss the geographical connections of Korean ecotourism in detail in chapter 7.

⁴⁸ For example, see a special issue on the Saemangeum reclamation project in *Eco: Journal for Environmental Sociology* (2003, volume 2).

wetland through sustainable use and maintenance” (2007, p.39). In this way, ‘wise use’ was added to Korean *gaetbeol* management, which had been previously dominated by reclamation.



Fig 5.1. Distributions of Korean *gaetbeol* (indicated in light green shade, source: MOF).

Amid such changing political environments, ecotourism emerged as a new mode of relating to *gaetbeol*. In 1995, a group of Korean environmental campaigners and interested researchers studying marine ecology and tourism introduced ‘catching’ of small organisms in the *gaetbeol* of Jeju Island, and later in Ganghwa Island, as a means of offering embodied environmental education.⁴⁹ The practice spread across the country in the following decade due to the increased demand for leisure and heightened attention for *gaetbeol*, which was caused by the ongoing Saemangeum controversy. *Gaetbeol* tourism is developed as an established form of marine tourism, attracting over three million tourists a year (Chang and Yoo 2009). It now involves diverse activities, including educational exhibitions, guided walks,

⁴⁹ The following analysis is based on interviews with those involved in the initial projects, including Je Jong-Kil, Kim Kyung-Hwa and Kang Shinkyum.

cultural experiences and leisure catching – the most popular activity – that involves picking up small crabs and clams with a short hoe. Viewed as an educational practice, leisure catching is especially popular among family tourists with children.

In Jeungdo, *gaetbeol* tourism began in 2006 and started to grow in earnest in 2009 when the Slow City ecotourism initiative incorporated *gaetbeol* conservation into local development, which I explained in detail in chapter 4. Tourist attractions involve: exhibitions in the *Gaetbeol* Exhibition Centre (which I referred to as TEC in chapter 4), fee-based guided walks, and cultural experiences such as the re-enactment of traditional fishing and leisure catching (Fig 5.2). The majority of the tourists are family tourists from adjacent cities coming for weekend getaways.



Fig 5.2. Diverse tourist attractions in Jeungdo. Clockwise from the top left: the *gaetbeol* landscape, exhibitions (source: KNTO), guided walk and catching practice.

As discussed in the previous chapter, *gaetbeol* tourism in Jeungdo is governed through a decentralised format with the Centre people as the key practitioners. The staff of the TEC organise *gaetbeol*-related exhibitions and develop tour programmes, while the guides of the CTA run guided walks and *gaetbeol*-themed cultural experiences. Conservation departments of the state and the local (County) government fund programme development and subsidise the running cost of the TEC. The Hard Clam Harvest Association – a local fishing community – operates a fee-paying leisure catching programme. In addition, eNGOs and interested researchers outside of Jeungdo have a presence here. Je Jong-Kil, the marine ecologist and green politician (a former Member of Parliament (MP)), one of the initial members who introduced leisure catching, is a committed consultant, defining himself as a “mentor” of ecotourism in Jeungdo (in an interview with me). Through this influential figure and Yoo Young-Eup’s connections with KFEM, the Centre people have networks with *gaetbeol* conservation activists and practitioners across the country.

The governing structure of Jeungdo can be considered a microcosm of Korean *gaetbeol* tourism governance. The primary financiers and planners are conservation departments of the state and local governments. Since 2001, the MAFRA and the MOF have designated and supported 107 Fishing Experience Villages, including two in Jeungdo, a dozen of which offer leisure catching as tourist attractions (MOF, 2015). The MPA Centre, the agency of the MOF for marine protected area management, more explicitly supports three *gaetbeol* tourism destinations, including Jeungdo, by funding tour programme development. Provincial and county governments run nine *gaetbeol* visitor centres at key *gaetbeol* areas. Korean eNGOs are actively involved in *gaetbeol* tourism governance as educators and practitioners. For example, three *gaetbeol* visitor centres entrust their operations to regional eNGOs. Developing the network established during the anti-reclamation movement, seven national and regional eNGOs formed ‘the Korean Wetland NGO Network’ in 2010 and offer policy consultations and trainings for *gaetbeol* tour guides. Local fishing communities are often involved in *gaetbeol* tourism by selling leisure catching activities in their community-owned

gaetbeol plots.⁵⁰ Involvement of the private industry is limited to small-scale local tour operators and B&Bs that sell leisure catching activities packaged with accommodation.

This mode of governance led by conservation authorities and eNGOs defines the rationales of *gaetbeol* tourism in specific ways. In addition to local development and empowerment that I discussed in the previous chapter, conservation and education come to the fore. The MOF states the principle of *gaetbeol* tourism in ‘Gaetbeol Tourism Management Directive’ (2006) as:

Item 2.4 (The principle of *gaetbeol* tourism): The managers of *gaetbeol* tourism should follow the guidelines below to provide opportunities for the general public to realise the importance of *gaetbeol* ecosystem and the coexistence of human and nonhumans.

This principle is articulated in the purpose of the *gaetbeol* visitor centres, which Kim and Chang (2010, p.9) summarise as: “to practise conservation, raise public awareness of *gaetbeol*, develop *gaetbeol* tourism, and conduct *gaetbeol* research”. Here, *gaetbeol* tourism is viewed as the tool of conservation that enables not only gaining local support by involving locals as stakeholders, but also raising public awareness of *gaetbeol*. The heightened attention to the educational utility of *gaetbeol* tourism is shared among *gaetbeol* campaigners of eNGOs who initiated leisure catching with a view to fostering ecological sensibility through embodied *gaetbeol* experiences. This leadership of conservation authorities and eNGOs renders *gaetbeol* tourism as biopolitical intervention that guides tourists “to realise the importance of *gaetbeol*”, as stated above. Such a consideration of *gaetbeol* tourism as an environmental governmentality is no less significant in Jeungdo, where the visitor centre (i.e. TEC), whose staff are affiliated with conservation-oriented researchers and eNGOs, takes the lead in *gaetbeol* tourism management.

⁵⁰ Technically, *gaetbol* and wider marine areas are public territory owned by the state. *Gaetbol* is leased to local fishing communities, who then obtain the exclusive right to fish. The terms and conditions of the lease are set by social conventions (J. Kim 2010).

5.3. Governmentalities of *gaetbeol* tourism

In this section, I investigate how *gaetbeol* tourism – representations, practices and the codes of conduct – acts as biopolitical domain for tourists “to realise the importance of *gaetbeol*” among tourists. As a way of specifying this rather broad objective of ‘the importance of *gaetbeol*’, I examine how tourists are guided to think about and relate to: i) the *gaetbeol* landscape; ii) nonhumans; and iii) humans of *gaetbeol*; and iv) related ethical sensibilities. While examining these four analytical components, I specifically attend to the role played by the *saengmyeong* discourse in the shaping of tourists’ behaviours.

5.3.1. *Gaetbeol* landscapes

For many tourists, the first port of call in Jeungdo is the TEC. This two-storey building has a tourist information desk and an Exhibition Hall that displays *gaetbeol*-related information and artefacts. At the entrance of the Hall, there is a large photo panel (Fig 5.3). It depicts the local *gaetbeol* landscape at sunset. On the right top corner, a set of three small photos features *gaetbeol* inhabitants: two sandpipers snatching a small crab, a horn snail sliding away and a blue-spotted mudskipper hiding in the mud. On the left bottom corner, another set of photos features other *gaetbeol* inhabitants: an old lady picking up clams and several fishermen transporting their catch to a truck. These two sets of inhabitants are combined through the description at the centre: “*gaetbeol*, the habitat for *saengmyeong*”.

Such photographic representations and catchphrases of *gaetbeol* are common in tourist brochures, pamphlets, guidebooks and documentaries. In the tourist brochure of Jeungdo, *gaetbeol* is presented as where tourists can observe nonhuman lives (on the left of Fig 5.4) as well as meet local fishermen at work (on the right of Fig 5.4). The inscription on the left-hand side says:

Gaetbeol, the habitat of *saengmyeong*: even a tiny pit of *gaetbeol* is filled with lively living *saengmyeong*. *Gaetbeol* is the repository of the marine ecosystem, the habitat of *saengmyeong* and their everyday lives. *Gaetbeol* is, by no means, wasted, useless and sloppy black mud. It is invaluable heritage that has nourished our marine lives.

In this description, *gaetbeol* is described as the repository of the marine ecosystem and marine culture. The term *saengmyeong* is used as a comprehensive descriptor of human and nonhuman beings without putting them in discrete categories, which makes the expressions of “the habitat of *saengmyeong*” (생명의 터전) and “the repository of *saengmyeong*” (생명의 보고) almost cliché catchphrases in the Korean *gaetbeol* context. This gives a rise to an understanding of the *gaetbeol* landscape as where humans and nonhumans make their lives in not very different ways: crabs pick up food from *gaetbeol*, so do fishermen. Here, both species are thought to rely on the generosity of *gaetbeol* for their livelihood. This renders fishermen and fishing as ‘natural’, not much different from those of nonhuman organisms.

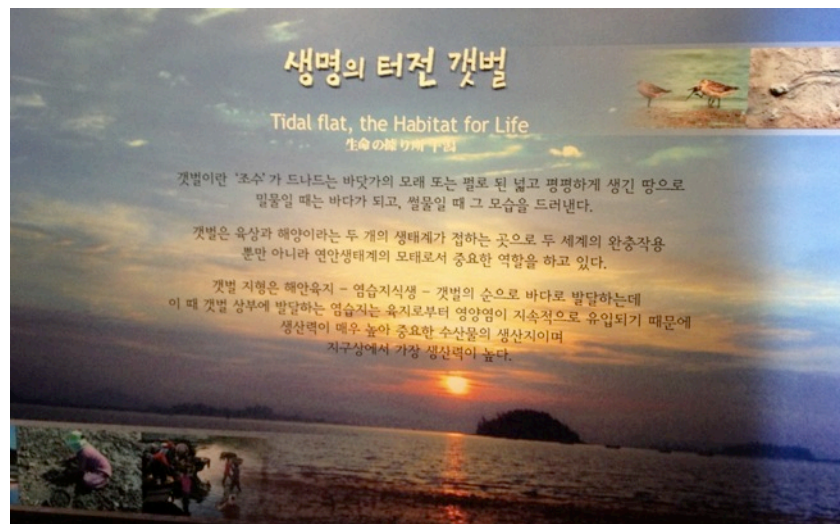


Fig 5.3. The photo panel in the TEC.



Fig 5.4. An example of the tourism brochure.

As the producer of this brochure, staff of the Centre contrast this representation of *gaetbeol* – where humans and nonhumans are in harmony – to the understanding of *gaetbeol* as “wasted, useless, and sloppy black mud”, as stated in the inscription. As many informants told me, the image of useless black land was the dominant representation of *gaetbeol* until the 1990s, when large-scale reclamation projects attracted critical attention. Reclamation was executed as “the expansion of national territory”, which manifests an overcoming of inherent disadvantages (i.e. limited land space) by technological and engineering advances (H.S. Cho 2004). From the developmentalist perspective, *gaetbeol* was viewed as extra land space to reclaim while the human and nonhuman lives of *gaetbeol* were hardly recognised. In this sense, viewing *gaetbeol* as “the habitat of *saengmyeong*” offers a markedly different perspective that underscores the importance of *gaetbeol* as an ecosystem to support human and nonhuman lives.

The heightened attention to interspecies interconnectedness and similarities depicted in the *gaetbeol* landscape is redolent of recent ontological studies in more-than-human geography and environmental anthropology that reconfigure human-nonhuman relations as more-than-human “entanglement” (Raffles 2002). By thinking through the comprehensive term of *saengmyeong*, the human-nonhuman relation of *gaetbeol* appears to be non-dualistic. Nonetheless, particular humans and their practices (i.e. fishermen and subsistence fishing) are viewed as natural and fall in the remit of the *gaetbeol* landscape. Other humans, such as tourists and developers, and other practices, such as large-scale seaweed farming by fishermen, are absent from this tourist landscape. Here, the *saengmyeong* framework is deployed to redraw, rather than to remove, the ontological separation, reproducing a form of “purified” human-nonhuman relations (Latour 1993).

As an ecotourism product to consume, the harmonious representation of humans and nonhumans appears to be similar with the idea of the ‘rural idyll’, making the *gaetbeol*

landscape a form of the Korean rural idyll (Cloke 2003; Bell 2006).⁵¹ Like Japanese *satoyama* (Takeuchi *et al.* 2003; Takeuchi 2010) and the English countryside (Bunce 1994), the *gaetbeol* landscape is related to reactions to urban places and is built upon rural-urban binaries, such as “peaceful, slow, and clean” rural areas versus “noisy, fast, and dirty” urban areas (Bell 2006, p.151). It is a pre-industrial landscape that comprises low intensity farmland, gently curved hills, the absence of skyscrapers and several fishermen at work.

What appears interesting about the idyllic *gaetbeol* landscape, and perhaps the Korean rural idyll more widely, is its temporality set in the relatively recent past of the 1960s and 1970s. The rapid industrialisation restructured the country from agricultural communities into industrial urban cities, tripling its urban population during the last 50 years (K.S. Chang 1999). This transition occurred within the lifetime of current generations. For over middle-aged tourists, the pre-industrial landscape appears to be viewed both as a ‘timeless’ ideal and a ‘backward’ place. A teacher from Seoul in his 40s told me about his ambivalence toward *idyllic* rural life.

Tourist: *Gaetbeol?* No need to borrow big words. I *experienced* it. I grew up in Incheon (a city near Seoul). I saw *gaetbeol* a lot in small islands near Incheon. Yes, I remember that I caught small crabs, watched fishermen catching octopuses. Yes, I did.

Interviewer: There was no established form of *gaetbeol* tourism back then?

Tourist: Of course not. *It was long before gaetbeol was thought of as ‘repository of the saengmyeong’.*

Interviewer: What was *gaetbeol* then?

Tourist: Space of production? Or, sort of tourist places worth visiting? *Now we valorise ‘letting them [gaetbeol] go’ in the name of conservation. But back then gaetbeol was just a underdeveloped, run-down place.*

Interviewer: Yes, we talk a lot about protection now. In your opinion, from what do we wish to protect *gaetbeol*?

Tourist: As I said, perhaps our anxiety for further development? It prevents us from leaving *gaetbeol* the way it is. But, if it [*gaetbeol*] is your hometown, where your parents run a business. *Let’s say, my family starts a tourist resort and it may damage a little, tiny bit of gaetbeol? I might want to think differently.*

(My emphasis)

⁵¹ On the contrary, tidal flats in Wadden Sea in Germany in the advertising clip are promoted as ‘undisturbed’ natural landscapes that act as “a habitat for thousands of species of plants and animals”.

Here, he demonstrates a vivid memory of pre-industrial *gaetbeol* by touching upon his childhood experiences. He conceives of *gaetbeol* as the habitat of human and nonhuman *saengmyeong* and values conservation. At the same time, he is sympathetic to local anxiety for development at the expense of the very same landscape. For those who lived through the pre-industrial period, being premodern is also associated with memories of hunger, poverty and inconvenience. Their lived experience seem to enable tourists to perceive ‘other’ elements of idyllic rural life, such as poverty, which are often hidden and marginalised in the myth of rural idylls (Cloke and Little 1997). In this regard, some tourists told me it is “selfish” to ask local residents to live with the pre-industrial environment while tourists enjoy modern conveniences. I will revisit the rural idyll in chapter 6, where I discuss the affective logics related to the performance of the idyllic ecotourism landscape.

5.3.2. Catching *gaetbeol* organisms

Focusing on the understanding of *gaetbeol* as ‘the habitat of *saengmyeong*’, in this and the next section, I examine how *saengmyeong*, specifically nonhuman organisms and human fishermen respectively, are viewed in the representations and practices of *gaetbeol* tourism.

The exhibitions in the TEC offer a display of *gaetbeol* organisms through *gaetbeol*-related information and artefacts across four sections. It begins with the geomorphology of *gaetbeol*, explaining the formation and types of *gaetbeol*. Tourists are then introduced to nonhuman organisms through dioramas, taxidermies and panels (Fig 5.5). In these first two sections, the story of *gaetbeol* is told in the language of the natural sciences, such as Latin names, ecosystem functions and habitat information. For example, the types of *gaetbeol* are categorised as sand, mixed and mud according to the size of sediment. Organisms are classified by their taxonomic places: molluscs (e.g. clams, shells and octopus), crustaceans (e.g. diverse crabs) and annelids (e.g. lugworms). This scientific ordering facilitates tourists to view life forms in *gaetbeol* as ‘biological organisms’. *Gaetbeol* in Jeungdo accordingly gains ecological importance as a space that generates rich biodiversity in terms of the 166 benthic

organisms and migratory waders and shorebirds along the East Asian-Australasian flyway (Ahn *et al.* 2011).



Fig 5.5. The display of *gaetbeol* ecology in the TEC.

Exhibitions are, however, not the only way that nonhuman organisms are engaged in *gaetbeol* tourism. Most of the tourists in Jeungdo take the opportunity to catch these organisms with their own hands. As mentioned, leisure catching has become a common and popular tourist activity, making it a quintessential part of *gaetbeol* tourism in travel shows on TV.⁵² Some local communities sell the catching experience at the price of 5,000–10,000 KRW (3–6 pounds) per person in exchange for lending catching equipment (hoes, baskets and rubber boots). It is also practised in less organised formats: once tourists happen to spot crawling crabs, they just walk into the *gaetbeol* to catch them. This widespread leisure activity is Korean-specific and hardly occurs in other tidal flat tourism destinations, where guided walks, wildlife watching and boating are the predominant tourist activities (Ramsar Convention Secretariat and UNWTO 2012). Recently, this activity has attracted mounting criticism from

⁵² For example, a popular weekend family show, *Daddy, where are we going?*, featured leisure catching as fun family activity during my fieldwork (21/07/2013).

marine ecologists, as its widespread and rapid growth is likely to exert extra foot pressure on *gaetbeol*. The MOF researchers published several reports that argue the increased footsteps of tourists might generate collision and suffocation of *gaetbeol* organisms, leading to a significant loss of benthic organisms (Ko 2007; Y. Park 2007).⁵³ *Gaetbeol* campaigners and civil servants have devised compromises, such as running separate leisure catching zones, in order to minimise environmental impacts while continuing the catching activity.

For the campaigners and researchers, leisure catching is deployed as a means of environmental education. Chang Ji-Young, a veteran *gaetbeol* campaigner, underscored the importance of bodily experiences in *gaetbeol* tourism, as “bodily experiences enable tourists to immerse themselves into *education*” (in an interview for this thesis, my emphasis). She added: “[G]iven the detrimental impact of tourists’ presence within *gaetbeol*, we need to find a way to cover the majority of activities outside and to minimise in-situ engagement”. Here, she takes the embodied catching experiences as an essential part of science education, which supplement to text-based modes of education such as exhibitions. This view is redolent of the claim that ecotourism has educational efficacy as it provides tourists with opportunities to synthesise scientific knowledge with bodily sensations (Staiff *et al.* 2002; Zanotti and Chernela 2008). Combined with scientific exhibitions, for these *gaetbeol* campaigners, leisure catching is seemingly deployed to guide tourists to have a better understanding of *gaetbeol* organisms, viewed as ‘scientific entities’.

Concerned with its environmental impacts, the staff of the Centre in Jeungdo discourage tourists from leisure catching,. Instead, they offer alternative means of embodied *gaetbeol* practices, such as the guided barefoot *gaetbeol* walk. Instead of explaining *gaetbeol* ecology, the tour guide offers several bodily instructions, such as “to take your shoes off and feel the muddy sensations”, “to watch the wave-formed ripples on the surface of *gaetbeol*” and “to

⁵³ According to Ko (2007), catching practice reduces the habitat density by 55%, which takes at least 60 days for a full recovery.

listen to the clicking sound of small crabs by moving their hard-shelled claws fast to feed”. In so doing, the focus of embodied practice diverges from scientific education towards individual communion with *gaetbeol*. Jung Young-Jin, a senior manager of the TEC, explained to me that they noticed scientific explanations were easily boring family-oriented Jeungdo tourists. This facilitated them to adopt a “sentimental approach” that appeals to emotional aspects of tourists as a way of assisting them to realise the importance of *gaetbeol*. He asserted that “*gaetbeol* should be learned by the heart, rather than by the head”. However, few tourists seemed to sign up for this fee-paying programme (10,000 KRW per person) that appeared to be carried out by their own guides.

Despite the opposition of the Centre, the leisure catching is widely practised across Jeungdo. Although the local fishing community sells catching experience (10,000 KRW per person), it occurs more spontaneously. Tourists just walk into *gaetbeol* and catch small crabs and clams with their bare hands or equipment borrowed from local guesthouses. Since *gaetbeol* of Jeungdo is a protected area, catching seafood for non-residents is technically illicit. However, most of the tourists carry on their catching without knowing the protected status of *gaetbeol*. Local residents, who possess an exclusive right to catch within protected areas, are generous about tourists’ catching, as they told me, since tourists’ catches are too small to interfere with their harvest. Unlike the Centre people, most of the local residents hardly consider leisure catching to be environmentally destructive, reflecting upon their own lifetime experience of catching.

From the interviews, observations, and my own participation, this spontaneous form of catching appeared to guide tourists to view *gaetbeol* organisms as ‘seafood’ and ‘individual life forms’. Leisure catching is a tourist product that recreates local seafood harvesting in leisurely ways, which facilitates tourists to pursue nonhuman organisms as seafood. It is also a tourist performance in which the bodies of tourists and the materiality of nonhumans perform together, offering a personalised encounter with nonhuman organisms in pursuit

(Coleman and Crang 2002; Cloke and Perkins 2005; Cater and Cloke 2007). In this analysis, nonhumans are taken not just as socially ‘constructed’, but also as ‘constitutive’ in the production of their meanings.

For example, *chilge* is a small – no bigger than one’s palm – crab commonly found in the Jeungdo *gaetbeol* (Fig 5.6). In the exhibition hall of the TEC, it is introduced as *macrophthalmus japonicas*, one of the dominant species of the mud-type *gaetbeol*. *Chilge* is also popular local seafood. Local fishermen catch them with a short hoe, cook them with soy sauce and serve them with rice. In local restaurants, tourists are often served locally caught *chilge* as a side dish. When tourists step into *gaetbeol* to catch *chilge*, they pursue the seafood by following local fishing practices.



Fig 5.6. *Chilge* as food (top) and as individual life forms (bottom).

However, catching is not as easy as it might look. In their natural environment, these small crabs are agile and elusive. In this unfamiliar environment filled with slippery muds, tourists’ bodies are often beyond their control, making moving their feet difficult. When a tourist

nearly grabs it, the *chilge* swiftly retreats into the mud, leaving only a small hole on the surface. The anxious tourist starts to dig a hole with his or her fingers and short hoes, but the crab has already disappeared. After two hours of tracking, the tourist stands up with his trophy box, usually a paper cup, with no more than 10 *chilges*. Some tourists take them home as food, as well as ‘pets’, as these crabs have become meaningful individuals to them.

As Cloke and Perkins (2005) show in their studies on cetacean tourism in New Zealand, ecotourism produces performative encounters with nonhumans, which facilitate tourists to establish personalised relations with nonhuman participants. When I asked about their catching experiences, tourists stressed the “fast”, “agile”, “cute” and “hardworking” characteristics of *chilge*, reflecting on their encounters with the individual crabs they pursued. Attending to their feeding behaviours, one tourist in her 50s told me she saw “life” because “they [crabs] also have very hard lives”. As such, catching appeared to assist tourists in thinking of crabs as individual life forms not much different from humans in terms of their life – in other words, *saengmyeong*. Crabs may not be as charismatic as mega fauna often deployed in ecotourism (e.g. whales), especially with regard to their aesthetic and behaviour traits (J. Lorimer 2007); however, the intimate interactive encounter enables tourists to find appealing qualities from these nonhumans.⁵⁴

Together, through leisure catching, tourists are guided towards viewing *gaetbeol* organisms as not just scientific entities, but as seafood and also as individual animals. This heightened attention to nonhuman organisms is contrasted to the indifferent attitude prevalent in reclamation projects, which views *gaetbeol* as ‘wasteland’ and fails to recognise the presence of nonhumans. As more-than-human and more-than-representational geographers and anthropologists argue, embodied and affective interactions generate particular emotions and feelings, which might reconfigure human-nonhuman relations differently (Cousins *et al.* 2009;

⁵⁴ Lemelin (2007) and Choi *et al.* (2009) discuss the acclaimed status of insects as ecotourism attractions in Japan and Korea, respectively.

Lorimer 2010b). This potential gives leisure catching the utility as a tool to foster ecological sensibility (Milton 2003). In this sense, Kim Kyung-Hwa, the former *gaetbeol* campaigner of Green Korea United, retrospectively told me: “If we had such enthusiasm for *gaetbeol* tourism, which we have now, at least ten years before, Saemangeum reclamation would not have occurred”.

5.3.3. Valorising local fishing

Viewed as constitutive components of *gaetbeol*, local fishermen and fishing culture occupy an important place in tourist representations and practices in Jeungdo. In the TEC, the scientific exhibitions are followed by the displays of local fishing equipment, including short hoes, straw baskets and seaweed paper-drying racks (Fig 5.7). The Centre operates several tour programmes through which tourists can experience local cultural life, such as traditional fishing. Several local residents run similar cultural programmes, although not all of them can be viewed as traditional (e.g. riding flower carts). For the staff of the Centre, local cultural life is told through the concept of “*gaetsallim*”, a compound word of ‘*gaetbeol*’ and ‘*sallim*’ (living). Coined by marine sociologist Kim Jun (2006; 2010), *gaetsallim* refers to the diverse ways in which humans and nonhumans make a life in *gaetbeol*. The Centre people use this concept to explicitly refer to local marine culture, as described in a photo panel hung in the foyer of the TEC:

We can find *gaetsallim* from the cultural life of Jeungdo, shaped by the long-term interactions between local people and *gaetbeol*. Traditional food and fishing experiences offer such examples.

By presenting local cultural life as *gaetsallim*, this claim suggests that traditional forms of life have been developed through human attunement to nature and therefore ‘natural’. The Centre people find residual elements of traditional life from traditional fishing (especially catching fisheries) and senses of time and seek to deploy these in tourist exhibitions and practices.



Fig 5.7. The display of local fishing within *gaetbeol* in the TEC.

The artefacts and photos displayed in the exhibitions of the TEC are historic but also contemporary. Some of the devices are easily found outside of the TEC, as fishermen still use similar hoes and baskets to catch clams and crabs. The contemporary mode of catching appears not much different from the traditional one. As the Centre people claim, this mode of fishing that relies on basic tools and human labour is also assumed to be ‘sustainable’ in terms of the renewability of the resources. Technological constraints may exert limits on the amount of harvest. Yoo Young-Eup and others also told me that local fishermen regulate their catch by returning juvenile fish to *gaetbeol* in order to leave minimal impact on *gaetbeol*. However, this harmonious vision appears rather selective and wishful, based on my observations and participation in local catching practices. Additionally, international studies suggest adverse effects of catching fisheries on *gaetbeol* ecology due to increased trampling and inadvertent harvesting of non-target species (Chandrasekara and Frid 1996; Ferns *et al.*, 2000).

Local sense of time related to catching fisheries is another popular example used to bolster the claim that the local lifestyle is more ‘natural’. Their catch depends on the rhythm of the tide. Catching is only possible during the low tide when *gaetbeol* is fully exposed. The tide

changes twice a day. Tidal water changes twice a month. It is not possible to manipulate such natural rhythms to increase productivity. In every household, there are calendars with tide times on them. Young residents check the tide app on their smartphones (Fig 5.8). As such, local fishermen attune their social rhythms (e.g. harvest) to natural rhythms (e.g. the tide). In this sense, “tides thus create hybrid timescape with nonhuman rhythms folding into social rhythms of economy and culture” (Jones 2011, p.121). The attuning of social and natural time is contrasted to the perceived dominance of social time over natural time, such as the idea of ‘acceleration’ prevalent in Korean society.



Fig 5.8. The calendar with tide times (left) and a smartphone application for tide times (right). For example, the 23rd of May, ‘4.14’ refers to the lunar date (the 14th of April). Two blue lines underneath indicate daily tide times (highest and lowest) and the last line [5 물] informs the amount of tidal water.

The heightened sensibility to the tide time is reflected in the cultural programmes run by the Centre. For example, the CTA hosted a ‘traditional net fishing experience’ on the 23rd of May 2013. They had to turn down several requests due to the mismatch of the tide times and waited until the fertile fifth water (five days after the neap tide and two days before the spring tide) arrived. For seafood catching, the amount of water in the rising tide is crucial because clams and crabs come out with the rising tide. Despite such meticulous orchestration, the tourist harvest turned out disappointing. Instead of their own caught fish, tourists were catered for with prepared fish that the CTA had set aside for such a case. This incident ironically

taught the tourists and the staff, as one member of the staff told me that “we are not able to control nature on our own terms”.

Individual tourists tend not to participate in fee-paying programmes offered by the Centre, as these programmes mainly target group tourists. For them, leisure catching acts as the cultural opportunity to experience traditional local fishing. Since catching is only available during low tides, tourists come to be aware of the tide times. Most of the tourists I talked to seemingly share the view that local fishing is ‘natural’ and ‘sustainable’. For example, one tourist in her 40s told me what she thinks about the environmental impact of local fishing:

They [fishermen] know and catch within the limit of *gaetbeol*. It is totally different from large capital investment and environmental destruction. [Interviewer: So, their fishing is part of *gaetbeol*?] Yes, part of nature. They live on nature. Therefore they protect, rather than destroy, manipulate and possess it.

Here, local fishing is viewed as a subsistence practice. To secure renewable harvests, local fishing is assumed to carry out in a sustainable manner through fishermen’s self-regulation.

So far I have illustrated that in tourist exhibitions and cultural experiences, the lifestyle of local fishermen is viewed as being ‘respectful’ to nature, attuned to the natural time of tides and the limit of the natural resources. This respectful attitude – perceived to be embedded in traditional lifestyle – echoes the ethical imperative of respect in the *saengmyeong* concept. Why do the Centre people, and Korean *gaetbeol* campaigners and conservation officers more widely, strive to guide the general public to valorise local fishing as natural? Two political reasons appear to be at work.

First, there is the need to make sense of the presence of local fishing within protected areas. As mentioned, given the intensive use of *gaetbeol* for fishing, Korean *gaetbeol* conservation schemes make exceptions for and permit fishing conducted by local residents. Viewing local fishing as natural and sustainable, as not harming environmental integrity, gives legitimacy to such an arrangement.

Second, researchers and campaigners argue that local fishing, especially catching fisheries, is sustainable, compared to developmentalist reclamation and large-scale capitalist management. They stress the community-based management of local catching fishing in Jeungdo and the wider southwest coast. The local fishing community seeds, manages, and harvests the catching plot. Most fishermen, members of the fishing community, catch to eat for themselves. In the case of surplus catches, the community sells them and accumulates a profit for collective use. Community membership is managed by social conventions, rather than legal regulations (J. Kim 2010). In this regard, local catching fishing reveals aspects of a sustainable life, not just in terms of renewable resource management but also in terms of alternative ways of social and economic life. It therefore provides useful references for those who wish to reconfigure the prevalent modes of human-nonhuman and human-human relations. I will revisit this point later in this chapter.

5.3.4. The code of conduct: to respect

In front of the Mudskipper's Bridge, where most of the leisure catching and guided *gaetbeol* walks occur, the Centre has placed a few signposts that inform tourists of the list of *gaetbeol* organisms, the protected status of Jeungdo *gaetbeol*, and the code of conduct. The signpost entitled *About Tourist Experiences and Access to Gaetbeol* advises tourists not to enter into *gaetbeol* for environmental concerns (Fig 5.9). It says (in the first paragraph):

This is our beloved Mudskipper's Bridge. Due to the increased leisure catching underneath the bridge, the habitat of *gaetbeol* organisms has been seriously damaged. Natural restoration may take a while. In the meantime, tourists are advised not to enter and catch from this part of *gaetbeol*.

Next to the text, the signpost depicts an image of an enlarged foot pressed on *gaetbeol* and several *gaetbeol* organisms being crushed. In the following paragraph, it also suggests an alternative way to bodily engage with *gaetbeol*, specifically the guided walk offered by the Centre. The wording and tone of this warning sign are invitational and gentle. This mode of delivering warning messages differs from the prevalent ones that make references to

prosecution and punishments. This shows changing techniques of governing, which relies less on sovereign and more on biopolitical mechanisms, as discussed in chapter 4.



Fig 5.9. A warning signpost.

In addition to the signposts, tour guides deliver the codes of conduct in their talks. Park Jong-Cheon, a local guide for the CTA, described to me how he explains *gaetbeol* to tourists:

They [*gaetbeol* organisms] and we are the same *saengmyeong* who make their lives in the same time period. They live four years. We live 80 years. As we live in apartments, they build their houses inside *gaetbeol*. Once we tramp *gaetbeol*, their apartments would be crushed. Think about it. You would be weeping badly if your apartment were torn down, wouldn't you? They would feel the same.

Here, he stresses the perceived behavioural similarities in order to ask tourists to treat *gaetbeol* and *gaetbeol* organisms gently.⁵⁵ To do this, he uses the term *saengmyeong* to describe nonhuman organisms and demands that one should pay respect to them. This instruction echoes the imperative of “paying respect” that I introduced in section 5.1 as the ethical imperative of the *saengmyeong* thought. This traditional environmental ethics was deployed and developed by religious leaders and conservation campaigners as an alternative

⁵⁵ This might fit in with Milton's (2003; 2005) discussion of “egomorphism”, from which she finds the ethical potential to foster moral responsibility for the components of the nonhuman realm.

to the anthropocentric ethics of developmentalism that views nonhumans as resources to be manipulated for economic growth. These leaders encouraged viewing of nonhumans as *saengmyeong*, especially those organisms in peril due to the impending reclamation, and demanded paying due respect by “letting them live” (S.G. Choi 2004).

References to the *saengmyeong* concept in the codes of conduct of *gaetbeol* tourism are more explicit in the field guides for practitioners and tourists. For example, the *Students’ Workbook for Gaetbeol Tourism* published by the MOF instructs:

Do never forget the *gaetbeol* organisms are *living* critters. *Be reminded of the importance of saengmyeong.* [...] *Catching should be done in a gentle manner* without harming them. After a careful observation, they should be returned to their original places. You never catch random organisms for fun; neither put them away from where they were found; and nor leave them inside the cages for a long time (MOF 2004, p.52–53. My emphasis).

Presenting *gaetbeol* organisms as *saengmyeong*, this excerpt encourages tourists to treat *gaetbeol* organisms gently – by reducing the number of catch; looking after the caught ones; and returning them into *gaetbeol*. The rationale legitimating such gentle treatment appears to be the intrinsic value of nonhumans as *saengmyeong*. Together, the signposts, instructions and field guides are employed here to shape tourists’ behaviours in the ways of paying respect to nonhuman organisms.

Despite the warning signposts of the Centre, there always several dozens of tourists immersing themselves in catching practices underneath the Mudskipper’s Bridge on weekends. Their continued catching was not done in resistance to the Centre; most of them simply did not read the signs, paying little attention to them, which I found out from talking to them. Many tourists did catch *gaetbeol* organisms and appeared to try not to exploit them. Some returned the organisms into *gaetbeol* when they finished. Others took the caught ones with them to keep as pets or to cook for dinner. Few were thrown away, which might be considered ‘disrespectful’ treatment of *saengmyeong*. When I asked why, the typical response was “because they are living *saengmyeong*”. It was difficult to tell whether or not such

behaviours are a result of the governmentalities of the Centre and wider Korean *gaetbeol* conservationists (executed through guiding materials, books, and documentaries). It also seems possible that the deep-seated cultural understandings of *saengmyeong* may guide such behaviours.

In a sense, this ethical imperative of respect is less explicit. It does not necessarily circumscribe catching itself, although the Centre people, at the moment, discourage catching for carrying capacity concerns. On the contrary, catching for food, especially for subsistence purposes, is not discouraged but valorised as ‘natural’. Catching for educational purposes also falls into the remit of respectful practices. However, hedonistic and random catching and larger scale intervention (such as reclamation) are criticised and rejected. As one tourist told me, the criteria applied here can be whether or not the practice is “polite” to nonhuman *saengmyeong*.

The ethics of respect is redolent of the ethics of ‘flourishing’ that Haraway (2008) and others have developed (Brice 2014; Ginn 2014; Ginn *et al.* 2014; Srinivasan 2014). These authors seek to complicate the perceived dichotomies of engagement-detachment, killing-protection and care-harm. For example, Candea (2010) unsettles the binary between engagement and detachment and suggests “being polite” as a way to approach nonhumans. This appears not much different from the ‘paying respect’ discussed here. The ethics of *saengmyeong* does not circumscribe the utilisation of nonhumans; however, it demands respectful treatment of them. Here, killing for food and protecting for intrinsic value are not necessarily oppositional. In this sense, the imperative of respect can be a mode of ethics to make sense of the ambivalent human-nature relations beyond the assumed dichotomies of killing and protecting. In chapter 7, I will revisit the concurrence of killing to eat and loving to watch in whale tourism by offering a geographical account of the concurrence.

In this section, I examined the ways in which *gaetbeol* tourism in Jeungdo guides tourists to valorise ‘the importance of *gaetbeol*’ and to change their behaviours accordingly. I showed that representations and practices of *gaetbeol* tourism shape particular understandings of *gaetbeol*, including: *gaetbeol* as the habitat of *saengmyeong*; nonhuman organisms as scientific entities, food and individual life forms; and local fishermen and fishing as natural and a sustainable practice. The code of conduct suggested in *gaetbeol* tourism encourages tourists to treat nonhuman organisms gently as a way of paying due respect to *saengmyeong*. Tracing the play of the *saengmyeong* concept in the shaping of *gaetbeol* tourism, I show that it is used as a key descriptor of humans and nonhumans and offers ontological (human-nonhuman interconnectedness) and ethical foundations (respect). Deploying the discourse of *saengmyeong* in the governmentality of ecotourism, *gaetbeol* tourism suggests different ways of thinking about, and relating to, *gaetbeol* that move away from those established in relation to developmentalist discourses.

5.4. Ancient futures

In the analysis above, I showed that the governmentalities of *gaetbeol* tourism take resources from the past, such as pre-industrial landscape, valorisation of traditional practices, and the traditional environmental ethics of respect. In this section, I discuss the temporality of *gaetbeol* tourism that deployed the traditional concept of *saengmyeong* as the key device of governing.

As I introduced in chapter 2, discussions on temporalities of environmentalism are, by and large, associated with environmental risks and hazard, which are set in the future (Driver and Chapman 1996; Adam 1998). This body of work deploys diverse future-oriented accounts, such as an apocalyptic future, a sustainable future and the need of future generations, to argue that we are running out of time. In doing so, these authors bring the future into the present to

demand urgent intertemporal interventions to change the future.⁵⁶ There are also elements of the past deployed in the present to deal with future risks. Brown *et al.* (2012) explore such temporality by examining eco-communities that mandate the radical return to premodern agrarian life to secure a sustainable future. By putting the past, present and future together, these examples disrupt the assumed linear progression of time. Drawing on this body of work, this chapter seeks to add a mode of non-linear temporality to environmentalism.

In the governmentalities of *gaetbol* tourism, the rediscovery of the *saengmyeong* concept bridges the future-oriented wise use discourse and the traditional ecological thought. Traditional (i.e. prior to modern industrialisation) discourses and practices are rediscovered, valorised and recounted as sustainable modes of relating to nonhumans, which can offer invaluable points of references for different futures. I call this non-linear mode of environmental temporality *ancient futures* after the Swedish environmentalist Helena Norberg-Hodge's best-selling book, *Ancient Futures: Lessons from Ladakh* (1991, in Korean 1996). Kim Jun (2006) used this expression to argue that traditional fishing culture is environmentally sustainable. Drawing on his work, I specifically focus on the temporal dimension of this concept in order to develop it as a useful descriptor for this mode of non-linear temporality of environmentalism.

In this chapter, I offered several examples of 'ancient future'. First, the development of the *saengmyeong* concept itself suggests a muddled temporality: a rediscovered premodern concept with potential to offer sustainable human-nonhuman relations in the future. I specifically discussed how the ontologies and ethics of the *saengmyeong* concept are deployed in ecotourism in order to shape tourists' perceptions and behaviours differently from those of developmentalism. Second, I also discussed recent valorisation of the traditional mode of local lifestyle. Local seafood catching and pre-industrial landscapes are presented to

⁵⁶ See also the discussions on temporalities of emergency: McCormack (2012; 2015) and Adey *et al.* (2015).

tourists as ‘natural’, in contrast to the prevalent mode of developmental projects and industrialised urban landscape. In an interview, Kim Jun told me about the striking similarities between the ‘ancient’ political economy of fishing communities and popular models of alternative political economy.

Kim Jun: Then I turned to the ways in which *gaetbeol* was used in the past. How did people use *gaetbeol*? How do they use it now? To answer to these questions, I have looked at the *community-based management of gaetbeol*. *Local residents produce, distribute and manage their local gaetbeol together.*

Interviewer: By the past, you mean pre-industrialisation?

Kim Jun: No need to go that far. *Even in the 1960s and 70s we [farmers] maintained community-based management systems.* Even today, local residents in remote islands in Shinan County still organise their economies through collective production and distribution [...] Let’s say, here is a community fishing ground. All members of the community share the fishing ground. They work together and evenly distribute the profit. If fishing plots are divided and allocated individually, local residents exchange them every year by ballot. Of course, I am not saying we should apply this system everywhere. Nevertheless, *I think the underlying principles of community-based management are still valid.* Today, we talk a lot about *cooperatives, community business, social enterprises* and so on. We are hopeful that they might offer some insights to rework the mainstream capitalism, aren’t we? Then, I look at *gaetbeol*. *For hundreds of years, local residents in fishing communities have managed to use natural resources under very similar principles.*

(My emphasis)

Here, he stresses the implications of the community-based production and distribution system on the recent efforts to reform the prevalent mode of the capitalist economy. As such, the ‘ancient’ offers points of reference for sustainable ‘futures’.

The temporal pattern of ancient future can be widely observed in environmentalist projects that critically reflect the present by invoking elements of the past. However, it is perhaps more visible and strongly felt in Korea because of the accelerated experience of modernisation. Due to extremely rapid social changes, not all elements of the premodern have been annihilated; they survived and coexist with modern and postmodern elements (K.S. Chang 2010a). Such concurrence of different temporal elements are especially significant in geographically remote areas such as Jeungdo. Local residents have been able to maintain traditional forms of cultural practices up until very recently. A part of Jeungdo did not have

electricity until 2001. The sheer presence of premodern life can serve as a rich source to offer different stories for the future.

Such politically inspired rediscovery of the past brings to mind the concept of the “invention of the tradition”, which Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) identified as a strategy for nationalist campaigns to create national identities (also Johnson 2001). The produced temporal patterns are similar; however, I would argue that the underlying politics between these two political projects are dissimilar. In the cases of the invention of the tradition, elements of the past are strategically deployed to reinforce a sense of belonging in order to produce and *consolidate* the (imagined) community. However, in ancient futures, the past is deployed to *diverge* from the prevalent mode of environmental practices. Here, the past is rediscovered for its potential to draw ‘a line of flight’ from the mainstream.

5.5. Conclusions

In this chapter, I explored human-nonhuman relations of *gaetbeol* tourism in Jeungdo, focusing on the discursive role played by the concept of *saengmyeong*. *Gaetbeol* tourism emerges as a form of post-developmental social changes that are related to existing developmentalist thoughts and emerging conservationist discourses. Among these, I specifically focus on the *saengmyeong* concept, examining how this discourse enacts understandings of nature in *gaetbol* tourism. Attending to the temporalities of *gaetbeol* ecotourism, I identified the deployment of elements of the premodern past to make a sustainable future, which I call ‘ancient futures’.

The findings of this chapter can contribute to the diversity of nature in ecotourism. In chapter 2, I outlined the contours of prevalent understandings of nature consumed in ecotourism, which are related to the ideas of ‘wilderness’ (Cronon 1996) and ‘rural idyll’ (Clope 2003), experiences of adventures and sublimity, as well as scientific and economic calculations (West and Carrier 2004; Rutherford 2011; Fletcher 2014). In this chapter, I discussed a

specific form of nature in Korean ecotourism that revolves around the traditional environmental thought of *saengmyeong*. I offered a few examples that constitute this form of nature, including the pre-industrial idyllic landscape and the code of conduct of paying respect. This form of ecotourism nature perhaps also has commonalities with ecotourism beyond rural areas in Europe and East Asia – for example, where indigenous environmental thoughts are valorised as natural and consumed for cultural tourism. In so doing, the findings of this chapter contribute to broadening the ways in which nature is thought about and practised in ecotourism.

6 Slowness

In the previous chapter, I examined how the concept of *saengmyeong* is deployed in the governmentalities of tidal flat tourism, offering an alternative understanding of nature. This chapter continues the investigation of the ecotourism governmentality in post-developmental Korea by focusing on sense of time. As I outlined in chapter 2, time and temporalities in tourism studies have received limited attention to tourist transportations and practices termed ‘slow tourism’. In the previous chapter, I specified a non-linear temporality of governmentalities of ecotourism, which I called ‘ancient futures’. In this chapter, I engage with the concept of slowness deployed in governmentalities of ecotourism. .

As I explain in more detail, the idea of slowness has specific importance in Korean ecotourism and wider Korean society in relation to the historical experience of acceleration and the fast-paced everyday life. This theme is featured prominently in two of my three ecotourism cases: tidal flat tourism and walking tourism. As I discussed in chapter 4, the concept of Slow City is deployed in tidal flat tourism as a local brand of sustainable tourism. In the walking case, the concept of slowness is used to govern temporal organisation, where demands are made of walkers to slow down their speed of walking and everyday life. For the analysis of this chapter, I focus on the walking case. The explicit use of slowness as a temporal concept enables me to examine how the ideas and experiences of time are deployed in ecotourism to produce a specific “temporal subject” (Urry 2000, p. 109).

To examine the governmentalities of walking tourism, I combine Foucauldian analytics of affective governance with non-representational studies of time, in particular, of slowness. I first offer a summary of non-representational understandings of slowness, walking and affective governance, which provide the central framework for the analysis to follow. I then

examine the ways in which the discourses and experiences of slowness is deployed in governmentalities of walking. I specifically focus on the affective operation of biopower through the creation of an atmosphere of slowness, which acts upon affective lives of tourists. I then consider the temporal politics of slow walking in relation to the fast rhythms prevalent in Korean society.

6.1. Slowness, walking and affective governance

In his bestselling book, Carl Honoré (2004) explains the recent praise of slowness as a historical emergence in the late modern world: a response to the overall acceleration in the pace of life that is especially intensified by the advent of globalisation. The Slow Food Movement (Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010), Slow City (Mayer and Knox 2006) and slow tourism (Dickinson and Lumsdon 2010; Fullagar *et al.* 2012) could be popular manifestations of our desire for “slow living” (Parkins and Craig 2006).

Parkins and Craig (2006) and others argue that slowness is not just a reactive claim for anti-speed but a political critique that aims to critically reflect and rework the ‘go-faster’ modern world. For example, the Slow Food Movement is raised as a critique on the capitalist food system and a radical reorientation to local production and consumption of food (Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010). These authors are also keen to show that the temporal reconfiguration is operated through not just discursive means but also ‘tactile, habitual and sensuous’ engagements (Bissell and Fuller 2011; Hayes-Conroy 2010; Lea 2008). Popular practices, such as yoga and meditation, are devised to entrain the individual bodies to different rhythms (e.g. slowness, stillness). These temporal experiences reconfigure the capacity of a body to feel and act in different ways, which produces particular affective qualities (e.g. mindfulness, attentiveness).

The idea of slowness seems to have specific significance in Korea, which experienced a very rapid modernisation. The “national temporality” (Edensor 2006) of the country is informed by

the historic experience of temporal compression and habituated fastness in the everyday life, coupled with the global process of time-space compression (K.S. Chang 2010a). Over the three decades since the 1960s, the Korean economy grew at the rate of 8–12% every year, alongside rapid urbanisation that tripled its urban population (OECD 2014). As I mentioned in the introduction, Korea has the world's fastest Internet and over 70% of the population uses smartphones (M. Lee 2014). Commercial districts in urban centres are literally “24-hour society” (Kreitzman 1999) equipped with shops opening for 24-hours. The historic and everyday fastness is related to extremely long working hours. Koreans work 2,124 per year average, which is 1.3 times longer than the 1,677 hours in the UK (OECD 2014).

Since the early 2000s, a desire for slowness (in Korean: *neurim*) has become prominent in Korean social and cultural life, perhaps as a response to the fast and exhausting nature of everyday life. Books on slowness and deceleration have been widely published and read, including *Slow Life* (by Japanese anthropologist Shinichi 2003, Korean edition 2005), *In Praise of Slowness* (Honoré 2004, Korean edition 2005) and *In Praise of Idleness* (Russell 1935, Korean edition 1999). The concept of the Slow City has been popular in rural development, ensuring that Korea has the largest number of *Cittaslow* (11 in total) outside Europe. This theme also intersected with the emerging form of walking tourism in Jeju and similar walking practices across the country. Taking the Korean-specific enthusiasm for slowness into consideration, I aim to examine how the ideas and experiences of slowness ‘alter and enact’ a type of the countryside walking practice and to consider its political implications.

Drawing on non-representational studies, cultural geographers and anthropologists provide phenomenological accounts of walking (Edensor 2000; Wylie 2005; Ingold and Vergunst 2008; Lorimer and Wylie 2010). They theorise walking as the ongoing engagement between the sensitised body and the materiality of the landscape, which continuously reconfigures the self and the landscape. In this sense, Ingold (2004) conceives of walking as “action-in-

movement". These authors have sought to examine the co-constitutive role of the multisensory human body (Lewis 2000; Macnaghten and Urry 2001; Lorimer and Lund 2008) and the agency or affordances of more-than-human things (Michael 2000), which perform the walking practice together. In his seminal paper on walking along the English southwest coast, Wylie (2005) illustrates a variety of more-than-human encounters along a walking journey, which subsequently produces multiple successive and contingent configurations of the self and the landscape.

To supplement and develop phenomenology-focused accounts of walking, Blacksell (2005) and others draw our attention to the political context under which walking experiences are shaped. Attacking Wylie's paper, Blacksell argues that "the paper ignores the extent to which the costal landscape itself is a manufactured and manipulated landscape, managed to measure up to a quite particular ideology and set of ideals" (2005, p.519). He thus underlines that no walking takes place in a political vacuum. Similarly, Sidaway (2009) urges attention to "the practices and politics of the path itself" (2010, p.1093) in the shaping of the walking experience. In so doing, these authors encourage serious investigations on the underlying politics of walking that shape phenomenological walking experiences in particular ways. There is an ample body of sociological work that scrutinises the politics of walking in relation to social variables such as class and gender (Solnit 2001; Urry 2007). There is further work that explores the politics of urban walking as a critique on the experience of modernity (De Certeau 1998; Careri *et al.* 2001). However, few studies have looked into the politics related to the ways that phenomenological walking experiences are shaped. Sidaway (2009) provides an exception. By critically examining a series of emotional registers along an urban section of South West Coast Path in the UK, he argues that the walking trail is designed to evoke particular memories and therefore produces a specific geopolitical understanding of Plymouth. The analysis in this chapter adds to this body of work by examining how the politics of slowness is deployed to shape specific experiences of walking.

To examine the ways in which time is governed through embodied and affective interventions, I turn to recent Foucauldian work on affective modes of biopower (Thrift 2004; Adey 2008; Anderson 2012; also Urry and Larsen 2011). As I outlined in chapter 2, there is now a growing body of work that seeks to examine ‘affective governance’, which refers to power exercised upon ‘affective life’ through an array of ‘affective logics’ (Carter and McCormack 2006). Expanding the traditional Foucauldian focus on discursive means of governing, these authors are concerned with the affective control of life that “engineer[s] affect” (Thrift 2004) to trigger particular bodily responses (e.g. feelings and emotions). According to Anderson’s (2012) four-mode typology of affective biopolitics, which I introduced in chapter 2, governing of the slow walking largely deploys biopolitical (regulations through norms) and environmental (conditioning the environment in which actions take place) techniques of government.

I specifically focus on the strategy of governing that is exercised through the creation of “atmospheres” (Anderson 2009; McCormack 2015). McCormack (2008) develops the concept of atmospheres to draw attention to the force of immaterial things, such as mood. He describes atmosphere as “something distributed yet palpable, a quality of environmental immersion that registers in and through sensing bodies while also remaining diffuse, in the air, ethereal” (2008, p.413). Cultural geographers have studied this concept for its potential to serve as a strategy for governing. They demonstrate that mundane everyday practices (Stewart 2011), the built environment (Allen 2006; Adey 2008) and technical gadgets (Ash 2013) can produce specific atmospheres, which have the force to govern. In his work on railway travels, Bissell explains as:

Where Foucault (1977) describes the disciplining effects of material spatial arrangements, the immateriality of atmosphere might serve as an equally powerful disciplinary force. As Edvardsson *et al.* suggest, “perception of an atmosphere defines what one must cope with and suggests directions for how to behave within a social setting” (2003, page 378). The emergence of particular affective atmospheres has the capacity to modify passengers not only on psychological but also on a biological level (Bissell 2010, p. 272–273).

As he argues, atmosphere becomes the condition under which actions take place. Specific atmosphere affects the capacity of the body and thus triggers specific bodily responses. Drawing on this body of work, I examine the governmentalities of walking by focussing on the creation and operation of a time-related atmosphere. I specifically engage with four non-representational themes (rhythms, senses, ethos and healing) as analytical axes to examine the specific atmosphere imbued in the walking practice (Fig 6.1). The selection of these themes is primarily grounded in my fieldwork, where these themes emerged as prominent in my conversations and observations. They are also popular themes studied in the literatures on walking and non-representational studies.

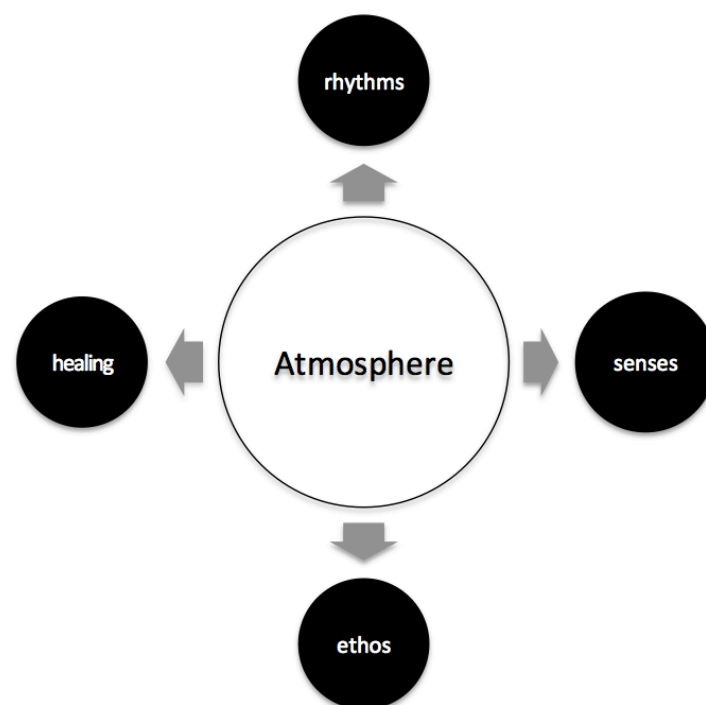


Fig 6.1. An analytical schema for the atmosphere and its four constituent elements.

6.2. The Olle Trail

The Olle Trail continues for 430km along the coastlines of Jeju Island, the nation's biggest and most popular holiday island. Jeju (1,814km²) is slightly bigger than Greater London (1,572 km²) and has a population of 607,000. It is a volcanic island formed around a dormant volcano, Mt. Halla (1,915m) and 368 small volcanic hills (300m–500m) scattered around. Villages are developed along the coast in order to supply water. As a costal path, a typical

Olle course consists of a couple of hills, woodlands, sandy beaches, agricultural fields and villages. ‘Olle’ in Jeju dialect means ‘small alleys’. A Jeju lady, Seo Myung-Sook, made this Trail. After her own 36-day walk on the *Camino de Santiago Compostela*, she gave up her 30-year journalist career in Seoul and moved to her hometown to make a similar trail. With the help of her two brothers and several friends, she opened the first 15km path in September 2007. The Trail was completed in November 2012 as a circular path around the island (Fig 6.2).



Fig 6.2. The outline of the Olle Trail (source: the JOF).

The Jeju Olle Foundation (JOF), a non-profit organisation founded by Seo Myung-Sook, operates the Olle Trail. Based in Jeju, the JOF has 12 paid staff and 130 volunteers. The JOF is financially self-sustainable by membership donations and souvenir sales.⁵⁷ For the Trail maintenance, the provincial and the county governments fund most of the costs. They also subsidize visitor centres and tourist events. In addition, about 50 local and national enterprises are in partnership with the JOF and provide indirect financial contributions, such as offering discounts for Olle walkers and professional help for logo design. Leaders of the JOF are

⁵⁷ About a thousand individuals and 55 corporate members pay membership fee, from 120,000 KRW (75 pounds) per year. The JOF sells guidebooks, the ‘Olle Passport’ (passport-sized souvenir credentials), scarfs, dolls and badges. In 2013, the total of the membership donation was 440 million KRW and souvenir sales were 580 million KRW.

cautious and selective in getting financial assistance from the private sector, as senior staff asserted to me, in order to maintain its “independence” from large-scale commercial enterprises. This governing structure diverges from the strong leadership of *gwan* in the decentralised government I identified in chapter 4. Here, while *gwan* still provides a large portion of funding, a non-profit organisation takes the lead in tourism development in close relations with the private sector and volunteers.

Walkers from all over the country, including local residents of Jeju, come to walk parts and/or the entire Trail, spending from several days to up to two months. According to existing surveys, they are a relatively well-educated, financially comfortable, younger (in their 30s and 40s) and slightly female-dominated group (Kim *et al.* 2010). They tend to walk alone or in small groups of two to three for recreational purposes rather than health benefits (Jeong *et al.* 2010). Their motivations of walking are surveyed as “escape from daily life” “local cultural experiences” “appreciation of nature” “social experiences” and “self-reflection” (Park 2010). Given the purposes and style of walking, Olle walking might fit the self-reflective mode of walking, which is often associated with European pilgrimages and romantic walks enjoyed by the English Lake Poets and American Transcendentalists in the 19th century (Solnit 2001; Amato 2004; also Reader 2007).

Such a mode of walking is a new phenomenon in Korean walking culture.⁵⁸ Hiking has been widely practised since the 1960s, mainly as a cheap and available means of keeping fit. Long-distance walking emerged in the late 1990s in the form of adventure walking. The Paekdu Mountain Trail, ranging 690km along the ridges of eight big mountains (1,059m to 1,915m), was popular among trained hikers and fearless youths. The ‘undisciplined’ manner of the Olle walk comes in a stark contrast to this walking culture that celebrates overcoming physical hardship. This unprecedented mode of walking was a great success. The number of Olle

⁵⁸ This analysis is informed by interviews with tourism researchers and practitioners, including Yun Moon-Ki, Oh Chang-Hyun and Jang Yun-Jong.

walkers increased by 36 times from 30,000 in 2008 to over a million in 2012. To emulate the success of the Olle Trail, over 500 similar trails have been made all over the country (Green Korea United 2012).⁵⁹

6.3. Affective governance of slow walking

Now I explore how the temporalities of the Olle walking is governed through the creation and deployment of specific senses of time. I first examine how time is told and experienced in the four arenas of walking experiences, which I identify as rhythms, bodily sensations, ethos and healing. I then discuss the subject position and affective logics at play in governmentalities of the Olle walking.

6.3.1. Governing to walk slowly

Rhythms

Walking the Olle Trail is polyrhythmic. Multiple rhythms constitute the temporal experience of a walker. The conventional routine of Olle walking produces specific rhythms. Many walkers tend to walk a course per day. They tend to start at around 9 am and finish at 4 pm. On the Trail, they walk, take breaks and resume their walking. The passage through an undulating landscape produces a rhythmic pattern attuned to the uphill, downhill and flattened field.

The walking body also generates particular rhythms. Repeated movements of the feet and arms (left-right / forward-backward) and heartbeats produce regular and constant rhythms. For some tourists, the music from their audio devices contributes to the rhythmic experience. One of the latest additions to the guide materials for the Olle Trail is an audio guide produced by the JOF, which is freely downloadable on smartphones. In addition to an overview of the

⁵⁹ The Olle Trail was recently exported to Japan, creating a ‘sister’ trail in Kyushu. The trajectory of the Olle Trail reveals an interesting geographical connection that threads Spain, Korean and Japan, which I will discuss further in chapter 7.

course and places of interest, it also provides several tunes to walk along to. The melodies and beats of these selected pieces are sentimental and relaxed, far from cheerful marches.

There are also nonhuman rhythms of the landscapes. The walking body in movement continuously encounters the built and natural landscape (Wylie 2005). The agricultural landscape, such as clementine orchards and carrot fields, is attuned to the natural rhythm of seasonal changes, which Urry (2000) describes as “glacier-time”. For the urban eyes of the walkers, rundown fishing villages along the Trail look almost frozen-in-time in the pre-industrial period. As such, the engagement of “internal bodily rhythms” and “external place rhythms” produce a new tempo of a walking body (Matos-Wunderlich 2008).

The new tempo produced in Olle walking is a slowed one, specifically the speed of 2km to 3km per hour. This is slow, compared to the fast rhythms in the cities from which most walkers come. This speed is arranged by the JOF through the layout of the Trail. The entire Trail is divided into 26 short courses, ranging from 15km to 20 km each. The suggested walking hours, usually four to six per course, are clearly printed on the maps and signposts. This format encourages walkers to walk one course per day, which allows them to plan for 2km to 3km per hour. Founding members of the JOF deliberately chose this layout to slow down the speed of walking, as Ahn Eun-Joo, the executive manager, explained to me:

Let's say you walk for a day. You leave after breakfast and finish before dusk, which gives you a good seven to eight hours. 15km to 20km is a *very short* distance for the whole day's walk. That's why we cut each course to be no longer than that. 15–20km is the most appropriate length that facilitates a walker not just to *walk* but to *play* and *rest* as well.

(Emphasis as in original)

Despite their meticulous arrangements, the gentle topography of the Trail permits walkers to walk further than the suggested length. The Trail runs through relatively flat coastal areas. Since the courses are “too easy”, some walk more than two courses a day on their first couple of days. Then, they gradually encounter the prompts, brochures and the words and bodies of fellow walkers. The most influential piece of bodily instruction is the popular catchphrase,

“*nol-meng, shi-meng and geol-meng*”, i.e. “play, rest and walk” (Fig 6.3). This encourages walkers to allow some room to enjoy themselves and the landscape without being entirely occupied by the walking itself. With play and rest as well, one course per day is not too short. An ‘advanced’ piece of bodily instruction, which I gained from fellow walkers, is to walk a ‘half’ course a day to immerse oneself in the walking fun.



Fig 6.3. A prompt for “play, rest and walk” (right) and Seo Myung-Sook’s book with the same title (left).

Such slowing down of the walking speed appears to have an effect on the capacity of the walking body to feel and act. By walking slowly, walkers become to be aware of the stark contrast between their bodily rhythms of walking and their social rhythms of everyday. The walking practice provides them with the opportunities to be freed from the time-constraints of a body bound to the clock. A walker in her 50s told me she was delighted that she had “no need to be frugal with time” any more. The deceleration of her walking speed enabled her to behave how she felt her body wished: she walked at her own speed, took a break when her legs felt heavy and ate when she felt hungry. Instead of the clock, her body organised her walking itinerary. Unlike her urban everyday life, here, she felt like she had the control of her time (Fullagar 2012). In command of their own time, walkers appeared to be more relaxed and confident.

Senses

As outlined, cultural geographers have reconfigured walking as continued engagements between the multisensory body and the materiality of the landscape. This occurs in Olle walking as well. Multiple bodily sensations beyond the visual, such as smell, sound and touch, are employed to create the walking experience (Crouch and Desforges 2003; Larsen and Urry 2011). As Michael (2000) shows, gadgets attached to tourist bodies amplify the capacity of the body. For example, the camera on the mobile phone acts as an extension of the eyes and allows close-ups of the landscape being photographed. Some walkers use audio devices as their walking companion, which might amplify their feelings and emotions. Others decide to ‘uncover’ their ears by switching off the device and taking off their earphones in order to listen to the sounds of nature – winds, waves, birds and the sound of their shoes. This is contrasted to their urban walking, where they tend to cover their ears from noise by listening to music from audio devices.

Nonhuman elements offered along the journey – such as a flower and a shade – afford the possibility to invite particular behaviours (Gibson 1979). Olle walkers tend to be responsive to such invitations, for example, to smell a flower, photograph a weed, and lie down under the shade of a tree. Such embodied engagement with nonhuman components of the landscape is encouraged and bolstered through media representations, prompts, and the words and bodies of other walkers. It is viewed as a way of “playing”, a partial component of the catchphrase of “play, rest and walk”.

Such experience facilitates walkers to attend to and enjoy the ‘details’ that otherwise might have been disregarded in passing. As Frey (1998) describes in her study of pilgrimage to *Santiago de Compostela* (also Scriven 2014), walkers of the Olle Trail also pay detailed attention to minute and subtle elements, including a single wild flower, patterns of lichen on stonewalls, a single clementine stretched from a tree, as well as “the fresh smell of new buds after spring rain”, as a walker in her 60s pointed out to me. Such embodied practice refines

their bodily sensations and generates particular feelings and emotions (Larsen and Urry 2011). As Thrift (2007c, p. 57) illustrates in his example of meditation, such detailed bodily attention produces “an expanded awareness of present time” and thus engenders “contemplation and mystical communion”. Later in this chapter, I will discuss a similar therapeutic logic at work in Olle walking.

In this way, Olle walking fosters a new walking habit: to be attentive to bodily sensations. It encourages walkers to suspend the old habit established in everyday walking that a walking body is often perceived as a disembodied means of transportation.⁶⁰ Kim Mi-Seon, a volunteer for the JOF, explained her discovery of the walking body to me:

When I walked the Olle Trail for the first time with my old friend Myung-Sook (the founder), I had no idea what she was talking about. She kept telling me, ‘Slow down and play’, and I kept fretting her, ‘Speed-up, otherwise we cannot make it to Joongmoon (the destination)’. Now I know. *She knew how to enjoy nature. I was just in a hurry to reach the final destination.* Yes, now I know that walking is to enjoy nature, to play and to rest. *Now a single leaf, a single tree, even the texture of water demands my attention* whenever I walk the Trail.

(My emphasis)

Here, Kim contrasts two modes of walking and walking bodies. She used to consider walking and a walking body as the instrument to move. This old habit facilitates her economisation of unnecessary distractions (e.g. playing) that might impinge on effective movement toward the destination. From her repeated walking on the Trail, she reconfigured walking as recreational practice that employs the body as a medium to enjoy nature. She learnt a new habit of ‘wandering’, which allowed her bodily sensations to be exposed. It gives her a pleasurable feeling that she has not experienced in her previous mode of walking. As a volunteer guide, Kim likes to advise Olle walkers to “wander” instead of “move forward” so as to enjoy their journey in full.

⁶⁰ Middleton (2009) discusses multi-sensual dimension of quotidian walking practice in relation to its enrollment into the multiple social, technical and material assemblages of urban experiences.

Celebrating 'failure'

The instructions of walking slowly and being attentive to bodily sensations are related to an aversion to completion. Many Olle walkers aim *not to complete* the entire Trail. This ethos is seemingly shaped through publicity materials, social engagement with other walkers and the specific layout of the Trail.

An ethos of willing failure is implicated in the documents produced by the JOF. In their mission statement,⁶¹ the JOF defines its aim as to provide “the path you can start and finish wherever you like”. In so doing, it decouples Olle walking from the prevalent mode of walking that is carried out toward the designated finishing point. This is more explicit in Seo Myung-Sook’s bestselling essays on Olle walking.⁶² She offers a walking instruction that asks walkers not to push themselves to finish the walk.⁶³ For example:

No matter how fast you reach the finishing point, you would be awarded with nothing. If you cannot finish the journey, then make a stop there. You can come back anytime to resume your walk (M. Seo 2010, p.199).

This willingness to fail in completing the Trail is circulated and reproduced through social engagements among walkers. Like pilgrimage walkers (Frey 1998; Slavin 2003), Olle walkers also like to exchange their stories and thoughts in communal places, such as resting areas and the lounges of tourist accommodation. These occasions offer opportunities to build sociality through discursive and affective communications.

I was sitting at one such space in a hostel which Olle walkers frequent. On this evening (24th April 2013), half a dozen of us were sharing our stories over a drink. Kim Yong-Han, a 38-year-old, had walked for 12 hours to finish three courses on that day.

⁶¹ This can be found on its English website at: <http://www.jeuolle.org/?mid=18>

⁶² Seo Myung-Sook published two books on Olle walking: *Travels to Jeju Olle* (2008) and *Along the Way I Walk Step by Step* (2010). For selective examples from TV programmes, see: *The Aesthetics of Slowness: Jeju Olle Trail* (MBC 2011), *Ways: From Santiago de Compostella to Jeju Olle* (MBC 2010) and *The Landscape of Life: Retreat – Seo Myung-Sook* (MBC Life, 2010).

⁶³ Despite their celebration of failure, the JOF’s instructions on completion are somewhat confusing. Three stamps are provided for each course, which motivates walkers to complete each course in order to have the stamps on their souvenir passport. Those who collected all the stamps, i.e. completed the entire Trail, can receive the certificate of acknowledgement and a medal.

Interviewer: Why do you want to complete three courses a day?

Kim Yong-Han: A sense of fulfilment.

Lee (other walker): And photos [Giggling].

Kim: [Walking is] Not much different from hiking. You cannot get the sense of achievement unless you reach the top of the mountain.

Interviewer: Then I am a weak one? I gave up halfway to have an ice cream.

Park (other walker): The other day I found a fantastic spot for beer. There, my walking for the day finished. I spent the whole afternoon drinking and watching, appreciating the landscape.

Kim: Oh, you must not. You must have completed your course!

[Everybody laughing].

Here, we can see that Kim's anxiety to complete in a fast, efficient and productive manner is hardly appreciated but playfully ridiculed. The 'will to complete' is casually disdained, as it may impinge on enjoying the fun offered by the walking. Instead, what is 'cool' is the opposite kind of behaviour. As Park proudly revealed, a walker who can willingly give up the walk and spend an idle afternoon to please oneself is admired. This playful mockery within walkers defines what is cool and not cool in Olle walking, generating particular feelings – shame and pride – associated with those behaviours. As such, the sociality of walkers here acts as a governing device that normalises particular behaviours.

The will to failure is assisted by the layout of the Trail. The layout can be understood as a co-production by the JOF and the specific physical landscape. Since Jeju is an island, the Trail takes a linear-circular format. Each course is clearly marked with distinctive blue (forward direction) and yellow (reverse direction) ribbons and arrows, as well as introductory boards at both ends (Fig 6.4). These 26 linear courses consist of a circular trail, which circles around the island. When selecting several courses for a short holiday, walkers can choose randomly rather than in a successive order. They tend to pick the ones known for beautiful landscapes (course 1, 6, 7, 8 and 10) to make the best of their limited time. In this way, the circular format discourages walkers from starting the Olle Trail from course 1, aiming to make all 26 courses. Furthermore, reflecting coastal topographies, the Trail weaves hills and woodlands together with villages and tourist facilities. These human settlements serve as 'multiple exits'

where walkers can stop their walking. They call a taxi on their mobile phones, get it ready at such places and finish their walking anytime they wish. Such flexibility is almost unimaginable in hill walking, which follows a linear layout (Lorimer and Lund 2008). In hill walking, once started, the summit becomes almost the only exit. In this way, the Trail layout helps walkers to ‘achieve’ failure.



Fig 6.4. Ribbons, arrows, a course map and a signpost used to mark an Olle course (clockwise from the top left).

The prevailing ethos of celebrating failure seems to affect the ways in which walkers make sense of their walking habits. Walkers tend to finish one course per day. Many walkers I talked stressed that they “happened to” finish it with no anxiety of completion. A walker in her 30s casually added, “Well, you can buy an ice cream at Songyi-Super (a corner shop at the finishing point of course 7) for a reward for yourself”. They claimed that ‘completion’ is an inadvertent outcome, not the primary purpose of walking. Like pilgrimage, there was a shred valorisation of the journey ‘process’ itself, rather than the final destination (Reader 2007).



Fig. 6.5. A detouring option.

However, while pilgrimage walkers endure and overcome ‘pain’, perceived as a means of achieving salvation of the soul (Frey 1998), Olle walkers avoid pain. Some walkers, with a sense of pride, told me they walked ‘selectively’ by skipping tedious and physically demanding paths. For them, physical hardship is not something to overcome with heroic strenuousness. Instead, they sought ways to avoid bodily suffering if possible because physical challenge might ruin their joyful walking experience. To assist, if not inspire, this, some courses provide detouring options so that walkers can avoid walking up the hills (Fig 6.5). What replaced solemn self-denial appears to be joyful self-indulgence. Instead of being anxious to complete the journey, walkers are encouraged to immerse themselves into the bodily and emotional pleasure offered by the journey’s process. The suggested strategy is “to be idle” – for example, taking a nap, taking a popular example of Seo Myung-Sook. Staff of the JOF advise walkers “to be *ganse-dari*”. *Ganse-dari* is a local dialect that refers to those who are lazy. ‘Being idle’ here is reconceptualised with a positive connotation to refer to those who are capable of enjoying their walking journey without being occupied by the completion anxiety. Both pilgrimage and Olle walking are self-reflective walking trails that guide walkers toward self-discovery; however, to arrive at such spiritual transformation, very different pathways are provided – being in pain and being idle.

Healing

Walking produces diverse modes of emotional and affective engagement with fellow walkers and the landscape, in which different affective logics (Cater and McCormack 2006) are at work. As explained in chapter 2, affective logics refer to how non-discursive mechanisms relate to different affective bodies. Here, I specifically focus on one such engagement associated with the logic of ‘healing’. For this, I draw on the recent relational analysis of the ‘therapeutic landscape’. Instead of presupposing inherent qualities possessed by the landscape (Gesler 2003), cultural geographers, such as Conradson (2005), theorise “therapeutic landscape experiences” as relational outcomes that emerge “through a complex set of transactions between a person and their broad socio-environmental setting” (Conradson 2005, p.338). This means that specific assemblages of humans, nonhumans, and other things give rise to specific modes of engagement, which produce beneficial properties, such as therapeutic experiences. Below, I examine how the bodies of the walkers and the affordance of the landscape are related and engender therapeutic experiences.

Let me begin with the story of Kim Mi-Hee (pseudonym). I met this 33-year-old nurse while walking course 1. She was “running away” from her work. For the past 10 years, Kim has continuously ‘upgraded’ her career. As a nursing school graduate, she started in a small local clinic. She then returned to university to obtain a nursing BSc and got a job in a bigger hospital. Two years ago, she moved to Busan (the second biggest city) to work at one of the biggest university hospitals in the country. Then, things started to go wrong. She worked hard but made small mistakes, got scolded and repeated the same mistakes again. She noticed her new colleagues were bullying her because she was old, not local and not from the same nursing school. However, she did not have the courage to tell this to her family or friends, who were so proud of her successive ‘achievements’. On very depressed days, she had “very bad thoughts” (suicide). Three days ago, Kim left the hospital and turned off her mobile. She then flew to Jeju to walk the Olle Trail, as she did before when very depressed. She was

hoping that walking the Olle Trail would comfort her broken heart and empower her to carry on her hard-boiled city life.

Kim was not the only one whose mind and body were completely exhausted. On the Trail and in the guesthouses, I met a lot of walkers who were willing to share how unkind their lives were and how exhausted they were. As mentioned, the fast speed of the Korean everyday life demands the overall acceleration of the society. Overworking is common in Korean society, not to mention that Korea has one of the longest working hours among the OECD countries (Y.S. Kim 2013). There is even a term for ‘death from overwork’: *gua-lo-sa*.⁶⁴ For the walkers who share similar experiences of ‘suffering’ and ‘escape’ from the perceived exhaustive society, the walking practice provides the opportunity to share their stories and feelings in an empathetic environment. Like Kim, some just resigned from their jobs. Some had not had proper holidays in 10 years. Several started to notice their abnormal bodily symptoms, which they associated with their high levels of stress. Social engagement with fellow walkers in similar situations seemed to facilitate walkers to redefine him/herself as the exhausted one who deserves due rest and cure.

Lea (2008) discusses the co-constitutive role of nature in yoga that performs to produce a therapeutic landscape experience. Similarly, the landscape of Jeju is also enrolled and performed in the walking practice. Like the *gaetbeol* landscape in the previous chapter, the landscape of Jeju also appears as a form of the ‘idyllic rural landscape’. It is small in scale but diverse in type. A 15km day walk passes together villages, agricultural fields, a couple of hills and beaches (Fig 6.6). Nonhuman components of the Trail invite specific behaviours and engender particular feelings and emotions.

⁶⁴ This term is used in Japan and China as well.



Fig 6.6. The diversity of the landscape encountered in course 1.

The panoramic view, consisting of low ranges of hills and receding seas, affords the possibility to broaden a visual gaze. As a walker in his 40s told me, this open view is contrasted to the vertical landscape of urban areas and generates a feeling of being liberated, rather than being overwhelmed. The slightly undulating landscape, comprised gently curved hills and flattened costal paths, invites walking without any pressing physical hardship. This mode of light walking makes the tourists' bodies less tensed and more relaxed. In the interviews, walkers often described the gentle curves of the volcanic hills as “mommy’s breasts” and their feelings when walking this landscape as being “as cosy as [when] held in

mommy's arms". These words, although clichéd expressions, seem to reflect their relaxed mind and bodies. In addition, the agrarian parts of the landscape – the clementine and carrot fields, combined with narrow alleys and villages – seem to stimulate the actual and imagined 'homely' memories of the walkers. Given the shared cultural understandings of home as a place to return to when exhausted and wounded, this landscape may evoke feelings of consolation.

The specific arrangement of the exhausted bodies and the idyllic rural landscape works through the affective logic related to therapy, consolations and relaxation, which I call 'healing', adopting the expression frequently used by the walkers. In this mode of engagement between the self and the landscape, the bodies of the walkers seek not just physical but also mental cure. The landscape affords the possibility for tourists to change their walking behaviours. The newly suggested bodily instructions – walking slowly, being attentive to bodily sensations, and celebrating failure – assist walkers in adopting new walking habits. Such reconfigured behaviours, when acted upon the walking body, generate feelings related to comfort, consolation, happiness, pleasure and relaxation, which are the expressions of healing. As such, the affective logic of healing redefines the embodied walking practice as a 'healing journey'. In relation to this, the director of the tourism department in the provincial government conceived of the Olle Trail as a "hospital", where tourists come to "heal" their wounded souls and the bodies.

For some walkers, the affective logic configures not just their practices but their associated ethical concerns as well (Lorimer 2010b, p.318). They extend 'healing' from the self to the nonhuman participants of the walking practices. These walkers told me how much they were grateful to nature for 'healing' their wounded minds and bodies. As a way of expressing their gratitude, these walkers made voluntary commitments to care about the environment. This commitments range from simply keeping the Trail clean and unharmed (e.g. not littering and protecting plants) to objecting to large-scale developmental projects in natural areas for

tourism development (e.g. construction of golf resort).⁶⁵ A walker in her 30s typically told me: “They [the components of the natural landscape] helped me, cured me. I don’t want to pick even a single flower in the Trail. How can I dare?”. In another example, a 61-year-old walker I met gave up golf after her repeated walks on the Olle Trail. She used to be an enthusiastic golfer, playing three times a week. Her walking experiences made her notice destructive changes occurred to her ‘grateful’ landscape to build more golf resorts. To her, golf was redefined from a prestigious leisure sport into a cause of environmental destruction. As such, the embodied walking experience of these walkers fosters an ethical sensibility that emerges from their enhanced sensitivity to the nonhuman “partners” of the walking practice. This ethical position is redolent of Haraway’s (2008) analysis of “response-ability” that describes an ethical sensibility cultivated from the committed relationship with individual animals and is performed by responding to them. Inspired by the personalised experiences of grateful healing, these walkers modify their behaviours in order to be less harmful to nonhuman partners, which can be viewed as a response-able practice.

6.3.2. Atmosphere of slowness

I have so far examined diverse governing devices deployed in governmentalities of Olle walking, which include: bodily instructions offered by the JOF and fellow walkers, social engagements with fellow walkers, encounters with the natural and built environment, layout of the Trail and collective ethos. Governing of the slow walking can be understood as the effect of a specific assemblage of diverse actors: while the JOF offers bodily instructions and the layout of the Trail, walkers, nonhuman objects (e.g. gadgets) and the landscape play co-constitutive roles.

These diverse actors produce particular rhythms, senses, ethos and affective logics, which constitute the atmosphere of Olle walking. I have showed that they are related to slow tempo,

⁶⁵ Golf tourism is the leading sector in Jeju tourism. In 2012 1.4 million tourists (c.f. 1 million Olle walkers) visited 29 golf resorts.

heightened bodily senses, celebrating failure and healing experiences. Together, these elements produce an atmosphere associated with the sense of slowness. I would call this specific atmosphere *the atmosphere of slowness*. This atmosphere is informed by the idea of slowness, both literally and figuratively. It is related to the desire to slow down the speed of walking. It is also inspired by the enthusiasm to move away from the prevalent fast-paced quotidian rhythms. Such exercise of biopower in Olle walking follows what Anderson (2012) calls an environmental mode of biopower that predetermines the conditions in which walking takes place. In addition, biopolitical mode of governing are also discerned, for example, the use of normative imperative of walking slowly and not aiming to complete. However, unlike the Slow City governance discussed in chapter 4, direct bodily disruptions are hard to find here.

Olle walking provides a number of bodily instructions to guide walking in specific ways. Here, the domain of intervention is the mundane habit of walking (Lea 2009).⁶⁶ By demanding unlearning and relearning of mundane everyday practice, governing is exercised in an embodied and affective manner, which produces a new body that acts and feels differently. Through unlearning and relearning walking habits, Olle walkers are encouraged to suspend their quotidian walking habits and to adopt a new habit attuned to the atmosphere of slowness. In so doing, the walking experience produces a new walking body that can walk slowly, sensuously and spontaneously and that seeks therapeutic experience. In this sense, Olle walking can be a form of governing that transforms the existing *fast body* to *slow body* (Table 6.1).

Fast body	Slow body
Clock-time	Body-time
Disembodied	Sensitised
Disciplined	Spontaneous
Efficient/Productive	Therapeutic

Table 6.1. Fast body and slow body.

⁶⁶ In her study of yoga, Lea (2009) discusses similar strategies of intervention acted upon habituated practice, such as breathing and lying down.

By mediating temporal reconfiguration from fast to slow, Olle walking acts as a biopolitical intervention that produces *decelerating subjects* who are willing to change their walking behaviours. This subject position appears not much different from the position of Olle-ggun that the JOF and committed Olle walkers strive to achieve. Olle-ggun is a compound word of ‘Olle’ and a suffix for a ‘skilled person’. Inspired by *peregrinos* in Camino de Santiago, the JOF invented this term to distinguish Olle walkers from ordinary tourists. In her essay, Seo Myung-Sook defines Olle-ggun as:

Olle-ggun enjoy walking with *their own two legs*. Their dreams do not remain on their lips. Olle-ggun *boldly depart from their everyday life*. They put their first and second steps on the land. They are able to *appreciate nature*. Those who *meditate through their bodies* – we call them Olle-ggun (M. Seo 2010, p.104. My emphasis).

Here, we can see this subject position is associated with particular walking habits attuned to the atmosphere of slowness, such as to be bodily attentive and to be self-reflective. Becoming an Olle-ggun demands a radical modification of habituated bodies.

Voluntary deceleration of individual walkers seems to be valorised as a practice of ‘care of the self’ (Foucault 2000; Lea 2009). Through the embodied walking practice, walkers become aware of the gap between the everyday fast self (disembodied, disciplined and efficient) and the slow self (embodied, spontaneous and hedonistic). A radical reconfiguration to a slow body therefore serves as a medium to rediscover the slow self, a self that is perceived to be lost in exhausting everyday life. In her essay, Seo Myung-Sook captures such a sentiment as:

I, an adult, have completely forgotten about the sea. But the little girl within myself has always missed it. “I swear. I will never leave you alone. I promise you to look up at the sky and to watch the sunset. I swear to you by the sea and the sky.” On that day, with tears, I promised to my little self (M. Seo 2010, p.136).

Here, she describes her embodied and spontaneous self as “a little girl within myself” and introduces her new commitment to look after this rediscovered self. As she suggests, caring for the other self requires embodied practices that allow communion with nature, such as walking. In addition, as I explained, slow walking generate ‘good feelings’ – having control

of their time, sensual pleasure from bodily immersion and feeling liberated from completion anxiety, and therapeutic pleasure – which ‘heal’ the exhausted body and mind. In this sense, slow walking acts as a mode of care of the self that is practised through bodily reconfigurations.

6.4. Temporal politics of slow walking

This section discusses the politics of temporalities associated with deceleration through slow walking. I first discuss the politics of slowness of Olle walkers in relation to the dominant fast rhythm in everyday life. I then consider various temporalities of the decelerating subjects created through the similar governing process.

Playful disruption to fastness

In the previous section, I illustrated how slow walking – and slow movements more widely – emerged as a reaction to the fast pace of modern life. The capitalist regime and the state produce particular rhythms that govern individual and collective life (Thompson 1967; Edensor 2012). In this Korean example, the experience of rapid modernisation produced and normalised an accelerated tempo that demands temporal compression to be more productive and efficient (K.S. Chang 2010b). Slow walking disrupts this dominant rhythm. It offers alternative modes of spending time. Walkers are not interested in effective management of time to reach the final destination as fast as possible. Instead, they decelerate the speed of walking, attend to bodily sensations, and even willingly give up the final destination. Their use of time is deliberately inefficient and non-productive.

This rebellious mode of spending time has wider implications. Walkers often parallel their walking practice with everyday social life. Slow walking is, in this sense, conceived as a figurative practice that disrupts the dominant rhythms of Korean society, which is set toward

the continued achievement of “better university degree, faster car and bigger house”.⁶⁷ Here, joining slow walking becomes a small-scale protest “to contest the norms by which we live our lives” (Crossley 2003, p.295. In: Parkins and Craig 2004, p.119). Kim Mi-Seon, a volunteer we encountered earlier, explained to me how walking and living are intertwined to walkers:

My generation [in her late 50s] doesn’t know how to enjoy. We were compelled to make money as fast as, as much as possible. I like to make a small speech to Olle walkers. ‘We have pushed ourselves to earn better degree, more money, power and fame. We didn’t have time to look back ourselves. At least when you walk the Olle Trail, please do not aim at finishing itself. Do allow some time to look around. Do not look forward. We already have spent too much time on running forward, haven’t we?’ Then I watch their faces. I can read their sincere empathy.

Such ‘disruption’ is practised not as a serious protest but as ‘playful’ resistance to dominant and disciplinary behaviours. As summarised in the catchphrase of “rest, play and walk”, being non-productive – in other words, being ‘idle’ – is found to be the key strategy of disruption. Slow walking demonstrates that being idle is perfectly accepted or even encouraged. This is a revolutionary idea given the widespread contempt for ‘laziness’ as an impediment to accelerated development (S.S. Moon 2010). Here, resistance does not require solemn sacrifice but provokes a pleasurable bodily engagement with the self and the environment. Slow walking here “appears to be playful, comical, even pointless, yet is a public indication of possibilities for options outside the dominant framework” (Garrett 2014, p.10).⁶⁸

By contesting the norms, the politics of slow walking opens up the possibilities of being otherwise (Parkins and Craig 2006; Edensor 2012; Garrett 2014). The Slow Food Movement takes a similar political stance by resisting normative food habits, (Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010). However, while Slow Food Movement is concerned with structural reconfiguration (e.g. change capitalist food system), slow walking here is more focused on the relations of the walker to the self, rather than to the wider world. It appears less interested in structural

⁶⁷ Seo Dong-Seong, the former chief explorer of the JOF, in an interview.

⁶⁸ Garrett (2014) discusses recreational trespassing as playful resistance to the increased control over urban spaces.

changes and is keen to reconfigure the self-self relations in a way to care more about the self and, to an extent, the nonhuman partners. Instead of demanding structural changes, it reveals the temporal violence imposed by the developmental regime. By playfully disrupting the habituated fastness, slow walking can produce “fissures within which new lines of flight can emerge” (Bissell and Fuller 2009).⁶⁹

Such focus on the self can be related to the liminal nature of tourism. Tourism takes place out of ordinary time-space; however, it is bounded to return to an ordinary one (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 12). When slow walking is finished, the walker returns home and re-attunes to the quotidian fast rhythm. Unlike everyday practices, such as eating and urban walking, the liminal characteristic of recreational walking might impede walkers from developing its political potential further. To an extent, slow walking is practised to better attune to the everyday rhythm, i.e. to slow down to accelerate, by refreshing the self through therapeutic experiences.

Accelerated slowness

Olle-ggun, as the decelerating subject, embodies new walking habits: walking slowly, attending bodily sensations, celebrating failure and creating own healing journey. Although they adopt similar habits, the extent to which they reconfigure the temporalities of their behaviours appears diverse. As a way of illustrating the diversity of decelerating subjects, I select and contrast two types of Olle-ggun.

First, there are those who have undergone a radical modification by ‘decelerating’ the speed of their everyday life. A few Olle-ggun gave up their urban life and moved to Jeju to live a less accomplished but more “fulfilling” life.⁷⁰ Kim Eun-Joo, a 41-year-old from Seoul, is one

⁶⁹ Available online: <http://www.journal.mediaculture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/136> [Accessed on the 21st Jul 2015].

⁷⁰ Since 2012, over 5,000 people moved to Jeju every year for various reasons, including the inspiration from Olle walking. This new phenomenon creates a new term: ‘Jeju immigrants’.

of them. She was the head teacher of a private academy in Gangnam (an affluent area in Seoul, similar perhaps to Chelsea in London), working long hours and making good money. In late summer 2011, she came down to Jeju for a business trip and walked several Olle courses. There, she encountered a herd of free-ranging cows and had a ‘watershed’ moment. She told me in an interview:

I suddenly realised my life is far worse than those cows. At least they have freedom. They eat when they like and move when they wish. But my life... it is bound to a rat race. I thrust myself to pre-formed schedules day after day. So I cried. Cried badly. We all want freedom, don’t we?

For her, the walking experience illuminated the lack of synchrony between her social rhythms and natural rhythms. Two weeks later, she resigned from her job and moved to Jeju. She said that she now has “quality life”, spending a lot of time appreciating the subtle and minute details offered on the Trail. Another Olle-ggun, a 37-year-old who was about to move into Jeju to become a clementine farmer, told me why he decided to make such radical change: “My income would be halved but I would be happy to make this transition. Nature would compensate my losses”. This type of Olle-ggun appear willing to leave their everyday life behind and rework it to correspond with the new values that they learnt from walking experiences. As such, they decided to decelerate not just the speed of walking but their everyday life as well.

The second type refers to those who experienced similar modification at a rather superficial level. These Olle-gguns also did adopt the slow walking habits and reworked their lives to comply with the slow imperative. However, they combined the slowness initiative with their habituated fastness, i.e. by setting slowness as their new goal to achieve rapidly. In so doing, these walkers appeared to focus on ‘accelerating’ their transitions. For example, Kim Seong-Jin, a 63-year-old, was a successful banker and now an enthusiastic Olle-ggun.

Interviewer: The slow imperative of the Olle Trail seems to not quite fit your high-achieving life?

Kim: Ah, I had cancer operation a few years ago. I told you. In the hospital, for 15 days, I contemplated my life and realised that I have been just running forward, never

looking around. Then I decided to change my life. I *changed* the motto of my life to slowness.

Interviewer: That fits quite well with the Olle...

Kim: Perfectly coincided. *Their slogan matched what I decided to pursue from now on.*

(My emphasis)

After his retirement in 2009, Kim started to walk the Olle Trail. He flew to Jeju very frequently, spending 100–150 days every year until he finally moved there in 2012. He introduced himself as “the *first* Olle immigrant”, his self-defined new identity. Kim runs an online community dedicated to Olle walking, where he spent 10 hours a day at its initial stage. Applying his management skills learnt from the bank, he meticulously organised this 5,300-member community by setting up regional subgroups, appointing cyber staff and even making an official logo, which was specially ordered from a designer based in New York through his personal connections. As an enthusiastic walker, he does walk slowly and disdains the anxiety to complete. However, his mode of reworking to attune to slowness seems quite different from the first type, who made a marked departure from the achievement-driven fast life. For him, the goal of “money and reputation” seems to have been replaced with “slowness”, which needs to be achieved quickly by employing habituated catch-up strategies.

In Olle walking, it is not too difficult to discern similar incorporations of slowness into habituated fastness. Using smartphones connected to 3G/4G network, walkers on the move check their current locations, search lunch places and check bus schedules to ‘save’ time (Fig 6.7). In the lounge of hostels, it is not uncommon to spot a walker updating his/her walking log on their blogs or online communities over the wireless Internet. They walk slowly, yet update fast about their slow walking experience. The success of the Olle Trail itself happened very quickly. It took five years and two months in total to make all 26 courses. The number of annual walkers over the same period increased from 30,000 to over a million. Kim Seong-Jin and these examples suggest that there certainly is ‘acceleration’ in this ‘decelerating’ practice.



Fig 6.7. The smartphone app for the Olle Trail (source: JOF).

This *accelerated slowness* might offer an example of non-dualistic organisation of time. As I outlined in chapter 2, geographers have sought to unsettle the prevalent binary assumptions of time, such as natural-social, slowness-fastness and deceleration-acceleration. Instead, they argue that the seemingly oppositional temporalities are actually intertwined. Edensor (2012) argues that despite the purported dominance of fast rhythms, there actually exists residual slowness in everyday life. Similarly, Bissell and Fuller (2011) draw attention to the ‘stillness’ that constitutes our ‘mobile’ world. The case of Olle walking shows similar concurrence: the recent valorisation of and transition to slowness does entail elements of fastness. ‘Going fast’ is an old and familiar habit accumulated through the collective experience of acceleration over time. Such “residual temporality” (Edensor 2012) habituated in the decelerating bodies of the walkers accelerates deceleration.

The presence of two diverging subject positions complicates the discussion on Foucauldian subjects. Although created through a similar process of government, these two types of Olle-ggun reconfigure their temporalities differently. It suggests walking is a ‘relational’ practice in which different individuals are engaged in different ways. Here, I discussed two distinctive

types, but there are possibly more variations of Olle-ggun. Such variety of decelerating subjects can illuminate the subtle but important diversities of the subject produced through governmentality practices. In chapter 4, I examined the ‘failed’ subject (local residents), those who escaped from the governing regimes, as well as the tangential subject (committed practitioners), those who inadvertently created themselves into slow subjects. Taken together with the variety of decelerating subjects discussed here, these examples draw attention to the diverse variations of Foucauldian subjects.

6.5. Conclusions

To sum up, I examined governmentalities of Olle walking, focusing on the ways in which a sense of time (slowness) is deployed to shape walking behaviours in particular ways. Taking the Foucauldian concept of affective governance as an analytical framework, I argued that this mode of governmentality creates an atmosphere of slowness that is associated with specific rhythms, bodily sensations, ethos and healing. I argued that the atmosphere of slowness governs through an affective logic of healing, which renders walking as ‘decelerating practice’ to produce ‘decelerating subjects’. I then discussed the temporal politics of the governmentality of slow walking in relation to the dominant fast-paced rhythm. I argued that the dynamics of deceleration intersect with habituated fastness, which produces an ‘accelerated slowness’. For this examination of affective governance, I deployed four non-representational themes (rhythms, senses, ethos and healing) as my analytical axes to look into the atmosphere of slow walking. These themes emerged from the specific case of Olle walking; however, they can have wider utilities for further examination of affective governance that deploys atmosphere as the primary governing strategy.

Through the examination of Olle walking, this chapter studied time in ecotourism governmentality. Empirical analyses suggest that time and temporalities of ecotourism are governed by embodied and affective means, producing a specific temporal body (e.g. slow body) and affective logics (e.g. healing). This Korean case offered a useful empirical case to

study time of ecotourism, as slowness has a specific significance of in Korean society in relation to the experience of accelerated modernisation. As I described, the discourse and experience of slowness are heavily deployed in the governmentality of walking tourism, which enacts self-reflective countryside walking as a biopolitical domain of deceleration.

While the primary analytical concern of this chapter lies in the ideas of time, empirical analysis reveals several interesting aspects of nature-talk at play in Olle walking. I discussed the therapeutic landscape, the affective logic of healing and an ethics of gratitude, which constitute and are produced through governmentalities of Olle walking. As reviewed in chapter 2, based on the examples of Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America and New Zealand, existing studies have been concerned with wilderness landscape and related affective logics, such as touch, adventure and spectacle (Cloke and Perkins 1998; Cloke and Cater 2007; Lorimer 2010b; Fletcher 2014). Drawing on the example situated in different geographical and cultural context, the case studied here offers a different mode of engagement that relate ecotouists to nature, such the agrarian landscape and an affective logic of healing. In chapter 5, I also discussed the use of idyllic rural landscape and an ethics of respect. Together, these analyses point to the presence of nature - as an idea and as a performer – in ecotourism, which is associated with the agrarian landscape, therapeutic experiences, an ethical sensibility of gratitude and respect. I will revisit this different mode of ecotourism nature in the conclusion of this thesis.

7 Space

In the previous chapters, I described how discourses of nature (*saengmyeong*) and time (slowness) are deployed in the governmentality of ecotourism to shape tourists' behaviours in particular ways, such as to respect nonhuman organisms and to slow down the speed of walking. I showed that these site-specific conditions intersected with discourses and practices of ecotourism (e.g. wise use of nature, slow tourism) that have wider, if not global, resonances. These interactions altered and enacted understandings of nature and ideas of time in Korean ecotourism in ways that do not necessarily conform to prevalent modes of practicing and theorising ecotourism. In this sense, the formation of ecotourism is a spatial process, through which diverse local and non-local materials, discourses and practices are related, exchanged and modified. In this chapter, I take up this interest in 'spatial formations', i.e. the process through which spatial relations are stabilised and produce geographical space. I explore the ways in which specific spatial relations are performed to enact Korean ecotourism in particular ways – in other words, how Korean ecotourism is governed at a distance through spatial relations.

The analysis in this chapter builds on work on space and power in cultural geography, science studies and environmental anthropology. Developing Foucault's attention to power and spatiality, this body of work offers a spatial account of globalised social phenomena: the network (i.e. a skein of relations) moves into and interacts with new spatial locations, producing a "situated" form of social phenomena (Murdoch 2005). I combine this analysis of spatial power with an exploration of site-specific historical-geographical connections. I pay particular attention to the influence of diverse historical connections and self-propelled local actors on a spatial formation of ecotourism. Empirical analysis shows that the spatial formation of the selected ecotourism case is a multiplicity: multiple geographical relations

produce multiple power geometries, which multiply the materials, discourses and practices of ecotourism. In so doing, I will argue that we need to explore *a multiplicity of spatial formations* to explain the “awkward, unequal, unstable and creative qualities” (Tsing 2005, p.4) emerging at the global-local interface.

I focus this examination on my third case study of whale tourism in Jangsaengpo, which we have encountered in the introduction to this thesis. As I flagged in preceding chapters, a specific geographical pattern, which weaves together Korea, Japan and other Western places, is discerned in all of my three cases. Due to the controversy over the concurrence of watching and eating of whales for tourism, spatial relations are made most visible in the case of whale tourism, in which various actors employ an array of materials that connect various geographical locations. I first explain the concept of ‘multiplicity’ in relation to spatial formations. I then trace the formulation, transformation and stabilisation of the space of whale tourism in Jangsaengpo. In conclusion, I reflect on what can be gained from taking a perspective of multiplicity for the study of the spatial formations of ecotourism and environmentalism more generally.

7.1. A multiplicity of spatial formations

As I outlined in chapter 2, spatial relations in ecotourism have largely been studied through postcolonial and political economy critiques (Simpson 2004; Vivanco 2007; Duffy 2008; Mowforth and Munt 2008; Lorimer 2010b). These researchers critically examine the flow of finances, expertise and technologies between the North and the South along post- and neo-colonial linkages and seek to reveal exacerbated global political and economic inequalities.

However, this critical postcolonial approach appears less useful for studying the spatial relations of Korean ecotourism due to different historical-geographical connections, such as no direct colonial relations to Northern/Western countries and the limited economic engagement of Northern institutions in ecotourism practices. Instead, this study draws on the

relational analysis of space and power, which develops Foucault's interests in governing through space beyond enclosed spatial institutions (like the prison) (Law 2004a; Massey 2005; Murdoch 2005; Tsing 2005; Blok 2013; Hathaway 2013). These authors re-theorise space and scale as a 'network' of relations operating on a "grounded" level (Marston *et al.* 2005). Such analysis reconfigures the ways in which power is understood to operate through spaces to bring about globalised social changes. It can be summarised as: globalised social phenomenon, or the global form, comes into being in materialised assemblages of technical infrastructure, administrative apparatuses and value regimes (Ong and Collier 2008); the global and the local are not oppositional ends but are constitutive partners in a global-local spatial formation; and the produced spatial forms are diverse and do not necessarily follow prescribed trajectories, such as the 'dominance of the global' or the 'resistance of the local' (Tsing 2005). These are the analytical insights I draw on for the analysis that follows.

I am particularly drawing on Mol's (2002) notion of 'multiplicity' in the context of global-local spatial formations. In their discussions of a topology of spaces, Mol and Law (1994) contrast "network space" with "fluid space" to identify a multiplicity of spaces. They argue that network space imposes a singular identity from the centre that enables diverse participants in a network to be aligned coherently. On the other hand, spatial relations in fluid space are constantly becoming, shifting and moving to "make room for difference and diversity" (Murdoch 2005, p.88). By thinking of space as "fluid", they reject a singular spatial formation where the willpower of the network builder stabilises the network. Instead, they open the possibility of multiple spatial formations.

Mol elaborates the notion of multiplicity in her conceptualisation of "the body multiple" (2002).⁷¹ She uses this concept to illustrate that "realities" are not pre-given but come into

⁷¹ Similarly, Law (2004b, p. 6) describes 'multiplicity' as: "More than one and less than many. [...] Or perhaps their relations are a mix of these: complementary, contradictory and mutually inclusive. At any event, in this way of thinking naturecultures are complex in the sense that they are multiply enacted in multiple practices and cannot be known anywhere in particular".

being through practices: each practice enrolls an array of material-semiotic objects, which are “enacted” in different ways to perform the object of enquiry – in this case the patient’s body. Hence, the reality of an object differs from practice to practice. Since there are multiple practices, multiple realities come into existence. Here, she develops ontology of multiplicity where things are enacted through practices and into multiple forms. Adopting a perspective of multiplicity can offer a way of thinking spatial formations as a relational process through which multiple globalised forms come into being. Her discussion of the body multiple suggests a number of sources, from which multiplicity can be engaged with and produced. These sources appear useful to explore a multiplicity of spatial formations. In this chapter, I focus on three of them: multiple actors, multiple modes of interaction and multiple enactments.⁷²

First, the involvement of diverse actors, ranging from the local to global, can bring multiplicity to spatial formations. Taking a non-scalar understanding of global-local power dynamics, spatial scholars, such as Massey (2005), reconceptualise local participants as ‘agents’, rather than as ‘victims’, of global social changes who voluntarily adopt and alter global mechanisms. Such a rethinking of local participants as active actors can extend the cast of actors in the making of globalised social changes. I will specifically focus on a diversity of local actors – i.e. they are by no means a homogeneous group but diverse political actors. Furthermore, the specific historical-geographical connections also appear to multiply the range of actors involved. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, Korea experienced Japanese colonisation, followed by intimate political relations with the US during the Cold War period. Such specific historical-geographical connections provide multiple sources to establish spatial relations, which differs from the prevalent global North-South linkages that characterise the literatures on ecotourism.

⁷² This selection of sources is drawn on from Murdoch’s (2005, p. 84–85) identification of two sources of multiplicity in spaces: varied outcomes emerging at the global-local encounters and various interactions of networks.

Second, diverse actors perform in and out of the networks, multiplying the types of interactions. These performances are not necessarily aligned coherently to the will of the centre; instead, as Murdoch (2005, p.89) explains, “subjects and objects are drawn selectively into and out of discrete networks, sometimes simultaneously, sometimes concurrently.” For this analysis, I will use Massey’s (1994) concept of ‘power geometry’, which refers to specific spatial orderings in which a multitude of relations are stabilised in specific ways. In the present case, due to the enrolment of significantly different political actors, more than one power geometry appears in play. Their interactions produce multiple practices (e.g. watching and eating of whales) in conflict and/or in consonance, which creates spatial multiplicity.

Third, Mol’s claim for multiple realities emerging from multiple practices echoes Tsing’s (2005) relational understanding of global-local connections. For Tsing, a situated form of globalised social phenomena is a relational achievement of the specific global-local interactions. She uses the concept of ‘friction’ to draw attention to the diverse and unanticipated outcomes emerging at global-local encounters. Here, both Tsing and Mol encourage us to suspend making recourse to prescribed, prevalent and singular trajectories. Instead, they propose a way of making sense of globalised spatial formations as a “relational, heterogeneous and open” process (Massey 2005, p.4). In this sense, thinking of spatial formations through a perspective of multiplicity might help us recognise and pay serious attention to the actors, interactions and produced outcomes that otherwise may be disregarded as ‘unique’ or ‘anomalies’.

In this chapter, I explore a multiplicity of spatial formations through the case of Korean whale tourism. Informed by the analytics of Tsing (2000) and Latour (2007) in terms of global-local connections,⁷³ I examine the formulation (section 7.3.1), transformation (7.3.2) and stabilisation (7.3.3) of spatial relations in whale tourism in Jangsaengpo. Specifically, I trace

⁷³ For example, Tsing (2000, p. 347) suggests: “We might look at how particular projects become formulated, how they are tied and transformed in the process and how they sometimes interrupt each other despite themselves.”

three objects from the ‘global assemblages’ of whale tourism (Ong and Collier 2008): legal devices (7.3.1), tourist practices (7.3.2) and governing systems (7.3.3).

7.2. From whaling to whale-watching tourism?

The change that has occurred in human-whale relations is a dramatic one. For centuries, whales were intensively hunted by Euro-American⁷⁴ and later by Japanese whaling fleets, pursuing oil and body parts (Dolin 2008; Watanabe 2009). In the latter half of the 20th century, whaling started to attract mounting criticism and finally largely came to an end in 1986 due to an international moratorium on the commercial whaling of 13 large whale species (Gillespie 2005; Heazle 2006).

With the demise of whaling, a shift from the lethal to the non-lethal use of whales occurred in many Euro-American places. Whale-watching tourism⁷⁵ has been proposed as an alternative to whaling by international conservation organisations, including the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), Greenpeace, the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the IWC (Hoyt 2002; Epstein 2008). To induce a transition from whaling to whale-watching tourism, these bodies and affiliated researchers argued that whale-watching tourism is economically viable and more profitable than whaling (Orams 2001; O’Connor *et al.* 2009). This transition was informed by and also propagated specific cultural understandings of whales as intelligent and gentle wildlife (Lilly 1961; Payne and McVay 1971). It accompanied a series of institutional changes, such as legislation to protect cetaceans, anti-whaling campaigns, the rise of the whale-watching tourism industry, as well as the increased captivity of cetaceans for the entertainment industry (Gillespie 2005; Epstein 2008). There has been criticism toward non-lethal practices, especially captivity, concerned with its impacts on the welfare of individual

⁷⁴ In relation to whaling, ‘Euro-American’ and ‘Western’ mostly refer to the US, the UK and Australia. These are imprecise descriptors encompassing vast geographical regions; however, in this chapter, I keep these terms because they, especially the ‘West’ (in Korean: *seogu*), are widely used in the context of Korean whale tourism.

⁷⁵ Cetacean refers to a total of 90 species of whales, dolphins and porpoises (IUCN 2015). Given whale-watching tourism in practice often involves and targets dolphins, the correct term should be cetacean tourism.

animals (White 2008; Neves 2010). Advocates of whale-watching tourism claim that nonhuman exploitation derived from whale-watching tourism is acceptable and manageable (Scarpaci and Parsons 2014).⁷⁶ However, critics such as Neves (2010) argue that whaling and whale-watching tourism are in a continuum in terms of the ecological disruption on nonhuman bodies and the sustained configuration of nonhumans as capitalist commodities (also Büscher and Davidov 2014).

Not all whaling was terminated in 1986. In indigenous communities in the Arctic and the Caribbean, “aboriginal subsistence whaling”, as the IWC defines it, is carried out to maintain traditional whale-meat consumption (for example, Fielding 2014). While this form of whaling is generally accepted in international conservation communities, whaling in Japan, Norway and Iceland has been controversial. Japan conducts “scientific whaling” under the control of the IWC, in addition to coastal hunting for dolphins and small whale species not included in the IWC regulation (Hirata 2005; Blok 2008; Morikawa 2009). Japanese fishery bureaucrats and researchers have developed cultural accounts of whaling as a way of maintaining ‘traditional’ whaling and whale-meat culture (Kalland and Moeran 1990; Kalland 2009). Norway and Iceland registered an objection to the moratorium decision and have carried out “commercial whaling” for domestic use and export to Japan (Einarsson 1993; Brydon 2006). Korea at the moment does not conduct any form of whaling; however, it planned to submit a proposal for scientific whaling to the IWC in 2012, which encountered international anti-whaling pressure and was later withdrawn (J.W. Lee 2013).

In these whaling countries, there is a growing use of whales for tourism, especially whale-watching boat trips (Segi 2003; O’Connor *et al.* 2009; Morikawa and Hoyt 2011). The concurrence of whaling and whale-watching tourism contradicts the assumption of (Western) tourists that view these practices are mutually exclusive (Orams 2001; Parsons and Rawles

⁷⁶ The IWC runs the Whalewatching Working Group to produce guidelines and regulations for whale-watching tourism.

2003). Hunting the same population that is watched can produce an economic contradiction as it removes economic resources that should be kept. For those versed in the specific cultural values attributed to whales (e.g. intelligent and gentle creatures), its coexistence with whaling can provoke a cultural conflict.⁷⁷ The concurrence of the watching and killing (and eating) of whales has received limited academic attention (Higham and Lusseau 2008; Einarsson 2009; Cunningham *et al.* 2012). In their studies of such occasions in Japan and Iceland, Cunningham *et al.* (2012) identify the different use of the sustainability discourse: while anti-whaling countries conceive of non-lethal practices, as a sustainable use of whales, pro-whaling countries focus on sustainable harvest, i.e. renewable resource management, as a way of implementing sustainability. For the advocates of these practices in concurrence, limited whaling, to the extent which does not undermine the viability of whale-watching tourism, is viewed as not just as a compatible practice but also a rational decision to maximise the sustainable use of whales. To this body of work, I add a Korean case in which both watching and eating whales constitute whale tourism.⁷⁸ As a way of making sense of such concurrence, I offer a geographical account by examining the spatial relations of whale tourism in Jangsaengpo.⁷⁹

7.3. The whale multiple

Jangsaengpo is a small coastal town (population: 2,100) of Ulsan Metropolitan City located at the southeast coast of South Korea. It is a ‘whale’ town. Jangsaengpo was the first and the biggest whaling port in the Korean whaling period (1894–1986), during which time large whale species – mainly the fin whale (*Balaenoptera physalus*), grey whale (*Eschrichtius robustus*) and minke whale (*Balaenoptera acutorostrata*) – were caught in East Sea (Sea of Japan). This practice was terminated in 1986 to comply with the international moratorium on

⁷⁷ In Iceland and Norway, whaling and whale-watching tourism occur side by side, although whaling is largely removed from tourism display in order to meet the aesthetic expectations of the dominant Euro-American tourists (Einarsson 2009).

⁷⁸ Watching and eating of whales also co-occur in Japanese whale tourism (Segi 2003), which is less prominent in Norway and Iceland.

⁷⁹ Blok (2013) develops spatial accounts of Japanese “research whaling”.

commercial whaling (Park 1987; Watanabe 2009). The 58th Annual Meeting of the IWC, held in Jangsaengpo and Ulsan in 2005, revitalised scientific, economic and political interests in whales after a two-decade vacuum. The Cetacean Research Institute (CRI) Korea, a state-funded research agency, was created in Jangsaengpo in 2004 to study the cetacean population and ecology. KFEM started whale-conservation campaigns just before the IWC meeting. According to CRI, 35 cetacean species inhabit or migrate in Korean waters (Kim *et al.* 2009).

Tourism began to flourish in 2009, when the government of the South District of Ulsan started to operate whale-watching boat trips that targeted minke whales and several dolphin species (Fig 7.1). A dolphin aquarium, called the Whale Ecology Experience Hall, with four bottlenose dolphins (*Tursiops truncatus*) was soon added. The Whale Museum, opened earlier in 2005, contributes to tourism by exhibiting local whaling relics and whale skeletons. The local government directly operates all these tourism facilities, which makes it a type of ‘*gwan*-led’ governance that I discussed in chapter 4. The only engagement of the private sector occurs with 53 local restaurants, of which 35 serve whale-meat dishes using minke whales and dolphins.⁸⁰ These whale-meat restaurants line the quay where whale-watching boats depart and attract tourists to taste this ‘local specialty’. The official source of whale meat is ‘by-catch’: incidental catches of cetaceans that have become entangled in fishing gear and found dead. About 80 minke whales are obtained through by-catch, which is the second highest rate after Japan (Lukoschek *et al.* 2009; MacMillan and Han 2011). Illegal catching and import from Japan are also conducted to supply whale meat, which is known through occasional prosecution cases. There is no confirmed data for the extent of illegal whaling. According to officers, researchers and local residents including an illegal whaler, about 200–400 minke whales are caught a year (M. Choi 2010).

⁸⁰ Twenty of 35 are ‘specialty restaurants’ serving only whale meat. The remaining 15 deal with seafood as well.



Fig 7.1. Tourist practices of whale tourism in Jangsaengpo. From the top left, clockwise: whale-watching boat trips, the Whale Museum, the dolphin captivity and whale-meat dish (The photo of whale-meat: courtesy of Donggeuri at: blog.daum.net/demeter73).

The great majority of tourists are Korean nationals from adjacent urban areas coming for a day trip. They are offered the opportunity to watch whales in the natural environment and in captivity, as well as to eat them in local restaurants. As I summarise in Table 7.1, different practices related to whale tourism – watching, protecting, eating and hunting – enact the whales enrolled in tourism in different ways as: individual animals, marine mammals, meat, and fishing resources, respectively. Mol (2002) would call this multiple enactment of whales through different practices ‘the whale multiple’. Similarly, in their studies of salmon farming, Lien and Law (2011; also Lien and Law 2012) outline the multiple enactments of Atlantic salmon: as biomass through scientific classification; as farmed fish through domestication; as lively agents through feeding; and as alien species through identification of invasive species.

	Practices	Ontologies
The tourist whale	Whale-watching boat trips	Individual animal
The conservationist whale	Whale protecting legislation	Marine mammal
The culinary whale	Whale-meat consumption	Meat
The fishery whale	Incidental and illicit whaling	Fishing resource

Table 7.1. The whale multiple.

7.3.1. Formulation: diverging historical connections

Korean human-whale relations can be dated back to the Neolithic Age when petroglyphs depicting 53 whale figures and whaling scenes were carved at Bangudae, near Jangsaengpo (Roman 2006). However, modern human-whale practices have developed in relation to two diverging historical connections, first with Japan and later with the West. As Latour (2007, p.219) explains, “[e]very time a connection has to be established, a new conduit has to be laid down and some new type of entity has to be transported through it”. The historical connections serve as the ‘conduits’ through which technologies, governing systems and value regimes can travel (Ong and Collier 2008). The connections with Japan and the West are especially interesting for their strikingly contrasting political commitment to contemporary whaling. These two diverging historical conduits have resulted in various and conflicting global actors and entities enrolled in Korean whale network.

The Japanese connection introduced modern whaling to Korea. The first Korean whaling stations were set up in Jangsaengpo in 1894 by Russian whalers. After the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 and Korea’s annexation by Japan in 1910, Japan took over and developed these stations to catch large whale species in the East Sea for their meat and oils. Hired by Japanese whaling corporations, Korean crew were able to learn whaling techniques and systems (S. Kim 2008). After Korea gained independence in 1945, Korean whalers based in Jangsaengpo continued to catch minke whales, the main purpose being to obtain whale meat to export to Japan as well as to satisfy national demand (Park 1987). Typically, Korean whaling involved

deploying a 50–100 ton boat with 12–13 crewmen to hunt whales along the coast. This format substantially differs from American ‘Yankee whaling’, which mobilised a whaling fleet to conduct two to three-year pelagic whaling (Dolin 2008), or Norwegian modern whaling, equipped with explosive harpoons and steamships. It is not dissimilar to what Japan defines as ‘small-type coastal whaling’ – namely, hunting of smaller whale species off the Japanese coast (Kalland and Moeran 1990; Watanabe 2009). According to an illegal whaler I interviewed, current illegal whaling is conducted in a similar format with a smaller crew (4–5 crewmen).

Through the conduit established by whaling, a set of practices, technologies and administrative functions was transferred, laying the foundations for contemporary Korean whale management. Many of them have remained in the postcolonial period and have been further developed. The practice of cooking and eating whales for food was introduced alongside colonial whaling. Whale-meat consumption increased during and after the Korean War (1950–1953) as whale meat was a cheap and available protein resource; not to mention lean meat, various body parts were also simply boiled and then served. Some dishes still carry Japanese names, such as *une* for flank dish and *obeki* for tail dish (Hur 2012). Informed by Japanese research, Korean scientists at the CRI adopted the sighting survey method to estimate the cetacean population (Miyashita and An 2010). The structure and research focus of the CRI are similar with those of the Institute of Cetacean Research (ICR) Japan (Hirata 2005).

The Western connection was mediated through international institutions, such as the IWC, and international conservation organisations. The IWC was founded in 1946 by the then-whaling countries of the US, UK and the USSR. Korea joined the IWC in 1978 to avoid impending fishery sanctions from the US on non-IWC member countries (Park 1987; Epstein 2008). After the Rio Summit in 1992, Korea started to join international conservation treaties, including the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and

Flora (CITES, in 1993), which prohibits transnational trade in 13 large whale species (Appendices I) and puts limits on trade in all cetacean species (Appendices II). The IUCN classifies seven cetacean species as endangered, including five large whales (Table 7.2).

IWC (Commercial whaling of 13 large whales is prohibited)		CITES Status	IUCN Red List status*
Common name	Scientific name		
Bowhead (or Greenland right whale)	<i>Balaena mysticetus</i>	Appendices I	LC
North Atlantic right whale	<i>Eubalaena glacialis</i>		EN
North Pacific right whale	<i>Eubalaena japonica</i>		EN
Southern right whale	<i>Eubalaena australis</i>		LC
Grey whale	<i>Eschrichtius robustus</i>		LC
Blue whale	<i>Balaenoptera musculus</i>		EN
Fin whale	<i>Balaenoptera physalus</i>		EN
Sei whale	<i>Balaenoptera borealis</i>		EN
Bryde's whale	<i>Balaenoptera edeni</i>		DD
Common minke whale	<i>Balaenoptera acutorostrata</i>		LC
Antarctic minke whale	<i>Balaenoptera bonaerensis</i>		DD
Humpback whale	<i>Megaptera novaeangliae</i>		LC
Sperm whale	<i>Physeter macrocephalus</i>		VU

*LC=Least Concern, EN=Endangered, DD=Data Deficient, VU=Vulnerable

Table 7.2. Status of the 13 large cetaceans.

International conservation NGOs simultaneously started to engage with Korean whale-meat issues. These connections were formed through the commitment of eNGOs to investigate and reveal Korean whale-meat consumption. The first such occasion was in 1994 when researchers from TRAFFIC, a WWF-affiliated organisation, collected whale-meat samples and conducted a DNA analysis (Kang and Phipps 2000). The results were presented to the annual conference of CITES in 1997 as evidence of illegal whale-meat trade across East Asia. Since 1994, the American biologist Scott Baker has serially conducted DNA analyses on Korean and Japanese whale meat as a way of developing a method to estimate the whale population (Baker 2000; Baker *et al.* 2006; Baker *et al.* 2010). The Western connection thus brought different sets of technologies, systems and values. These include: the classification of cetacean species into 13 large whale species under IWC protection and the remainder into about 60 other species; the concept of endangered species; and a DNA analysis method.

Through the two diverging historical connections, competing sets of institutions, technologies and governing systems have travelled to Korean whale management. It is not just the IWC and international conservation organisations that are engaged, but also the ICR in Japan and the Whaling Association of Tokyo. A variety of competing actors and entities enact whales in overlapping (e.g. viewing whales as individual animals and endangered species) as well as colliding ways (e.g. treating whales as meat and endangered species). This network rejects a single powerful centre that would coherently align elements. In this regard, the Korean whale network can be what Murdoch (1998) calls a “space of negotiation” in which “discretion and negotiation between all assembled elements are the norm” (Murdoch 2005, p.80).

Legal devices

The legal calculation of Korean whales could offer a compelling example of how competing legislation and administrative functions stemming from Japan and the West are negotiated. Korean cetacean management is based on the Fisheries Act of 1953 and the Fishing Resource Management Act of 2009, both of which are grounded in the colonial laws of Whaling Management Act of 1907 and the Fishing Industry Act of 1911. This legislation defines cetaceans as ‘fishing resources’ and cetacean hunting as ‘fishery’, meaning that the Division of Fisheries Policies of the MOF is the central body of the government dealing with cetaceans. In compliance with the international moratorium, the National Fisheries Administration (now MOF) issued The Directive on the Prohibition of Cetacean Catching in 1986 and the Regulation on Implementing the Prohibition of Cetacean Catching in 1994. These legal arrangements prohibit any type of cetacean killing with the exception of whaling for scientific research. They were, however, built on significantly different understandings of whales compared with similar legislation enacted in the West, e.g. the US Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) of 1972. While MMPA was inspired by concerns with species conservation in relation to then-prevailing whale conservation campaigns (Rose *et al.* 2013), Korean legislation was based on the status of whales as a renewable fishing resource. Legal

prohibition was introduced to codify international regulation regarding domestic legislation and, therefore, does not represent a change in the perception of whales.

Korean protection-worthy marine mammals (Eight species specified in grey shade)*			IWC CITES Status	IUCN Red List status
Korean names	Common names	Scientific names		
<i>Bukgeuk-gorae</i>	Bowhead (or Greenland right whale)	<i>Balaena mysticetus</i>	Commercial whaling of the IWC's 13 large whales is prohibited and CITES Appendices I	LC
<i>Buktaebyeongyang Ginsu yeom-gorae</i>	North Atlantic right whale	<i>Eubalaena glacialis</i>		EN
<i>Bukbang Ginsu yeom-gorae</i>	North Pacific right whale	<i>Eubalaena japonica</i>		EN
<i>Namtaebyeongyang Ginsu yeom-gorae</i>	Southern right whale	<i>Eubalaena australis</i>		LC
<i>Gwisin-gorae</i>	Grey whale	<i>Eschrichtius robustus</i>		LC
<i>Daewang-gorae</i>	Blue whale	<i>Balaenoptera musculus</i>		EN
<i>Cham-gorae</i>	Fin whale	<i>Balaenoptera physalus</i>		EN
<i>Bori-gorae</i>	Sei whale	<i>Balaenoptera borealis</i>		EN
<i>Beuraid-gorae</i>	Bryde's whale	<i>Balaenoptera edeni</i>		DD
<i>Mingkeu-gorae</i>	Common minke whale	<i>Balaenoptera acutorostrata</i>		LC
<i>Mingkeu-gorae</i>	Antarctic minke whale	<i>Balaenoptera bonaerensis</i>		DD
<i>Hokdeung-gorae</i>	Humpback whale	<i>Megaptera novaeangliae</i>		LC
<i>Hyang-goare</i>	Sperm whale	<i>Physeter macrocephalus</i>		VU

*A total of nine cetaceans including *Nambang-keun-dolgorae* (Indo-pacific bottlenose dolphin, *Tursiops aduncus*)

Table 7.3. The Korean list of protection-worthy cetaceans by MOF.

Over the last decade, however, cetaceans in Korea have started to be recognised as protection-worthy species. In 2006, the MOF designated eight (now nine) cetacean species as 'protection-worthy marine mammals' (Table 7.3) based on the Conservation and Management of Marine Ecology Act (2006), which prohibits catching and harming of the designated cetacean species. The Korean method of selection for the protected cetaceans largely follows the 13 large whale species that the IWC is concerned with. The minke whale is included in the IWC classification; however, this species is not included in Korean designation, which opens room for the controversy over legal and illegal catching of this species/resource. As one journalist states, this designation was the first legal acknowledgement of cetaceans not as 'fishing resources' but as 'biological species', recognising their importance in genetic and biodiversity conservation (H.S. Cho 2006). Prior

to this, the only national protection scheme applied to cetaceans was the designation of the grey whale migration site in Ulsan as National Monument number 126, which was a reproduction of the same arrangement made in 1942 under the Japanese colonial government.⁸¹ No cetacean is yet classified as a national endangered species, a list that has protected 246 species since 1989.

The changes in Korean cetacean legislation illustrate how differing Japanese and Western relations have been enrolled and negotiated over time. While the Japanese connections led to whales being fishing resources, Western influence enacts them as a species of marine mammal.⁸² Accordingly, the legal status of the Korean whale today is as a ‘fishing resource’ to catch *and* as a ‘marine mammal’ to protect.

7.3.2. Transformation:⁸³ divergent local actors

In this section, I focus on the active role played by diverse local actors in the making of what constitutes whale tourism. In his study of the emergence of environmentalism in Yunnan, China, Hathaway (2013) underscores the active participation of local actors in “transnational work”, which brought about globalised social changes. This also occurred in Jangsaengpo in slightly different ways that was led by self-propelled local actors. Unlike Yunnan and other biodiversity hotspots, Korea has attracted limited attention from international conservation organisations.⁸⁴ Korean offices of international eNGOs were not set up until 2012, when Greenpeace Korea opened, followed by WWF Korea in 2013. Preliminary transnational

⁸¹ *Kanbo* (Official government announcement) no.4612 (15/06/1942). Available at: gb.nl.go.kr (accessed on 17/05/2015).

⁸² Similarly, Tsing and Satuka (2008) discuss the divergence of mushroom conservation science in Japan and the US in relation to the differing national histories of forestry.

⁸³ By transformation, I refer to the process of the remaking of people, cultures and things as they travel across spaces (Tsing 2000, p. 347). It is similar to the STS concept of “circulation”, which refers to the movement of meaning and elements among different actors and places (Latour 1999). Circulation entails modification, distortion and transformation of the things being carried. Tsing (2000) is, however, cautious of using the term circulation, as it connotes the ‘transmission’ of the things rather than their active ‘re-making’.

⁸⁴ Such disinterest can be related to specific biodiversity lacking popular flagship species, the absence of direct Western colonial experiences and the significance of home eNGOs. This discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis.

projects such as whale-meat studies and whale-population surveys in the 1990s provided the conditions of possibility for transnational cooperation. Yet, transnational work on whale conservation did not flourish until the mid 2000s, when Korean environmental campaigners and government officials travelled abroad to look for useful whale-related discourses and practices. As outlined, local actors are by no means one homogeneous group but divergent actors who possess different sets of identities and interests. In relation to Korean whale-watching tourism, at least three divergent groups of actors can be determined: Korean environmental activists, national and regional policymakers and the officers of local government.

Beginning in California in 1955, whale-watching tourism grew in earnest in the US over the 1970s, along with the rise of the dramatic cultural transformation of whales. In 1993, the IWC adopted a resolution defining whale-watching tourism as an economic and ecological alternative to whaling (Hoyt 2002). The IFAW and the American researcher Eric Hoyt (2001; also O'Connor *et al.* 2009) collected the revenue data of whale-watching tourism and estimated its global scale: in 2000, whale-watching tourism took place in over 87 countries (119 in 2009), attracting over 9 million tourists per annum (13 million in 2009). They suggested that this figure acts as proof of the economic viability of whale-watching tourism, thereby giving mandate to replace whaling with whale-watching tourism. As a globalised form of environmentalism, whale-watching tourism travels across sites in the form of a material assemblage, including the replacement narrative, Hoyt's figures (i.e. statistics) and Western examples. In the following analysis, I focus on these three objects to trace the travel of materials, discourses and practices of whale-watching tourism through three diverging groups of local actors.

Environmental campaigners

Choi Ye-Yong, a KFEM activist, was one of the first key figures that introduced whale-watching tourism to Korea. Being the first Korean eNGO representative, Choi attended the

Annual Meeting of the IWC in Italy in 2004. He then visited the Greenpeace headquarters in the Netherlands and Australia to discuss campaign strategies with international eNGOs for the upcoming IWC Ulsan meeting in 2005. During this trip, he spotted the words “From Whalers to Whale-watchers” printed on the cover of a booklet published by the Australian government. He brought this text home and circulated it among environmental activists in Seoul and Ulsan through internal workshops. To environmental campaigners like Choi, the statement appeared to provide a breakthrough in their whale-conservation campaigns. It presented whale-watching tourism as a replacement for incidental and illicit whaling by offering an economic alternative to fishermen/illegal whalers. The title of their workshop in 2008 was “Beyond Whale-Catch, Toward Whale-Watching”, a rephrasing of the original text Choi discovered.

The growth of cyberspace allowed Korean activists to search and obtain useful textual materials, such as Hoyt’s 2001 report. In addition to reproducing Hoyt’s figure, Choi singled out the revenue of Japanese whale-watching tourism from Hoyt’s report and compared it with Japan’s whaling-revenue figures taken from *The Economist*. Using Hoyt’s figure, he sought to demonstrate that a transition from whaling to whale-watching tourism is a rational economic choice. Making the most of their overseas trips, Choi and others collected examples concerning whale-watching tourism in Australia, Japan and Taiwan by participating in tours and interviewing practitioners. KFEM hosted an international conference on whale-watching tourism in 2005 and invited speakers from Greenpeace International, Australian IFAW researchers and whale scientists from the US. For them, whale-watching tourism is about replacing whaling by enjoying whales through watching them only, which is similar to the ideas underpinning the start of whale-watching tourism in New England.

Governmental officials

The ideas and practices of whale-watching tourism began to diverge when the officials and researchers from national and regional governments became involved. After the IWC Ulsan meeting in 2005, the MOF started to take an interest in whale-watching tourism and

commissioned related research. For policymakers, whale-watching tourism was viewed as a new model for local development to help revitalise rundown coastal villages (Lee *et al.* 2008). Hoyt's figure was reproduced in the report submitted to the national government as convincing evidence of the economic profitability of whale-watching tourism. Such aspiration was shared with the regional government. Taking the whale as an inspiring theme for local development, the government of Ulsan outlined a master plan that involves the initiation of whale-watching tourism (Lee *et al.* 2009).

Officials and researchers looked for examples beyond the places reported by environmental activists. They visited sites that held a range of cetacean-related tourism activities: archetypal whale-watching tourism in New England, US and Australia; whaling-heritage tourism in New Bedford, US; cetacean captivity in Florida, US; as well as a whale festival and whale-meat consumption in Taiji, Japan. Their research trips established links between various modes of whale tourism. Given the migratory nature and the depleted population of Korean cetaceans, they doubted the feasibility of whale tourism only focused on whale-watching boat trips and instead suggested 'whale-related cultural heritage', including whale-meat consumption (Lee *et al.* 2008). As implied in their reports, these officials and researchers by no means intend to resume whaling to supply the whale meat. On the contrary, fishery officials conceived of whale-watching tourism as a useful policy tool to reduce illegal whaling by offering an alternative means of economy to whalers.⁸⁵ Here, we can see the perceived utility of ecotourism as a governmentality tool to change behaviours of certain local population, as discussed in chapter 4. Officials from the regional government regarded KFEM as a partner in implementing whale-watching tourism. While Choi's initial trip in 2004 was funded by the IFAW and Greenpeace, the KFEM workshop in 2008 was financed by the government of Ulsan.

⁸⁵ In an interview with Park Seung-Chul, the manager of the department of ports and fisheries, Government of Ulsan Metropolitan City

Practitioners from the local government

However, it was the government of South District who put whale-watching tourism in practice in Jangsaengpo. In 2008, Jangsaengpo was designated as a ‘Special Zone for Whale Culture’ (SZWC) by the Ministry of Knowledge Economy, which secured public funding for whale-themed businesses. As the designer and implementer of the SZWC, the local government initiated whale-watching boat trips in April 2009, followed by the construction of a dolphin aquarium. Local whaling history (e.g. whalers’ life stories) was collected and rediscovered with the prospect of developing the whaling tradition for tourism purposes.

Eating whale meat became part of the tourism and was marketed as an important component of whaling heritage. Menus, prices and signage of whale-meat restaurants were renewed with financial subsidises from the local government. Whale meat is promoted as a ‘local delicacy’; in tourism brochures and media publicity, it is described as “heavenly delicious” and as having “12 different tastes”. Given its limited supply due to the international moratorium on commercial whaling, whale-meat consumption is also regarded as a “prestigious” dining experience of enjoying rare and expensive meat. At the same time, it is also branded as ‘traditional culinary culture’ that local residents have maintained for a long time. These arguments are not necessarily truthful. Whale-meat is available all year around and not unaffordable (100,000 KRW (60 pounds) per two servings). Let alone the modern origin of local whale-meat consumption in colonial whaling, the whale meat dish enjoyed today is not the same as the original humble protein resource that was consumed locally.⁸⁶

In this sense, recent deployment of whaling and whale-meat consumption for tourism could be an example of the “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). In chapter 5, I discussed similar re-discovery of the past (e.g. traditional fishery) for contemporary environmental politics, which I called ‘ancient future’. Both cases show a similar temporal

⁸⁶ The number of whale-meat restaurants increased from 4 in 1986 to 35 in Jangsaengpo and 119 nationwide in 2012 (D.K. Kim 2013).

organisation; yet their political intents appear different. In the tidal flat case, elements of the past were mobilised to offer alternative modes of human-nonhuman engagement to the prevalent ones. In the whale case, however, the past was deployed to legitimate and continue the existing modes of whale management by invoking cultural claims.

An example that local government referred to was Taiji, Japan. Unlike the exclusivity between watching and hunting as seen in Western examples, this Japanese destination offers a dolphin aquarium, an annual whale-heritage festival and dolphin-meat consumption for tourism (Segi 2003). In addition to the research trips of local officials and politicians, various human and nonhuman objects were transferred through the existing Japanese-Korean connections established through the activity of whaling. These include: the donation of whale skeletons from the Japanese Whaling Association, a Taiji-trained Korean dolphin trainer and the purchase of captive dolphins from Taiji. An official of the local government stressed that the Japanese model is an “easy example” to follow because the cultural and historical background of the two nations are similar.

As such, practices constituting whale tourism in Jangsaengpo have been multiplied into whale-watching trips, cultural heritage and eating whale meat. Suggesting whale-meat consumption as an important constituency of whale tourism, the local government demands “resumption”⁸⁷ of whaling to provide “clean and hygienic” meat. Here, the replacement narrative from whaling to whale-watching tourism, is rejected. Instead, for the local government, both whaling and whale-watching tourism are conceived as a continuum that makes up the primary (extraction economy) and the tertiary (service economy) sectors of the “whale industry” (D.K. Kim 2013).⁸⁸ Hoyt’s figure has been used again here to stress the

⁸⁷ This choice of word by the local government suggests commercial whaling is viewed as suspended, not terminated, in 1986.

⁸⁸ Kim Doo-Kyum, the mayor of the local government, developed the concept of the ‘whale industry’ himself in his PhD thesis from Ulsan University (2013).

revenue potential of whale-watching tourism while the implied replacement narrative has been removed.

The concurrence of whale-watching trips and whale-meat consumption associated with the overt claim for whaling creates ‘friction’ (Tsing 2005) between environmental campaigners and the practitioners of the local government, affiliated with the local residents of Jangsaengpo (Fig 7.2). For campaigners of the KFEM, watching whales and eating or hunting them are incommensurable. They focus their whale conservation movement on anti-whale-meat campaigns, for example, protesting against whale-meat publicising events at the annual whale festival. To reduce whale-meat consumption, they especially focus on publicising the high level of mercury in whale meat. This provokes the local residents, the majority of whose family members were and still are involved in whaling and whale-meat-related businesses. Responses from tourists were mixed. For some tourists, watching and eating were not contradictory because, as they told me, “whales are something to eat”. A lot of middle-aged tourists have eaten whales before whaling was prohibited; and young tourists, especially from adjacent areas, had similar experiences at whale-meat restaurants. Others found such concurrence disturbing. For them, heritage photos hung in the Whale Museum, such as the scene of a whale dissection and bleeding whales, appeared to contradict the cutely anthropomorphised representation of whales prevalent in tourism-related facilities. Several young tourists in their 20s even described eating whale meat as “barbaric”.



Fig 7.2. Friction: anti-whaling campaign by KFEM (source: *Kyunghyang Daily*) vs. local residents protesting for resumption of whaling (source: *Yonhap News*).

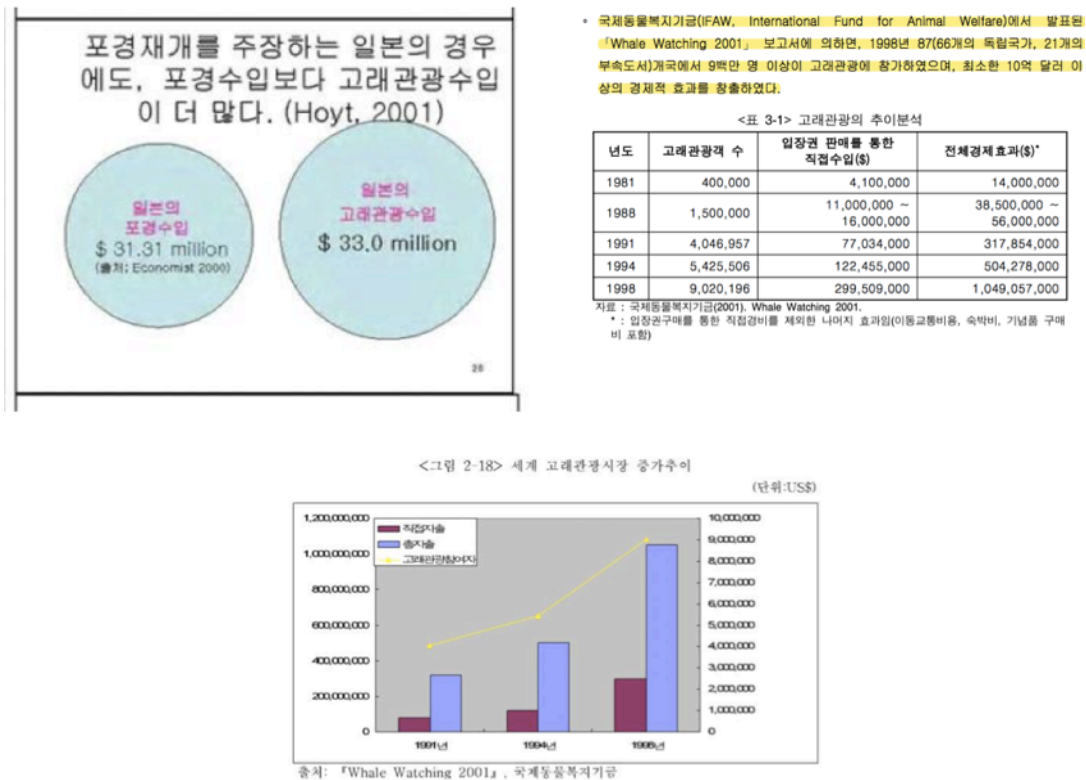


Fig 7.3. Hoyt's figure in travelling. From the top left, clockwise: Choi Ye-Yong's presentation (Y. Choi 2007); whale-watching tourism report submitted to MOF in 2008 (Lee *et al.* 2008, p.45); and a report by South District (D.K. Kim 2013, p.133)).

The whale-watching tourism practiced in Jangsaengpo is markedly different from the 'original' form initiated in New England (Hoyt 2002), as well as those being discussed in the IWC. The replacement narrative failed to endure the journey between sites. The meaning of Hoyt's figure was modified to support different arguments (Fig 7.3). The examples were diversified through the mobilisation of diverging historical connections between Japan and the West. Circulating the narrative, the figure and the examples, divergent local actors modify the discourses and practices of whale tourism. All three groups of actors had the common desire to reorient whale-related practices from eating-hunting; however, their different political intents propelled them to refer to and establish different spatial relations, redefining what constitutes whale tourism. Here, local actors are not passive recipients but active participants who are able to manipulate the global form to work with their own political

interests (Massey 2005). Through local actors' divergent participation, constituencies of whale tourism have come into more than a single practice.

7.3.3. Stabilisation: diverging power geometries

The friction between 'watching-protecting' and 'eating-hunting' needs to be ordered. Whale-meat consumption in Jangsaengpo is carried out under two presuppositions: whale meat is provided through *by-catch only*; and/or minke whale, the most sought after stock of species for whale meat, is *not* endangered.

Power geometries of the minke whale population

The second preposition is controversial. According to the IUCN's Red List (IUCN 2015), minke whale is classified as 'least concern' – i.e. not necessarily endangered. As mentioned, this species is not classified as a protection-worthy marine mammal or an endangered species in Korean national schemes. However, the minke whale is included in the 13 large whale species for which the IWC and CITES Appendices I prohibit commercial whaling and international trade. Still, researchers of the CRI argue that the regional minke whale population of J-stock (the area of East Sea (Sea of Japan) – Yellow Sea — East China Sea, see Fig 7.4) is not endangered but "abundant" (Kitakado *et al.* 2009). However, this result is not accepted by the Scientific Committee of the IWC. Are the minke whales of J-stock endangered or not? Should they be protected or hunted to eat? The discussion on the minke whale population forges two diverging global-local 'power geometries' (Massey 1994) largely along the differing political commitments regarding whales. Each skein of power geometry hosts differing sets of experts, technologies and ethical sensibilities.

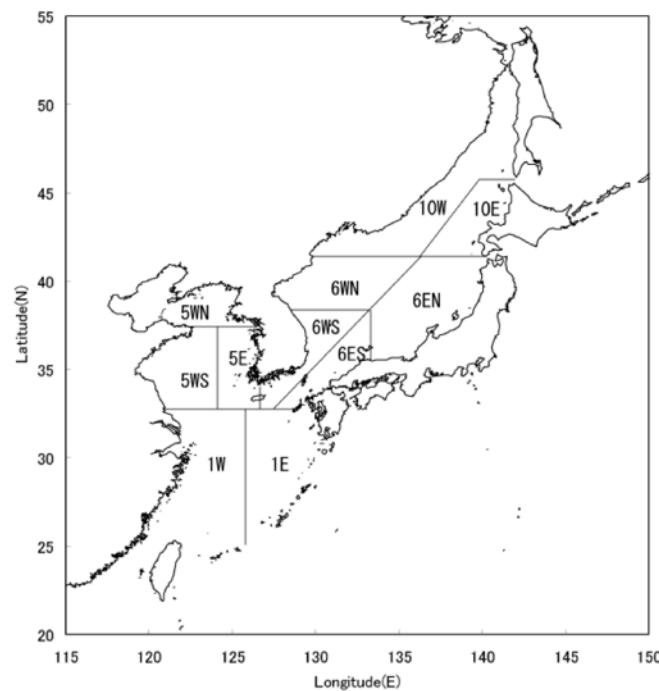


Fig 7.4. J-stock refers to the areas 5 and 6 (Adopted from Kitakado *et al.* 2009, p.9).

Over the past decades Korean environmental activists and scientists furthered the transnational work initiated by the American biologist Scott Baker in 1994 (Baker *et al.* 2010). These Western-Korean researchers collect whale-meat samples and count the frequencies of mitochondrial DNA haplotypes to estimate the minke whale population of J-stock. Focusing on declining genetic variations, Baker (2000) presented the prospect that minke whale in J-stock is likely to be extinct in 15–20 years if the current scale of exploitation is continued. This was published in biology journals and IWC reports and circulated among international scientists and conservationists. Concerned with the endangerment of the regional minke whales population, the global-local conservation organisations pointed to incidental and illegal catches and called for immediate intervention (WWF Species Programme 2004). This anti-whaling argument is built from specific geographical locations, including the offices of conservation institutions located in the West, such as the IWC in Cambridge, UK and the WWF in Gland, Switzerland. It appears to have enrolled an array of global-local elements to calculate the minke whale population as being ‘endangered’.

In contrast, the transnational work carried out by Korean and Japanese scientists since the mid-1990s has produced the opposite calculation. Working from a research vessel, scientists counted the heads of the minke whales they encounter and estimated its regional population (Miyashita and An 2010). The CRI's five-year survey estimated the Korean minke whale population (5E and 6WS in Fig 7.4) as being between 356 to 1,645 (Kim *et al.* 2007). This figure was supplemented with the Japanese estimate of 16,162 in the wider J-stock (the total areas of 5 and 6 in Fig 7.4). This data was circulated among Korean-Japanese scientists, officials and local residents through the CRI reports submitted to the IWC, policy reports and conversations between local residents. It has been used to support the pro-whaling argument that the IWC moratorium on commercial whaling of minke whales of J-stock should be lifted, given the increased number of whales in this specific population. This argument has been bolstered by local fishermen's verbal accounts that they have encountered "numerous" minke whales. Pro-whaling statements invented in Japan, such as "minke whales are [as abundant as] cockroaches of the sea",⁸⁹ are often invoked, too. A different set of experts, technologies and ethical sensibilities have been thus enrolled to calculate the minke whale as being 'abundant'. The geographical locations in which such calculations are made include the local government and the residents of Jangsaengpo.⁹⁰

These oppositional practices of scientific calculation epitomise the complex spatial politics that underlies Korean whale tourism. This is not a 'network of prescription' controlled by a single powerful centre (Murdoch 1998). The 'centre' appears to comprise more than one place, forging two different power geometries. On the one hand, the IWC office in Cambridge, affiliated to the KFEM in Seoul, exercises effective control by aligning the DNA analysis,

⁸⁹ The Japanese fisheries diplomat, Masayuki Komatsu, made this remark during an interview on ABC News in 2001.

⁹⁰ Despite the commitment of the elite bureaucrats of Tokyo to expand the globality of Japanese research whaling (Hirata 2005; Blok 2013), in the present case, the local government appears to have the control over the pro-whaling global-local elements. It is the local government who selects particular Japanese governing devices (e.g. 'abundant minke whales' and 'fish-predating whales') to support their argument. For example, the 'super-whale' argument, which was invented to ridicule the "near-sacrosanct" representation of whales (Blok 2013), is not picked up since the local government uses similar evocations to promote whale-watching tourism.

Korean and Western institutions and conservationist values. On the other hand, a different set of alignments is achieved in accordance with the local government of South District's calculation.

Institutionalisation of friction

While two diverging power geometries are at work, bureaucrats of Seoul have so far made the 'eclectic' decision to protect *and* to use/eat minke whales. This is implemented through *by-catch*, which institutionalises both protection and consumption of whales. Korea and Japan are among a few countries that permit the sale of by-catch cetaceans in fish markets as a way of supplying whale meat. Each country accounts for about 40% of the world's total by-catch, respectively. 'Intentional' by-catch driven by the market demand has been suspected (Lukoschek *et al.* 2009; MacMillan and Han 2011). International conservation agencies, via the IWC, have demanded immediate survey on the scale of by-catch and the introduction of reduction measures (WWF Species Programme 2004).

In January 2011, the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF, now partially merged into MOF) issued The Directive on the Conservation and Management of Cetacean Research (the Cetacean Directive) in order to monitor and reduce by-catch. Following the Japanese model introduced in 2001, the Cetacean Directive mandates deposition of a tissue sample of all by-catch cetaceans to the national cetacean DNA database of the CRI. The DNA registry is expected to discourage the illegal whale-meat trade, as the database would enable prompt identification of illegal whale meat through a comparative DNA analysis. As the MAFF underlines, the Cetacean Directive provides evidence that the Korean government complies with the international convention to protect whales by keeping by-catch in control (Park and Jeung 2009).

However, the Cetacean Directive also serves the opposite purpose. To monitor the distribution of by-catch, the Marine Police issue a Distribution Certificate (Fig 7.5.) to the

fisherman who accidentally catches the by-catch whale and the restaurant owner who purchases it. Yet, the Distribution Certificate, in practice, is seemingly also used as a ‘cover’ for the distribution of illegally caught whales, as I learned from the interviews with local residents. Whale-meat restaurant owners told me that they prefer and rely on illegally sourced whales because they are fresher and cheaper. Still, they buy by-catch whales to obtain the Distribution Certificate in case of spot checks by the Marine Police. As a way of institutionalising whale-meat supply and consumption, by-catch facilitates the continuation of illegal whaling in order to meet the increased demand. Juridical punishment is too weak to circumscribe illegal practices. The maximum punishment is a two-year imprisonment or a fine of 20 million KRW (12,000 pounds), which is no higher than the price of one minke whale on the black market.⁹¹ In so doing, by-catch allows the whale-meat trade to continue business as usual.



Fig 7.5. A by-catch minke whale (source: *Kangwon Daily*) and the Distribution Certificate (source: MAFF).

Through by-catch, the conflicting practices of eating-killing and protecting-watching are consolidated in the way they currently are. This eclectic stabilisation is the work of spatial

⁹¹ A six-metre long by-catch minke whale is auctioned at 20–70 million KRW. According to an illegal whaler and whale-meat restaurants owners, illegally caught whales are sold at half the price of the by-catch ones.

power emanating from multiple centres spanning Seoul, conservation headquarters in Western locales and Jangsaengpo. Although the use of by-catch is decided by policymakers in Seoul, they respond to the Western conservation agencies that exercise international pressure to reduce incidental whale catches. They also reflect the demand in Jangsanegpo for continued utilisation of whale meat. By institutionalising by-catch, the Korean government manages to remain loyal to the international commitment to protect whales, while not upsetting local sentiment articulated in whale-meat consumption. In this regard, Seoul officials seem not willing to pay the “political cost” and instead choose to serve “two masters” of whale conservation and whaling (Tatar and Lee 2012).

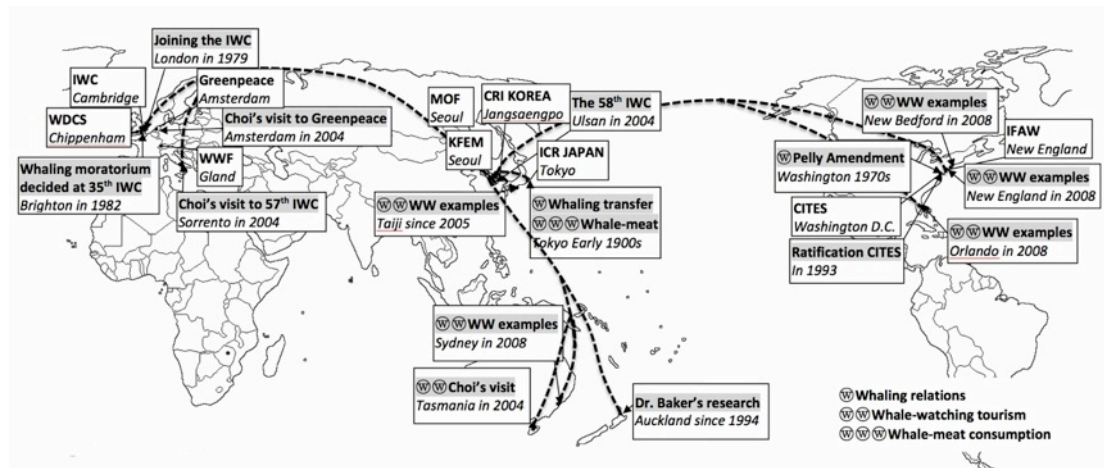


Fig 7.6. The global-local spatial relations of Korean whale connections (after Whatmore 2002; Barua 2013).

This eclectic stabilisation of spatial relations might suggest one way in which friction is ordered. Investigating political conflicts around forest management, Tsing (2005) identifies the generative potential of friction to produce “creative misunderstandings”, which facilitates global-local collaboration. In so doing, she seeks to find non-linear trajectories of environmentalism that do not follow the prevalent ideas of ‘Western dominance’ or ‘local resistance’. The case presented here offers another mode of non-linear trajectory. Without moving toward the prescribed direction (i.e. whale conservation through whale-watching tourism or the cultural defence of whaling), it finds a tangential way of stabilising through

institutionalisation of multiplicity: the concurrence of protecting, watching, eating and killing.

As Mol and Law argue:

various “orderings” of similar objects, topics, fields do not always reinforce the same simplicities or impose the same silences. Instead, they may work – and relate – in different ways (Mol and Law 2002, p.7).

In Jangsaengpo, the plural power geometries order the spatial relations in ‘a different way’ that stabilises multiple practices as they are now.

7.4. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have examined how spatial relations are performed in the shaping of ecotourism. Drawing on relational analytics of space and power, combined with specific historical-geographical connections, I examined how multiplicity is engaged and produced in the spatial formation of whale tourism in Jangsaengpo. I described that by invoking diverging historical-geographical connections, multiple local actors create multiple power geometries. This process produces multiple whale-related practices for tourism purposes, some of which are in friction. Then I showed that power exercised near and far stabilises the space by institutionalising multiple practices. Through the process of spatial formation, materials, discourses and practices of whale tourism are enrolled, altered and enacted in specific ways, producing a form of whale tourism in which whales are both watched and eaten. As a way of concluding, I reflect on three implications of taking a multiplicity perspective for relevant studies. These are related to geographies, ontologies, and ethics of environmentalism. In so doing, I suggest ‘a multiplicity of spatial formations’ as a way of thinking about spatial relations of ecotourism and environmentalism more generally.

First, a multiplicity perspective opens up analytical space to think of ecotourism outside of the prevalent mode of geopolitics, which is often considered along a North-South axis. As I described, there are at least three sources of multiplicity, including multiple actors. Not all

actors are Northern or Southern, nor dominators or victims. Taking a multiplicity perspective might assist an investigator in recognising ‘other’ actors in play.

For example, in this chapter, I highlighted the significance of Japanese relations in whale tourism. A similar geographical pattern that connects Japan and Western places also appears in tidal flat tourism discussed in chapter 5. Like modern whaling, modern reclamation was introduced to Korea from Japan. Like whale campaigners, early environmental campaigners turned to German tidal flat management to find useful discourses and practices for anti-reclamation movements. Japan is one of the non-Western centres that produce environmental knowledge and management, which prevails across East Asia and beyond (Weller 2006; Tsing and Satuka 2008). For Korea, through colonial connections and geographical proximity, Japan has acted as a ‘mediator’, in a Latourian sense, between the Western/modern and Korea. Korean whaling techniques transferred from Japan were in fact the Japanese interpretation of Norwegian modern whaling (Watanabe 2009). When initiating whale-watching tourism, Korean officials turned to Japan among various examples because they regarded the Japanese model as a feasible modern example as compared to far-flung Western versions. Different power geometries are certainly at play here. While the Western ones travel trans-territorially, the Japanese ones tend to remain within regional boundaries (Blok 2013). Despite its significance in the Korean and wider East Asian context, the Japanese relation has not yet been extensively studied in spatial analysis of ecotourism and environmentalism. An analytical focus on multiplicity may encourage us to pay serious attention to the “actually existing” significance of Japan, which could add a different pattern to the international geographies of ecotourism.

Second, a multiplicity perspective offers a way of thinking about globalised social changes without supposing pre-given and fixed forms. It instead encourages us to be ‘open’ to unanticipated, surprising and “monstrous” outcomes that emerge from specific global-local interactions (Lorimer and Driessen 2013). In this chapter, I described a form of globalised

whale tourism comprising not just whale-watching boat trips but whale-eating experiences as well. Similarly, in chapter 5, I described a form of tidal flat tourism in which leisure catching serves as a medium to relate humans to nonhumans. In chapter 6, I explained a specific enactment of self-reflective countryside walking as a decelerating practice to slow down the speed of walking and the everyday. These examples show that forms of ecotourism are enacted in specific ways through specific global-local interactions. Some forms, such as the concurrence of eating-hunting and watching of whales, may look “awkward” for the advocates of the conventional mode of whale-watching tourism taken as a replacement of whaling (Orams 2001). Still, it does exist not just in Korea but in Japan and other whaling countries as well. Thinking through multiplicity encourages us to pay serious attention to less conventional outcomes as one of multiple enactments.

Engaging with multiplicity for analytical guidance, Lien and Law (2011) map multiple categories of salmon beyond the prevalent categories of being either ‘wild’ or ‘domestic’. In doing so, they reveal and challenge the Euro-American nature-society binary and suggest a thinking of environmentalism as multiple enactments. As Mol and Law argue:

When investigators start to discover a variety of orders – modes of ordering, logics, frames, styles, repertoires, discourses – then the dichotomy between simple and complex starts to dissolve (Mol and Law 2002, p.7).

In this regard, a multiplicity perspective could assist recent geographical investigations that have sought to explain forms of environmentalism without recourse to prevalent accounts often associated with binary, fixed and pre-given assumptions (Tsing 2005; Lorimer and Driessen 2013).

Third, instead of resorting to principle-based ethics, a multiplicity perspective can suggest a different ethical avenue to renew human-nonhuman relations. Multiple practices do not simply exist side by side, but interact with one another, which can produce confusing attitudes towards nonhumans (Mol 1999). For example, eating whales involves the termination of

animal lives. In dealing with this ethical conundrum, the non-judgemental perspective of multiplicity does not offer normative imperatives to either legitimate killing or to support conservation. Instead of seeking to calculate acceptable levels of exploitation, a multiplicity perspective offers an opportunity to rethink what human-nonhuman relations entail.

Animal geographers have recently drawn attention to the inherent “untidiness” in the human-nonhuman relationship that actually fluctuates between ‘harm’ and ‘care’ (Lorimer 2010a; Ginn *et al.* 2014; Srinivasan 2014). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, non-lethal utilisation of whales still exerts considerable bodily disruption to the watched cetaceans (White 2008; Neves 2010). In this sense, the purported ‘transition’ from whaling to whale-watching tourism still produces and lies within untidy human-nonhuman relations just as their concurrence does, although to a different degree. Here, thinking through multiplicity might help us recognise the inevitable untidiness of interspecies relations and further urges us to rethink how to relate with nonhumans differently. It could be more than just counting and preserving the number of animals/species in the wild; for example, developing a “response-able” mode of living with nonhumans (Haraway 2008). This is redolent of my previous discussions on the different moral sensibilities of paying respect (chapter 5) and fostering a sense of gratitude (chapter 6) towards nonhumans.

8

Conclusion

In this final chapter, I will bring the analyses undertaken in the preceding chapters together to draw out the empirical and conceptual contributions of this thesis. I will first summarise my research findings by responding to the research questions that guided this investigation. I will then identify three concepts developed in this study and will discuss their utility for studies of governmentality and ecotourism. I will finally reflect on the implications of this study for the practitioners of ecotourism in Korea by making a few suggestions.

8.1. Summary

In this thesis, I examined ecotourism in post-developmental Korea to trace the changes in the ways that the self and the environment are thought about and related to. Taking the experience of accelerated modernisation as the site-specific conditions at play in this social change, I selected and focused on a set of three themes: nature, time and space. As I explained in chapters 1 and 2, these themes appear to have empirical significance in the experience of accelerated modernisation and contemporary Korean ecotourism practice, as well as conceptual significance in recent studies in human geography and the wider social sciences. To examine this emerging social change, I deployed a governmentality framework, combined with concepts and insights related to understandings of nature, time and temporalities and spatial relations. In doing so, the broad aim of this thesis was to examine the governmentality of ecotourism in Korea, specifically focusing on how political technologies relating to nature, time and space are engaged to shape human behaviours in particular ways. To do this, I prepared two sets of guiding questions. They are:

- 1) How is ecotourism governed in Korea?
- 2) How are nature, time and space mobilised to produce ecotourism subjects?

- i) What are the human-nonhuman relations associated with ecotourism governmentalities?
- ii) What are the temporalities of ecotourism governmentalities?
- iii) What are the geographical connections performed through ecotourism governmentalities?

To answer the first research question, I mapped the assemblage of political agents in Korean ecotourism in chapter 4 through a case study of the environmental governance of Jeungdo. Adopting Rabinow and Rose's (2006) analytics of governmentality, I examined an array of political technologies, including: the 'truth' discourse of sustainable development, the technologies of government focusing on producing self-governing subjects, and diverse strategies of intervention. I specifically focused on the power dynamics of decentralised governance that enrolled diverse agents – levels of governments, activists from eNGOs and local residents – but was actually led by the state and local government (i.e. *gwan*). I argued that the governmentality led by *gwan* failed to transform local residents into environmental subjects; yet, it tangentially achieved the successful transformation of the agents, specifically non-state practitioners, into subjects of their government.

This mode of *gwan*-led governance also appeared in the case of whale tourism that the local government funded and operated most of the tourist practices. The Olle walking case showed a diverged mode of governance that is less reliant on *gwan* and led by local elites while gaining partial financial supports from the state and local governments. Such subtle differences implicate the complexity of ecotourism governance in Korea. While *gwan* took the lead as the primary planner and financier, other agents were not passive recipients: the activists from eNGOs engaged in tidal flat tourism voluntarily affiliated themselves with *gwan* and influenced the shaping of particular understandings of tidal flats, whereas the eNGOs of whale tourism remained antagonistic to the local government and contested the *gwan*-mandated version of whale tourism. In Olle walking, tourists contributed to the

propagation of the discourses of slow walking. As such, ecotourism in Korea is governed through a *gwan*-led and decentralised political assemblage. The prominence of *gwan* in decentralised governance stands in stark contrast to the prevalent analysis of ecotourism governance, largely based on the examples of Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, in which the nation state is replaced with international conservation agencies and corporations (Duffy 2008, Honey 2008, Vivanco 2007). Such different assemblage of political actors produces a specific operation of power in Korean ecotourism and creates specific ecotourism subject.

In the next three chapters, I focused on the ways in which discourses and practices relating to nature, time and spatial relations were deployed in governmentalities of ecotourism, shaping specific ways that tourists think about, and relate to, the self and the environment. Together, these three chapters answered my second set of research questions.

In relation to the first of the second set of research questions, I examined the discourses and performances of nature deployed in tidal flat tourism (chapter 5) and Olle walking (chapter 6). In chapter 5, I focused on how the traditional Korean environmental thought of *saengmyeong* was used as a discursive means of governing, enacting understandings of nature in tidal flat tourism. By examining tourist representations, practices and codes of conducts, I argued that tidal flat tourism acted as a biopolitical domain, through which tourists were guided to think tidal flats as the habitat of human and nonhuman *saengmyeong* and accordingly to adopt respectful behaviour to nonhumans. In chapter 6, I focussed on the embodied and affective engagement of tourists and the landscape. I described that walking produced the continued interactions between the bodies of walkers and the materiality of the agrarian rural landscape, which generated therapeutic bodily responses. I argued that the affective logic of healing enacted human-nonhuman relations in walking in a way to foster care of the self and the environment.

As to the question of time, I examined discourses of time and temporalities employed in ecotourism in chapters 5 and 6, and less explicitly in 4 and 7. My discussions about time can be summarised into three related points: slowness, accelerated slowness and ancient future. As we have seen in the popularity of the idea of Slow City (chapter 4) and slow walking (chapter 6), the discourse of slowness had significance in Korean ecotourism development and performance. In chapter 6 in particular, I described that the ideas and experiences of slowness were deployed in governmentalities of countryside walking and created an atmosphere of slowness. Imbued with such an atmosphere, individual walkers were guided to ‘decelerate’ their speed of walking and everyday life. In both chapters 4 and 6, I specifically drew attention to the rapid implementation of the Slow City and slow walking initiatives, which I called ‘accelerated slowness’. I will discuss this paradoxical mode of organising social changes further in the next section. In chapter 5, my discussion of time was focussed on the non-linear temporality of environmentalist discourses in that elements of the past were deployed to envision a sustainable future. I called this temporality ‘ancient future’ and offered two examples: the rediscovery of the traditional *saengmyeong* concept and the valorisation of traditional agriculture in contemporary ecotourism and conservation practices. Such re-valorisation of the past was also observed in chapter 7, where whale-meat consumption was rediscovered and presented as cultural heritage for whale tourism.

I responded to the final research question on space in chapter 7. I traced spatial relations performed in whale tourism in Jangsaengpo and argued that specific historical-geographical connections were enrolled, alter and enact the spatial formation of whale tourism in particular ways. Analyses undertaken in this chapter, combined with spatial relations in the other two cases, revealed two spatial aspects of Korean ecotourism. First, I specified a type of geography of ecotourism weaving together Korea, Japan and Western places, through which legislation, tourist practices and administrative systems travel. Second, I argued that ecotourism come into multiple forms as they emerge out of specific global-local interactions. In chapter 7, I showed a form of whale tourism in which whales are both watched and eaten.

In the preceding chapters, similarly, I showed specific enactments of ecotourism. These include: state-led community-based ecotourism (chapter 4), tidal flat tourism focused on recreational catching (chapter 5) and countryside walking enacted as decelerating practice (chapter 6). These examples suggest that discourses and practices of ecotourism intersect with site-specific conditions – such as *gwan*, *saengmyeong*, slowness and geographical connections – and are enacted as diverse forms.

Together, the analyses undertaken in this thesis offer a different story from the conventional analyses of ecotourism governmentality that are often associated with biopolitics of neoliberalism to produce consumer-citizens (Rutherford 2007; Fletcher 2014). As discussed in the introduction of this thesis and in chapter 4, the archetypal components of neoliberalism– market enthusiasm, antagonism to the state intervention, and intimate capital-citizen relations (McCarthy and Prudham 2004) – are dealt with differently in Korean examples. The market logic is consistent: local residents are involved as stakeholders of ecotourism enterprise that facilitates additional commodification of nature. However, the governing structure differs: authorities of the national state advance in the planning and implementing ecotourism enterprises, while the private sector appears disinterested. To an extent, the subject position created here is redolent of ‘self-propelled entrepreneur’ that Rose (1996) identifies as a type of neoliberal subject. Some of the slow subject reconfigure their speed of walking and everyday life in order to compete better in the fast world. However, there are also other types of slow subject who make radical modifications in order to stay outside of the market demands for entrepreneurial citizens. These characteristics suggest that Korean ecotourism can be a form of “actually existing” neoliberal governmentality (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Its governing structure and technologies resonate with those of “libertarian paternalism” in terms of the advancement of the state intervention to promote behaviour changes of individual citizens (Jones *et al.* 2011a; 2011b).

However, there is a more convincing story that the governmentality of Korean ecotourism offers. As summarised, discourses and practices of nature, time and space were deployed to shape behaviours of tourists in *specific* ways. In chapter 5, the traditional environmental concept of *saengmyeong* was raised as an alternative to the dominant environmental discourse of developmentalism. In chapter 6, the discourse of slowness served as a political critique to the dominant everyday fastness, while diverse local actors in chapter 7, despite their differing political intentions, were inspired to find ways to use whales for more than whaling and whale-meat consumption. The common mentality underlying these governmentalities seems associated with the aspiration to move away from the dominant and prevalent modes of relating to the self and the environment. Such rationalities of government were exercised through an array of technologies that rely less on sovereign (e.g. punishment) and instead more on disciplinary (e.g. entraining certain behaviours), biopolitical (e.g. regulating through norms) and environmental (e.g. creating an atmosphere) techniques (Anderson 2012). This use of biopolitical techniques can be contrasted to those of accelerated modernisation that rely on more sovereign and disciplinary techniques (H.Y. Cho 2007; E. Cho 2012). In doing so, the subject positions created through the governmentality of ecotourism are associated with: ‘environmental citizens’ who care about the environment and individual nonhuman life forms (chapters 4 and 5); ‘decelerating subjects’ who slow down their speed of walking and everyday life (chapter 6); and ‘ecotourism subjects’ who appreciate whales not just for practical utilities but also for their aesthetic and ecological values (chapter 7). These subject positions are specific to each case but also common through the cases in that they seek to reconfigure human behaviours differently from the dominant and prevalent ones.

Informed by such rationalities, technologies and subjectivities, ecotourism here serves as a biopolitical domain, through which the conduct of tourists and local residents is conducted in different ways from those of accelerated modernisation. In this regard, I would argue that the governmentality of Korean ecotourism emerges as a critical response to the experience of accelerated modernisation. It can be called the *governmentality of deceleration*. By

deceleration, I refer to both the literal reconfiguration of the speed, as seen in the case of slow walking, and the figurative departure from the dominant modes relating to nature, time and spaces that are entrenched in the experience of *accelerated* modernisation. This idea of the biopolitics of deceleration is a tentative one, emerging from the analyses of three ecotourism cases, and needs to be developed further through empirical and conceptual studies.

8.2. Contributions

To examine the governmentality of ecotourism in post-developmental Korea, I deployed an array of concepts and insights from Foucauldian studies and more-than-human and relational studies in human geography and cognate social sciences. From the analyses undertaken in this thesis, I draw out three modest theoretical propositions. These are: *healing nature*, *accelerated slowness* and *a multiplicity in the geography of ecotourism*. These propositions can make useful contributions to the body of work from which this thesis draws. They can also have wider utility to explain similar biopolitical interventions in Korea, as well as other empirical spaces that have undergone accelerated social transformations. These are the analytical conclusions of this thesis that I promised in chapter 3.

Healing nature

In the preceding chapters, I identified a type of human-nonhuman relations associated with the agrarian rural landscape and its evocation of therapeutic feelings. Attending to the affective logic of healing in play, I call this mode of human-nonhuman engagement as ‘healing nature’.⁹² As I explained in chapters 5 and 6, this mode of human-nonhuman engagement is grounded in and promotes specific ontological, epistemological and ethical concerns. In the agrarian landscape, humans are seen as part of nature, as a co-producer of the landscape by their low-intensity agricultural practices. The continued embodied engagements between the bodies of tourists and the materiality of the landscape are productive of specific

⁹² In her PhD study, Loretta Lou (Department of Anthropology, Oxford University) employs the concept of healing nature as a lens to understand the emergence of green lifestyle in Hong Kong.

emotions associated with comfort, solace and healing. Such personalised encounters reconfigure the attitudes of tourists toward nonhumans in a way that pays respect and gratitude to nonhuman partners for healing the exhausted human bodies (Milton 2003).

There seems a partiality in the mode of human-nonhuman engagements examined in the prevalent analysis of ecotourism, whose empirical focus has been on Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Southeast Asia and New Zealand. Popular images of ecotourism landscape are associated with the sublime and untouched representations (Bell and Lyall 2002; Fletcher 2014). Nonhumans encountered are limited to charismatic mega fauna (e.g. the ‘big five’ animals and primates) while mundane creatures, such as the small crabs I described in chapter 5, are left less attended (Lorimer 2010b). The popular types of affective logic played here are associated with ‘adventure’, which produces adrenaline-pumping experiences and visual spectacles (Cloke and Perkins 1998; Cater and Cloke 2007; Lorimer 2010b). Although the idyllic rural landscape is widely employed in rural tourism in Western Europe and East Asia (Roberts and Hall 2001; Takeuchi *et al.* 2003), it has received little attention in ecotourism literatures. This mode of human-nonhuman engagement mediated through ‘healing nature’ has the potential to cultivate ecological sensibility based on mutual respect, care, and commitment. If ecotourism is distinguished from rural tourism for its commitment to conservation (Lane 1994), the idea of ‘healing nature’ can broaden the scope of human-nonhuman engagements practised and studied in ecotourism.

Recounting the human-nonhuman relations through the framework of ‘healing’ illuminates the potential of ecotourism as an affirmative mode of biopolitics. In chapter 6, we have seen that slow walking was interpreted as a healing practice to care for the exhausted self. For some walkers, care was extended to nonhuman components of the landscape as a way to express their gratitude. Similarly, in chapter 5, through recreational catching, tourists were affected by the lively agency of nonhuman organisms, which inspired some of them to care about the wellbeing of individual creatures. Biopower of these practices governs tourists to

guide themselves to care not just about the self, but about nonhumans as well. In this sense, biopolitics of ecotourism possibly entails “care of life” – human and nonhumans – involved in biosocial collectives (Hannah 2011). The ideas and associated ethical concerns of healing nature suggest that biopower of ecotourism, to an extent, resonates Foucault’s original notion of biopower, which takes “make a life” as the objective of government. The aim of government of the modern liberal state is not just to control but to produce a healthy and happy population as well (Foucault 1978; Rabinow and Rose 2006). In this regard, ecotourism can act as a biopolitical domain, through which the tourist population is guided to ‘make’ lives of their own and nonhuman others.

This affirmative mode of ecotourism biopolitics is perhaps not unrelated to the specific assemblage of government of Korean ecotourism. Led by public actors and public funding, Korean ecotourism appears to serve as less of a domain of capitalist accumulation. Instead, I argued that it acts as the platform to critically reflect on and reconfigure the dominant mode of human-nonhuman relations. As I discussed in chapter 6, caring of the self entails the use of non-productive time and undisciplined behaviours, which counters the norm of a productive worker. Caring of the environment entails valorisation of the agrarian landscape, which was previously viewed as underdevelopment. The respectful treatment of nonhumans challenges the developmentalist norm of a practical user of nature. In this sense, creating healing experience can act as a mode of political resistance to the norms established in relation to accelerated modernisation.

Accelerated slowness

In my discussions of time, I identified a specific temporality of ‘accelerated slowness’ that describes the paradoxical entanglement of two seemingly oppositional organisations of time. In chapters 4 and 6, we have seen an acceleration of the process designed to transform the place and the practice to Slow City and slow walking, respectively. Acceleration to decelerate was mediated through: large-scale and secured financial support from *gwan* (chapter 4); the

mobilisation of local participation through financial incentives (chapter 4); the investment of time and efforts by individual walkers and their use of technical devices (e.g. high-speed internet) (chapter 6); and the nationwide emulation of the Olle Trail, producing over 300 similar trails in a five-year period (chapter 6). On the one hand, there is an enthusiasm for deceleration, i.e. a moving away from the discourses and practices of fastness entrenched in the experience of accelerated modernisation. On the other hand, there is also an anxiety to produce immediate outcomes, which facilitates an acceleration of the transformative process. The tension between change and continuity – namely, reform-oriented ideals and longstanding habits – produces a paradoxical configuration of time.

This idea of entangled acceleration and slowness has much relevance for recent work in time geography that seeks to unsettle the conventional binary understandings of time and temporality. As I reviewed in chapter 2, these authors demonstrate the entanglement and coproduction of ‘natural’ and ‘social’ time (Jones 2011; Brice 2014) and a constitutive role of ‘stillness’ in the making of the ‘mobile’ world (Bissell and Fuller 2011). The two temporalities of ‘acceleration-fastness’ and ‘deceleration-slowness’ have been treated rather separately both in academia and in popular politics. The overall acceleration of modern life and the compression of time-space have received a number of celebratory and/or ominous academic responses (Kreitzman 1999; Bauman 2000; Castells 2010). Slowness, on the other hand, was raised as an oppositional and alternative configuration of temporality on the grounds that acceleration was perceived as a ‘danger’ (Parkins and Craig 2006; Rosa and Scheuerman 2009). The concept of accelerated slowness unsettles such oppositional treatment of the two temporalities and, instead, highlights their concurrence, interactions and entanglement.

Specifically, this concept enables to identify and trace the habituated fast and accelerated rhythms in which ‘decelerating’ practices – of individuals and society – are shaped. For example, popular practices devised to experience slowness, such as yoga and meditation,

offer ‘slow-moving time’ (Urry 2000); yet, some of these activities are practiced to better attune to the wider go-faster rhythm of everyday urban life (Thrift 2007c; Lea 2009). Similarly, slowness-themed social movements, such as Slow City and the Slow Food Movement, have received immediate and widespread responses from international communities (Honoré 2004; Mayer and Knox 2006). The global expansion of slow practices has experienced a similar acceleration that I examined in this thesis. It is possible to suggest that acceleration is re-articulated through the discourses of slowness. In this regard, the concept of accelerated slowness facilitates a critical thinking of the temporalities of slow practices.

A multiplicity in ecotourism geography

The spatial analysis undertaken in this thesis suggests a multiplicity in ecotourism geography, by which I refer to the multiple historical-geographical connections and multiple enactments of ecotourism. As I summarised above, a spatial analysis of Korean ecotourism revealed a multi-sited geography that weaves together Korea, Japan and diverse Western nations, including Italy (Slow City relations, chapter 4), Germany (tidal flat conservation, chapter 5), Spain (pilgrimage hiking, chapter 6) and an array of conservation organisations in the US, UK and Australia (whale conservation, chapter 7). Many modern forms of more-than-human practices, such as whaling and reclamation, were introduced from Japan and developed further or resisted through wider engagements with discourses and practices related to diverse geographical locations. The presence of this mode of ecotourism geography challenges and diversifies the prevalent analysis of international geographies of ecotourism that largely focuses on the Global North-South axis (Simpson 2004; Duffy 2008; Mowforth and Munt 2008; Lorimer 2010b).

While acknowledging the usefulness of the conventional spatial analysis of ecotourism focussing on postcolonial and political-economic relations, this thesis takes a different approach that attends to the multiplicity in the spatial formation of ecotourism. This approach

was initially adopted to reflect on the very different historical-geographical connections enmeshed in Korean ecotourism. Taking this approach beyond the examined case, I would argue that a multiplicity analysis provides an interesting avenue for further studies of international ecotourism. An analytical focus on multiplicity encourages an investigator to pay serious attention to ‘other’ actors, relations and forms of enactment that are not neatly registered in existing categories. For example, in East Asian ecotourism, different historical and cultural connections enrol diverse materials, discourses and practices, which urges researchers to outline specific regional models of ecotourism (Wen and Ximing 2008; Lee *et al.* 2013). Furthermore, a multiplicity approach can be applied to the cases of Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia as a way of exploring these familiar cases differently – for example, the regional exchanges of ecotourism expertise through which diverse Southern actors are involved.

Before concluding, I wish to acknowledge a different avenue for governmentality research on Korean ecotourism. In this study of the more-than-human practice of ecotourism, I have largely focused on human-induced discourses and practices, while leaving the co-constitutive roles of nonhumans less attended. I did consider the agency of nonhuman organisms and the materiality of the walking landscape in the shaping of ecotourism experiences in chapters 5 and 6. Yet, explicit attention to the agency of nonhumans could have allowed a more symmetrical investigation of more-than-human biopolitics. For example, the agency of whales not just complies with, but also disrupts the prescribed nonhuman manoeuvres (Philo and Wilbert 2000): whales sometimes do not cooperate with whale-watchers and trainers; the distinctive smell of whale meat disgusts tourists. Such nonhuman-induced disruptions can affect the ways humans think about, and relate to, nonhumans, which may reconfigure discourses and practices of biopolitical government. This gap can be addressed by further studies on Korean ecotourism cases in which nonhuman animals exhibit a significant presence.

8.3. Final remarks

By way of concluding, I reflect on the implications of this thesis for the practitioners of ecotourism in Korea. Grounded in relational research tradition, this thesis rejects presupposing a normative model of ecotourism for others to follow. It instead encourages a viewing of ecotourism as a heterogeneous and open process. The overarching advice I am offering here is a *caution* against the long-standing tendency to catching up with the Western model of ecotourism perceived as normal and right. Perhaps this ethos is what has been habituated through accelerated modernisation, during which period rapid social transformations were facilitated to emulate the Western model of industrialisation. In particular, I make two brief suggestions.

My first suggestion is related to the speed of ecotourism implementation. As discussed, there is an acceleration of the transformative process to produce immediate outcomes. Yet, acceleration is likely to cause unequal involvement of the actors engaged: policymakers, officials and like-minded practitioners lead the swift transformation while other actors, such as local residents, are removed from the decision-making processes. As we have seen in the case of Jeungdo, the rapid transformation to Slow City did not allow enough time for local residents to internalise the discourses underlying the changes they were experiencing. Top-down strategies and financial incentives were deployed to generate immediate local participation. Similarly, the leadership of local government enabled a rapid implementation of whale tourism. However, another significant groups of actors, the eNGOs, were removed from whale tourism governance. Given the very different political views on whales, inviting eNGOs to ecotourism governance is likely to create tensions and compromises, which would mean significant delay to the initiation of whale tourism. Nonetheless, such time-consuming negotiations are probably a necessary part of bringing about social change. Although whale tourism began and has been carried out quickly, it confronts frequent resistance from environmental campaigners, which might undermine the long-term continuity of the

ecotourism project. To be freed from achievement anxiety, in other words, a deceleration may be required for the sustainable and democratic implementation of ecotourism.

Second, one of the key claims made in this thesis is that ecotourism comes in multiple forms, emerging out of specific global-local interactions. In this regard, I would ask practitioners to suspend taking an established form of ecotourism elsewhere as a universal template to be recreated in Korea. Instead, I would underline the need to tailor and develop existing forms of ecotourism as a specific Korean model. Rigorous modifications would be required to make such models work in the very different political, social and cultural terrain in which Korean ecotourism takes place. Olle walking provides useful examples of such efforts. Practitioners of the JOF adopted several elements from the original *Camino de Santiago*, such as the idea of self-reflective walking, signpost designs, walker's credentials and the provision of cheap and available accommodation. At the same time, they also developed their own programmes that reflect on Korean and local Jeju cultures, such as organising walking events, surveying and incorporating local dialects and marine cultures in the guiding materials, as well as developing diverse schemes to relate walkers to local communities.⁹³ This case offers an excellent example of how discourses and practices of ecotourism can be altered and enacted in locally specific ways.

To summarise, this thesis examined the governmentality of ecotourism in Korea in relation to the experience of accelerated modernisation. I argued that discourses and practices related to nature, time and spatial relations are deployed in ecotourism to shape behaviours in ways that move away from the dominant modes associated with accelerated modernisation. Drawing a governmentality framework combined with more-than-human and relational studies of nature, time and space, I generated three conceptual propositions (healing nature, accelerated slowness and a multiplicity in ecotourism geography). These conceptual framework and

⁹³ These include: to assist local old ladies to use their spare rooms to accommodate female walkers; to help local communities to use increased walkers as the opportunities for direct sales; and to ask walkers to shop locally.

propositions can be useful for similar investigations of biopower that touch upon the experiences of accelerated social change.

Appendix I – List of interviewees

Ecotourism experts in Korea

Name	Details	Interviewed
Baek, Gyu-Seok	Director general, Nature Conservation Bureau, Ministry of the Environment	15/12/2012
Cho, Hong-Seop	Environmental journalist, <i>The Hankyoreh Daily</i>	26/12/2012
Choi, Byung-Jun	Tourism journalist, <i>Kyunghyang Daily News</i>	10/12/2012
Jung, Ki-Youn	General manager, Public Relations, Hana Tour Service Inc.	17/01/2013
Kang, Mihee	Executive, Ecotourism Korea; Senior researcher, Research Institute for Agriculture and Life Sciences, Seoul National University	24/12/2012
Kang, Shinkyum	Associate professor in tourism management, Chonnam University; Head of Ecotourism Research Institute	14/03/2013
Kim, Seong-II	Representative, Ecotourism Korea; Professor in forestry, Seoul National University	15/12/2012
Lee, Min-Hye	Manager, The Korea Association for Sustainable Tourism	16/01/2013
Lim, Young-Shin	Activist, Imagine Peace (NGO for sustainable tourism and the peace movement)	03/05/2013
Na, Gong-Ju	Director, Dept. of Visitor Management, Korea National Park Service	18/12/2012
Park, Kangsup	Tourism correspondence, <i>The Kukmin Daily</i>	12/12/2012
Seo, Jae-Cheol	Senior official, Dept. of ecosystem conservation, Green Korea United	02/01/2013
Shim, Suk-Kyung	Research fellow, Gyeonggi Research Institute; Former senior official of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO	11/01/2013
You, Sang-Ou	Principal researcher, Green Korea Consulting	24/12/2012
Youn, Jun-Ha	Representative, Korean Federation of Environmental Movements	11/01/2013

Tidal flat tourism in Jeungdo

Ahn, Seong-Bok	Local resident running a restaurant and guesthouse	14/05/2013
Cho, Hyun-Wook	Assistant manager, the Tidal Flat Exhibition Centre, Jeungdo	07/05/2013
Cho, Jae Woo	Managing director, Tae-Pyung Salt Farm Inc., Jeungdo	13/05/2013
Choi, Il-Dam	Local resident running a guesthouse; Seaweed paper farmer	14/05/2013

Ham, Young-Jin	Researcher, the Tidal Flat Exhibition Centre, Jeungdo	19/07/2013
Hwang, Inseo	Executive manager, Marine Ecosystem Management Team and the MPA Centre, Korea Marine Environment Management Corporation	04/06/2013
Jang, Ji-Young	Senior official, Saengtae-Jipyung; Former KFEM activist	07/03/2013
Je, Jong-Kil	Marine ecologist and environmentalist; Former MP	09/01/2013
Jung, Myeong-Suk	General manager, Dept. of Tidal Flats and Migratory Birds, Govt. of Shinan County	28/05/2013
Jung, Young-Jin	Senior manager, the Tidal Flat Exhibition Centre, Jeungdo	12/05/2013
Jung, Young-Sung	Manager, Dept. of Tourism, Govt. of Shinan County	29/05/2013
Kim, Bok-Hee	Assistant manager, Dept. of Culture and Tourism, Govt. of Jeollanam-do	11/03/2013
Kim, Ji-Su	Community Travel Agency, Jeungdo	14/03/2013
Kim, Joon	Senior researcher, Jeonnam Developmental Institute	16/05/2013
Kim, Kyung-Hwa	General manager, Green Society Institute; Former Green Korea United activist	05/02/2013
Kim, Tae-Woong	Toll charger, The Slow Gate	15/05/2013
Lee, Hong-Young	Head of Jeungdo Slow City Council	12/03/2013
Lee, Hwa-Shim	Local resident running a restaurant	21/05/2013
Lee, Jong-Hwa	Local guide, Community Tour Agency	12/03 & 12/05/2013
Lee, Ki-Sook	Head of Clam Harvest Association, Jeungdo	16/05/2013
Lee, Myung-Gap	Deputy head of Jeungdo Slow City Council; Seaweed paper farmer	20/05/2013
Moon, Se-Young	Manager, Muan Tidal Flat Exhibition Centre	24/05/2013
Nam, Mee-Hyun	Manager of community-based fishing tourism in Woojeon Village, Jeungdo	27/05/2013
Park, Jong-Cheon	Local guide, Community Tour Agency	07/05/2013
Seo, Jin-Cha	Local resident (developing local specialty food)	22/05/2013
Shin, Hong-Chul	Vice president, Eldorado Resort, Jeungdo	22/05/2013
You, Young-Eup	Director, the Tidal Flat Exhibition Centre, Jeungdo	15/03/2013

Countryside walking in Jeju

Ahn, Eun Joo	General manager, the Jeju Olle Foundation	28/03/2013
Bae, Je-Sun	Manager, Dept. of Ecosystem Conservation, Green Korea United	02/04/2013
Hong, Chang-Wook	Manager, Mooreung Oegatjib (community-based local food business)	17/04/2013

Jang, Hee-Young	Manager, Dept. of Environmental Resources Conservation, Govt. of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province	27/03/2013
Jeong, Yun-Jong	Director, Jeju Tourist Information Centre, Jeju Special Self-Governing Provincial Tourism Association	25/04/2013
Jim Saunders	Volunteer for the Jeju Olle Foundation	17/04/2013
Kang, Hee Chun	Chairman of Olle-jigi (the organisation of Olle volunteers)	10/04/2013
Kang, Seong-Min	Manager, Sales department, Poonglim Resort	24/04/2013
Kim, Ae-Sook	Volunteer, the 18th course	12/04/2013
Kim, Mee-Seon	Volunteer, the 7th course	12/04/2013
Kim, Seong-Jin	Olle walker; Head of Ganse-Dari (the online community of Olle walkers)	11/04/2013
Ko, Je-Ryang	Head of Jeju Ecotourism (local tour agency)	25/03/2013
Ko, Seung-Woo	Assistant manager, Dept. of Planning, the Jeju Olle Foundation	13/04/2013
Koh, Wan-You	Former head of Mooreung Village	22/04/2013
Lee, Young-Wong	General manager, KFEM Jeju	11/04/2013
Moon, Keum-Seok	Local resident running a restaurant, Seoguipo-shi	23/04/2013
Oh, Chang-Hyun	Senior official, Jeju Tourism Organisation	25/04/2013
Oh, Jeung-hun	Director, Dept. of Tourism Policy, Govt. of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province	27/03/2013
Oh, Won-Kook	Head of Nakcheon Village	22/04/2013
Oh, Yang-Rok	Local resident running a guesthouse (one of 'Jeju immigrants')	10/07/2013
Park, Hye-Won & Park, Hye-Kyung	Directors, C&C company (an event company that organises a commercial Olle tour)	05/04/2013
Park, Hyun-Soo	Head of Seonheul Village	18/04/2013
Seo, Dong-Seong	Former chief explorer, the Jeju Olle Foundation	16/04/2013
Song, Soo Ho	Manager, Exploring Team, the Jeju Olle Foundation	15/04/2013
Woo, Kwang-Sool	Local photographer, Jocheon Village	18/04/2013
Yang, Yong-Jin	Head of Beobhwan Village	24/04/2013
You, Young-Kyu	Local resident running a guesthouse	25/03/2013
Yun, Mun-Ki	Director, Korean Trails and Culture Foundation	02/04/2013

Whale tourism in Ulsan

Baek, Seong-Mok	Local journalist, <i>Kyunghyang Daily News</i> , Ulsan	12/06/2013
Choi, Ye-Yong & Kim, Young-Hwan	Executive manager, the special commission for Marine protection, KFEM	04/07/2013
Han, Jeong-Hee	Whale campaigner, Greenpeace Korea	06/06/2013

Hur, Young-ran	Associate professor in History and Culture, University of Ulsan	25/06/2013
Hwang, Hyun-Jin	Activist, Hot Pink Dolphins (a NGO for dolphin conservation)	09/06/2013
Jeon, Saeng-Ryul	Chief trainer, Ulsan Dolphin Aquarium	19/06/2013
Jeong, Eui-Pil	Head, Cetacean Research Institute, University of Ulsan; Professor in electric engineering	13/06/2013
Jo, Hee-Kyung	President, Korean Animal Welfare Association	02/07/2013
Kim Min-Soo (pseudonym)	Illegal whaler	19/06/2013
Kim, Young-Rak	Head of Local Youth Association, Jangsaengpo	19/06/2013
Kong, Eun Ju	Manager, Dept. of whale tourism, Govt. of South District, Ulsan Metropolitan City	17/06/2013
Kook, Il-Seon	Councillor, South District	13/06/2013
Lee, Man Woo	Tour guide and manager, whale-watching boat trips, Govt. of South District	18/09/2013
Oh, Young-Ae	Director, KFEM Ulsan	12/06/2013
Park, Seon-Ku	Director, The Whale Museum	19/06/2013
Park, Seung-Chul	Manager, Dept. of Port and Fisheries, Govt. of Ulsan Metropolitan City	12/06/2013
Son, Nam-Soo	Retired whaling gunner, Jangsaengpo	19/06/2013
Song, Il-Kook (pseudonym)	Local whale-meat specialty restaurant	18/06/2013
Song, Yong-Han & Park, Hyun-Ji	Aides to Chang Ha-Na (a Member of Parliament, Environment and Labour Committee)	05/07/2013

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